SKETCH MAP OF THE EURASIAN STEPPES & THE SURROUNDING TERRITORIES
SCYTHIANS AND GREEKS
SCYTHIANS AND GREEKS
A SURVEY OF ANCIENT HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
ON THE NORTH COAST OF THE EUXINE
FROM THE DANUBE TO THE CAUCASUS

by

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Cambridge:
at the University Press
1913
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OPERIS FAVTORI PRAECPVO
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PREFACE

THIS book offers a summary of what is known as to the archaeology, ethnology and history of the region between the Carpathians and the Caucasus. The region is of varied importance for different branches of knowledge touching the ancient world, yet about it the scholars of Western Europe have had a certain difficulty in obtaining recent information, because each found it unprofitable to master Russian for the sake of pursuing his subject into an outlying corner. The language difficulty, therefore, first suggested this work, and my original intention was merely to supply a key to what has been written by Russian scholars, since they have been insisting upon the right of their language to scientific use. But such a fragmentary account of things would have been most unsatisfactory, and, though the time has not really come for a complete synthesis, enough advance has been made since the last attempt to review the subject, to justify a provisional summary.

Though the geographical limits to which I have confined myself have confessedly been dictated by considerations of language—i.e. I have, in principle, kept to the area within the Russian Empire which has naturally attracted the attention of scholars writing in Russian—yet the frontier of Russia towards the Carpathians and the Danube answers nearly to a real historico-geographical boundary, the western limit of the true steppe. The Caucasus, again, is a world in itself, having little in common with the steppe, nor has the time yet come to bring any sort of system into its archaeology; so I have reason enough for leaving it alone. On the other hand, the unity of the Asiatic and European steppe has led me on occasion right across to Siberia, Turkestan and China without any feeling that I was trespassing beyond my borders.

My limits in time are, I hope, equally intelligible: an attempt to begin at the beginning has resulted in Chapter vii, which, I trust, will not be useless; since it was printed off, more material has accumulated than I was able to cope with in the Addenda. The Great Migrations form a good lower limit, as they made a radical change in the population of the steppe and interrupted the continuous life of the Greek cities on the Euxine coast. In the case of Chersonese alone there was no such break and I have therefore followed its history to the end.
Just these same limits were contemplated by K. Neumann in his
_Die Hellenen im Skythenlande_ (Berlin, 1853), but he only lived to publish
the first volume and that is nearly sixty years ago. In the first three parts
of Kondakov and Tolstoi's _Russian Antiquities in the Monuments of Art_
(St P. 1889— ) reissued by Reinach as _Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale_
(Paris 1892, henceforward cited as _KTR._) is provided a more recent
summary. This, intended as an introduction to a more or less popular
account of Christian art in Russia, leaves something to be desired in
arrangement and in bibliographical indications of the sources for the facts
presented, but I have no idea of superseding it, as its limits in time and
space are much wider than mine, and, though I have been allowed to
reproduce a great many of its illustrations, it remains the most accessible
book in which to find many more.

When the above work was compiled, the policy of publishing in Russian
had just become dominant (from about 1889, v. p. xxv) and it was difficult
for Europe to know of discoveries in Russia from then until 1904, when
Pharmacovskij began contributing year by year to the _Archäologischer
Anzeiger_ his very full and well illustrated reports. It is just from the
period before 1904 that the main bulk of my unfamiliar matter is taken, as the
greater part of the illustrations (e.g. those borrowed from the Archaeological
Commission) had been selected by then and the earlier part of the book
drafted.

Other obligations and work having nothing in common with this have
made the writing, and also the printing, of the book a very slow business,
further delayed by the continual flow of fresh material, the incorporation
of which, especially at the later stages, has presented some difficulty: there have
also resulted certain unavoidable inconsistencies. Important facts which I
have learnt since the earlier sheets were printed off are briefly indicated in the
Addenda, to which I would ask the reader's attention, but these supplements,
necessarily, have been kept down rather jealously.

A great cause of delay has been the miscellaneous content of the work:
its unity being merely geographical, the composition of the different chapters
has meant incursions into different branches of knowledge, in each of which
the specialist will find me wanting. He also may say that what interests
him has not received sufficient space, but there is no denying that the book
is big enough already. The notes give him chapter and verse for every
fact mentioned and indications as to where further information may be found
on any particular point: I believe that even Russians may find these con-
venient. For readers requiring less detail, I have endeavoured to make such
a representative selection of material as to supply a general account of each
subject treated and thus to make the book intelligible without the necessity of
Preface

looking up any references. Accordingly I have shewn enough coins to give an idea of the whole series and have even taken up space with an Appendix of Inscriptions, though Latyshev's *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* is fairly accessible.

With regard to illustrations, I have deliberately sacrificed quality to quantity: I could not afford to reproduce photographically the hundreds of objects of which I have made rough and ready tracings for Chapters VIII—XII; the source of each being given, those who want finer detail will know where to find it. Illustrations of objects from a tomb will be found where the tomb is described.

Critics may point out books and articles that I have overlooked, and such indications will always be welcome. Omissions are inevitable in view of the wide survey necessary. I fear I have not extracted all I might have done from Serbian, Bulgarian, Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian authorities, but these lie somewhat on one side; even in Russian I have found it impossible to hope for completeness, while in the archaeological literature of Western Europe I must have missed endless articles which would have enriched my work; but had I waited to read them all, the book would never have been published.

I am very anxious to direct the attention of the reader to the table for transliterating Russian on p. xxi, in order that he may have all possible help in grasping the many unfamiliar names he will meet with in the text, and also to the Preliminary Bibliography and List of Abbreviations (pp. xxiv—xxxv) which explain such references in the notes as may not be clear at first sight.

A book like this is not written without incurring many obligations which can only be repaid by sincere thanks and a readiness to render service if opportunity arise.

Most of all I am indebted to the Imperial Archaeological Commission at St Petersburg: during my stay there, I was given a place of my own in its library and was presented with a complete set of its more recent publications, and these have been sent me regularly year by year ever since; full leave was granted me to reproduce any of its illustrations and over 130 blocks were sent to England for my use. Its individual Members have done all that could be done for me, especially the President, Count A. A. Bobrinskoy, who gave me his magnificent volumes on *Smela* and his History of *Chersonese*; the Vice-President, Academician V. V. Latyshev, who by a long series of letters and articles has kept me informed of epigraphic progress; the Senior Member, Professor N. I. Veselovskij, Mr A. A. Spisyn and Mr B. V. Pharmacovskij who by sending me his articles has kept me up to date in his own special studies.
Preface

At the Imperial Hermitage, I have pleasant recollections of the courtesy of the late Dr G. von Kieseritzky; Mr E. M. Pridik and Mr O. F. Retowski have rendered me valuable help and so has Mr J. I. Smirnov, whose most generous offer to read my proofs unfortunately came too late. Count I. I. Tolstoi and Academician N. P. Kondakov graciously agreed to my reproducing illustrations from KTR, and from the latter I have received kindnesses more than I can recount. I should also like to mention the names of Professor M. I. Rostovtsev and especially of the late Baron Victor R. Rosen, without whose kindness my stay in Petersburg would have been far less profitable.

In the Historical Museum at Moscow, Mr A. V. Oréshnikov made me very much at home, and ever since by most valuable letters, articles and casts of coins has been my chief help in numismatics; Mr V. A. Gorodtsov has supplied me with unpublished material for Chapters vii and viii. Professor Vs. Th. Miller, Director of the Lazarev Institute, has earned my gratitude both personally and by his books.

At Kazan, the late Professor I. N. Smirnov first made me acquainted with Volga-Kama antiquities.

From Kiev, Mr N. Th. Bélashevskij of the Town Museum and especially Mr V. V. Chvojka have sent me books, letters and photographs of which I have made full use, and Professor J. A. Kulakovskij has been constant in help and encouragement.

At Odessa, the Imperial Historical and Antiquarian Society did me the honour to elect me a member: its Director, Dr E. R. von Stern, now Professor at Halle, put its coin collection at my disposal and its Secretary, Professor A. A. Pavlovskij, has supplied me with its Transactions. These two scholars have besides rendered me important private services.

At Nicolaev, Mr A. Vogell entertained me and showed me his beautiful collection, now, alas, dispersed. At Kherson, Mr V. I. Goszkiewicz has kept me abreast of the progress of archaeology in his district.

At Chersonese, the late Director of the Excavations, Mr K. K. Kosciuszko-Walujyniec, showed me round the site and sent me photographs and reports from time to time. I am also under very definite obligations to his successor, Dr R. Ch. Läper, and his draughtsman Mr M. I. Skubetov. From General A. L. Bertiér-de-La-Garde at Jalta, I have received books, articles, letters and other help on many points archaeological and numismatic: my constant references to his work are a measure of what I owe him. Mr K. E. Duhmberg, Director at Kerch, assisted me while I was there; and his successor, Mr V. V. Škorpil, has answered questions and sent me valuable articles, while Dr I. A. Terlecki gave me my first real introduction to Bosporan coins.
Outside Russia, I have found similar assistance: from Mr A. M. Tallgren at Helsingfors, from Professor A. von Lecoq and the authorities of the Antiquarium at Berlin, from Professor P. Bienkowski at Cracow, Dr Vasić at Belgrad, and Professor M. Rosenberg at Karlsruhe. In Paris, my special gratitude is due to Professor Paul Boyer, Director of the School of Living Oriental Languages, my first guide in Russian studies, also to Mr E. Babelon at the Cabinet des Médailles, and to Mr S. Reinach, who helped me at the St Germain Museum, joined in allowing me to copy figures from KTR, and encouraged me in other ways.

In the British Museum, Mr O. M. Dalton of the Medieval Department, who has traversed much of the same ground in his Treasure of the Oxus, has been to me a constant moral support and has besides helped me in many ways; in the Coin Department, I have always been sure of assistance from the late Mr Warwick Wroth, from Mr G. F. Hill and from Mr H. Mattingly; I have been also specially beholden to Sir Cecil Smith and Mr F. H. Marshall, both formerly of the Greek and Roman Department. To Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie I am indebted for one of my most valuable illustrations. At Oxford, I have received help and encouragement from Sir A. J. Evans, Sir M. A. Stein and Professor J. L. Myres.

In Cambridge, my thanks are first due to the Managers of the Craven Fund, who enabled me to make my original archaeological visit to Russia, and to my College, which allowed my work upon this book to qualify me for holding my Fellowship. I cannot say how much I owe to my masters, the late Mr R. A. Neil who encouraged me at the beginning—I had hoped to talk over many a point with him—and Professor Ridgeway, who has ever been urging me forward. My thanks are also due to the Masters of St Catharine's and Emmanuel Colleges, to Sir Charles Waldstein, Professor J. B. Bury, Professor H. A. Giles, Professor A. A. Bevan, Professor E. J. Rapson, Miss Jane E. Harrison, Mr A. B. Cook, Mr S. A. Cook, Professor C. H. Hawes, now of Dartmouth College, U.S.A., and other scholars to whom I have had occasion to turn for information.

Much of the photographic work was done by the late Mr H. A. Chapman of the Fitzwilliam Museum, the staff of which has aided me in the matter of coins. The trouble that I have given to the staff of the University Library has amounted to something that deserves special recognition from me.

My very deepest gratitude is due to Mr A. J. B. Wace, who has read the proofs right through, successive batches coming to him at the most widely different places, and to Mr F. W. Green, who has made assurance more sure for the second half of the book by eliminating errors which had crept in after Mr Wace's reading.

If I have omitted to acknowledge either here or in the text any
obligations incurred within these thirteen years, may the lapse of time be some excuse for me.

The Syndics of the University Press I can but thank for undertaking a book by nature unremitting and ask their pardon for having expanded it beyond reasonable convenience and delayed it almost beyond endurance: from the staff, especially from Mr Norman Mason, whom I have troubled with an endless series of petty details, I have received invaluable help given with unfailing patience, while the press-readers have saved me from many slips.

The work is dedicated to my Father, who has enabled me to devote myself to it, has very largely supplemented the liberal allowance for illustrations made by the Syndics, and has contributed to the expenses incidental to making the scale of the book less inadequate to its subject.

E. H. M.

24 April, 1913.
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In view of my special obligations to the Imp. Archaeological Commission which gave me full leave to copy everything and actually entrusted me with 136 blocks I have marked these (AC.); the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries allowed me to have electrotype copies of those marked (BM.) and (SA.) respectively. The numerals figures marked (K.) are copied by the gracious permission of Messees Kondakov, Tolstoi and Reinach from their Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale. Other such obligations to modern works I have acknowledged in their places.

All illustrations of objects from one find are grouped where that find is described, although any particular object may be treated of in some other part of the book to which reference is, as far as possible, given.

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TRANSLITERATIONS.

Greek.

Greek names and words appear in the traditional Latin transliteration much as is recommended to contributors to JHS, i.e. names that the Romans themselves did not fully Latinize, e.g. Delos, and certain words which are more familiar in the Greek form, e.g. Nikè, Bohus, are treated inconsistently. Greek words in the index mostly appear where they would if transliterated into Latin, but if actually next each other are put in the Greek order.

Russians transcribe Greek by tradition as if it were modern Greek (no â, ù, ů, ù è etc.), a reform party represents the Erasmian view but has not attained to a consistent system; it is hampered by having no ʌ for which t L ʌ g is used.

Latin is pronounced after the German fashion and transliterated accordingly.

Russian.

The use of diacritical marks has been avoided for typographical reasons, and they only appear in Polish, Bohemian or Serbo-Croatian names of which they are an integral part. This has involved the frequent use of two letters in English for one in Russian which is apt to make the unfamiliar words very long and hard to grasp. To avoid this has seemed more important than to attempt to give the pronunciation exactly and I have aimed at using as few letters as are consistent with a fair rendering. The vowels are of course to be pronounced as in Italian except e and y (see below); the English mode of expressing consonants fits Russian better than does the German or French, but I have had to depart from it by using j for consonantal y as y is wanted for a special vowel. I have not ventured to use c for ts (nor of course ch for kh, except in a few Greek words) as is done in scientific transliteration of Slavonic. To keep the words short I have represented Russian e and h by e and d instead of je and jh, the j being nearly always present before an e sound in Russian - so when a or to (ordinarily ja or jah) follow an i I have omitted the j. The j looks unfamiliar and I have sometimes yielded to temptation and substituted ñ in diphthongs of, oj, e.g. Tolsot.

When names of Russians are really French, German or Polish, I have restored to them their own spelling; when Greek or Latin enter into the composition of Russian words or names I have as far as possible written them as I write Greek or Latin (e.g. Pharmacovskij but Funduklej) so as to bring out their derivation, the terminations being transcribed normally. This has led me into many inconsistencies (e.g. two values of ch), but anything which makes Russian names less unfamiliar and so easier to distinguish is valuable, Westerners being inclined to confuse them. It has also enabled me to make a difference between Cherson the Byzantine form of Chersonese and Kherson the modern Russian town at the mouth of the Dniéper.

The accent is not written in Russian, so I have not made a practice of indicating it; but I have occasionally (especially in the index) put it as a guide to pronunciation: unaccented vowels are much less clear in quality, e.g. ɔ is indistinguishable from a; when, as often, ɛ has the tonic accent I have not put an extra mark; ɛ (= je) only arises under the accent.
### Transliterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin letters</th>
<th>Russian letters</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a as in father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai, aj</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>m in inside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b as in boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ч (X)</td>
<td>Not used alone except to represent $\epsilon$ or $\epsilon$ in Greek or Latin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ч</td>
<td>ч as church (but when representing $\chi$ it is to be pronounced $\check{kh}$).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>д</td>
<td>d as in debt, or rather Fr. dette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>е</td>
<td>At the beginning of all but a few modern loan-words as ye in yet or yu in Yale: after a consonant the $j$ ($y$) is less distinct but always present except after $sh$, $ch$, $sh$ and $ts$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>е</td>
<td>$e$ as in equator: confined to obvious modern loan-words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>е</td>
<td>Accented $e$ in certain cases assumes the sound of jo, o, and so I have sometimes written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>е</td>
<td>A special letter now identical in sound with e but never turning to e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej</td>
<td>е</td>
<td>cy in grey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ф</td>
<td>Only in foreign words: if the origin is Greek I use ph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>г</td>
<td>Hard as in get.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>г</td>
<td>$x$ sounded as a spirant, at the end of words (e.g. Bugh) as sh in Loch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Not in Russian. Latin $&amp;c.$ $h$ is represented by $r$ or sometimes $x$. $\epsilon$ in $\epsilon$ is sometimes rendered by $r$, more often left out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>и, I</td>
<td>i as in machine. (Sometimes = $\epsilon$ in diphthongs, e.g. Amateur, Tolstoi.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i (ia, ic, ie, in)</td>
<td>б (и, и, е, ио)</td>
<td>$i+a$ is almost identical with $i+a$ and I have made no distinction, so with other vowels except $uh = ji$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ij</td>
<td>и</td>
<td>ce in free but after $k$ as $y$ in whisky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j (jh)</td>
<td>й, й (йй)</td>
<td>$y$ at the end of diphthongs as in $ay$, grey, boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja, ju</td>
<td>а, у</td>
<td>$y$ before $i$ after a consonant, as in Goodyear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e, е, е)</td>
<td>е, е, е</td>
<td>$r$ before $a$, $u$, as in yarn, yule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>к</td>
<td>I do not write the $j$ in these cases but it is to be pronounced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>х</td>
<td>$k$ except in Greek or Latin words, in which where possible I write $c$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>л</td>
<td>German $ch$ in adj: but in Greek words I use $ch$ for $\chi$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>л</td>
<td>I &quot;hard&quot; between $l$ and $w$ as in people, &quot;soft&quot; between $l$ and $y$ as in Fr. ville.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>м</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>н</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>о</td>
<td>o accented open as $\omega$ in broad: unaccented as $\check{a}$ in ballon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>п</td>
<td>p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ф</td>
<td>I have written $ph$ in words of Greek origin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>к</td>
<td>Not in Russian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>р</td>
<td>r, strongly trilled: when soft between $r$ and $y$ but not like ry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>с</td>
<td>$s$ as in sign, saw, never as in cheese (I have left it in words like Mustfj, numismatica, written with $z$ in Russian).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>ш</td>
<td>$sh$ in shut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shch</td>
<td>шч</td>
<td>shch in Ashkharh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>т</td>
<td>t.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Russian, Chinese, etc.

---|---|---
\(\text{th}\) | \(\text{o}\) | \(\text{f}^;\) I have written \(\text{th}\) as \(\text{o}\) only occurs in words borrowed from the Greek, but the pronunciation in Russian is \(\text{f}^;\)
\(\text{ts}\) | \(\text{n}\) | \(\text{ts}^;\) as in \(\text{ts}^;\); it often represents a Latin \(\text{e}\) through German influence.
\(\text{u}\) | \(\text{y}\) | \(\text{u}\) in rule.
\(\text{y}\) | \(\text{u}\) | \(\text{v}\), at the end of words pronounced as \(\text{f}^;\), hence the common spelling \(\text{off}\).
\(\text{w}\) | \(\text{i}\) | Our \(\text{w}\) does not occur in Russian but Germans use the letter to render \(\text{n}\).
\(\text{x}\) | \(\text{c}\) | \(\text{c}\), and also \(\text{y}\), have been dropped from the Russian alphabet.
\(\text{y}\) | \(\text{u}\) | A peculiar vowel between \(\text{i}\) and \(\text{u}\) not unlike its value in \(\text{rhythm}\).
\(\text{z}\) | \(\text{u}\) | Representing Greek \(\text{v}\) as in \(\text{Smyeropol}\).
\(\text{zh}\) | \(\text{x}\) | English \(\text{z}\). But Germans transliterating Russian use it for \(\text{u}\) = \(\text{ts}\).
\(\text{c}^;\) | \(\text{t}\) | French \(\text{c}\), English \(\text{c}\) in \(\text{serve}\).
\(\text{c}^;\) | \(\text{t}\) | Keeps preceding consonant "hard"; I have only used it in the middle of words.
\(\text{c}^;\) | \(\text{t}\) | Makes preceding consonant "soft"; when a vowel follows I write \(\text{c}\).

Consonants before \(\text{c}, \text{c}, \text{z}, \text{t}\), \(\text{c}^;\) are mostly pronounced hard, i.e. more or less as in English; before \(\text{i}, \text{v}, \text{y}\) and \(\text{c}^;\) soft, that is with a \(\text{f}\) sound, but this must not be overdone.

Russians writing their own names in Latin letters are generally quite inconsistent, mostly using a French or German system, often a mixture of the two or alternately one and the other; the only thing is to disregard their individual usage and reduce all names to one system.

Chinese, etc.

The forms in which Chinese names appear have been revised by Professor Giles, to whom my best thanks are due, in accordance with the Wade system. The transliteration does not attempt to reproduce lost final consonants but neither does it render some of the Pekinese innovations (e.g. Hsiung-nu, T'ou-chiu for Hsiuk-nu, T'ou-kie); also \(\text{zh}\) is put for Wade's (French) \(\text{j}\). A convenient table of transliterations from Chinese, including that used by Russians, is in TRAS Oriental Sect. xviii. i. p. 974.

Other Oriental names have been rendered rather haphazard, mostly as found in the books from which I took them.

**Russian Weights.**

1 душа = 378 г. = 0.344 grm.
96 душа = 1 золотика = 64.8 gr. = 0.72 grm.
8 золотика = 1 кг = 194.4 gr. = 1.92 grm.
22 кг = 1 фунт = 9 lb. = 409 grm.
40 фунт = 1 пуд = 36.74 lb. = 16.62 кг.
(3 пуд = 1 цwt.)

**Russian Measures.**

1 вершок = 0.75 inch = 1.80 cm.
16 вершок = 1 аршин = 58 inches = 147 cm.
4 аршина = 1 сажень = 7 feet = 2.14 m.
300 сажень = 1 верст = 1.565 yds. = 1,567 km.
(3 версты = 1 mile = 12 версты = 16 km., cf. Scale on Map 10.)

I have avoided using these, but many of the books to which I refer do so, others use our feet and inches or of late years the Metric system.
PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RUSSIAN PUBLICATIONS.

In view of the mutual independence of various parts of the book sectional bibliographies have been appended to each of Chapters II—IV, XIII—XIX, although this has meant a certain amount of repetition: the notes throughout give much bibliographical information but they contain a certain number of abbreviations, some of these it has been thought better to expand in § C below even though these are fairly familiar to archaeological readers, but it is only a list of abbreviations, not a bibliography of periodical literature, and does not contain titles cited in a form about which there can be no mistake.

Titles of works in Russian appear in the notes in English Translations (not always, I fear, quite consistent), the Russian character has been avoided as generally unintelligible, and even transliterations are difficult for those unfamiliar with the language to grasp. The title of every Russian serial (A) and independent work (B) to which reference has been made, is here given both in the original Russian language and character and in a Latin transliteration. Articles published in serials of which the Russian titles are given, can be readily identified by their English titles, and it has not been thought necessary to give the Russian. As the place of publication of every work or else that of the serial in which it is published has been given in every case, a reader may be expected to infer that a work published in Russia is written in Russian in spite of its being cited by an English title, and if he wishes to know the exact form of the Russian title he will find it in A or B. Certain Russian works, mostly official publications, have recognised French titles and are cited by these mostly in an abbreviated form, v. § C. The titles of the magazines Propylaea (Приозерной) and Hermes (Гермес), not to be confused with the German Hermes, Berlin, 1866—) have been distinguished by the warning (Russian). Lityshev's Horae is a collection of articles in Russian, his Syntaxis of Cossackian has a Russian translation and notes and so has his Christian Inscriptions from S. Russia, which by an oversight I have cited as "Inner Chr." The titles of works in French, German, etc. are of course left unaltered; to those in Slavonic languages which use Latin letters a translation has been added. The citation of Russian authorities will enable anyone who can command the help of an interpreter to look up any particular point with as little difficulty as possible.

By far the greater part of work on the antiquities of S. Russia appears in the publications of some institution or society, nearly always a serial, and these may conveniently form one class (A) and the independent books another (B). I have not made any effort to include books older than 1860 and quite superseded, nor have I aimed at any completeness in this practical guide to a wide literature. I have inserted one or two books which have appeared since the printing of the section for which they would have been useful. A helpful book of reference is

Приймов, Н. (Рождественский, П.). Систематический указатель книг в Статьи по Греческой Филологии напечатанных в России с XVII столетия по 1892 год на русском и иностранном языках: со прибавлением за 1893, 1894 и 1895 годы. СПб. 1898. (Systematic Index of Books and Articles in Greek Philology printed in Russia from the Xvith century to 1892 in Russian and other languages, with a Supplement for 1893, 1894 and 1895. St. P. 1898.)

See also JourP. II, pp. 339—344, and the half-yearly Supplement to BCD. (v. infra, p. xxvi).
A. Official Publications and Serials issued in Russia.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences (Императорская Академия Наук, Imperatorskaia Akademia Nauk), St. P., publishes the Собрание (Zapiski, Memoires) of the Historico-Philological Class, also a Bulletin from which were collected articles in Милосердие Греков-Русских, 1855— (also Miloserdie Asiatickikh), a Сборник (Sbornik, Miscellaneous) and Бюллетень (Bulletin) Отечества русского и славянского языка и словесности, of the Department of Russian Language and Literature, 1909—, and the Букварь Императорского Времени (Vsevopitjajshij Vremennik, Buquyar Xronika), 1894—. Also Prozorov's book above mentioned, but I have not often had occasion to cite its publications.

The Imperial Archaeological Commission (Императорская Археологическая Комиссия, Imperatorskaia Arheologicheskaja Komissija) is the central organ of Russian archaeology. The movement which led to its establishment produced two works which may be classed with its publications:

Antiquités du Bosphore Constantin [ABC.] conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage, large folio, St P., 1854, published in Russian and French facing each other. This rare book was reissued in large 8vo by Y. Reimach in his "Bibliotheque des Monuments Figures," Paris, 1892, with new introduction and descriptions to the plates, which are reduced almost to half size. Except where fine detail or colour are important, I have used this convenient edition instead of the cumbersome original.

Найдение в северодвинском открытии археологических предметов в 1883 году (Naluchenie v severodoynskom otkrytii arxheologicheskikh predmetov v 1883 godu), Extract from a most humble Report on the Archaeological Explorations in 1853, by Uvarov and Leontiev, 4to, St P., 1855.

The Commission is constituted as a part of the Ministry of the Imperial Court, as is also the Hermitage Museum. Its most important publication is:

Comptes Rendus [CR.] (Obevki, Otkazh) de la Commission Impériale Archéologique.

From 1859 to 1881 the text (4to) of this contained a Report (in French) of the excavations conducted in each year, and a Supplement by L. Stephani in German (1859 is in French) dealing with various objects either yielded by recent excavations or preserved in the Hermitage; there were occasional woodcuts (unnumbered) and very few plates except in the text for 1872, which has as a second supplement V. Stasyov's French account of a catacomb illustrated with 18 plates, each part is accompanied by an atlas of six magnificent plates. Each part has a superficial index, and in Reimach's ABC there is a short summary of the contents of this series and a meagre index to the whole.

The Reports for 1882—1888 were all issued at once (sm. folio) with an atlas of the same type, a description of its six plates and an index; this volume appeared in a French and a Russian edition.

CR. from 1889 to 1898, henceforward in Russian (sm. folio without an atlas but with many cuts in the text), contained the Reports year by year, an appendix with fuller reports of particular excavations but no index; indices to the years, 1883—1898 form a separate volume. From 1899 the fuller reports have been transferred to BCA. and each volume has been supplied with an index. CR. comes out four or five years after date.

1 To be distinguished from the Imp. Archaeographic Commission, which publishes documents dealing with Russian history, e.g., versions of Psk. Nestor's Chronicle, and in its Chronika (Lietopis) articles upon such subjects.
The Jmp. Archaeological Commission has also issued:

Antiquités de la Scythe d'Hérodote [ASH.], two Parts, 1866, 1873, 4th; text (in French) and large atlas, forming the first two numbers of

Maropatia no Apeaorotiu Proeia [Mat.], (Materials for Archæologia Russica, Materials for the Archaeology of Russia), Nos. III. — (ASH. being reckoned as Nos. I. and II.), 1888—

(small folio), contain monographs with excellent plates, dealing with the following particular limits or classes of antiquities:


South-West Russia: XI. Antonovitch, Excavations in the country of the Dervjan (all dates, Sc. to Slav).

North-West Russia: IV. Avenarius, Drobitsch Cemetery (Gouv. Grodno); XIV. Spitsyn and Romanov, Ljutsin Cemetery (Gouv. Vitebsk); XXI. Sizov, Gnězdovo near Smolensk (Liv.) and Slav graves X—XI. cent. A.D.

Novgorod Frescoes: XXI. Examination of Russlov's scheme for restoring Frescoes in S. Sophia; XXX. Pokryshkin, Report on restoration of S. Saviour's, Nereditza.

North Russia: XVIII. Brandenbourg, Barrows S. of L. Ladoga (Finnish, VIII—XI. A.D.); XX. Spitsyn and Ivanovskii, Barrows of St. P. Gouv.; XXII. Glazov, Barrows at Golov (Slav or Finnish, XI—XV. A.D.).

East Russia: X. Cemeteries at Lidza and Tomnikovo (Tambow Gouv.); XXV. Spitsyn, Antt. of the Kama and Oka (Finnish, X—XI. A.D.); XXVI. Spitsyn, Antt. of the Chief folk on the Kama (Finnish, I—XIV. A.D. v. p. 257 n. 3); XXII. Chwohlin, Pokrovskii and Smirnov, Syrian Dish from Pern (VI—VII. A.D.).


Transcaspia: XVI. Zhukovskii, Ruins of Ancient Merv.

Herat: XXXII. Nakai, V. V., Vespakovskii, Cauldron dated A.H. 559.

Известия Имп. Арх. Комм. [BCA.] (Izvestia Imp. Arch. Comm. = Bulletin—Mitteilungen—de la Commission Imp. Archéologique), large 8vo, 1901— (45 Pts in Aug. 1912, indices in Nos. XX and XI), contains fuller reports of particular excavations, various articles not important enough for Mat., reports of decisions of the Commission with regard to proposed changes in churches and other ancient buildings (forming a special series called Voprosy restauratsii Questions of Restoration). Two numbers a year are furnished with a Protokolnie (Protokolnie = Supplement), in which are collected reprints of newspaper articles touching Archaeology and a list of Archaeological publications for the half-year.

Besides these the Commission has issued

Альбом рисунков похоронных в Отетах за 1882—1898 годов (Album rysunkow paniuchowych w Otetach za 1882—1898 rok = Album of Illustrations that appeared in CF. 1882—1898), St. P. 1906.

Also Kondakov's Russian Hoards, Smirnov's Argenterie Orientale, Kulakovskii's Past of Taurida, Latyshiev's Horns, Rosovitskiy's Decorative Painting and von Stern's Watercolour Vases, v. § B.
The Imperial Russian Archaeological Society (Императорское Русское Археологическое Общество) of St. P., founded in 1846, has issued several different series of publications (v. Polenov, D. V., Bibliographisches Jahrbuch, H. P. A. O., Bibliographical Survey of the Works of the I.R.A.S., St. P. 1871, and N. L. Veselovskii, History of the I.R.A.S. 1836—1896, St. P. 1900, pp. 97—142). Those touching the subject of this book are:

Memoires de la Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique de St. P., Vols. i.—vil. 1847—1852, French or German articles, sometimes identical with those appearing in

Записки Смитсонарвскаго Археологическо-Нумизматическаго Общества, after Vol. III.

Im. Археологическoй Общ. (Заpиси = Transactions—Sankt-Peterburgskago Archеологическo-Нумизматическoй Общества, afterwards Imp. Археологическoй Об.,) i.—xiv. 1847—1858.

Харлакин И. А. О. (Iзвестия I. A. О. = Bulletin), i.—X. 1837—1884, but little concerned with Prehistoric or Classical Antiquities, then took their place.

Записки (З. П. А. О. = TRAS.) new series, revived by a resolution made in 1882 and coming out in three parallel sets, Oriental (1886—), General (Vols. i.—vi. 1886—1895), Russian and Slavonic (Vols. iii. and iv. 1882—1887, Nos. i. and ii. being in the old series). This last was united with the General, so that its Vols. vii.—xx. 1896—1901 are each in two parts, i. Russo-Slavonic, ii. Classical and West European, but restored and the old numeration resumed with Vols. x. — 1905—, and the Classical, etc., started afresh with Vols. x. 1904—, A Numismatic section began to publish Записки in 1906.

The Society also published Kohlen's Chersorne, Salvatier's Souvenirs de Kersch, Latyshev's ÆPE, Insgr. Christ., and Sc. &c. Caus. v. § B.

It has a small Museum, Catalogue by A. A. Spitsyn, 1908.

The Imperial Moscow Archæological Society (Императорское Московское Археологическое Общество = Imp. Moskovskoe Arch. Ob.) has not produced very much with which we are concerned in древности (Drevnosti = Antiquities), as its Труды (Trudy or Transactions, lit. Labours) are called, Moscow, 1865—

Археологическoй Харлакин и Записки (Arheologicheskia Izvestia i Zapiski = Arch. Bulletin and Notes), 1893—

Материалы по Археологии Восточной Губернии (Materials for the Archaeology of the Eastern Governors), 1893—

Материалы по Археологии Бананы (Mat. for the Arch. of the Caucasus), 1894—

Памятники Християнскoй Херсонеса (Памятники Христианского Херсонеса = Monuments of Christian Chersonese), Pars I., II., III. (1905—1913), however, promise to form a most important series, v. Amalov, Lavor, Shestakov in § B.

It has been chiefly instrumental in organizing the Archaeological Congresses (Одessa, S'ezd), of which the Труды (Trans.) in iv. are most valuable. They were held i. Moscow, 1869; ii. St P., 1872; iii. Kiev, 1875; iv. Kazan, 1878; v. Tiflis, 1881; vi. Odessa, 1884; vii. Jaroslav, 1887; viii. Moscow, 1892; ix. Vilna, 1893; x. Riga, 1896; xi. Kiev, 1899; xii. Kharkoff, 1902; xiii. Ekaterinolav, 1905; xiv. Chernigov, 1907; xv. Novgorod, 1911. Preliminary reports of papers are published in the Izvestia or Bulletin of the Congress.

The Moscow Numismatic Society (Московское Нумизматическое Общество, Moskovskoe Numismaticheskoe Obshchestvo) publishes Труды (Trudy, Transactions), 1897—, and a Нумизматический Сборник (Numismatickii Sbornik = Numismatic Miscellanies), 1908—

Moscow University published Millar's Ossetian Studies and Orleshnikov's Catalogue of its Coins, v. § B.
Preliminary Bibliography, § A

The Imperial Alexander III. Historical Museum of Russia, Moscow (Имп. Исторический Музей Императора Александра III) issues Reports (Оф. Отчеты), 1899—


It has also issued in sm. folio, text in German and Russian:—

Das Museum der Kaiserlich Odessener Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde:—


The Municipality of Kerch is issuing V. I. Gouzovskij's Kerchinskij Попечитель Музея (Kerchinskij Gorodskoj Muzej = Kerch Town Museum), i. (Coins) 1910; ii. (Chronicle 1910—11) 1912.

The Tauric Record Commission (Таурический Ученый Древностей Таврической Ученой Архивной Комиссии) publishes its Harkentia (Invéstia = Bulletin) since 1887, 46 numbers, 8°. The Ministry of Public Instruction in St. P. publishes its Кырпийт, [K.M.H.I. = Journ. Min. Pub. Instr.] monthly since 1834; it contains some articles concerning S. Russia in the body of the magazine and many in a special Classical Section with separate pagination.

Kiev University (the University of S. Vladimir) publishes Harkentia (Invéstia = Bulletin), 1861—, in which Antonovich's Description of its coins appeared.

The Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (Русский Археологический Институт в Константинополе) publishes Harkentia (Invéstia) but they are not concerned with our region.

Private Magazines in Russian

Проприан (Propylakt), ed. P. Leontiev, v. vols. 8°, Moscow, 1851—1856.

Филологическое Обозрение (Philologicheskoe Obzorënie = Philological Review), Moscow, 1891—, now defunct.

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translation was produced next year but only three or four copies of either exist. Fragments
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ŠKORPIL, V. V. and MAKI, J. J. Keramikische Funde im Dorf Kirch in the Mekh-Chesme Barrow, Kirch. 4th.
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C. Abbreviations.

Ordinary abbreviations of classical authors and their works, and titles which have not been
cut down very short, have not been explained.

AP. S. Acta Sanctorum (Bollandii). Antwerp, 1643—

ABC. Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien. v. 3 A. p. xxv.


Arch. Anz. Archäologischer Anzeiger, Suppl. to Jahrh. b. r. deutschen Archäologischen
Institut. Berlin, 1886—

Arch. Com. of S. Russia. v. 3 A. p. xxviii.


ASH. Antiquités de la Syrie d'Hérodote. v. 3 A. p. xxvii.

Ath. Mitt. Mittheilungen des b. deutschen Arch. Instituts. Athens, 1876—


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<th>Abbreviations, B–K</th>
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<tr>
<td>B.de-La-G.</td>
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<td>BG. (coins)</td>
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<td>Bull. of XII. Arch. Congress. v. § A, p. xxvii, s.v. Imp. Moscow Arch. Soc.</td>
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<td>Bull. of Russian Inst. in C.-Pl. v. § A, p. xxvii.</td>
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<td>Bull. Taur. Rec. C.</td>
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<td>Cat. Moscow Univ. Coins. v. § B, p. xxxii, s.v. Oréshnikov.</td>
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<td>Cat. Urarum.</td>
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<td>Cher.</td>
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<td>Coll. Khanenko.</td>
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Abbreviations, K–Z


Lat. V. V. Latyshev.

L.-D. Lappo-Danilevskij. v. § B, p. xxxi.

M. (coins) Minna.

M. Moscow.


Mat. for Num. Oréshnikov, Materials for the Numismatics of the Black Sea Coast. Moscow, 1892. v. § B, p. xxxii.


Mon. Ind. Monumenti Inediti dell' Instituto Archeologico. Paris, Rome, 1857—.


Mon. Coin Cat. v. § B, p. xxxi, s.v. Oréshnikov.


Mull. Pliny, Naturalis Historia.


O. (coins) Odessa.


Or. (coins) Oréshnikov.


Hornstein. v. § B, p. xxxi, s.v. Latyshev.


Propylaea. v. § A, p. xxviii.

P.-W. Pauly-Wissowa, Encyclopaedia. Stuttgart, 1894—.


K.G. Mommsen, Rechrische Geschichte.


Röm. Mitt. Mitteilungen d. deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Rome, 1886—.


SB. Situationsberichte.

Sc. et Cauc. V. V. Latyshev, Scezis et Caucasia. v. § B, p. xxxi. St P., 1890—1906.


St. Byz. Stephanus Byzantius.

St. P. St Petersburg.

Syll. Sylloges, e.g. Dittenberger.


U. (coins) Uvarov Coll. v. § B, p. xxxi, s.v. Oréshnikov.

ZMDG. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig, 1845—.
MUSEUMS

Objects (apart from coins for which see p. 661) from S. Russia are well represented in the following Museums:

The Hermitage at St P. receives the best things from the excavations of the Archaeological Commission and largely from chance finds. Far the greater part of objects mentioned below are, unless it is otherwise indicated, in the Hermitage. Objects from South Russia are also represented in the Alexander III Museum.

The Historical Museum at Moscow has much Palaeolithic and Neolithic material and some Scythic, from the Greek Colonies the Burchakov Collection and many new acquisitions. Attached to the University is the Alexander III Museum of Fine Art.

The Town Museum at Kiev has received the results of Chvojka's excavations and has incorporated with it the Khanenko Collection and that of Count Babrinskoj as published in their works, in fact nearly everything from the Kiev district except the Ryzhanovka find which went to the Academy of Science, Cracow.

The Museum of the Odessa Society is the best place for studying Petreny, Tyras, Theodosia, Berezovka and perhaps Olbia as it has most of the material from those sites except Pharmakovskij's finds at Olbia: it has also a good deal from Bosphorus. Things published in Trans. Od. Soc. are mostly in this Museum.

The Town Museum at Kherson is concentrating the finds from the lower Danube.

Chersones has two museums, one in the Monastery containing the finds made before the Archaeological Commission began digging, the other those made by it as far as they are not sent to the Hermitage.

Theodosia has a small Museum supported by the Odessa Society.

At Kerek there is the Museum of the Archaeological Commission and its collection of Inscriptions in the Royal Barrow; the Odessa Society has inscriptions in the Melek Chemar Barrow. But the best things go to the Hermitage.

At Kazan the Town Museum has objects illustrating the Volga-Kama culture.

At Minusinsk is the best collection of Siberian bronzes, etc.

The provincial Universities and the St. P. and Moscow Archaeological Societies have small museums.

Private Collections of importance are Ct Uvarov's at Torechne (everything), Ct Stroganov's at St. P. (Permian Plateau), Teploukhov's (Permian Culture) near Perm, Surucan's (Greek) at Kishinev, Terlecki's (Bosphorus), Novikov's (Eltgen) at Kerch, Mavrogordato's, Kononov's (Olbia) at Odessa. Vogell's at Nicolaev (Olbia) was mostly dispersed at Cassel in 1908 (v. p. 339 n. 6), the things chiefly went to German museums. The first museum in S. Russia was established at Nicolaev by the Scottish Admiral Greig.

On the whole things from our area have not found their way outside Russia to any great extent, they are best represented at Berlin, there is little at the Louvre but much from the Caucasus at St. Germain.

The British Museum has MacPherson's and Westmacott's finds made during the Crimean War and a few purchases: the Ashmolean, Oxford, the things published by E. A. Gardner (IIIS. 1884, Pl. xvi, xlvii) and others since given by Mr. Wardrop: the Fiawilliam, Cambridge, three Inscriptions (v. App. 67, 68, 69) and one or two stelae brought back by Dr E. D. Clarke.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

p. 5; l. 27, nn. 6, 7. otters and watersnakes, v. p. 165 n. 5.

p. 7; l. 32, gold from Uraib and Altai, v. p. 143.


p. 41 n. 1. A. M. Tallgren, Zt. d. Finn. Altertumsg., xxvi, thinks this stopped axe older than those from Hallstatt and all such, even in Britain and the Ural, Mediterranean in origin.
That Greeks had met people with Mongolian blood is shown by the caricatures on Fig. 9. The cyrbaiae show these figures to be Scythians, probably Sacae from the Persian forces quartered in Egypt. No. 1 has the sloping eyes, No. 2 the high cheek-bones, No. 3 the round face of the Mongol, but their beards show them no longer as Hippocrates describes them (v. p. 46) but intermixed with other blood yet not more than the Hsiung-nu on p. 96 f. 27. Nos. 4 and 5 show the almost Iranian type of the Kul-Obie Vase p. 26 f. 94. For a brilliant account of Nomad life in general v. J. Petrie, Camb. Hist. Hist. 1.

Fig. 9. Caricatures of Scythians from Memphis, 6th century B.C. W. M. Flinders Petrie, Memphis, 1 (1909), p. 17, Pl. XL 24, 44 (3 and 4); 11 (1910), p. 17, Pl. XXI 78, 79, 80 (4, 2, 3); cf. Meryam and Memphis, III (1910), p. 46, Pl. XI 136—138. My very best thanks are due to Professor Flinders Petrie who sent me these photographs before his Vol. II was published.
Addenda and Corrigenda

icht. (1904), "Die älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotatern und Germanen und ihre
sozialgeschichtliche Bedeutung," pp. 187-260; 465-533; most of his conclusions as to
Sc. (pp. 187-240) are much the same as mine, i.e. that the true Sc. were Turkotatars
imposed upon a more or less Aryan population represented by the Georgi, etc. and themselves
strongly mixed with Aryans not only thereby but in the men's domination in Media,
which he fully accepts, when they adopted Iranian speech from Median wives. These
women as not nomads could not ride but had to be carried and also had different bating
customs from the men. A careful examination of the faces underlying the straight hair in
the Greek portraits (i.e., pp. 216-224) shows them not Aryan but just like e.g. Kara-kirgyz.
Hippocrates may have seen purer Turkotatars but the Greeks even in Upper Asia mostly
came in contact only with a border of half-castes: Vegetarian Sc. in Ephorus ap. Strab. vii.
im. 9 are Aryans raidied by Sc., cf. Tadzhiks.

p. 56 n. 4. Other casts, v. infra, p. 376 n. 3 and Addenda thereto.

p. 61 l. 14. Rostovtsev (v. Add. to p. 218) regards the "woman" on all these plaques as a
goddess.

p. 66 n. 7. For stone read bezel, v. p. 427 l. 348 top.


p. 70 n. 12. For J. A. Anuchin read D. N. Anuchin.

p. 74 l. 15. For Beuchastnaja read Beuchastnaja.


p. 86 n. 5. col. 2. For Zamaoczysko read Zamaoczysko, dist. of Shadrinsk.

p. 87. Mr. A. R. Cook pointed out to me this sentence from the Eikon. Mag. s.v. πᾶρος
κατά Σαξελ. ιχνάρια ταυτόν προσμικά των θεών, πάντων συν οι καθόλου, but there is
probably a confusion between the Hryopians who had gods called πᾶρος, Class. Rev. 1904, xvii.
pp. 83, 84, perhaps helped by the word Paphus. For Argimpa see v. Add. to p. 218.

p. 100 l. 29. v. Addenda to p. 44.

p. 111 l. 20. For Le Coq read Lecoq.

p. 123 l. 20. For these Getan (7) kings v. p. 487.


p. 137 n. 4. For G. A. Skadovskij read G. L. Skadovskij.

p. 144 n. 4. col. 2. For civilization of Servia and Jeas Sepia Krajzovska Akademijje
(Voiz of the Serbian Royal Acad.) xxxvi., "Gradac," where he finds this culture surviving
in La-Tene times.

p. 147 l. 10. Add and add, cf. Wace and Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, pp. 231-234, and 256-259;

p. 147 l. 10. p. 143 n. 7. Veselovskij found on the Ul a model waggon and long-necked female

p. 149 l. 11. For Majkop, Pharmacovskij (Hist. Congr. London, 1923) showed the bulls etc. to belong
to a portable canopy and the caps to exhibit the earliest (c. 1400-1500) East-Anatolian or
Umai style preceding ordinary Hitite. A. M. Tallgren, Zt d. Finn. Alm. Gis. xxi. 1,
"Die Kupfer.- Bronzezeit in Nord-d. Ostrussland," arrives at this date independently.

p. 150 n. 1. For viii. 2 read viii. 1.

p. 155 last line. Anuchin, Veselovskij and Pharmacovskij (Bobrinskiy Misc. p. 61 n. 2) agree
that Zabelin was wrong in thinking Chertomlyk barrow to have been plundered.

p. 155 l. 21. Pharmacovskij (loc. cit.) shows that this pottery points to about the middle of
the 16th cent. B.C., e.g. a kantharos like p. 349 l. 254.

12-25 and vs. Sakharov B.C.A. xlix. pp. 111-131, who refers their ornament to the
16th cent. B.C.; he thinks the bones killed as usual, cf. Lemanovskaja Mogila, Arch. Ant.
1912, pp. 376, 377.


817, Arch. Ant. 1912, p. 378, 379.

p. 192 l. 3. For Pomashki read Romashki.

p. 200 l. 93. The Kul Oba vase has a close analogue in one of silver gilt found near Voronoezh in 1912.

p. 210 n. 5. For Dionysus read Dionysus.
Addenda and Corrigenda

pp. 218, 219. Karagedevashkh. Rostovtsev, DCA. xl. i. “The Idea of Kingship in Scythia and on the Bosporus” (= “Iranian and Ionian,” Hist. Congr. London, 1912). See also on the rhyton p. 123, two horsemen face to face, each above a prostrate foe but one holding a sceptre, the other adoring him, i.e. to judge by Sasanian investiture scenes, a mounted form of Mithras conferring divine right on a king; on p. 129 it is seen at the top the king’s Tevō or tombs, then Mithras with a quadriga and below Apollodorus Argimast-Antilibas-Astarte (cf. pp. 85, 617-619 and Pl. viii. 12, 13) receiving in communion the sacred rhyton and round-bottomed vase, cf. analogous scenes of communion and unveiling, pp. 258, 253 ff. 45, 58. On the Bosporus reanimated by the 3rd and 2nd centuries A.D. this conception of kingship is symbolised by sceptres and crowns, v. p. 434 and f. 425, and on coins like Pl. viii. 10.

p. 232 n. 30. For Parthian read Parthian.

p. 233 n. 4. Kuban Barrows. Add CR. 1906, pp. 91-95; Arch. Anz. 1909, p. 148 (cf. in. p. 382); 2012, p. 157 (UJ); ibid. 1912, pp. 195, 194, ff. 1, 2 (Kusimkoe, Gort Stavropol)."

p. 235 n. 1. For J.K.A.S. Bengal read J.A.S. Bengal.


p. 54 n. 1. H. Appengel-Kivalo, “U d. Finn. Altertumsg., xxv. 3 Die Grunde des Skythensehmischen Ornamentstilens,” derives the eagle from a Ganymed subject by a jug from Navry-S.-Miklas and traces the further degeneration of the lines into a row of men.

p. 266 l. 15. Add Beak-heads are quite Greek, e.g. a girdle-mount from Olbia, Arch. Anz. 1911, p. 223, l. 30; so is a mirror like the Roman one, ib. p. 224, l. 31. Indeed nearly all Sc. motives are finding their source as we learn more of Ionian art with its Minoan survivals.

p. 270 f. 186. This sheath is from Elizavetovka, v. p. 567.


p. 273 n. 3. For f. 333 read f. 307, f. 339.

p. 287 l. 35. Pharmacovskii, “The Gold Mountings of the Bow-cases from the Iljinty and Chertomlyk Barrows,” Bobrinsky Mis. pp. 45-118, sets the whole matter on a fresh footing. The Iljinty grave had the usual wooden chamber, which collapsed when plundered; the chief object besides the sheath was a set of horse’s gear like p. 185 ff. 78 but ruder in workmanship. He says that the Iljinty cover was made by preparing first the wooden foundation and carving the design upon it, then heating into the carving a plate of base-gold with a pure gold face and finally touching up with a graver, whereas that from Chertomlyk was produced by laying a slightly inferior gold plate over the Iljinty sheath and beating it into its lines: this is shown by the traces of the Iljinty engraving on the strong side of the Chertomlyk cover and the design not always having come out on the latter particularly where it is rather weak in the former. The finishing of the Iljinty cover was less elaborate (much of it pointillé) and pathetic, but the more intelligent. The plate from the butt end of the bow-case was found at Iljinty (that from Chertomlyk is figured ASH, ii. p. 118); each is roundened below and has a middle flanked by acanthus-flourishes above; so the thickness of the bow-case, greatest 4 cm. from the bottom, was 6.5 cm. (26 cm.) as against breadth of 21-25 cm. (8.25-9.3 in.) and length of 43 cm. (17 in.). The middle answers to the division separating the bow (put in string upwards) from the arrows (said to be in bundles point upwards); at Iljinty there were 142 bronze and 12 bone arrows.

The subject of the reliefs is the whole life of Achilles, not merely his time at Scyros, and so does not go back to one great composition e.g. of Polygnotus, but consists in Hellenistic wise of scenes divided by adjacent figures being set back to back: reckoning from left to right we have, above, r. 2, Phoenix teaching Achilles to shoot; 3-8 Achilles (6) seizing arms from Odysseus (5), 4 being the Scyrian queen with Neoptolemus, 7 a nurse and 8 Dendamia: the next scene is cut in two, 9 is Lycomedes (his right arm is clear upon the Iljinty sheath) parting with Achilles (10) while the four women to the left below ought to be looking at them: they are the queen between two daughters and a nurse marked off as a group indoors by dotted curtains; in the following scene we have Agamemnon and Achilles now reconciled by Odysseus and Diomedes; Achilles is putting on a glove before going out to avenge Patroclus; the last figure is Thetis bearing away her son’s ashes.

The animals, especially the tusk griffins, are in the Hellenistic manner while the ornament shows exactly the same elements as the base of a column at Didyma near Miletus (Pontremoli-Haussoulier, Didyma, p. 143); Lesbian cyma, acanthus, twist and palmette all
Addenda and Corrigenda

in a late stage not before the middle of the 12th century a.C. which agrees with the pottery (v. Add. to p. 165). So Pharmacovskij refers the gold work to Miletus in that century and the tombs themselves and with them most of the Scythian tombs to a slightly later time. pp. 293—455. Additions to almost every page of Chapters xi. and xii. might be made from Pharmacovskij, Arch. Anz. 1911, pp. 192—234; 1912, pp. 323—379.

p. 295 l. 18. For p. 266, f. 345 read p. 365.


n. 5. Ilian Pottery. Cf. inf. p. 504 n. 3.


p. 340 n. 6. Substitute Mr. J. D. Beazley refers it to Oltus.


p. 348 l. 20. Von Stern's Watercoloured Vases (v. p. xxiii) will deal fully with the whole class.


p. 351 n. 3. For Reliefkeramite read Reliefkeramik.


p. 370 n. 3. Add in toys see von Stern "From the Children's Life on the N. coast of the Euxine," Bdkirnikh Mis. II. pp. 13—30. Arch. Anz. 1912, pp. 147—148, feeding-bottles, dolls, dolls' sets of furniture, etc., animals, wagons, an excavated tetradron with the alphabets, some things Milesian ware.

p. 379 l. 3. Add a tortoise-shaped bronze lyre-body from Kerch deserves notice, Arch. Anz. 1911, p. 203. 11, 12.


p. 390 n. 7. These crowns support Rostovcjev's theory of Bosporan kingship, v. Add. to p. 218.


p. 415 below cols. Add Burial at Olbia came in about 350 B.C. before which buried bones were put into amphorae in special pits among the houses, v. Arch. Anz. 1911, p. 353. an excellent early grave ensemble, ib. p. 354, f. 41 sqq.

p. 438 n. 1. Add a similar house just to the S. of this is described in Arch. Anz. 1912, p. 363 sqq.


p. 476 l. 26. v. Arch. Anz. 1911, p. 366, dedicates τὸς τημίας (i.e. three celebs) (prop.) νεκρή τοις on behalf of Alexander Severus, the Roman Senate and the prosperity of Olbia θεοις ἐπίθεσεν Surapin, Isis, Asclepius, Hygieia, Poseidon (and Amphitrite).

p. 477 l. 10. For φιλολογία read φιλολογία.


p. 485 l. 16. Bertier-de-Lava-Garde castra doubts upon this Pallas type in silver.

p. 497 l. 7. The foundation of Chersonese is put back to the 3th century B.C. by Ionian sherds and archaic terra cotta found on its "New" site, Arch. Anz. 1912, p. 349.


p. 524 l. 28. After Dia... add and Thasus, B.C.A. xlv. p. 40, No. 2. c. 100 A.D.

p. 541 l. 23. B.C.A. xiv. p. 40, No. 2 shows that there were only three στυλοθήκες and that 66 eis την θυσίαν regularly acted with them and must be restored in B.C.A.

p. 542 l. 27. III. p. 21, No. 11. xlv. p. 162, No. 9.

p. 544 n. 11. After iv. 33 add B.C.A. xlv. p. 65, No. 12, a dedication to the Chersonese Maiden.

p. 598 n. 2. B. For βίου read βιων.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.

The scope of the present work includes the History of the Greek Settlements on the north coast of the Euxine from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Kuban, and the Ethnology of the country at the back of that coastline from the slopes of the Carpathians to the lower course of the Volga and the foothills of the Caucasus.

This tract extending through twenty degrees of longitude is quite different from any other tract in Europe, wherein the only region at all similar is that of the Hungarian Puszta, which is in a sense its westerly continuation and has always been deeply influenced by the neighbourhood of the greater plain. But this greater plain is itself but a continuation, almost a dependency, of the still wider plains of Northern Asia, and this continuity is the governing condition of its historical development. It is only within the last hundred years or so that Southern Russia has been definitely added to Europe. Before that time Asiatic tribes have been more at home in it than European. In Europe and Asia it is one continuous belt of steppe or prairie. The most striking feature of this broad stretch of country is the absence of mountains; they only come in as forming its border on the west and on the southeast, where the coast range of the Crimea is a continuation of the Caucasus, just as the plain of its northern region is really one with the mainland plain beyond the Isthmus.

But though the whole region may be broadly regarded as a plain, this must not be taken to mean that it is one dead level. Right across from the Carpathians to the coast of the Sea of Azov near the Berda there runs a belt of granite, which crops out wherever it is crossed by one of the great rivers. To the north of the granite belt is a limestone formation. Where these rocks occur the plain attains a considerable elevation, to the west in Podolia it becomes diversified with hills, and again further east about the Donets, where are the chief coal-mines of Russia, there is hilly country that ends in steep cliffs about Taganrog. Even where the rise of the plain is gradual, it attains a height of

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1 Much the best survey of the Physical Geography of Scythia is to be found in K. Neumann's _Hellenen im Skythenlande_, pp. 14 to 99. He is inclined to exaggerate the former extent of the woodlands. Cf. also Elise Reclus, _Nouvelle Geographie Universelle_, Vol. v., and J. Büttner, _Die Bestehung der Kusten des Pontos Excius_, Pt. i. Introduction, pp. 5-22.
300 feet above the sea, as in Ekaterinoslav. In general it slopes gently towards the south-west: so that the cliffs which are a few feet high near the Danube are not less than a hundred and fifty at the mouth of the Dnëpr. To the east of the Dnëpr the coast plain is very low. Between the Crimea and the mainland the boundaries of land and water are so ill defined that a change of wind will make the sea encroach, but the steppe reaches the level of the western plain about the forty-seventh parallel, and further north it attains four hundred feet south of the Great Meadow!  

In spite therefore of the general flatness the actual heights reached by some parts of the plain are far too great to allow any talk of serious changes in the course of the rivers during the last two thousand years. These have not been able to do more than deepen their beds and very slowly edge westwards. The outlines of their course have been fixed by the geological formation which has made the remarkable correspondence of the sudden bends from e. s. e. to w. s. w. round which Dnëpr, Donets and Don have to find their way to the sea. The plain and the rivers are the features of the country that specially struck the Greeks, they had nothing of the sort in their own land.

It is the great rivers that show up the heights to which the plain rises. Each has a steep or "hilly" bank to the west and a flat or "meadow" bank to the east, and flows winding along a broad valley, which at the lower end has been cut down to below the level of the sea forming the *liman* so characteristic of Russian rivers. If the river has to cross the granite belt it has there failed to make its course easy for itself and is broken by rapids, most important in the case of the Dnëpr. The lesser streams have made proportionate valleys and into these leads a whole system of ravines, which carry off the melting snow but are dry during most of the year. All these depressions make no difference to the view of the steppe, as they are not noticeable until the traveller comes to the edge of one of them, but they present considerable obstacles to anyone not acquainted with the precise places where they can be crossed conveniently. They provided much too complete a system of drainage and the now diminished rainfall is carried off at once from the surface of the steppe, compare the expression of Hippocrates, ἐξοικεῖον αὐτοῖς. For the inhabitants of the steppe they are of the utmost importance. In them the flocks can find shelter in the winter, and in them the first beginnings of agriculture can be made. There is little doubt that the agricultural tribes of which we read in Herodotus confined their attempts to these valleys, and it was not till the other day that the open steppe was cut up by the plough. Till then it had been merely pasture, but some of it pasture unsurpassed in the world, at any rate during its season.

1. The marshy widening of the valley about Nicopol.

3. An estuary or lagoon cut off from the sea by a strip of sand with or without openings.
From the time of the snow's melting to the middle of summer the growth of the grass in the richer regions seems by all accounts to have been marvellous; but even so the sun would scorch it up and animals had to come near the streams until the autumn rains: and again they had to find shelter in the valleys for the depth of the winter, so that the nomad life was not quite as free as is represented, for these wintering places are quite definitely the property of particular tribes. Throughout great areas of the steppe, especially towards the south and east, the rich pasture gives way to barren lands offering but wormwood and silk grass, or tussock grass that does not even cover the surface of the sand. Worse still in the government of Astrakhan, at the eastern boundary of our area, there is but unrelieved salt sand; here the only land of any value is that along the lower Volga. This is why the trade route of which Herodotus gives particulars goes so far to the north. Yet commentaries daily assign such a district as the only local habitation of more or less important tribes. A great characteristic of the whole region is lack of trees, but in the river valleys, besides the meadows which kept the cattle alive in the winter, there were some woods at any rate. Especially was this the case on the lower Dniepr where much land, since invaded by sand-dunes, was formerly wooded. In the north also the forest belt seems to have come further south down to the edge of the glacial deposit, along the line shaded on the general map, and to have sent outliers into the open plain. The retreat of the woods is due partly to man and partly to the drying up of Eurasia\(^1\) to which it has itself contributed. This drying up of the interior has also had a strange effect even upon the coastline.

The shores of such a country as we have described do not naturally offer facilities for commerce. To begin with the gentle slope of the plains continues in some parts under the sea; hence the shore between the mouths of the Dniepr and the Don, if we leave out of account the southern part of the Crimea, as ever a strong contrast to the rest of the region, is not to be approached by ships. This initial difficulty is increased by the deposits of the great rivers, deposits which are heaped up with the more ease in that there is no tide to carry them away. As soon as the stream meets the dead mass of motionless sea, still more some current of the sea or of another river, it drops its load of silt along gentle curves mathematically determined by the meeting places of the opposing currents. So the Sea of Azov acts as a kind of settling tank for collecting the silt of the Don. The coarsest falls to the bottom at once to add to the growth of the delta, the finer has to pass successively the dead points produced by the opposing currents of the various streams that fall in from each side: hence the spits running out between the river mouths and especially the strange Arabat spit that encloses the Putrid Sea\(^2\) and makes an alternative entrance to the Crimea.

\(^2\) Zarpi Miya, Straba, IV, iv. i.
Hence too the fact that during certain winds vessels have to lie ten miles from the shore off Taganrog, and the complaints of the silt up of the Maeotis expressed by Polybius who regarded the completion of the process as not very distant, and the recent Imperial commission on the subject.

After all this the current that flows out of the Maeotis has left only 4.25 metres on the bar at Kerch.

The same process goes on at the mouth of the Dnepr. There is the bar and delta below Kherson, another bar (6 metres) at Ochakov running across from Kinburn spit (Ἄκρος Ἐκάστης), and a third, the Tendra, Δρόμος Ἀχιλλέως, along the line where it meets a coast current from east to west.

The Dnepr only just keeps open. Here the bar has long been dry land, save for two small openings of which that used by ships has a depth of only five feet.

The small rivers such as the Kujalnik and Tiligul are entirely closed. Yet this process is quite modern. In 1823 the Tiligul was open, now the highroad runs along its bar. Within the bar in every case is an estuary (liman) which used once to be open. This inconvenient phenomenon of shut river mouths is due partly to the unequal flow of rivers which have to carry snow water; more however to their inability to keep a sufficient current in a channel that they had excavated in ages of more abundant rainfall. It is one more evidence of the drying up of the country.

The Greek colonies of Tyras and Olbia were founded on the steep side of a liman where the current came near the coast, the position of Tanais was somewhat similar. All the other ports depended on the entirely exceptional formation of the Crimea: Chersonese had the use of the many harbours about Sevastopol, some of which are steep to. Theodosia had a small harbour and fine roads, and the towns on the Bosporus though troubled with shoals were not yet strangled by accumulating silt. Beyond the Bosporus Bata (Novorossijsk) and Pagae (Gelendzhik) had clean harbours, but the former suffers from a unique disadvantage, the Bora, a wind which blowing from the mountains covers ships with such a coating of ice that they have been known to sink under the weight.

Of modern towns Odessa is comparatively free from silt, but its harbour is entirely artificial. In fact the headland that sheltered the roads is being washed away. But both Nicolaev and Kherson suffer from the shoals and bars encouraged by the drying up of their respective rivers.

This drying process has tended to make the climate of Scythia more extreme in character. Of course most of the ancients regarded only its cold, and regarded it as cold all the year round: just as it requires an effort

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1 Clarke’s Travels, t. p. 428.
2 Aristotele, Meteorologia, i. 249. 340.
3 The Don delta gains 670 metres yearly. The gulf below it 1.6.6 m. less deep than 300 years ago. The sea should last another 56,500 years.
4 E. Reclus, op. cit. p. 849.
5 N. A. Kornelev, The Bora at Novorossijsk.
for most of us to think of Russia and Siberia as very hot in the summer. Strabo even refuses to believe in the heat, arguing that those who found it hot did not know real heat. A curious fact is that the Greeks undoubtedly looked on Scythia as damp and foggy, whereas it suffers from oft-recurring drought. Probably there was more wood and so there was more moisture, and probably also the Greeks connected the north with cold and wet and thought that further to the north there must be more cold and wet. Also there certainly were marshy foggy tracts at the mouths of the big rivers, the points where they had most commerce with Scythia, and the readiness with which people believe the worst of foreign climates accounts for the permanence of this idea.

One or two little points served to confirm this impression. A Greek felt a kind of horror of a country in which the myrtle and bay did not grow, and the attempts to make them grow at Panticapaeum were probably not very skilled, for the vine did not do well, and that succeeds there quite easily nowadays.

So too the fact of the sea freezing struck them as evidence of an intolerable climate. Actually this tends to come about chiefly in places where the fresh water contributed by the rivers has made the sea hardly more than brackish. But this again was just in regions where the Greeks were most likely to see it. Also the uncertainty it introduced into commerce at certain times of the year would bring it home to the Greeks of Hellas, and every Greek had heard of the brazen pot split by the frost and dedicated by Stratius in the temple of Aesculapius at Panticapaeum and the epigram thereon.

The Fauna of the steppe region is not specially striking. It is on the whole poor. The ancients were interested in the accounts of the Tarandus, a beast with a square face and a power of changing colour, apparently the reindeer with its summer and winter coat; that no longer comes so far south. So too the otter and beaver have retreated with the forests though place-names show the former extent of the latter.

The wild white horses about the source of the Hypanis may either have been the western extension of the grey pony of Upper Asia or they may have merely run wild.

Strabo (vii, iv, 8) mentions that in the marshes there were hunted deer and wild boar, and on the plains wild asses and goats. He also mentions the Colus, a kind of buffalo or bison.

On domesticated animals the climate was supposed to have such an effect that asses (in spite of Strabo’s wild asses) and mules succumbed, and horned cattle lost their horns.

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4. VII. iii. 13.
7. Until Byzantium times the Greeks never seem to have gained occupation of the mountains of the Crimea and their warmer southern valleys with Mediterranean vegetation. Besides these were quite an exception on the north coast of the Euxine.
8. Strabo, ii. l. 16.
11. Her. iv. 52.
13. Arist. *op. cit.* viii. 28. This circumstance was explained by the statement that the cold prevented
Very characteristic of the steppe are the various rodents, suslik and batik, relations of the jerboa, but regarded by the ancients as exaggerated mice; hence the story that skins of mice were used for clothing. Such creatures with their curious watchful attitude, along with Indian ants and Babylonish garments, may have their part in the origin of griffin legends.

We may also mention adders and snakes, bees and ephemerida.

More important than the land animals were the fish that abounded in the rivers and formed the main object of export.

The most important species were the pelamys, a kind of tunny, and the åtváka or sturgeons. Of the former Strabo (vii. vi. 2) has an idea that they were born in the Maeotis and made their way round and began to be worth catching when they got as far as Trapezus, and were of full size at Sinope. The difficulty is that I am assured by Mr Zernov, Director of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Sevastopol, to whom I offer my best thanks, that no sort of tunny does this; that a kind of herring does so; but that the scambria, which answers to the general description of the pelamys, and a mackerel now called palamida, do not go into the Sea of Azov at all. The palamida is quite rare in the Black Sea though common in the Mediterranean. Moreover the tendency is for the Mediterranean fauna gradually to conquer the Black Sea, so it is not likely that this particular species was commoner in ancient times. Yet Strabo from his birthplace ought to have known all about it.

The åtváka or sturgeons are first mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 33) at the mouth of the Dniepr. This fishery does not seem very abundant now. The other great locality was in the Maeotis, both along the eastern shore at the mouths of the rivers Rhombites (this is now represented by fisheries at the same points and at Achuev which is just at the mouth of the Anticites) and at the Cimmerian Bosporus, where the Greeks were much struck by the fishing carried on through the ice and believed that fish as big as dolphins were dug out of the solid. As a matter of fact though ice is collected on the shore every year the strait does not freeze over very often; this happens more regularly in the upper part of the Maeotis at the mouth of the Don.

There are three kinds of sturgeon, Accipenser Stellatus (swjüga) with a sharp nose forms the bulk of the catch in the Sea of Azov. A. Huso (Beluga) has whiter flesh and used to be common at Kerch and at the delta of the Dniepr. This seems to be the one that Strabo means when he talks of its being as big as a dolphin. Finally we have A. Sturio (osjttr), our sturgeon, which is more characteristic of the Volga. It has a blunt nose, and so differs from the fish represented on the Greek coins (Pl. v. 18, 20).

The ancients thought that the fish went into the Pontus to escape the larger fish that preyed upon them outside and to spawn, as the
fresher water was more favourable to the young. That is true of the coastline, but the middle of the sea is full of bacteria which produce sulphuretted hydrogen, so that the fishes from the Mediterranean can only make their way round gradually and have not yet elbowed out of existence the archaic but excellent species proper to the Aralo-Caspian-Euxine basin.

As to the Flora of the northern coast of the Euxine, leaving aside the Crimean mountains, we have already spoken of the scarcity of wood, a scarcity which seems to have increased in modern times. What trees do grow are confined to the river valleys and include deciduous species only, as indeed is noticed by Theophrastus who speaks of figs and pomegranates growing if earthed up, also excellent pears and apples, and among wild trees of oaks, limes and ashes; but no firs or pines. There is however a special Pinus Taurica. In the open country the ancients noticed the luxuriance of the grass or when they wished to find fault the stretches of wormwood, to which however they ascribed the good quality of the meat. They speak also of eatable roots and bulbs and of various drugs, also of hemp used both as a fibre and as a narcotic.

A special lack in Scythia was that of good stone. About Odessa and Kerch there is a soft local limestone easy to work but only durable if protected from the weather by a coat of plaster; in the Crimea, especially at Inkerman, there occurs a stone of higher quality: but in general stone is not to be found, and this has been one reason for the absence throughout the whole region of important architectural monuments.

Of other natural productions we need mention but amber, which is occasionally found near Kiev, but does not seem ever to have been systematically worked; salt, given as occurring at the mouth of the Dnepr and indeed spread over a whole section of the steppe (the carting of salt into the interior was a great industry until the railways came, and followed immemorial tracks, the Greeks must have profited by it in their time), and gold which does not occur in Scythia itself, but has been abundant to the west in Transylvania whence the Romans obtained much gold, and to the north-east in the Urals where the mines of the ancient inhabitants (Chudskia képsi) have been worked by the Russians, and further towards the middle of Asia, in the Altai, where also the modern miner has come across traces of former exploitation. In ancient times there were no doubt placer workings that yielded gold more readily than it can be attained now. These regions also contained ancient copper mines: and the turquoise of the east country was not without influence on the development of decorative art in the whole region.

So we may conclude a very hasty survey of the natural conditions which the Greeks met on the north coast of the Euxine and which governed the evolution and history of the native tribes they found there.

1 Hist. Plant. iv. v. 3.
2 Ov. Ephel. ex Ponte. iii. 1-73.
4 Hb. vii. xiii. 3, xii. xiii. 2.
5 Hist. iv. 74.
7 Hist. iv. 53. Dio Chrys. xxxvi.
CHAPTER II.

SEAS AND COASTLINE.

Before we even approach the coast of Scythia and discuss the knowledge of it possessed by the ancients, something must be said of their ideas concerning the Euxine Sea and its subordinate the Palus Maeotis.

Herodotus*, for instance, takes the former to be 11,100 stades in greatest length, measured from the mouth of the Thracian Bosphorus to that of the Phasis, and in greatest breadth 3300 stades reckoned from Themiscyra at the mouth of the Thermodon to Sindica. Moreover he thought that the neck between the Halys and Cilicia was only five days’ journey “for a well-girt man.” That means that he imagined the Euxine as stretching too far to the south at the eastern end; naturally, for this part, protected by the Caucasus, has a much warmer climate than the western. As a matter of fact the broadest part is from the mouth of the Dnêpr to Heraclea in Bithynia, but Herodotus was evidently ignorant of the great bay along the south side of his square Scythia, whereas we may put the Rugged Chersonese and Sindica opposite to it some way up the eastern coast of the same. In the figure he gives for the greatest breadth Herodotus is not very far out, it being (but in the western half) 325 geographical miles or 3250 stades; but between the points he mentions it is only 235 geographical miles or 2350 stades.

His error with regard to the length is more serious. The extreme e. and w. points are Batum and the bay south of Mesembria, but he neglects the westerly bight of Thrace and makes a straight line from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Phasis 11,100 stades, about double the real distance. We may take it that in reckoning 70,000 fathoms for a ship’s journey in a day and 60,000 for a night he was taking the utmost possible, wherein he made no allowance for contrary winds and other obstacles. The cross measurement is more correct, as a ship could often take a straight passage north to south. She would not go for long out of sight of land, for a little to the west at the narrowest part of the sea the highlands of the Crimea (Crid Metopon) and Cape Carambis may be seen at the same time.

This exaggerated idea of the size of the Pontus present to the mind of Herodotus must have reacted on his view of Scythia and induced him

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2 l. 32.
to lay it out on too large a scale, another reason for our not extending it very far into the interior. In later times after the publication of Periplus and the advance of geography the ancients had a very good practical knowledge of the shape of the Euxine, comparing it justly to the asymmetrical Scythian bow.

They naturally exaggerated its size, but their methods of calculation always produced this effect; yet they paid much attention to the subject. Pliny \(^3\) gives five different reckonings of the circumference of the Pontus, they vary between 2000 and 2425 m.p. (=16,000 to 19,400 stades), the real amount is about 1912 geographical miles (=2392 m.p. or 19,136 stades). He also quotes Polybius for the distance of 500 m.p. across from one Bosporus to the other, which is approximately correct.

One curious error persisted. Eratosthenes and Strabo \(^4\) both regarded Dioscurias (Sukhum Kale) as the extreme point of the whole sea, lying in a corner (\(\mu\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\) \(\delta\varepsilon\:\nu\varepsilon\)\(\alpha\)\(\iota\\)\(\sigma\)\(\iota\)\(\kappa\)\(\alpha\)\(\iota\)\(\alpha\)) 600 stades east of the mouth of the Phasis, which some old poet, Herodotus and Ptolemy make the extreme point. This should really be at Batum, which is still further south. The error seems to rest on a commercial superiority of Dioscurias which lasted during Hellenistic and early Roman times. It was the last point of the navigation of the right side of the Pontus; the mountainous coast between it and the Cimmerian Bosporus being dangerous and unprofitable.

For all their familiarity with it the Greeks never forgot that the Euxine's first name was Axenos and most of them regarded a journey across it with some trepidation. To this day it is not a favourite sea with sailors, who dislike its fogs, its sudden storms and the scarcity of good harbours along the greater part of its coast. These causes tended to isolate the Greeks of its northern shore; in spite of the close commercial connection with the homeland no one voyaged to Olbia or Panticapaeum except on business, and Herodotus and the exile Dio Chrysostom are the only extant ancient authors of whom we can say that they visited the north side of the Euxine.

**Maeotis.**

Wrong as was Herodotus with regard to the Euxine, his ideas of the Palus Maeotis were even more erroneous\(^5\). He thought of it as not much smaller than the Pontus, whereas its real area is about one twelfth. He knew that it was nearly twenty days' journey to the Tanais, elsewhere he gives 4000 stades from the Bosporus, and this he seems to have imagined as its width rather than the longest line that could be drawn in a narrow triangle. Already Scylax was a little less wild and thought of it as half the size of the Euxine\(^6\). The distance across to the Tanais was usually put at 2200 stades\(^7\), not so very much more than the actual distance of 1700: but most authors continue to give its circumference as 9000 stades\(^8\), a very strange exaggeration. Right on into mediaeval times.

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2. NH. IV. 77.
3. XL. 4. 16.
4. XV. 86.
5. § 68.
6. Strabo, VII. iv. 5; Agathemera, 18.
7. Pliny, NH. IV. 78; Strabo, loc.; Agathemera, 16; Schol. in Dion. Periegr. GGM. ii. p. 457; Peripl. Anon., 178 (92), etc.
the mouths of the Tanaïs were supposed to be exactly on the same meridian as the Bosporus, though Hippocrates speaks of the lake as stretching towards the summer rising of the sun. The ancients consistently regarded it as a lake or marsh and as the greatest lake they knew; hence perhaps their exaggerated idea of its size. Some even went so far as to regard the Cimmerian Bosporus as the true mouth of the Tanaïs. On the other hand, some authors could not disabuse themselves of the notion that the Maeotis was connected with the Northern Ocean or at any rate with the Caspian.

**Caspian.**

With regard to the Caspian Herodotus and Ptolemy agree in making it an inland sea, though the former shews a tendency to make it balance the "Red" sea or Indian ocean. But Strabo, Mela, Pliny, and Plutarch, all going back to Eratosthenes and perhaps to the Ionian geographers, make it connected with the northern ocean. Considering how little they knew about it, it is remarkable that both Herodotus and Strabo had a very fair idea of its size. The latter's information came from Patrocles, who was sent exploring by Seleucus. The idea of a passage from the northern ocean was due to the Greek belief in the symmetry of the world, and the existence of an arm of the sea running not so much north as east. Of this Patrocles seems to have been aware, but no one ever got near the Volga mouth, which indeed with its seventy channels is singularly unlike a sea strait. Herodotus seems to have thought of the Caspian as having its greatest length from north to south, but later authors put it from east to west.

**Survey of Coastline.**

The ancients never had a settled idea of the shape of the Scythian coast. The inaccuracy of the outline given by Ptolemy is a measure of the difficulty they found in getting their bearings. The requirements of their navigation demanded no more than a rough knowledge of the distances separating the cities, harbours and chief headlands as measured across the openings of unimportant or un navigable inlets. Such knowledge they possessed in a very fair degree. The accuracy of the figures given by Ps.-Arrian and the anonymous compiler of the *Periplus Ponti Euxini* is remarkable when we consider the chances of corruption arising from the Greek methods of writing numbers. Of the inside of the country the Greeks knew hardly anything. They knew the appearance of the steppe and that great rivers made their way through it to disembogue in broad

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1. e.g. Ps.-Arrian, *Per. P. E.*, i. 29 (19 H.).
4. *XI. vii. 2*; *vii. 1.*
5. *NH. vi. 30.*
9. For the Araxes question and the rivers running into the Caspian *v. infra*, p. 30.
shallow estuaries, but of the real direction of these streams' flow they had no notion. They imagined a symmetrical scheme of rivers coming down at right angles to the coast. The supposed flatness of the steppe would of course offer no obstacle to channels running from one stream to another, a hypothesis representing trade routes connecting the lower course of one river with the upper part of another. Such portages have always been in S. Russia. The granite ridge that runs from Podolia to Taganrog causes the well-known rapids of the Dnipro and bends that stream into such an elbow that its upper waters are more conveniently approached either from one of the lesser rivers that fall into the Maeotis, or from the Ingul or Ingulets. Hence the confusion between Hypanis and Borysthenes, the difficulties with the Panticapes and Gerhus. But it is better to discuss the position of rivers with that of the tribes so intimately bound up with them in the description given by Herodotus. Till the time of Ptolemy we have no details of the Hinterland save the schematic picture of the river system and the names of innumerable tribes, whether assigned to localities or indeterminate. Herodotus just mentions the point Exampaeus and the city of the Goni, but these would be fixed by the river and tribe scheme, if any determination of their place could be reached. Before adventuring ourselves in the boundless interior let us see how much the ancients knew of the coast between the mouths of the Danube and the steep slopes of the Caucasus where they overhang the sea.

Different accounts of the Danube mouths are given by different authors, and none of them agree with the present state of things, but a comparison between the actual lie of the country and the various descriptions of its ancient condition renders it possible to account for the apparent contradictions of our authors and to trace the history of geologic change since the time of Herodotus.

The delta begins between Isakcha and Tulcha, where the Kilia and St George arms separate, and forms a triangle with two sides of 46 miles and a base of 33 miles long, to which is added a four-sided piece enclosed by lake Rasim, the Danavets, the sea, and the St George arm. All this space is marsh, subject to floods except for five sandbanks upon which

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1 For the sake of convenience in handling, I have reproduced the central part only of Layard's combination of Ptolemy’s maps of European and Asiatic Sarmatia, Dacia and the Caucasus. With the outlying parts from the Baltic shore to the E. and S. to Transcaucasia on the S. we are not concerned. To the N. are very few names which represent living information, but mostly they are the Herodotean tribes which obviously could not be accommodated in the comparatively well-known central regions. Here give some interesting points to the N. and S. as placed by Lafl., Paul. does not locate tribes exactly. Boneal long 63° lat 58°, Bapam Montes 65° 57° 30', Alexundri Areae 63° 57°, Nasceu 63° 57', Fontes Tanaidis 64° 58°, Modocae 67° 60° 30', Zaiane 67° 59° 30', Cassarippiae 68° 56° 30', Aser 68° 50° 57° 30', Penerbiuli 68° 56° 30', Fontes Rha Orientalis et Finis Montium Hyperboreorum 70° 61°, Svardenii 71° 59° 30', Chaemides 74° 59°, Epistrophe Rha 74° 59°, Confuentes Rha 79° 58° 30', Zinchi 74° 48° 30°, Montes Hippici 74° 54° 81° 52°, Finis M. Cornicis 73° 48°, Caucasus M. 75° 47° 85° 48°, Alexandri Columiae 77° 54° 30°, Fontes Vardanis 78° 40° 30°, Pontes Sarmaticas 78° 47° 59°, Alterae P. Sarmin 81° 48° 50°, Saccani 82° 51°, Ceramini M. 82° 49° 84° 52°, Epistrophe Rha 85° 54°, Ostium Rha 87° 30° 48° 40°, Fontes Rha Orientalis 90° 64°.

3 Herodotus IV. 47, P. Asian Peripols 53, (24 H.), Ephorus ap. Strab. 771. 15, Dionysius Perieget, I. 301, and Anon. 93 (57) give five mouths; Pliny, NH. IV. 79, Ptolemy ii. 2, who has a completely wrong idea of the Delta's shape, six; Strabo vii. 11. 15, Pomponius Mela, ii. 6, seven. Nowadays we have but three; Kilia Mouth, Sulina Mouth, and St George's Mouth.
poor villages are built. This tract cannot correspond to the ancient delta, which included the island Peuce whereon the Triballi with their wives and children took refuge from Alexander when he drove them from their country. For the banks of this island were steep and the current, confined by the high banks, swift. Alexander only prevailed by crossing the main stream and discomfitting the Getae on the left bank.

Peuce then was an island with high banks; and therefore outside the present delta. Still most of our authorities say that it was between two arms of the river and the sea. Some put it between the St George mouth (Ostium Peucis, Ἱερὸν στόμα) and the next to the n. (Naracu stoma, Ναράκον στόμα), on what is now called St George's Island; and Dionysius has much the same idea (I. 301). But Strabo (vii. iii. 15) says merely that it lies near the mouths and that there are other islands above and below it, i.e. it is not directly on the sea, but even 120 stades = 15 miles up stream. We have no data for exactly determining the amount the delta has grown in the last 2000 years, except that according to the Peutinger Table Noviodunum (Isakcha) is 65 Roman miles = 520 stades from the Sacred mouth along the course of the river; Ptolemy makes it about 477 stades or 60 miles in a direct line. This brings us to just about a line of sandbanks reaching from Vilkov by Ivancha to Tereesa, and representing an old coastline which we may take as the coastline at the beginning of our era. This line gives about the right amount, 47 versets (31 miles = 279 stades), which we get as the distance between the old mouths from n. to s. in Arrian (280 stades) and Strabo (300 stades). If now we measure our 15 miles up stream from our ancient Sacred mouth we come upon rising ground which takes up the rest of the Dobrudza up to Tulecha.

Braun supposes that formerly an actual branch of the Danube cut off this triangle from the main land and fell into the sea somewhere opposite the channel Portitsa, within twelve miles or so of Istropolis (? Karanasup), having sent off an arm into a marsh, now represented by lake Babadagh, and having formed lake Rasim. Braun anticipates Braun and says there exist traces of such a channel. This state of things is represented by Pliny's confused account. When this branch got silted up confusion arose in the mind of Ptolemy, who found the southernmost mouth given variously as the Peuce mouth and the Sacred mouth, and he identified them and so was brought to seek the island Peuce in the modern delta and to throw out all the measurements and distort the shape of the whole delta to try and reconcile different accounts both founded on fact but referring to different times.

Without detailed investigation of the actual lie of the land between the main course of the Danube and Babadagh it is impossible to say whether Dr Braun has really disentangled the labyrinth of the Danube mouths. If it is at all possible, such a solution would best fit the case.

1 Arrian Amaz. I. 2–4.
2 Seynus, I. 787, Anam. 94 (68), Pliny and Ptolemy. Under the name of Ptolemy we may quote data due to Marins of Tyre whose work formed the basis of Ptolemy's. For our purposes no distinction can be made between them.
3 Cherneniye, I. pp. 48–52.
4 I. c. Ptolemaeum ostium Peucis, max ipsa Peuce insula in qua proximus alveus [nomen desert] appellatur...
It is just conceivable that within historic time Peuce never was a real island or Portitsa a real mouth of the Danube, but that the first was defensible across a short isthmus and along the course of a minor stream flowing into Babadagh lake, and so gained the name of island, to be a refuge for the Triballi and later (when it almost certainly was no longer separate) for the division of the Bastarnae hence called Peucini. So there may have been a false mouth to the south of the delta as there was to the north, or ships may once have gone in by Portitsa and across lake Rasim to ascend the stream now represented by the Dunavets. We can see by the varying accounts of authors that the real mouths of the river closed and shifted, as has happened with all the Black Sea rivers, but that old names and old descriptions lived on in Geography books and led compilers astray. Only Strabo who prided himself on direct up-to-date information and avoided padding copied from other books, gives an intelligible account of the district as it was in his time. The question of the number of mouths is never settled, to-day one may count anything from three to twelve and no doubt it was the same in ancient times. We may take it then that while it is hopeless to identify the lesser mouths (we have ten different names preserved in various authors) Peuces ostium was originally what is now Portitsa, Ostium Sacrum (later also called Peuce) corresponded to St George’s mouth, Naracu stoma was half-way between that and Calon stoma, the Sulina mouth (lately canalised and made really navigable), that Pseudostoma, Boreon stoma, Spireon stoma corresponded to branches of the Kilia mouth, and Psilon stoma was a still more northerly channel running out through the marshes (Thiagola) at Zhebriany.

The stretch from the Ister to the Tyras is not important. Strabo tells us of two lakes, one open and one shut, corresponding to Sasyk and probably Alibey, two limans now communicating with the sea by narrow channels.

Between them came the place τὸ Αντιφόλον of Peripl. Anon. and next his Cremnisci, which Pliny also gives with Aepollium and Montes Macrocemni, which seems a very grand name for the low cliffs of this coast. Near the corner of the Dnestor Liman we have Hermonacitis vicus (Strabo and Ptol.) and Turris Neoptolemi (Strabo and Anon.). Of this latter there seem some traces left in the foundations of a tower. It is ascribed to Neoptolemus the Admiral of Mithridates, and appears to have been a lighthouse.

A difficulty is in the distance given by our authorities for the space between Danube mouth and Dnestor mouth. Strabo and Anon. make it 900 stades. Really it comes to about 600. Ps-Arrian obviously left the coast at Portus Isiacorum (Odessa) and cut straight across to the Danube mouth, making it 1200 stades, probably by adding on half the distance for possible curves of the coast. He says that there were no settlements in that space ἐπιμα καὶ ἀνάπεμα, whereby he did an injustice to Tyras, which was still coining in Arrian’s time. Anon. filled in the gap with names gleaned we

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1 Becker, Τιμ. Οδησσα Σωκ. 111, p. 151. On the coast of the Krasne between the Ister and the Borysthenes with reference to ancient settlements.
2 An argument for its not being the real Arrian, v. p. 24, n. 3.
know not whence, and made the total distance agree with P.-Arrian. But why Strabo should be 300 stades out it is hard to say, unless he applied a measurement stretching to the southern and most used Danube mouth to the northern nearest one. Pliny gives 130 m.p., that is 1040 stades, from Tyras to Pseudostoma. The ancients all seem to have overestimated this unattractive piece of coast. Ptolemy on the other hand makes too little of this very distance. From Thiasola (Zhebriany) to the Dnestor mouth he gives what represents 390 stades, while further to the E. e.g. between Dnestor and Dnephr, he is substantially correct. Dr Braun has well shewn that just here comes the break in his bearings, due to his having Byzantium two degrees too far to the n., in the same latitude as Marseilles. Harpis, the other point he gives, is still orientated from the s., and represents Eskyopolos, the town at the end of the Roman wall that guarded the lower Danube.

Strabo says that 140 stades up the river Tyras are the towns of Niconia on the right and Ophiussa on the left. Pliny says that the town Tyras was formerly called Ophiussa. We need have no doubt that it is the present Akkerman, mediaeval Monacastro or Belgorod. What we know of its history and coinage will be found further on (ch. xiv.). Niconia would be Otarik, where some antiquities have been found. Strabo adds another datum: 120 stades, for the distance between Tyras town and the mouth of the river, more close than the figure he has first given and agreeing with Anon., who says that τά Νεοτολέμου was 120 stades from Tyras river, surely a mistake for Tyras town.

The position of the island Leuce, now Phidonisi, is accurately defined by Strabo, who says: it lies 500 stades from the mouth of the Tyras, and Demetrias (ap. Anon. 91 (65)), who gives 400 stades as its distance from the mainland at the Danube mouth. This is fairly correct. Other authors confuse it with the Δρόμος Αγγλάος, or the nameless island near the mouth of the Borysthenes, now called Berezan. First mentioned by Arctinus, Leuce is spoken of by Stesichorus in his Palinode, by Pindar (Nem. iv. 49), Euripides (Androm. 1259), Lycophron (Alexandra 186), and gradually the romantic legend grew that we find in its fullest form in Philostratus Junior.

To the E. of the Tyras the next place mentioned is Physce in Ptolemy, probably at the mouth of the Baraboi, and Ps.-Arrian's Portus Isiacorum, interesting as being the forerunner of modern Odessa, and 50 stades (Anon. 87 (61)) further on Istrianorum Portus, probably by the mouth of the Kujalnik or Hadzi Bey limans, once estuaries navigable from the sea.

The cliffs gradually rise along this coast, and the name Scopuli (Anon. 87 (61)) may be justified. The next point is Ordessus (Ptol.) or Odessus (P.-Arr. and Anon.), probably at the mouth of the Axiaces or Asiacies (Mela), now the Tiligul, cut right off by a bar, but once open. Here, near Koblevka, Uvarov found traces of ancient habitation.

2 O. A. S. Uvarov, Recherches sur les Antiquités de la Russie Meridionale, Pl. XXVI. and XXVII.
Opposite the liman Berezan is the island of the same name referred to by Strabo and Ps.-Arrian. This island was early settled by the Greeks, as upon it have been found vases of Milesian type and archaic asses of Olbia. It is constantly confused with Leuce. From here it is just 60 stades (Anon.) on to the mouth of the great liman in which the Bugh and Dnepr join. Altogether the distances along this coast are very much what Ps.-Arrian and Anon. make them.

The common estuary of the Bugh and Dnepr is one of the finest in Europe, its very size prevented casual observers understanding how the land lies. Dio Chrysostom (Or. xxxvi.) gives us the best description. Herodotus and Dio alone grasped the fact that the city which its citizens called Olbia, and strangers Borysthenes, lay upon the Hypanis, the Bugh, not upon the Borysthenes river, the Dnepr. The confusion was natural, but the site of Olbia could never have been determined from the texts. The mounds, coins and inscriptions dug up at Sto Mobil (the hundred Barrows), a mile to the south of the village of Iljinskoe or Parutino, have settled the matter. Alekto mentioned by Dio must be Ochakov opposite the long spit of Kinburn, well known in the Crimean war. Between them is a bar with a very narrow channel under the guns of the fort. When you have passed the fort the great liman is spread before you and even at Olbia the opposite side of the Bugh is so far distant that the impression produced is that of a lake rather than a river. Hence the variations of distance given by the authorities, Scymnus and Anon. making it 240 stades up from the mouth of the river, Strabo (who says Borysthenes) and Dio 200 stades. Pliny with his 15 m.p. must have measured from the point where a ship leaves the Dnepr channel and begins to ascend the Bugh. On the Borysthenes itself there seems to have been no important settlement. On its left bank and on the islands of the river still survive into last century remains of the woods which gained the district the name of Hylaea, of which Herodotus, and after him Mela and Pliny, speak. It hardly required many trees to attract attention in the bare steppe land. We need not suppose that Valerius Flaccus meant anything when he wrote (Arg. vi. 76):

 Demitor hanc saepe pressa celsis cedior exultit uilia
Silvae trabae: tesseraque prata redireque sagittae
Arboris ad summum quae perseverare caecum.

He had read in his Mela:

Silvae deinde sunt quas maximas hae terrae feunt.

The position of the Hylaea is a favourite subject for discussion, but the difficulty only arises if we put the Panticapæ (which flows into the Hylaea) to the west of the Borysthenes and identify it with the Ingulets, so as to give room for the Georgi between it and the Dnepr. But if

1 V. chapters xi. xii. and xiv.
2 For the former extension of trees where now there are none, see Burakhov (who spoke from personal knowledge). On the position of Carcinitis, Trans. O. Soc. IX. p. 3; K. Neumann, op. cit. pp. 31 and 74 sqq., who has collected various testimony to show that trees did really exist along the river valleys, but is inclined to make too much of it, and W. W. Dukoritchaier, Les Steppes russes actuelles et aujourd'hui, Congrès International d'Archéologie préhistorique et d'Anthropologie, 11°, Session à Moscou, Vol. 1, 1894.
3 Her. N. 54. Vide infra, p. 29.
we suppose that it was the Konka across the Dnêpr valley it would flow precisely into the wooded region to the south of the estuary.

Ptolemy puts Olbia on the Borysthenes. In face of such a mistake it seems risky to assign positions to the other cities he mentions. But near Great Znamenka and Little Znamenka overlooking the well-watered flats of the so-called "great meadow" we find the remains of fortified settlements with Greek pottery", which may mark his Amadoca and Azagarion.

At the mouth of the Dnêpr liman we have Kinburn spit, which is probably the site of Ptolemy's Ἀλος Ἐκάτης, which Anon. puts on the next spit, the west end of the Tendra or Δρόμος Ἀχιλλίως, whereupon there seems to have been a sanctuary of the hero mentioned by Strabo. A stone with a dedication to Achilles was dredged up off Kinburn, and others with his name were found on the Tendra. The formation of Kinburn spit and the Tendra is unstable and channels in them open and shut so that what has been an island becomes joined to the mainland and again becomes an island according to the capricie of the currents. The Island of Achilles mentioned by Pliny hereabouts may well be of such formation. Some authors, e.g. Ps.-Arrian, have hence confused the Δρόμος with Leuce. But in the main the descriptions are accurate, telling of the sword-like stretch of sand curving at each end and serving as the race-course of the fleet-footed hero. Dzharylgach, the other end, seems to be what we must understand by Tamyrace. Between it and the place where the Tendra joins the mainland Ps.-Arrian gives ἔκρογ κόιμησα, probably a temporary gap in the continuity of the beach. Behind Tamyrace spit was some sort of shelter for the few ships that came that way. Between Tamyrace and the opposite coast of the Crimea is the gulf called the gulf of Tamyrace or Carcinites running up to Taphrae on the Isthmus of Perekop. How little the ancients visited these parts is shown by the vagueness of the measurements given. Tendra is about 80 m. long or 750 stades, but Strabo calls it 1000, Ps.-Arrian 950, Anon. 1200, Agrippa 80 m.p. = 640 stades. The 60 stades given as the distance from the shore is not far out.

So with the gulf called Carcinites or Tamyrace the 300 stades is not far out for the distance across the mouth, but the ancients had the most exaggerated idea of its extent to the eastward. Strabo puts this at 1000 stades and says some multiplied this amount by three.

On the other hand, Pliny and Strabo both give the breadth of the Isthmus of Perekop, Taphrae, at 40 stades (5 miles) which is very near. Strabo adds that others reckoned it at 360 stades, which is about the distance from the Gulf of Perekop on the w. to Genichesk on the sea of Azov. Again they give a very good description of the Putrid Sea (Sivash), but make it very much too big. This is one of the most unmistakeable

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1 Cf. Niederle, Staroëvîlo Zemîvî a zemîfîm vychinîlâ Evrope (Ancient Information as to the Geography of Eastern Europe), p. 35 sqq.
2 CR. 1895, p. 28, and Bronn, op. cit. p. 374 seqq., 371-3, also Osuvarov, op. cit. Pl. D. 3 Later called Dona alone and afterwards the Island of St. Artemius, upon which the Russians refitted their dug-outs [Const. Purpl. de alta, Imp.].
5 Imm. IV, 63. V, ch. xv.
6 J. W. F. E. 179-83.
7 This is probably the site of Alexander's wall, v. ch. xlix., no doubt on the site of a former ditch that gave its name to the place.
features of the whole coast line and naturally impressed those who came near. At this point Pliny* gets hopelessly confused. He mixes up the Putrid Sea, the liman of the Utitik or Molochhaja and the Hypanis (Buh’i) with one of the limans about the Peninsula of Taman at the opposite corner of the Sea of Azov and the Hypanis (Kuban), and one can make no sense out of his jumble of names. Lacus Buce…Coricus Macotis lacus sinus…amnez Buce, Gerrhus…hardly tally with regio Scythia Sindica nominata. One cannot help thinking that as now, so formerly, the same geographical names were repeated along this coast. Every other salt lake is called Sasyk, the cutting through a spit of sand is called Bugas, there are two Kujlunik rivers, an Ingul and an Ingul’s (a diminutive though it is the bigger river), a Don and Donets, two sandspits called Dzharylgach, two places called Ak Meechet, two Sivash lakes, two rivers Salgir, and two Karasu, so in old days there were two rivers Hypanis, Buh’i and Kuban, perhaps two Gerrhus, more than one Panticapae and several Eiones. Insulae Achilis and so forth. Just as the Russians have adopted Tartar words as names, so the Greeks took native words meaning river or salt lake or channel. Hence the confusion produced by the attempts of Ptolemy or Pliny to distinguish these names without local knowledge.

In the Gulf of Carcinitis Pliny* mentions the islands Cephalonnesus, Spadusa and Macra, and Ptolemy gives position to the first of these. Mela, Pliny and Ptolemy also mention a town, Carcine, which is merely the Carcinitis of Herodotus (iv, 99) and Hecataeus (fr. 153). Herodotus says that the Hyparcys here falls into the sea and Mela (11, 4) copies him inaccurately, sinus Carcinitis, in eo nivos Carcine, quam duo fluminia Gerrhos et Ypacares uno ostio effluentia adingunt. Pliny is still further removed and speaks of the Pacyris (sic)*. The only stream that runs into the gulf is the Kalanchak, now quite unimportant, but from its mouth hollows and what were once water-courses may be traced far inland almost to the Dniepr about the land called Gerrhus. This may have been a way of getting quickly up to that district, but it must have been early abandoned owing to the failure in water of which we can trace the effect all over the steppe region.

The position of Carcinitis town has been a great bone of contention because it has been assumed that it must have been situated on the gulf Carcinites, whereas the town Carcinitis is plainly put in the western Crimea by Ps. Arrian and Anon. (who adds a name Coronitis). Across the gulf 300 stades from Tarnyace we find mentioned Calos Limen, 700 stades further on Carcinites, and 600 stades beyond Chersonese. Reckoning back exactly from the well-known site of the latter we get Carcinitis at the mouth of the closed estuary Donguslav, the position approved by Bruin and Burachkoy. Another 700 stades brings us too far round the corner to give the required 300 more to Tarnyace. If we take all the distances to be as usual somewhat exaggerated we may put Carcinitis just to the west of the modern Eupatoria on a spot where there are traces of a Greek town (v. Chapter xvi.).* Coins occur marked KEPKI and KAPK, similar in
type to the coins of Chersonese (Pl. iv. 1, 2, 3, cf. iv. 17), and even an inscription\(^1\) has been found; and we can put Calos Limen at Ak Mechet or at the next little bay along the coast. So Cercinites is another example of the curiously inaccurate naming of places along this coast by which the town Borysthenes (Olbia) was not upon the Borysthenes and Istrus not actually upon the Ister. The gulf Carcinites was the gulf just beyond Carcinitis, up which the men of that town traded by way of the Hypacyris until the latter dried up, and so it was thought of as standing at the mouth of that river. Later Ptolemy calls Carcinites itself a river. If this was the view of Herodotus we can see why he had no idea how much the Crimea is divided from the mainland, and a river being provided we need not trouble about Donguslav lake.

At Chersonese we again reach a definite point. A discussion of the topography of the district lying immediately about it will best go with the sketch of its history and remains that will be given in Chapter xvii.

Strabo (vii. iv. 2) gives 4400 stades as the distance we have come from the Tyras. But with moderate allowance for the curves of the coast the distance can hardly come to more than 3000 stades. Strabo must have reckoned in the circumference of the Carcinites gulf and made his ship go right up to Olbia and other places of call on the way. Anonymus (85 (57)—87 (61)) adds up to 3810 but gives 4110 (89 (63)), having missed 300 stades somewhere about Tamyrace. He says that Artemidorus gives 4220, but that is going round Carcinites gulf.

Beyond Chersonese Strabo (l.c.) rightly mentions the three deep bays and the headland now C. Chersonese. C. Fiolente is much more picturesque, but not so important geographically as C. Chersonese, and is not likely to be meant by Strabo. Portus Symbolon is clearly Balaklava, and by it was Palacion or Placia, built by the natives as a menace to the whole

Minor Peninsula. The fancy that this narrow inlet is the harbour of the Laestrygones has nothing for it but the names of Dubois de Montpèreux, after Pallas the first scientific explorer of these parts, and K. E. von Baer\(^2\) who was rather a scientist than a historian.

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\(^1\) *B.C.A.* x. 30.  
\(^2\) *Über die homerische Localitäten in der Odyssee*, Brunswick, 1878, v. inf. Ch. XIII.
The southernmost cape of the Crimea was called by the ancients Criu Metopon and was very well known. It was supposed to be just opposite to Carambis on the coast of Asia Minor and they could both be seen from a ship in mid sea. The high land behind the capes can really be seen. This comparatively narrow part was reckoned to divide the Euxine into two basins, but it is hard to settle what particular headland was the actual Ram's Head. Pliny gives it as 165 m.p., i.e. 1320 stades from Chersonese town, which would bring it to Theodosia, and 125 m.p. = 1000 stades from Theodosia, which would bring it back to C. Sarych. Anon. (81 (53)) makes it 300 stades from Symbolon Portus. That would be about Aju Dagh. But he also makes it 220 stades from Lampas (Lambat), which would bring it again to near Aj Todor, not in itself a very prominent cape, chiefly interesting for a Roman station of which M. I. Rostock has given an account. But above it Aj Petri rises high and can be seen further than Aju Dagh, and the latter is considerably to the north, so that perhaps it is best to call Aj Todor Criu Metopon. The most southerly point is actually Kikeneis or Sarych, still further to the west.

The position given by Ptolemy also leans in favour of Aj Todor. Ptolemy's Charax—Pliny mentions Characeni—may well have been the settlement on Aj Todor. In the interior Strabo mentions Mount Trapezus, Chatyr Dagh (vii. iv. 3), and it is at least as much like a table as a tent.

The modern place-name Partenit near Aju Dagh suggests that here may have been a sanctuary of the virgin goddess to whom all the Tauric mountains were holy. Lampat, the next village, has also preserved its Greek name mentioned by Ps.-Arrian (30 (19 H.) and Anon., and Alushta is the 'Αλουθήτωρ of Procopius'. Beyond Lampas 600 stades further east we have what Ps.-Arrian calls μήτις Σκυθοταῖρον ἔρμος, 200 stades short of Theodosia. Anon. (78 (52)) calls it also Λιθηναίων. These 200 stades bring us to Ortiz, the most probable site, for 600 stades from Lampas makes the site too close to Theodosia. The name of Suglaea, Sudak, so important in mediaeval times, does not occur before Procopius (l. c.).

Theodosia is again a certain site, and has recovered its old name (v. Ch. xviii.).

From near Theodosia an earthwork goes across to the beginning of the Arabat Spit on the Maeots. This seems to represent the boundary of

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1: NH. IV. 56.
3: NH. IV. 85.
4: De Ass. VII. 7.
the kingdom of Leucon as against the Scythians and Tauri of the peninsula rather than the Wall of Asander.

At 280 stades from Theodosia Ps.-Arrian (30 (19 H.)) and Anon. (77 (51)) give Cazeca, clearly Kachik the eastern headland of the bay of Theodosia, about 30 miles from that city following the coast round; 180 stades further east, according to Anon., was Cimmericum, evidently Opuk, where Dubruë discovered traces of a fortified town with a harbour. This is rendered quite certain by the existence opposite here of two skerries mentioned by Anon. (76 (50)). From the head of Lake Uzunlar, once an arm of the sea, goes another embankment to Hadzhibey on the Sea of Azov. At a distance of 60 stades Anon. gives Cytae, also mentioned by Pliny and called Cytaea by Scylax (68). The 60 stades would bring it to Kaz Aul. Acrë or Acræ (Pliny) would come at Takil Burun, 30 stades from Cytæ on the headland marking the entrance of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The site of Hermium is uncertain. After another 65 stades we reach Nymphaeum, undoubtedly Eltegen, where there are evident remains of a city and harbour (v. Chapter xvIII). Tyritate seems to have been at the head of Churubash Lake, once an arm of the sea. Dia of Pliny is uncertain, but must have been between Tyritate and Panticapaeum. This latter was more than the 85 stades from Nymphaeum by Tyritate, given by Anon., but there seems no reason to question these identifications. As to Panticapaeum, there can be no doubt that its Acropolis was the hill now called Mount Mithridates (v. Chapter xIX).

The identification of the several small settlements about the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and on the Peninsula of Taman, is rendered difficult by the uncertainty as to changes in the one case in the position of sandbanks and spits which would necessarily modify the distances reckoned from one place to another, in the other to still more considerable changes in the water-courses which intersect the peninsula, deriving from the Hypanis or Kuban, and subject not only to ordinary silting up, but to the more unusual action of the mud volcanoes that abound in the district.

Next to Panticapaeum, on the west side of the strait, we have Myrmecium, mentioned by most of the authorities as being 25 (Anon.) or 20 stades away. This would bring us to the place called the Old Quarantine, just the other side of the bay. Somewhere near must have been the town which early issued coins marked ΑΠΩΛ and ΑΠ (Pl. 19. 10), and which seems to have been absorbed in Panticapaeum, unless Apollonia was indeed the Greek name for that city. Forty stades further on (Strabo) we have Parthenium, while Anon. makes it 60 from Myrmecium to Porthmia. Probably these both represent the site of Jenikale lighthouse at the narrowest point of the channel, whose breadth is regularly given as 20 stades, which is about right. It is really about 90 stades from Panticapaeum.

Ps.-Arrian and Anon. reckon the strait to be the mouth of the Tanais, and this is not unreasonable according to the view that makes the Maeotis a mere marsh and no sea.

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1 Strabo vii. iv. 6; cf. supra, p. 16, n. 6.
3 NH. iv. 86.
4 Anon. and Strabo xi. ii. 8.
5 Pliny. NH. iv. 85, Mela ii. 3.
6 Steph. Byz. 56; Plut. Zeuxipp. Anon. 76 (50)
7 Strabo vii. iv. 5.
On the west of the Maeotis, between the Bosphorus and the Don, except for Herodotus and his Cremon (iv. 29, 110, perhaps near Genichesk), Ptolemy is the only authority, and the names he gives are mere names not to be identified, for he has a wrong idea of the lie of the land, and in any case there seems to have been no important settlement on this coast. Only at the headland Zjuk, about 40 miles to the west of the entrance to the straits, we have remains of a Greek village, which may have been Heracleum or Zenonis Chersonesus. So too no purpose can be served by endeavouring to identify the rivers of this coast.

The mouth of the Don is a more interesting point. Of Tanais town and its inscriptions we will treat later (Ch. xix.). Its site in the second and third centuries A.D. was clearly near Nedvigovka on the Dead Donets. But it is quite probable that the original Tanais town destroyed by Polemo was on the site of Azov, or in the delta at Elizavetovskaja Stanitsa. We cannot identify the island Alopecia, mentioned by Strabo (vi. ii. 3). Pliny and Ptolemy. It has probably been joined to the delta, which is growing very fast. In any case it is hard to see how it can have been 100 stades below the town.

The east coast is more important because of its fisheries, which supplied much of the ῥαβδός exported from the Pontus. The first 800 stades from the Tanais, was at the Great Rhombites, probably the Jeja. At Jeisk, at its mouth, is still a great fishery. After another 800 stades came the Little Rhombites by Jasenskaia Kosa, where there once flowed into the sea the Chelbas and Biesug rivers which now reach it only during the spring floods; 600 stades more past the northern delta of the Kuban brings us to Tyrambe, possibly Temrjuk or Temrjuk Settlement, between which an important branch of that river (the Anticides or Hypanis) reaches the Maeotis. At a distance of 120 stades was Cimmeric or Cimmeris village, probably the NW. point of the island Fontan. This was the point from which vessels reckoned their course across the Maeotis. 20 stades beyond was Achillis vicus, at the narrowest point of the strait, opposite Parthenium. These figures all seem put too low by Strabo (vi. ii. 4-6). Perhaps the current that flows down the Sea of Azov helped the vessels along and led the navigators to underestimate the distance. The natural course would be for ships to go right straight across to Tanais and come down the east coast to take in their cargoes of fish. Ptolemy mentions these same points as Strabo, but his authority is not to be preferred.

The topography of the Taman Peninsula is, as we have said, particularly difficult. The interweaving of land and water made it hard for Strabo (vi. ii. 6-10) to describe, and the changes since his time, both in his text and in the land surface, make it still harder to apply his description. In general the very greatest caution should be used in explaining difficulties of ancient topography by geological changes, but here three powerful

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2 Strabo. vi. ii. 3
3 NII. IV. 57.
4 Strabo. vi. ii. 4.
agencies have been at work. Something has been done by the mud-volcanoes found on both sides of the strait, but most active to the east of it. Their activity is not mentioned by the ancients, they may have been quiescent during classical times: since then there have been thrown up the cone of Kuku Oba, which is the most striking object of the Bosporus, and some of the cones just south of Sennaja, the site of Phanagoria. One of these it was that cast up, in 1818, a Greek inscription, referring to the construction of a temple of Artemis Agrotera.

Another agency in changing the face of the land is the action of the Kuban. Whereas the northern branch, the Protoka, has formed an ordinary delta in what was once a bay of the Maeotis, the southern branch flowed into what must have been a group of islands and found its way to the sea through channels and sounds which itself has done much towards silting up.

Lastly the sea itself has encroached on the side towards the Bosporus. Here the shifting currents have alternately washed the shore away and deposited new sandbanks, there is even reason to suppose that the level of the land is sinking. Columns, the remains of a temple, are seen in the sea along the northerly spit opposite Jenikale, and again off the site of the ancient Phanagoria.

Along the coast from Tuzla to C. Panagia barrows are seen in section upon the cliff. The latter cape takes its name from a church now swallowed up by the waves. At Taman itself the cliff, with remains of an ancient town, is being washed away. The statues from the monument of Comosarye* were found in the sea, because the headland of SS. Boris and Gleb on which it was built had been encroached upon.

In the district, then, there are three main bodies of water, the Gulf of Taman, Akdengis (or Akthania) Liman, and Kizil Tash Liman. Branches of the Kuban flow into the two limans, but the Gulf of Taman is at present cut off from it. But there can be little doubt that a depression running east from the cove Shimardan by Lake Janovskij to the Akdengis liman represents an old channel.

The only certain points in the whole peninsula are Phanagoria, the great masses of débris and rows of barrows about Sennaja leave no doubt where we must seek the capital of the Asiatic half of the Bosporus kingdom, and Gorgippia, long supposed to be Anapa and recently proved to be so by inscriptions. If we take the Gulf of Taman to be Strabo’s Lake of Corocondame, the village of that name must have stood at the base of the southern sandspit that partly cuts the gulf off from the Bosporus. But Strabo says (xi, ii, 14) that Corocondame is the point from which begins the eastward sail to Portus Sindicus, and marks the beginning of the Bosporus strait, corresponding to Acra.

If then we suppose that C. Tuzla extended a little further west and

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* App. 29 = InsPE, ii, 344.
* Stoebe, Topography, p. 43.
* App. 30 = InsPE, ii, 346.
* V. Map in ABC = ATK, f. 108, f. 144, after Dubois de Montpéreux.
* Suvorov’s Fort Phanagoria by Taman was named according to the view current in his time, cf. Clarke’s Travels, ii, pp. 81–83.
* insPE, IV, 434; BCA, xxiii, 32.
* Anon. 64 (23).
Taman Peninsula

from it ran out a spit like the southern spit for a little over a mile (xi. ii. 9). we get about 80 stades across to Aega instead of 70 (§ 8). 130 stades bring us to Patraeus and the monument of Satyrus (Ruban's Farm and perhaps Kuku Oba); 90 stades from there would be Achilles' vicus, on the northern spit, where columns are seen in the sea, just opposite Jenikale. Cimmeres would be 20 stades further, at the base of the northern spit, just at the point where the navigation of the Maeotis begins. Only the distance to Tyrambe is much more than 120 stades, but this seems wrong in any case.

The actual site of Corocondame seems to have been washed away. It has been usually placed at Taman, inasmuch as that was the site of a very ancient Greek settlement, and some have seen in Tmatarokan, the mediaeval Russian name of Taman, an echo of the ancient Corocondame, but Taman does not lie on the Bosporus itself. It is impossible to say that from it one sails eastward to Sindicus Portus, and it is much more than 10 stades from any possible entrance to the gulf.

"Above Corocondame," says Strabo (xi. ii. 9), "is a fair-sized lake" (or liman), "which is called after it, Corocondamitis. It debouches into the sea 10 stades from the village. Into this lake flows a channel of the Anticides river, and makes an island surrounded by the lake, the Maeotis and the river...."

§ 10. When one has sailed into Lake Corocondamitis one has Phanagoria, an important city, and Cepi, and Hermonassa, and the Apaturum, the temple of Aphrodite. Of which Phanagoria and Cepi are built on the said island on the left as one sails in, the rest of the cities are on the right beyond the Hypanis" (=Anticides), "in the land of the Sindi. In the land of the Sindi is also Gorgippia, the royal city of the Sindi, and Aborace."

§ 14. "From Corocondame you sail straight off to the east 180 stades to Portus Sindicus" (probably at the entrance to Lake Kizil Tash (170 stades)). "It is 400 stades further to what is called Bata, a harbour and village" (now Novorossijsk (500 stades)).

From this it is clear that Phanagoria being at the bottom of the Gulf of Taman, the channel of the Kuban came just south of it, and somewhere on the same island was Cepi, usually put at Artjukhov's farm. But there is no way of identifying Hermonassa, Apaturon, or Pliny's Stratoelia, nor of giving names to the large number of sites of ancient settlements. The district was very thickly populated in antiquity and is covered with villages, forts, earthworks and barrows, from which latter some of the most beautiful objects have been recovered.

Anon. (62 (21) sqq.) gives us more details of this part. He gives the distance from Hieros Limen (another name for Bata or Patus) to what he calls Sindic or Sindicus Portus as 290 stades (it is rather more than 300 to Anapa), and says it is 540 on to Panticapaeum, which is about right. Next he speaks of Corocondame and its liman, which he says is also called Opissas; and the circumference he gives at 630 stades; this is about right if we reckon in the shores of Lake Akdengis. It is hard not to wonder whether Opissas was not the name of this liman—"the

1 On the Euxine coast such spots were connected with the name of Achilles.

2 Of Brun, Charomarje, ii. 242—270.
Survey of Coast

backwater." He adds that Hermonassa is 440 stades from the entrance of the lake and 515 by it to the entrance of the Maeotis. It seems as if he measured by Lakes Corocondame and Aksengis and some passage of the Kuban into Lake Kizil Tash, so that Hermonassa would be one of the sites on the north shore of that liman.

Of the Greek settlements in this peninsula Phanagoria (Ch. xiv.) was a colony of Teios, Cepi of Miletus, and Stephanus Byzantius calls Hermonassa a settlement of Ionians, repeating what Dionysius (l. 553) says of all these places, ἢ τὸν Ναυαγοῦν Ἰώνιον ἔγγονοι αῖνος.

The coast east of Anapa hardly comes into our province. The ridge of the Caucasus leaves such a small distance between itself and the sea that there is no space for rivers or harbours or anything but a narrow tract of steep ground inhabited by tribes which have always been well known for savagery. The piratical row-boats that Strabo (xii. 17) calls camarcae were still in use in the last century, according to Taïtbout de Marigny5, and the coast always had a bad reputation until the Russians were forced to clear it of inhabitants. About 300 stades from Gorgippia (Anapa), the last city of the Bosporan kingdom, Strabo gives Bata, called by Sclavon Latinus, and later by Ps.-Arrian and Anon. Hieron, now Novorossis, 180 stades further they give Pagtra, Gelendzhik. This whole coast is described in detail by Ps.-Arrian (26–28 (18 H.)), but it was never occupied by the Romans, who left the country between the Bosporus and Dioscurias untouched. Probably there was something of the nature of a sphere of influence. Arrian's jurisdiction as legate of Cappadocia only extended as far as Dioscurias. He could not have interfered with the Bosporus, which was in relation with Lower Moesia. The periplus that bears his name has been unskilfully tackled on to the account of his real expedition: a reference to the death of King Cotys does not come in at all well. The addition seems to date from Byzantine times, and to have used sources open to Anon., who did not, however, copy Ps.-Arrian.5

Strabo (xii. 17–16) gives all detail necessary for this coast. According to Artemidorus first came the Cercetae for 850 stades after Bata. Then the Achaei for 500 stades, the Heniochi for 1000 stades, as far as Pityus, now Pitsunda, and 360 stades further on were Dioscurias, Sukhum Kale. But the writers on the wars of Mithridates gave the order Achaei, Zygi, Heniochi, Cercetae, Moschi, Colchi, with Phthiropaghi and Soanes further inland.

There seems to have been some shifting of population, for Arrian and Anon. give also Macrones, Zydritae, Lazi, Apsilae, Abasgi and Sannigae, and speak of an old Achaean and an old Lazic west of the later positions of those tribes. Some of these peoples certainly still remain. Cercetae may very well be the Circassians (Cherkes). The Lazi are the Lesghians: the Soanes the inhabitants of Svanetia: the Abasgi, the Abkhazes. Strabo says that at Dioscurias were kept seventy interpreters, each for a different tribe of the interior with which business was done, and others raised the

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1 For the pirates of this coast see de Peyssonel, Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire, Vol. ii. p. 10. Paris, 1787.
2 For its harbour, v. supra, p. 4.
number to three hundred. It would scarcely be impossible to come up to the former number nowadays by taking all the dialects of the Caucasus, and in Kerch, for instance, twenty different tongues are in quite common employ at the present time.

For the racial affinities of the tribes East of the Sea of Azov, v. p. 127.

**LOCI CLASSICI.**

Herodotus, IV. passim.
Polybius, IV. 38—42.
Strabo, *Geogr.* v. i. 1—19, iv. 1—7 (pp. 293—312 C.), xi. 1, 5—7, li. 1—16, 19 (490—507 C.);
Dio Chrysostomus, xxxvi.
Dionysius Periegetes, II. 142—168, 541—553, 562—732, and Eunapius in II.
Ptolemy, *Geogr.* III. v. vi. viii. VII. x. xviii.
Stephanus Byzantinus, sub nominibus urbium, etc.

Pomponius Mela, 1. 110—115. II. 1—15.
Pliny, *NH.* IV. 88 75—93. VI. 15—22.
Solinus, XIII. 1—3. XIV. 1, 2. XV. 1—29. XIX. 1—19.
Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII. viii. 10—26.

3 Anonymus Ravennas, 1. 17, II. 12, 20. IV. 1—5. V. 10, 11.
CHAPTER III.

GEOGRAPHY OF SCYTHIA ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

In the preceding survey of the coasts of Scythia we have had many tangible points by which to test the accounts of the ancients and have been able to fix the position of most important names occurring in the authorities. But it is far otherwise with regard to the interior. A whole series of ingenious investigators has endeavoured for instance to draw a map of Scythia according to Herodotus, and the different results to which they have come prove that in this it is hopeless to seek more than the establishment of a few main facts. Well has Pliny said "Quo in alia parte major autorum inconstantia, credo, propter innumeram vagasque gentes," and he proceeds to give whole lists of names derived from all kinds of authors from Hecataeus to Agrippa. Herodotus is the main authority, and no lover of Herodotus can deny that he might have used more system and consistency in his account without interfering with the charm of the narrative. The mistake made by most writers is in striving to wrest the different geographical sections of Book iv., composed at various times from various sources and introduced in various connections, into a seeming consistency with each other and with the modern map—generally to the unjust treatment of the modern map. It is useless to attempt to give any résumé of the views which have prevailed from time to time as to the geography of Scythia. As any particular problem is treated the views of different writers may be quoted, but a systematic setting forth of all the theories that have been advanced would take up a great deal of space without much helping matters. Some idea of the variety of the solutions may be gained from the Bibliography to this chapter; it does not claim to be complete, for no useful purpose would be served by seeking out all the obscure or aberrant authors who have dealt with the subject.

In Chapters vii. and viii. I shall enumerate the various civilisations that have left traces or rather tombs on the soil of S. Russia, but so far no one has succeeded in establishing any close link between the series of names or groups of names furnished by history and the remainings which archaeology has unearthed in the steppe region. As will be pointed out there are correspondences between the culture revealed by tombs of the so-called Scythic type and the culture ascribed by Herodotus to the Scyths; but this culture certainly belonged also to other tribes, particularly the Sarmatians. No one has applied so much common sense to the examination of Herodotus as Mr. Macan, and I am deeply indebted to his masterly excursus on the geography of Scythia.

1 Hist. vi. 50.
SCYTHIA QUADRATA
ad mentem Herodoti, cum secondam partem Melaconis scissit a LXXVIs capta.
Most writers take the passage cc. 99—101 as their main guide in setting out their map. But this passage rests on the radical error that the line of the coast from the Don mouth to Perekop is about at right angles to that from Perekop to the Danube mouth. This latter line is one side of a square including all Scythia, and the former is another; each side being reckoned at 20 days journey = 4000 st., about the actual length of the s. side; but a square with two of its sides almost in the same straight line makes an awkward foundation for any further construction. Indeed this square Scythia is merely a chess-board for the game of Darius and the Scythians, on which they can make their moves untroubled by any of the real features of the country, notably the rivers (Map iv).

A much more satisfactory account is furnished by cc. 16—20, starting characteristically from Olbia and giving an intelligible survey of the inhabitants, the western half going from s. to n., Callippidae, Alazon, Aroteres, the eastern half from w. to e., Georgi who may well be the same as Aroteres, Nomades and Royal Scyth; above them from w. to e. the same row of non-Scythian tribes that we get in 99 sq., Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlaeni, with the Sauromatae beyond the Tanais and the Budini, etc. further to the ne. No geometrical boundaries are mentioned, only a rather doubtful desert (Map v, p. 34).

The real boundary of Scythia was no desert but the edge of the forest. As far as the open steppe, whether cultivated or not, extended, so far were the nomads masters, so far went the boundaries of Scythia. The same line which bounded the dominions of the Khazars, the Pechenegs, the Cumans, and the constant incursions of the Tartars, formed the real limit of Scythia. Time may have pushed northwards the forest zone as he has destroyed the Hylaea on the lower Dniepr, but a line running e.n.e. from Podolia to the Kama must be just about the upper limit of the steppe. If there was a desert, it was one made by the incursions of the steppe men, like the desert belt to the s. of Muscovy in the xvth century, kept clear of settled habitations by the menace of the Golden Horde.

The excursus on the rivers does very little to clear up our ideas of Scythia. Of the eight main rivers, five, the Ister, Tyras, Hypanis, Borysthenes and Tanais, can be identified with certainty as the Donube, Dniepr, Bug, Dniepr and Don; but one can by no means say the same of the Panticapes, the Hypacyris and the Gerrhus nor of the numerous tributaries of the Danube.

The whole question of the Danube has been complicated by the attempt to take square Scythia (iv. 99—101) as the base for the descriptions of tribes and rivers given in chapters 17 to 20 and 47 to 57.

Since the time of Niebuhr it has been generally received that because the tributaries Porata, Tiarantus etc. flowed into the Ister out of Scythia, therefore the Ister formed the boundary of Scythia; which is no doubt true if interpreted in the sense that the nomad Scyths larded it over the Rumanian steppes as well as over the Russian; but it does not follow that the boundary of this Scythia ran more or less north and south, and so Herodotus conceived

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1 Shown by the shading on Map 1.  
2 Her. iv. 47—57.
of the Danube as taking a great bend to the south: for he says consistently that it flows from W. to E., and the boundary running N. and S. belongs only to square Scythia which is erected from the coast and is not concerned with anything more than the mouth of the Danube, there rightly regarded as making a bend to the S.E. and so entering Scythia. Once the idea of a great southern bend had been formulated it was confirmed by elaborate theories of symmetry and accepted even by Maecen and Niederle who know so well the impossibility of reconciling all the geographical data.

Given that the Ister of Herodotus flowed more or less west to east the identification of the tributaries is a mere matter of detail. The Pyretus-Porata is evidently the Prut; the survival of this name justifies us in calling the Ordessus Ardzhish; it is impossible to say which of the many left bank tributaries correspond to the Tarantus, Naparis and Ararus. The Maris among the Agathyrsi is certainly the Maros which reaches the Danube by way of the Theiss. This settles the Agathyrsi in Transylvania, and not so far north as they are put in square Scythia.

The Tyras is quite clearly the Dnestr but equally clear is it that Herodotus did not know anything about its upper course. As soon as it reaches the woods of Podolia it is lost sight of and a lake is invented for its source. The Greek feeling was that a great river must rise either from a high mountain or from a great lake. Herodotus knew that there were no mountains to the N. of Scythia, accordingly he has provided most of the rivers with suitable lakes. True to his wrong bearings he makes the Dnestr come down from the N. instead of the NW.

The Hypanis or Bugh is set W. of the Borysthenes by Strabo, Pliny, Vitruvius (viii. ii. 6), and Ptolemy. This mistake is owing to the confusion of the town Borysthenes or Olbia on the Hypanis with the river Borysthenes. Also if the mouth of the common liman be regarded as the mouth of the Borysthenes it actually is to the W. of the Hypanis. Further trouble is caused in Pliny by the existence of the other Hypanis, also called Anticites, now the Kuban. As to Exampaeus and the bitter spring supposed to spoil the river water for four days journey seawards it must have been some stream impregnated with salt from the steppe. Both the Sinjukha and the Mertyavodly (or dead waters) have this quality and either would suit fairly well; but if Exampaeus is about the point where the Tyras and Hypanis are nearest each other it must be far inland in Podolia.

In his description of the Borysthenes (Dnepr) the chief difficulty is that Herodotus omits to mention the well-known cataracts which would have come in so well in comparing it to the Nile. Constantine Porphyrogenitus first mentions them. It seems as if the old routes had left the main river before

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1 Her. vi. 99 & ἅττονές ἐκδόθης ἐκ αὖθις (sc. Ἀπερονί) πρὸς θάλασσαν ἀπεμένον τὰ όρμα τῆς τραπεζῆς.
3 In the geographical introduction to his article on the European expedition of Darius (Cl. Rev. XI. July 1897, p. 277). Prof. Bury makes Oaros = Avarus = Booster, and so keeps Darius in the west of Scythia, v. inf. p. 117.
4 Ἀρρασίας, Const. Porph. De Adm. Imp. 42. (For the bearings of these river names see inf. p. 38.)
5 Bury, Const. Porph. I.c.
6 Anon. Anon. 84 (90).
7 De Adm. Imp. c. 9 gives a lively account of the difficulties offered by them, more than they would seem to present nowadays; in ancient times perhaps they were quite impassable.
arriving at them, going perhaps up the Ingulets, and as if the water route which followed the Dnepr was due to the Varies, who would be the first to draw attention to the Rapids.

The land Gerrhus must have been at the bend of the stream about Nicopol. In this district were the tombs of the Scythian kings and here the finest barrows have been opened. The Gerrhus river was fourteen days up stream from the Hylaea, the extent of the country of the Nomads (c. 19) on the e. side of the Borysthenes, while on the west for 10 or 11 days stretched the country of the Georgi and above them was a desert. Moreover the Borysthenes was supposed to flow from the n. as far as the land of Gerrhus, to which was forty days sail. Its source like the Nile's was unknown.

The description of the Borysthenes is true to this day. The Hylaea indeed has almost disappeared, but the rich pastures are still there; the fisheries and the salt trade survived till the other day. It is curious that there has never been a great port at the mouth of the Dnepr. Olbia and Nicolaev both on the Buhg, and Kherson was one of Potemkin's mistakes both in name and in site. The channel is too shoal for a satisfactory harbour, whereas of late years Nicolaev has begun to rival Odessa.

The Panticapes is a puzzle. The natural meaning of the words of Herodotus suggests a river flowing s. and running into the Dnepr towards its lowest reaches on the e. side, but such a river does not exist. Some see in it the Konka a kind of alternative channel of the Dnepr which it accompanies for the last 150 miles of its course, others maintain that it is the Ingulets, which would answer very well except that it is on the right bank of the Dnepr. The question is bound up with the position of the Scythae Georgi. If the Ingulets is the Panticapes, the natural meaning of c. 18 is that they lived to the w. of it, but in that case they would hardly touch the Borysthenes and would not have been called Borysthenitae by the Olbian Greeks. Also Herodotus says distinctly that they lived between the Panticapes and the Borysthenes. But between the Konka and the Dnepr there is scarcely any space at all, certainly not three days' journey. However this small space, the valley of the Dnepr, would be singularly suited for agriculture, and the statement does not preclude their occupying an expanse of steppe to the west. Anyone ascending the Borysthenes might well think on seeing its confluence that the Konka was an independent stream. On the whole we may suppose that the informants of Herodotus knew the mouth of the Konka, and its course was purely hypothetical; if ground be sought for its mother-lake, it might be the marshes of the Great Meadow.

The sixth river, the Hypacyris, also does not occur on the modern map. Either there once was a considerable river represented by the Kafanchk and the dried watercourses which formerly fed it, over one of these there used to be a large stone bridge; or Herodotus regarded the gulf of Perekop as the estuary of a river and deduced the river therefrom. So too with the Gerrhus the seventh river. It separated from the Borysthenes in the land called Gerrhus and flowed into the Hypacyris, according to c. 56 dividing the Scythian Nomads from the Royal Scyths. This gives no space for the fourteen

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1 So apparently c. 53. It would be easier to reconcile the Greek with actuality could we read 14 for 40, 53 for 56: not a great change, giving just the distance up to Gerrhus.
days journey which they are supposed to stretch from W. to E. (c. 16). These fourteen days may perhaps be reckoned up the stream of the Dnêpr and Konka, but Herodotus would regard this as S. to N. So that either the Gerrhus does not really flow into the gulf of Perekop and join the Hypacyris at all, but flows into the sea of Azov as the Molochnaja, Berda or Kalmius all of which come close to tributaries of the Dnêpr that join it above Nicopol (e.g. the Samara), or else there is no real distinction between Nomads and Royal Scythians, which may well be the same tribe under different names. Perhaps the easiest solution is that the Panticapes is the Konka more or less where Herodotus puts it. This agrees with the natural position of the Hylaee. The Gerrhus as the Molochnaja flowed into the sea of Azov as Pliny and Ptolemy (but not Mela) believed and formed a short cut from the sea to the upper Dnêpr and the land Gerrhus. Another such short cut was furnished by the Hypacyris now the Kalanchak. Such short cuts reached by portage were actually used by the Cossacks in their raids against the Turks and must have been still more convenient when there was a greater extent of forest and consequently more water in the rivers.

No one but Bruun has doubted that the Tanais was always the Don or at any rate the Donets, and the Hyrgis would be the other branch now regarded as the true Don. Or this may well be represented by the Oarus which is almost certainly the Volga in the upper part of its course: I mean that merchants following the trade route towards the NE might well understand that the river they crossed above Tsaritsyn flowed into the Azov sea instead of making its sudden bend S.E. to the Caspian. The Tsaritsyn portage must have always been a place where trade was transferred from one river to the other. As to the Lycaus and the Syrgis, which may or may not be the same as the Hyrgis, no one has given names to them so as to carry conviction; the former may perhaps be the Ural. In later times there was such confusion that the Caspian was represented to Alexander as being the same as the Maeotis.

The question of the other rivers running into the Caspian is very difficult. On the west we have the Kur and the Aras now joining at their mouths, these are clearly the Cyrus and the Araxes properly speaking.

In the mind of Herodotus there seems some confusion because the Armenian Araxes answers in direction (iv. 40), but neither in importance nor in position, to another Araxes upon which he puts (t. 201) the Massagetae; especially does it come short in the matter of its delta in which there should be islands the size of Lesbos (t. 202). This greater Araxes seems to be the Oxus or a running-into-one of the Oxus and Jaxartes. The latest

1. Chersonesos II. i. 104 and Appendix to Antiquités de la Syphie d’Hérodeat.
3. De Piana Carplini (ap. Rockhill, Kebrock, p. 98, c. 4, 5) thinks the Volga finds its way into the Black Sea, and even in the 16th century Mathias Michon, a Pole who knew most of Russia well and has no mercy on those who believed in the Kippean Mountains, repeated several times that the Volga falls into the Euxine. (Mathias Michon de Sarmatia, Lib. ii. c. vii. p. 493 in Nouus Orbis, Simon Grynaeus, Basle, 1537.)
4. Strabo, xi. vii. 4.
5. Stein will have but one Araxes, thought of by H. as running out of Armenia past the south coast of the Caspian into which it sends an arm, to marshes far to the E. The Scythians forced over the river would be Saca invading Persia (cf. J. L. Myres op. cit.). Weinsberg (Klio, Beitr. a. a., Gesch. II. ii. 1192, 192, Zur Topographie des Herodotus) makes the Araxes of t. 222 the Volga and puts the Massagetae upon that, v. infra. pp. 111, 113 n. 3.
investigations seem to shew that two thousand years ago the Caspian ran up a valley (the Uzbok) in the direction of the Aral sea and communicated with it by means of a lake or depression Sary Kamyshtau, which an arm of the Oxus flowed. Between this arm and the main stream going into the Aral sea there would be room for large islands. Further it is a question whether the Araxes mentioned (iv. 11) as having been crossed by the Scythians may not be the lower Volga, as it seems hard to think of them as ever having been south of the Oxus and displaced northwards by tribes coming from the east. If the Jaxartes were meant it would be just conceivable. They would find no satisfactory abiding place between the Jaxartes and the Don. We can never tell whether Herodotus be using Europe in the ordinary sense of the xw. quadrant of the old world or in his own special sense of the whole northern half.

Seeing there are such difficulties in identifying the rivers, which must have remained substantially the same, we cannot hope to fix the place of the various Scythian tribes (cc. 17—20) with any accuracy; we can determine their relative positions but we have no idea of the relative extent of the lands they occupied and only one or two definite statements. We cannot even say whether the Georgi and Aroteres may not be the same people traversed and described by different travellers, and so too with the Nomad and Royal Scyths. On the modern map we may put the Calippidae quite close to Olbia; the Alazones have no boundaries that we can fix, we may place them in the central part of the Government of Kherson, while the northern part of the same and some of Ekaterinoslav and perhaps some of Kiev were occupied by the Aroteres. These three tribes lay on one route from Olbia towards the north. To the west we only know of the Greek Tyrtaeae about the mouth of the Dniepr: whether the same native tribes occupied the Hinterland and Rumania we cannot tell. Travellers towards the ene. from Olbia passed the Scythe Georgi occupying the valley of the lower Dniepr included in a belt three days' journey wide and extending ten or eleven days upstream to about the borders of Ekaterinoslav. Hence they would seem to have been continuous with the Aroteres and very likely identical. That is to say the two names between them represent a congeries of tribes in the same more or less agricultural stage.

The centre of Ekaterinoslav, by the great bend of the river, is the land Gerrhus which marches with the country of the Georgi and the Nomad Scyths. These with the Royal Scyths from which they cannot be clearly distinguished held the mainland part of Tauric, the western part of the land of the Don Cossacks, and probably also Kharkov and Voronezh.

The flat northern part of the Tauric peninsula which Herodotus thought continuous with the mainland, also belonged to them as far as the slaves' ditch, wherever that may have been. These eastern tribes lay on the route which led into Central Asia, and information about their...
position was hardly as definite as that about the central region north of Olbia. Indeed their position was perhaps indefinable; where the grass grew for their cattle, there was the land of the Nomad Scyths; as the most numerous and powerful tribe they did not need to respect their neighbours' boundaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

Our ideas of the Geography of Scythia have gradually grown clearer. Thus we have slowly eliminated the views which brought the boundaries of Scythia well up into central Russia far beyond the limits of the Steppe, we have given up the attempt to bring Herodotus into agreement with the present condition of things by allowing great changes in the courses of the rivers and a former eastern extension of the Masotis—our countrymen Rennell and Rawlinson were most ready for such explanations; we have forgotten such extravagancies as Lindner's view that the Scyths proper were to the west of the Dniepr, or Kolster's that Herodotus did not clearly distinguish between the Don and the Danube, or even more pardonable eccentricities such as Bruin's, that the Tanais was not the Don, but the Molochnaja.

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1 Both writers I judge by Neumann's statement of their views (op. cit. pp. 96 n. 2 and 204).
Most writers now agree as to the general orientation of the Scythia of Herodotus, but mention must be made of Kretschov's ingenious view, which figures the Scythian Square as washed by the sea along the halves of two adjacent sides only; the remaining halves of those sides running inland along the lower Ister and the coast of the Maeotis, which he reckons a mere marsh and no sea (fig. 3).

The square thus obtained with its corner at Cerciniis, placed by Kretschov at Donguslak lake in the Crimea, would be inclined slightly so as to have the S. sides facing SSE., so the sea along the south coast of the Crimea would be the eastern sea of C. 100. But when translated into the terms of the correct modern map, it works out to have much the same real meaning as the more usual interpretations which count the Maeotis as a sea for the nonce. And after all, what is important to us is not the shadowy idea of Scythia that floated in the mind of Herodotus, incapable of being consistently represented on our map, but the real state of affairs of which Herodotus and Hippocrates give so interesting but so tantalizing accounts.

Who wishes to follow the various attempts at drawing a map of Scythia ad mentem Herodoti, or at disposing the ancient names about the modern map, may consult the following books as I have done. I omit the eighteenth century attempts as being controlled by too slight a regard for the geography of the regions concerned.

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1 This is a fresh interpretation of τον δια μήραν μετάφημα φέρον καὶ το αὐτὸ τῷ δολιτωσαν, Ηρ. κατάδε, καὶ δηλωσαν, πάντα τοι ὑπέ το τῆς Ἰ. IV. 101.

M. 5
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CHAPTER IV.

THE SCYTHIANS, THEIR CUSTOMS AND RACIAL AFFINITIES.

Perhaps no question touching the ethnography of the ancient world has been more disputed than that of the affinities of the Scythians. It would seem at first sight that with the mass of details supplied by Herodotus and Hippocrates and the evidence derived from archaeological investigation of their country we ought to be able to arrive at a definite conclusion, but so far no perfectly satisfactory reconciliation of the various views has been reached. Perhaps the first doubt that arises is whether such a reconciliation is to be sought for; whether the mistake common to almost all writers on the subject may not be that they have rashly attempted to find one answer to the riddle, have said that the Scythians were Mongols or Slavs or Iranians, whereas the truth seems to be that the word Scythian had no ethnological meaning even in the mouth of Herodotus. With him, as I take it, it had a political meaning, whereas with the other authors who make use of the term it is merely geographical.

For most Greeks a Scythian, Ἱππόους, was any northern barbarian from the east of Europe, just as Ἡλλήνης was any such from the west. Herodotus wishing to give a more exact account of the peoples to the ἐκ τῆς θάλασσας ἱππόους to draw a line between Scyths and non-Scyths, but he found it hard to make his line consistent. For instance in iv. 81, when he tries to give us some idea of the numbers of the Scyths, he has in his mind two conceptions of the meaning of the term, for he says that he heard that they were exceeding many and also that they were few in number; that is to say the real Scyths (ὅλος ὡς Ἱππόους ἐίναι). At other times he makes careful distinctions between the peoples he calls Scythians and those to whom he denies the name, even when they have Scythian customs and Scythian dress; yet some of these tribes are called Scythian by other authors. We may take it that Herodotus used the word in a narrow sense to include only the Royal Scyths, possibly together with the Nomads, for it seems hard to establish any clear distinction between them; and in a wide sense to denote all those tribes, whatever their affinities or state of civilisation, that were under the political domination of the Royal Scyths. Each of these uses is more definite than the ordinary Greek use against which there is an under-current of protest in the repeated asseverations of Herodorus that such and such a tribe is not Scythian; perhaps he is contradicting Hecataeus. After the time of Herodotus the vague use returns. Thucydides

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1 For a short history of the Scythian question, and the chief solutions that have been proposed, see the Appendix at the end of this chapter.
2 11. 96, 97.
for instance must mean all the people of Scythia together when he says that, uncivilised though the Scythians were, no single nation of Europe or Asia could stand against them in war, if but they were all of one mind.

In late writers such as Trogus Pompeius' and Diodorus Siculus (i. 55, ii. 43) we have what purports to be very early history of the Scythians, who according to Trogus always claimed to be the most ancient of races. These authors speak of conquests pushed by the Scythians to the borders of Egypt and of an empire of Asia lasting fifteen hundred years and ending with the rise of Ninus. Fr. Hommel (v. inf. p. 99 n. 10) thinks that this is an echo of the Hittite rule, but it would be rash to conjecture what may be the foundation for these stories, which come in a suspicious company of Amazons and Hyperboreans. They look like the reflex of the Egyptian stories in Herodotus (ii. 103 and 110) who speaks of Sesostris having conquered the Scythians and Thracians. These are mere exaggerations of the real campaigns of Rameses pushed to the limits of the world and slenderly supported by mysterious rock carvings and such facts as the resemblance between the Colchians and the Egyptians. Trogus Pompeius idealizing the Scythians has made their exploits balance and surpass those of the nation whose claim to greater antiquity he dismisses.

The greater part of the information as to manners and customs given by Herodotus and the physical details in Hippocrates evidently refer to the Royal Scyths. On the other hand some statements seem quite inconsistent with their manner of life, and we are in our rights in supposing that such details apply to the settled tribes in Western Scythia about whom information would be easily available at Olbia. Less information is given about them because they did not offer so much novelty to interest the Greeks and also they do not play a prominent part in the story of the expedition of Darius, wherein ex hypothesi nomads and nomads only could be the protagonists.

Are we then to take the Scythians settled and nomad to be one race in two states of culture, or have we to do with the subjection of a peaceful agricultural people established in an open country and the domination of an intrusive horde of alien nomads?

If the wider sense of Scythian in Herodotus is taken to be political, the sharp line drawn by Herodotus between the agricultural Scythians and the Neuri, Agathyrsi and Getae need not have any ethnological significance, that is that even if we suppose the Neuri to be Slavonic and the latter two Thracian, there is no reason against taking these "Scythians" to belong to either of these races. The general view is that both agricultural and nomad Scythians were Iranian. There can be no doubt that up to the coming of the Goths and later the Huns, the Euxine steppes were chiefly inhabited by an Iranian population, and even in the steppes population does not change as easily as it used to be thought. It took the long continued storms of the great migrations from the coming of the Huns to that of the Tartars to sweep away this Iranian population and pen its survivors into the high valleys of Ossetia.

1 ap. Justin. i. 1, ii. 1 sqq.
2 For other possibilities v. pp. 97—100.
Professor Vsevolod Miller has given the clearest demonstration of the process by which this retrenchment of the Pontic Iranians came about. He shows that the place-names about the Ossetes in countries now peopled by Tartar-speaking tribes prove that they formerly extended over a greater area. Next he shows their identity with the Jasy of Russian chronicles, the Ossi of the Georgians.

Klaproth first proved in 1822 that the Ossetes are the same as the Caucasian Alans, and this is supported by the testimony of chroniclers Russian, Georgian, Greek, and Arab. From Ammianus Marcellinus (xxxii. ii. 15—23) we know that at the time of the Huns' invasion these Alans pastured their herds over the plains to the n. of the Caucasus and made raids upon the coast of the Maeotis and the peninsula of Taman. The Huns passed through their land, plundering them, but afterwards made alliance with them against Ermanrich the king of the Goths. Ammianus means by Alans all the nomadic tribes about the Tanaïs and gives a description of their habits borrowed from the account of the Scythians in Herodotus. For the first three centuries of our era we find these Alans mentioned as neighbours of the Sarmatians on this side or the other of the Don, living the same life and counting as one of their tribes. That is that Ossetes, Jasy, Alans, Sarmatians, are all of one stock, once nomad now confined to the valleys of the central chain of the Caucasus. The Ossetes are tall, well made, and inclined to be fair, corresponding to the description of the Alans in Ammianus (xxxii. ii. 21), and their Iranian language answers to the accounts of the Sarmatians whom Pliny calls "Medorum ut ferant soboles."

In a large number of inscriptions from the Greek cities along the Euxine shore we meet with several hundred barbarian names, and these give more or less trustworthy material for investigation. The first to examine them scientifically was K. Mullenhoff. He compared the names with the Old Persian and arrived at satisfactory results, but Vs. Miller has been more successful through taking Ossetian as the basis of comparison. On comparing the number of names which offer easy derivations from the Ossetian we may get some clue to the distribution of Iranian population along the coast. At Tyras we have no certain Iranian name among the five barbarian names we know: in Olbia out of about a hundred names half can be explained (App. Nos. 11—13 give samples): in Tanaïs out of 160 names a hundred are intelligible (cf. App. 50): in Panticapaeum out of 110 only 15 give ready meanings and these are mostly also found at Tanaïs, so from near Tanaïs only two names out of thirteen, from Gorgippia only seven or eight out of forty (v. App. 59) are demonstratively Iranian, and these mostly occur at Tanaïs. Furthermore we must make a distinction between

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1 Ossitan Studies III., Moscow, 1887.
5 N.H. VI. 19.
names shewing Old Persian forms and those which resemble Ossetian. The former are mostly names very familiar to the Greek world and in common use in the Hellenised provinces of the Persian Empire, especially Asia Minor: they are many of them royal names and testify to the political and general influence of the Persian Empire rather than to an Iranian population. Such would be Ariarathes, Ariaramnes, Arsaces, Achaemenes, Orontes, Pharnaces, Mithradates, Ariobarzanes, Machares and many more. The true native Iranian names are almost confined to Olbia and Tanais, others in the Bosporan kingdom may well have found their way in through Tanais. New Inscriptions (e.g. in JosPE. Vol. iv) supply more barbarian names but do not materially alter the results attained by Vs. Miller except that we find in them several more names certainly Thracian both at Olbia and on the Bosphorus. The unintelligible names at Gorgippia seem to recall Caucasian languages rather than Indo-European.

All these names are late in date, mostly of the II. and III. centuries A.D., the time when the Sarmatians spread from Hungary to the Caspian. At that time no doubt there was a broad band of Iranians right across, but it looks as if along the coast there long remained representatives of some other population, Getae in the west about the Ister and Tyras, and perhaps in the Olbia district, Tauri in the Crimean mountains, and tribes of the Caucasus stock to the south-east of the sea of Azov. From the western aboriginal tribes the Greeks may have heard the names of the rivers Borysthenes, Hypanis, Tyras, and Ister, names for which no satisfactory explanation has been suggested, and once sanctioned by classical usage these names continued to be used by the Greeks as long as they were in continuous occupation of this coast. But this tradition was broken by the destruction of the colonies Tyras and Olbia, and when the Greeks again had dealings with this coast they learnt other native names which only appear in authors who preferred actuality to classical correctness—Δανατρος in Periplius anonymi (86 (69)), Bugar and Δανατρος in Constantine Porphyrogénitus (de adn. Imp. 42). Now these names seem to contain the Ossetian Don a river, at least they have never been satisfactorily explained from the Slavonic; and the occurrence of Dan in river names just coincides with the extension of the Iranians in South Russia. The mouth of the Tanais being already in Iranian hands the Greeks at once adopted its Iranian name. The Iranian names for the western streams may be just as old, but they were not current on the seaboard and only found their way into Greek speech when the Greeks had, as it were, to rediscover the region after considerable changes of population. Maybe by then they learnt them not from the Iranians, but from Slavs who had borrowed them. The name of the Bugh has its counterpart in the Northern Bugh, also a Slavonic river, but it may be the same as Bugh=God, which is regarded as a loan-word from the Iranian Baga. I have never seen any other explanation of the curious fact that the present names for these rivers being apparently Iranian are first recorded just about the time that the Iranian population was succumbing to Slavonic and other invaders. In later times we get a fresh set of river names of Turkish origin.

Only in the east part of the Crimea the Iranians seem to have touched the
Black Sea coast, for Ἀρδεβίδ = Εὐρήπειος (Anon. 77 (51)), "Tauric" or Alan for Theodosia, seems clearly to contain Ossetian andr = seven, and ard may be according to Müllenhoff eredwā high, Lat. arduus. Vs. Miller says seven-sided, but that does not seem a near translation. So Σουράζα α, Sudak is no doubt Os. sevdik holy, cf. Sogdiana.

Whereas the Iranian character of the Sarmatian language and even a numerically preponderant Iranian element in the population has been generally accepted, the case of the Scyths is by no means as clear. What reliance can be put on the statement of Herodotus (iv. 117) that the Sarmatians speak the same language as the Scyths, but speak it incorrectly? While Herodotus is not altogether to be trusted in his statements about language, still he occasionally notices points bearing upon it, for instance when he mentions the seven languages required along the trade route to the NE. up to the Arimaspians. And the fact of the resemblance and the difference between the Scythian and Sarmatian dialects is the only explanation for the invention of the etiological myth about the Sarmatians being descended from young Scyths and Amazons (iv. 110–7). The other main difference between the two peoples, the free position of women among the Sarmatians, is also accounted for by the myth. Curiously enough the Ossetes still have legends of warlike women, and such stories are abroad throughout the Caucasus: among the Circassians is a literal reproduction of this tale in Herodotus.

When we come to examine the Scythian names and words in the Greek texts it is disappointing to find how few are readily to be explained from Iranian. Some words are quite clear, e.g. ἔνγυρος = Ἀρμασπάμς (Hippocrates, De aer. 29. speaks of the ἄναπορία of his ἄναποι) from a privative and Sk. Zd. nar, nara man. So ἐξαραμπάσ = ἰπατ Ὑδοί from Zd. asha, ashvan pure, ἀπάτι path. Arimaspi may be connected with Zd. ἀκβόλως loneliness, oneness, and ἄποι may be from the root ἀπειρός, Lat. specio. Müllenhoff objects to these and wants e.g. to translate Arimaspi "having obedient horses," saying that the others would be *Arimaspi, but it seems more likely that a Greek would make a mistake in dropping a termination and yet get the meaning right, than that he should invent an entirely wrong meaning which should still yield a form so near to what he reported. In ἀλλάνωρτα = ἀλλάποτοκονοῦ there seems to be possibly a misunderstanding. The first part is clearly Zd. Sk. ἀλαίρα man; the second half is rather ἀπάτι lord than from ἄποι to fell, causative of ἄποι to fall. Some of the Sarmatians were regularly called Γαλανκρατούμενος. The fact that Herodotus has in these cases furnished a translation is decisive. Also one or two of the proper names are evidently Iranian, e.g. Aripāta, Spargapithes. So most of the names in the "Scythian" legend of their own origin (iv. 5, 7) have quite an Iranian look. Tīrgataos (? Tīrgatetaos, cf. Τρίγάτα, queen of the Maeotae) may well be Tīghra īawa sharp and strong: and the names of the three brothers in ἄνας recall Avestic xšāya lord; so Colaxais would equal Archistratus.

Whereas no satisfactory Iranian explanation of the names of deities

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1 Polianusus, viii. 55.  
has been put forward, on the other hand Schiefner absolutely annihilated K. Neumann's attempts to derive any Scythian words from Mongolian.

Making all allowances for the inaccuracy with which Herodotus represented Scythian sounds, the corruption of the forms in our mss. and the fact that we have to place beside these forms languages considerably removed either in time or collaterally from what Scythian may have been, we must allow that the comparative success attained with Sarmatian forms suggests that there were foreign elements in Scythian which exercised much influence on the stock of names in use or in tradition. Founding any argument on personal names is singularly unsatisfactory. All history tells us that easily as nations change their language, they change their names still more easily. There are hardly a dozen English personal names in use or a dozen Russian, we must not therefore infer that Russians or English are descended from Greeks and Romans and Jews. So Persian names were common all over the East far beyond the extension of the Persian nationality, and it is hard to say whether the Persian names that we find in Herodotus as borne by Scythians are due to an original community of origin, or a borrowing at a time when the Scythians had warlike dealings with Persia either in Europe or Asia, or whether they are not merely given to personages in the same way as figures are given names on Greek vases. The Darius vase would be a peculiarly apt example, for on it Greek and Persian names are given indifferently to the barbarians hunting griffins and other monsters, just to lend them more individual interest. Such must almost certainly be the case with Spargapithes the Agathyrse.

Knowledge of the nationality of the Cimmerians whom the Scythians dispossessed would throw some light on the affinities if not of the Scythians themselves at least of the steppe population they found at their coming. The resemblance of the name Cimmerius with Cimmer already made Poseidonius imagine that there was some connection between them and the barbarians from the far north-west, and modern writers have further compared the name of the Cymry and supposed that these were one and the same people, Kelts. There is no impossibility in a migration from Central Europe to the steppes of the Black Sea in times before history, just as in historic times Central Europe has sent out conquerors to every corner of the continent, and Kelts actually did reach the neighbourhood of Olbia in the time of Protogenes, not to speak of their raids upon Delphi and Asia Minor. Further the bronze civilisation of the Koban necropolis certainly offers such analogies with that of Hallstadt that it is hard to believe that they are not connected. If only there were any finds of Hallstadt types between Hungary and the Caucasus offering evidence that the people who owned the Koban bronzes had settled in the steppes, the Cimmerians might have been thought of, but people who settled long enough to leave the earthworks of which

p. 531. St Petersburg, 1856, but see infra, pp. 85, 100.
2. Her. IV, 78.
4. Cf. Aristophanes, Epistrateia 1. 45. Knyszyn,
but this is an easy corruption palaeographically.
5. Ridgeway, Early Art p. 387, 394.
Herodotus makes mention (iv. 12) must have left weapons by which their course could be traced. And save for a single stopped axe-head from Kerch figured by its owner Canon Greenwell non Koban or Hallstadt implements seem to have been found in South Russia. The flat-ended hair-pins found by Count Bobrinskiy at Gulaj Gorod, and the spirals found by him at Teklino, seem to be rather eastern outliers from Central Europe than links between it and the Caucasus.

H. Schmidt has the same difficulty to face in maintaining that the makers of the late bronze things from Hungary were Thracians and that these Thracians were the Koban people in the Caucasus (v, inf. p. 250) and that the Cimmerians of the plains between were Thracians as well. It is true that the Cimmerian raids were made in common with the Thracians, but we have to account for the Iranians north of the Euxine.

Mullenhoff supposes that there never were any Cimmerians at all north of the Euxine, that they are only known in Asia Minor, that their name was traditionally assigned to the earthworks and settlements about the Bosporus, just as now earthworks in eastern Europe are assigned to Trajan far beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and that they were really invaders from Thrace or the parts beyond, men of darkness who joined with Treres and other Thracian tribes in invading Asia Minor. It is hard to think that Herodotus simply invented all the story of the Cimmerians coming from the n. side of the Pontus, though even so it is at first sight difficult to see precisely how things happened; how if the Cimmerians fled s. there should have been their kings' tomb on the Tyras; and how they should have formed their connection with the Treres. But that invaders from the east should have cut them into two is not inconceivable. Part went into Thrace, produced a turmoil there and finally, with Thracian tribes they had disturbed, entered Asia Minor by the n.w.; part were pressed towards the Caucasus and passed it, not as Herodotus says along the coast of the Black Sea, for no army has ever passed that way (Mithridates in his famous flight was accompanied only by a small guard), but by the central pass of Darial, through which, as the Georgian annals shew, the northern peoples have often forced their way. Though the idea of the Cimmerians being cut in two seems hard to accept, the analogy offered by the fate of the Alans shews that it is not without the bounds of possibility. On the coming of the Huns part of these was forced westward, joined the Germans against whom they were thrown and ended as the inseparable companions of the Vandals in North Africa. Part of them was, as we have seen, pressed up against the Caucasus and remains there to this day: and about them are the Tartar tribes that penned them in. So likewise the Magyars were driven by the Pechenegs partly w. across the Dnepr, partly through the Caucasus, where they were called Sevordik. So the Scyths drove

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1 Archaeologia, Vol. LVIII. Pt 1. p. 12.
2 Govt. of Kievan, Sm. I. No. XII. p. 102 and 113 and pl. IX. 7, 8.
3 Sm. III. CCCXVII. pp. 19 and 23 and pl. II. 4 and 9.
5 D.A. ill. p. 19 sqq.
6 J. Marquart, Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge, p. 38.
the Cimmerians through the Caucasus and followed them. Then both
peoples came within the sweep of Assyrian policy.4

Here we get another view of them. We find the Cimmerians,
Gimirrai, first n. of Urartu (Ararat). Hence they are driven out by
Aš-gu-za-ai (Asarhaddon) or Iš-ku-za-ai (Sun Oracle). These names are
and Êššûn of Genesis n., where the latter form is miswritten for Êššûn.
The first syllable is added as usual in Semitic languages to help out
such a combination as šk at the beginning of a word, so that the
identity with the Greek Κυμεριανος and Σκύθης is almost complete. So
too the leader of the Ašguzai Bartatna is Protothyes father of Madys
in Herodotus (i. 103) and Tugdammi the Cimmerian is Διώδαμος in Strabo
(i. iii. 21) for Διώδαμος. Lygdamis was a familiar name and the copyist
was misled. The Cimmerians driven s. from Urartu attacked Man a
kingdom under Assyrian suzerainty. The Assyrians supported their vassals
and found allies in the Scythians who were already enemies of the
Cimmerians. This hostility turned the Cimmerians westward against Gug,
Gyges of Lydia (Herodotus says Ardyss i. 15), and one horde was
destroyed by Madys (Strabo) in Cilicia, whereas Lydia was under their
dominion till the time of Sadyattes, and Sinope and Antandrus were long
occupied by Cimmerians. Meanwhile the Scythians as allies of the Assyrians
tried to raise the siege of Nineveh which was being prosecuted by the
Medes; hence a conflict between Scythians and Medes and apparently
an overrun of Media by the Scythians.5 Scythians also made their
appearance further to the sw., apparently being sent by Assyria against
Egypt, but bought off by Psammetichus. Thus they are referred to by
the Hebrew Prophets6 and engaged in the sack of Ascalon where some
contracted a disease ascribed by Herodotus (i. 105) to the hostility of
Aphrodite. A colony of them is said to have settled at Beth-shan hence
called Scythopolis.7 Evidence of intercourse between Assyria and the
Scyths may be seen in the gold dagger sheaths from the Óxus (p. 255,
f. 173), from Melgunov's Barrow (p. 171, ff. 65-67) and from Kelermes,
and also the unique axe from the latter (p. 222; cf. p. 263).

It has been supposed that the Scythians that overran western Asia
were Sacaen from the e. of the Caspian, and that such incursions were
always possible we learn from subsequent history, but the Assyrian evidence
goes to show that Scythians had penetrated through the Caucasus.
A curious point is that the son of Tugdammi, Sandakhštāhra8, has a name
clearly Iranian, and it is hard to suppose that the Cimmerians had yet
come under Median influence. Does it mean that the Cimmerians had
Iranian affinities? It looks as if the "Royal" Scyths, whoever they may
have been, were invaders from the far North-east who found in the
steppes a population of Iranian stock whom they called men of darkness,
i.e. Westerners (cp. p. 106), partly nomad and partly settled, drove some
of this population out, and established a dominion over the remainder.

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1 Winckler, H., Alterorientalische Forschungen, p. 484 sqq., § X: Kimmerier, Altgirner, Scythean.
3 Cf. Jer. iv. 3—vi. 20. Cf. Driver, Introd. to Lit. of O.T., p. 33, who suggests that a description
originally meant for the Scythians was worked over to make it do for the Chaldaens. Ex. xxviii. and
xxxix. 10-16 is even less exact.
4 Josephus, Anti. Jud. iii. viii. 5.
By the time of Herodotus they may have become almost blended with their nomad underlings; such blending takes place far more easily with nomads than with agricultural populations: they may have even adopted their language, retaining the names of persons and gods which are so difficult of interpretation in the light of Iranian vocabularies. The conception of displacements of whole populations is being superseded by the recognition of the fact that in most countries the mass of the people has remained much the same as far back as we can trace its characteristics. The general type of skull and build in any given locality does not easily alter. From time to time conquests change the national name, the language talked by all, the ethnological character of the upper classes or even of all the warrior caste; to outside observers it seems as if a new race had been substituted for a former one, but in a few generations the aborigines again come to the top and in time the physical type of the invaders becomes almost extinct. Only a long succession of conquests of a country peculiarly open to attack can really sweep away a whole population, where that has been at all thick and where the disparity of development is not too great. We are so used to the cases of the North American Indians, the Tasmanians, and other instances of utterly barbarous tribes really disappearing before the invader, that we do not realize that such conditions rarely obtained in the old world. To the north of the Euxine it took the successive hordes of the Huns, Avars, Khazars, Pechenegs, Polovtzes and Tartars, to say nothing of less important tribes, to sweep the Iranian folk clean off the plains over which they had wandered, and they only succumbed to this fate because they were living in perfectly open country upon a highway of nations.

Four legends as to the origin of the Scythians.

In the first, which is told by the Scythians of themselves, they say that they are the newest of races and spring from Targitaus son of Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes. Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Harpoxais and Colaxais, of whom the youngest obtained the kingdom by the ordeal of approaching four sacred gold objects that fell burning from heaven. These sacred gold objects were a plough and a yoke and an axe and a cup. From these three sons three tribes, Catiari, Traspies and Paralate, are descended, and the whole nation is called Scoloti; Scytha being the Greek name: and the gold objects are kept sacred until this day. The next story (c. 8 sqq.) is told by the Pontic Greeks. In it Heracles plays the part of Zeus; Echidna, half woman, half serpent, bears three sons to him. The ordeal is the stringing of the bow left by the hero and the knotting of the belt with its cup attached. The two elder sons, Gelonus and Agathyrsus, fail and become fathers of peoples outside Scythia, the third Scythe remaining in the land.

These two stories are substantially the same. Only the second has been even more Hellenised than the first. The Scythians are represented as autochthonous even though Targitaus only dates back a thousand years before Darius. Three sons in each case submit to an ordeal in

1 Her. IV. 3 sqq.
which, as usual in folk tales, the youngest is successful. From the sons tribes are descended: in the one case well-known neighbouring nations whose names the Greeks knew, in the other obscure septs among the Scythians, to whom as a whole is given the native name Scoloti. None of these names meet us elsewhere except a bare mention in Pliny¹ taken from Herodotus. The scene of both stories is laid in West Scythia: in both there comes a mention of a golden cup—now no representation of a Scythian with a cup at his belt has been found—and more remarkable still a golden plough is one of the holy objects. The man who keeps them is given land for his own use, as much as he can ride round in a day. This legend in two forms can only apply to the agricultural West-Scythians. Hitherto writers who wished to be more than usually exact have called the Royal Scyth Scoloti, but this legend would suggest that just these did not call themselves Scoloti, which was really the native name for the royal clan among some tribe of the western Scythians about Olbia.² Mishechenko³ examining these legends thinks they apply to the reigning clan of the Royal Scyths, but that perhaps their real scene is central Asia. He takes Pliny as a serious witness to the survival of these clans. I cannot follow him in this, though I have come to much the same conclusions in most things.

Another account in Herodotus (iv. 11), to which he himself chiefly inclines, definitely names the nomad Scyth and brings them out of Asia (that is to say Asia in the ordinary sense, not according to the Herodotean definition of it), across the Araxes (apparently the Volga), into the land of the Cimmerians, and then follows the story of how the latter fled into Asia across the Caucasus and the Scythians pursued them. This account represents the Massagetae as responsible for the first impulse, but Aristeas says that it was the Arimaspians that fell upon the Issedones and that these fell upon the Scyths and drove them against the Cimmerians. At any rate it is clearly stated that the Scyths came from the East. Diodorus Siculus has made a contamination of these accounts and while letting the Scythians come from Western Asia has brought in the Echidna of the Greek legend (iv. 43 sqq.). His story with its explanation of the history of Sarmatians and Amazons reads plausibly, being eke out with details which apply to the rise of every tribe that ever rose to power in Asia; compare the accounts of how Chingiz Khan became great and spread abroad the dominion of the Mongols; but his anachronisms enable his reader to estimate his account at its real worth. Of course the Asiatic origin of the nomad Scyths is no bar to their Iranian affinity, but it makes a non-Aryan derivation conceivable.

**Physical characteristics.**

The supporters of the Mongol theory of the Scyths rely chiefly on the evidence of Hippocrates in his treatise on Airs, Waters and Places. The evidence of the first of Greek physicians ought to be conclusive, but

¹ Coner, Arch. v. 12, 50.
² For Iranian tales in which the youngest of three brothers succeeds cf. Spiegel, Enum. Altertumsk. I. 544, who compares Echidna and Dahak.
unfortunately, in spite of much medical detail, it does not give us a clear idea of Scythian characteristics. The fact is that he was trying to prove a theory, emphasizing the effect of the environment upon a race, and it is a question whether he does not rather twist his facts to meet his theory. And inasmuch as his notion of the environment is faulty—he takes Scythia to have a climate almost uniformly cold throughout the year—the facts that suit his theory are rather open to doubt.

Hippocrates begins by describing the Sauromatae whom he calls a Scythian tribe living about the Maeotis and differing from the other tribes. He goes on to tell of their women's taking part in war—the usual story. He draws a very clear line between them and the rest of the Scyths of whom he says that they are as different from all other men as are the Egyptians. But this difference which he ascribes to their monotonous mode of life, the men riding on horseback and the women on wagoons, and to the continuous cold and fog of their country, he hardly defines in a convincing way. It amounts to a tendency to fatness, slackness and excess of humours, and a singular mutual resemblance due to all living under the same conditions. This slackness they counteract by a custom of branding themselves on various parts of the body. Further he says that the cold makes their colouring nuppés, which seems to mean a reddish brown, the colour that fair people get from being much in the open. It cannot be any kind of yellow. The colour of the Tartars was not far from reddish. Kublai Khan had a white and red complexion, yet Chingiz Khan was surprised at his being so brown, as most of his family had blue eyes and reddish hair. So too Batu is described by Rubruck as per fusus gutta rosea which du Cange takes = rubidus in facie; so Hakluyt and Bergeron, but Rockhill is probably right in translating "his face was all covered with red spots." The Chinese describe one of the five tribes of Hsiung-nu as fair. Lastly Hippocrates observes in both men and women a sexual indifference that amounts in some of the men to actual impotence; these are the Anaries of whom Herodotus also speaks, ascribing their disease to the wrath of the goddess Astarte whose temple they had plundered at the time of their invasion of Asia. But Hippocrates will have none of this, and says this is a disease just like any other disease and due to excessive

1 Cf. J. G. Frazer, Golden Bough, III, p. 217. The Indians of St Juan Capistrano in California used to be branded in certain parts of their bodies...because they believed that the custom added greater strength to their nerves and gave a better pulse for the management of bow.


4 Rubruck, p. 134.

5 Her. l. 105.

6 Cf. Reimengs (Jacob), Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Caucasus, Bd 1, P. 270.

7 Der Mann (der Nogajen) hat ein fleischiges aufgetriebenes aber breites Geäsicht, mit sehr hervortretendem Backenknochen, kleine liehende

Augen und keine fünfzig bis achtzig Barthaare. Wenn nun nach Krankheiten eine unmäßige Erschöpfung folgt oder das Alter eintritt, so wird die Haut des ganzen Körpers ausserordentlich räumlich und die wenigen Barthaare fallen aus und der Mann bekommt ein ganz weibliches Aensche. Er wird zum Beschlaf unnützig und seine Empfindungen und Handlungen haben einen Männlichen entsagt. In diesem Zustande muss er der Männer Gesellschaft fliehen: er bleibt unter der Weiber, kleidet sich wie ein Weib, und man könnte tund guëgen einen wetter dass dieser Mann wirklich ein alter Weib und zwar ein recht häßliches alte Weib sein.

8 Neumann, p. 164, quotes curiously enough from an English translation which I have not seen, and translates back into German.

The disease described by Pallas (Voyages en plusieurs provinces, Paris, t. I, B, II, p. 135 sqq.) does not appear cognate with this, though some
riding. But all this, he says definitely, applies only to the most noble and rich among them. With the common folk it is entirely otherwise. This whole description seems to suggest the condition of an Asiatic race in the last stage of degeneration, when the descendants of a small band of conquerors have reached a state of effete sloth and are ready to make way for a more vigorous stock.

The chief question that is raised by this description is as to the amount of trust that can be put in the statement that the ruling caste of Scyths is quite unlike any other kind of man. In the representations on works of art (v. p. 57 n.) the nomads do not appear so very unlike any other northern people, their resemblance to modern Russian peasants has often been pointed out; though this resemblance is superficial, due rather to certain similarities of costume and to the way in which an abundant growth of hair disguises the individuality of a type, than to a deep-seated likeness. The similarities of costume are due to the fact that the Russians have borrowed many details of their dress from nomad tribes through the intervention of the Cossacks, whose mode of life had much in common with that of their hereditary foes. The words for clothes in Russian are mostly of Tartar origin. Still the bearded warriors on the vase from Kul Oba could not possibly be described as ενουκοικεδωται ανθρώποι. If these are in any sense Scythian they must belong to a later time when the N. Asiatic blood had become completely mixed in. The Tartars of Kazan and the Uzbeks of Turkestan, races in which Altaic blood has been much diluted with Finnish or Iranian, are fully bearded. The Chinese drawings of Kara Kitans (p. 96, f. 25) show them with full beards. The representations of nomads from Kul Oba seem to belong to about the middle of the fourth century B.C. and by then the peculiar type described by Hippocrates might well have become almost obliterated by intermarriage with earlier inhabitants. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI. 11) uses a similar expression of the Huns "σπαντῆνας τῆινας," and he is not likely to be copying Hippocrates in the same way that he applies to the Alans the description Herodotus gives of the Scythians. It seems as if the Huns, almost undoubtedly Altaic, produced the same impression on Ammianus as the Scythians on Hippocrates.

The osteological characteristics of the skeletons found in Scythic graves throw very little light on the questions at issue. Had the skulls discovered been uniformly short or long, such uniformity would have been a weighty argument for assigning them to Tartars or Europeans respectively. But the rather scanty observations made hitherto tend to show that there was considerable variety among individuals who used objects of defined Scythic type. The best known case is that of the five skulls found in Chertomlyk and discussed by K. E. von Baer in ASH. Of these two were short and two were long and one was intermediate, and the data were not sufficiently exact to shew that either lords or servants were one or the other. And even had there been such data they would not have cleared up the question, as it would

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symptoms are alike. My friend Dr. L. Bousfield suggests that it was very bad orchitis and that Hippocrates may have been right in putting it down to constant riding.

1 W. V. Stasov in his review of Maskell's Russian Art, Works, Vol. II. ii., p. 825.

be possible to argue the greater purity of blood of either rulers or servants: a priori the latter might be supposed to be imported slaves, but Herodotus distinctly says that they were native Scyths, and he tells of the marriage of Scythian kings with various foreign women. So too some of the skulls illustrated by Count Bobrinskoej in Smělňa slightly suggest Mongolian forms, others are purely European. To this same conclusion came Professor Anatole Bogdanov, who says that in Scythic tombs the skulls are mostly long though occasionally Mongoloid and notes a general tendency towards brachycephaly during the Scythic period. For strangely enough although Slavs and Finns are now short-headed they seem to have become so only during the last few centuries. In Hungary e.g. at Keszthely the cemeteries which are referred to the Sarmatians are full of bow-legged skeletons, a characteristic which may be accounted for either by their horsemanship or by a mixture of Altaic blood.

The process of gradual amalgamation of Central-Asian rulers with an alien subject population under very similar circumstances may be observed in the case of the coins of the Kushanas. Not that a change of racial type can be followed unless Mīnas represents the purer blood, but the Indian name Vasudeva, along with the Kushana Vasusinha, succeeds to Kujula and Hima Kadphises, Kanishka and Huishika, without a break to mark a change of dynasty. Their successors the Ephthalite Huns answer decidedly to the type described by Hippocrates but in their case the evolution was cut short by the Turks.

Manner of Life.

If we consider the customs which Herodotus ascribes to the Scyths it becomes evident that they form no coherent whole. Although it is hard to say what various usages may coexist in any given nation, what survivals from an earlier state may continue into a high civilisation, the parts of the picture drawn by Herodotus do not fit together. We see that he has mixed together information drawn from different sources and applying to different tribes. When it comes to endeavouring to determine according to these various customs the affinities of their users we are on very uncertain ground. Analogues for every detail can be found among various nations and as readily among Aryans as among non-Aryans. Most of the usages mentioned are inseparable from a nomadic life and throw no light on the affinities of the people among whom they obtain. The characteristic dress of the Scyths which struck the Greeks so much, is almost the only possible one for a nation of riders living in a cold climate, so too the use of various preparations of mare's milk, butter, kumys and cheese, the felt tents, bows and

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1 Sum. II, pl. xxvii.—xxx. Dr W. H. Duckworth of Jesus College kindly examined these for me.
2 Congrès International d'Archéologie Préhistorique et d'Anthropologie, 11e Session à Moscou, T. 1, Moscou, 1893, p. 5. "Quelle est la race la plus ancienne de la Russie Centrale?"
3 Niederle, Slavonic Antiquities, pp. 899 sqq.
arrows, curious methods of cooking owing to the absence of proper fuel, and so on, were conditioned by their general mode of life and could be nearly paralleled among any nomad tribe. As a matter of fact the medieval travellers found all these things in use among the Mongols, and some of the coincidences with facts recorded by Marco Polo, de Plano Carpini, de Rubruck and others are striking. These agreements are not restricted to such necessary similarities; the accounts of cemeteries and funeral customs, of the religion of the Mongols, of their personal appearance, of the polyandry of the Tibetans, of their way of disposing of the aged, suggest that though it may be going too far to declare positively that the Scythians were Mongolian, we must admit that the Mongols before their conversion whether to Islam or Buddhism were their closest possible analogues. And their fate in western Asia and eastern Europe has been analogous. Already the hordes that Batu led against the West had very few pure Mongols save among the chief leaders, and this strain soon merged in the mixed multitude that it ruled, so that the later khans of the Golden Horde were just like any other west Asiatic monarchs, a mixture of the Turk and the Circassian.

This seems the place to give a summary of what our authorities tell us as to the life of the Scythians, especially the Nomads. The main bulk of information is contained in Herodotus (iv. 39—75), and the reader is prayed to have him at hand; some details are filled in from other passages and other authors (especially Hippocrates, De Aere, etc.). In order to give as complete a picture of nomad life as is possible within narrow limits I have anticipated the archaeological results set forth in the later chapter which describes the tombs found in the Scythian area. Professor Lappo-Danilevskij has arranged the accessible material under convenient headings. In preparing the following summary I have everywhere been indebted to him, though much has been discovered since his book was written. Count Bobrinskij (Smella passim) also gives a convenient view of what is known of various classes of objects.

In spite of the well-known existence of tribes of agricultural Scythians, Scythian always suggested to the Greek the idea of nomadic life. The governing condition of the nomads' existence was the necessity of finding natural pasture for their cattle, hence their moving from place to place, and this necessitated everything from the form of their dwellings to the cut of their clothes, from their tactics in warfare to their method of cookery.

Their chief occupation was looking after their many horses, and of this we have a splendid illustration on the famous Chertomlyk vase (v. pp. 159—162, ff. 46—49), on which we see poured in greatest detail the process of catching...
the wild horse of the steppes or breaking him in. Others have been reminded
by it of the story in Aristotle of the Scythian king's practice of horse-breeding.
On the vase we have two breeds represented: the tame horse which is being
hobbled and the wild ones with hog manes. Professor Anuchin thinks the
former is like the Kalmuck breed and the latter the half-wild horses of the
royal stud. Professor Ridgeway compares with the former the shaggy horses
of the ancient Sigynnae and those of the modern Kirgit, descendants of the
"Mongolian" pony. The indolency of this race made the practice of gelding
necessary, otherwise it was unknown in the ancient world. Horses were also
used for food. Scyths were supposed to like them very high. Next in
importance to their horses came the cattle used for drawing their great
waggons. Both Hippocrates and Herodotus say that they were hornless. The
latter ascribes this to the cold (iv. 29). They had sheep as well, for mutton
bones are found in cauldrons in the tombs, as for example at Kul Oba. They
made no use of pigs either in sacrifice or in any other way. So the early
Turks regarded swine as tabu.

Besides looking after their cattle the Scyths of course engaged in hunting,
and we have gold plaques with representations of a Scyth throwing a dart at
a hare, reminding us of the story of how the Scyths when drawn up in battle
array over against Darius set off after a hare. As hunters they had a taste
for representations of animals, especially in combat, and these are very
characteristic of objects made for their use. Representations such as those
on the Xenophonius vase (ch. xi. § 7) are purely fantastic: more realistic is a
hunting scene that appears on the wonderful fragments of ivory with Greek
drawing found at Kul Oba (p. 204; ABC. lxxix. 10).

Hunting supplied some of their food, more was produced by their cattle
especially by their horses. Most characteristic were the products of mare's
milk especially kumys διογαλα, the cheese called γνακη, butter and butter-
milk, also horse-flesh and other meat. Their methods of cooking were
conditioned by the scarcity of fuel. Very characteristic are the round-
footed cauldrons in which have been found horse (e.g. Chertomlyk, p. 152,
-I. 50) and mutton bones (e.g. Kul Oba). They also used some vegetable
food such as onions, garlic, and beans as well as grain, and the people
about the Macotis dug up a sweet bulb just as the Siberian tribes do with
the Martagon f. Besides kumys they drank wine readily enough, and
Greek amphorae penetrated far into the country: such jars were part of
the provision put in a dead man's tomb: few of the amphorae found far from
the coast bear stamps (ch. xi. § 7): it would seem as if the commoner sorts
did for the barbarians. Their habit of drinking it neat especially excited the
contempt of the Greeks.

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1 Hist. Anim. IX. 47.
2 On the question of wild white horses (Her.
iv. 52), St. P. 1866.
3 Thurnhordt Horus, p. 159.
4 Strabo, Vit. iv. 8; use of mares, Pliny, NH.
VIII. 165.
5 Hist. iv. 51, Vammeny, Die primitive Kultur
6 p. 197, I. 59, KTR. 1. 162, p. 154, ABC. x. 1,
silver ASH. xiii. 18.
7 Her. iv. c. 134.
8 Cl. Hippocrates, De Morbo, IV. c. v. § 20, and
Strabo vii. iv. 6, hence the Homeric epithets
ὑμβυλως and ἀλεφομόνου, H. xiii. I. 3, 6. Cl.
Rabruno c. 6, ap. Halkis p. 97, Rockhill p. 62.
9 Her. iv. 17.
10 Theophrastus, Hist. Plantarum VII. xiii. §
and IX. xiv. 2.
11 For the eating of bulbs among the Turks v.
A. Vammeny, op. cit., p. 220.
Waggons.

As everybody knows, the home of the Scyth was on his cart. Already Hesiod speaks of the waggon-dwellers. Hippocrates gives the fullest description, saying that the smaller ones had four wheels, the larger six, that they were covered with felt and arranged like houses divided into two or three compartments and drawn by two or three yoke of hornless oxen. In these the women lived, whereas the men accompanied them on horseback. Aeschylus sums up their whole life in three lines:

Σκίνης δ' αφής γυμνάς, οί πλεχτάς στέγας
πεδώριοι μιλου' ετ' εδικλισός οίκοι
λιβδόλος τόξων ἑξηρτιμένου.

"And thou shalt come to the Scyth, nomads who dwell in walled huts high in the air upon their fair-wheeled wains, equipped with far-shooting bows."

We have remains of waggons in various Scythic tombs but they seem perhaps rather open funeral cars than the wheeled dwelling (p. 75). It is an open car also that we see on the coin of Sciturus struck at Olbia.

Some light may be thrown by the toy carts found in Greek graves at Kerch treated of by Professor P. Biełkowski of Cracow. Some are clearly mere country carts, not unlike those still in use in the Crimea, a body of wicker or skin with wooden framing set upon a pair of axles. Others

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1 ap. Str. Vii. iii. 9 Plutarch. τις γενέσθαι ἐν διαμορφωμένα ἐκτεύον. Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. xxxiv. 10.
2 Scythae, Quorum plana, rages. "Scythae, Quorum plana, rages. The tradition.
3 De Aere c. 25.
4 Prom. Vinct. i. 735.
5 Wiener Studien, xxiv., p. 394. and BCA. ix., pp. 65-72 and pl. iv. — viii. I have much pleasure in thanking him for allowing me to copy his pictures in the former paper and for sending me an off-print of the latter. Of course the wooden axles have been supplied.
are more like our idea of waggon dwellings, being not merely tilt carts as No. 2 in Fig. 6, but remarkable structures such as No. 1, with a kind of tower in which were windows before and behind set upon a body which itself had windows in the sides between the wheels and also behind. The pyramidal tower may be a tent whether fixed or moveable like those of modern nomads. Or this may have been an arrangement for defence; for the method of making a lager of waggons has always been a resource of the nomads. The waggons always had a hole in front for the dizzel-boom, and in one case were furnished with a pair of oxen also on wheels. They seem rather late in date, but the types are probably old.

If we may judge by the analogy of other Asiatic nomads it is at least a question whether the Scyths were always on wheels, like the gipsies in England. We have no artistic representation of any vehicle quite suitable for such a life. It seems more likely that they carried their tents all standing upon their carts and set them down upon the ground when they came to a halt. The Sarmatian tent represented on the walls of the catacomb of Anthesterius is set upon the ground, and this is the arrangement described by Rubriquis. Their houses wherein they sleepe they ground upon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof consisteth (in like sorte) of wickers meeting above into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascended upward a necke like into a Chimney, which they cover with white felte... The sayd houses they make so large that they conteaine thirtie feete in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheelie ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be twenty feete over; and when the house was upon the carte it stretched over the wheele at each side five feete at the least: I told 22 oxen in one teame drawing an house upon a cart... And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, upon the forestall of the carte driving forth the oxen... When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South.” Evidently everything was on a much larger scale than with the Scyths, but probably the principle was the same. There were also small permanently covered carts. In later times the clumsy

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3 Compare Mr. Hill’s cart, which is Greek or Oriental, coming from Alexandria, JHS. xvii, p. 85. Miss Lormier’s country carts are mostly two-wheeled, not like those figured here, v. JHS.

XXIII, p. 132.

ch. xi. 4, GR. 1878, pl. 1. 1.

op. cit. c. 2, Hakluyt p. 93; Rockhill p. 34 sqq.

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Of the towns mentioned by Greek authors as being in Scythia we know neither where they were, nor what they were. They were not what the agricultural Scythians may well have had settlements worthy of the name, and even nomads have always had some kind of capital (e.g., Kura-koum) and places for trading. In any case they mostly seem to have been in the western half of Scythia, or in the east.

Trans. Tilt cart.

Jurtta.

Tent to fold up.

Brown felt.

Jurtta unfolded.

Tent lifted down off cart.

White felt.

Cart for carrying jurtta.

The ancients tell us nothing of the dress of the Scythians except that they wore belts and trousers and pointed caps. We must therefore rely on representations which may be more or less certainly regarded as intended for Scythians. These fall into two classes, those presumably executed north of the Euxine—they are mostly in repoussé gold or silver and give us genre scenes—and those, very nearly all vase-paintings, due to Greeks in less close contact with the Scythians. The latter class is thoroughly untrustworthy, as might be expected, and chiefly depicts battle scenes.

Among the various barbarians which appear on Greek vases of only two can it be said on the artist's own authority that he was thinking of northern nomads. On the well-known François vase we have three archers (p. 54, fig. 8), one labelled Euthymachos, one Toxamis and one Kimeriōs. Toxamis, whose name according to one authority "klingt echt skythisch," perhaps on the analogy of Lucian's very suspicious Toxaris, wears a patterned tunic, a quiver and a high pointed headdress. He is shooting with a bow whereon seems to be shewn the lacing which is essential in a composite bow though in its more developed forms it is usually concealed. Kimeriōs, about whose name there can be no doubt, is similarly equipped but has a bow-case instead of a quiver. But Euthymachos, who may well be a Greek archer, is dressed just the same, and in later vases archers, even though probably Greek, wear barbarian costume.

In the case of another painting of barbarian attempts have been made to identify them as Cimmerians. Dr A. S. Murray sees them in a horde of cavalry who are slashing down Greeks on a sarcophagus from Clazomenae.

But these people are using great swords such as were not developed in S. Russia until after the Christian era. It is true that they have bow-cases, but these again seem not quite like the gorytos, the combination of bow-case and quiver which is peculiar to the Scythic area. It is hard to judge by mere silhouettes, but the swords and the caps seem much more like those of Central Europe; may not we call these folk Thracians, the Thracian allies of the Cimmerians?

There is another vase (p. 55, fig. 9) which might conceivably represent Cimmerians rather than Scythians as they have hitherto been called by F. Dümmler who published it and others like it which form his class of "Pontic" vases. It is certainly tempting to see in these wearers of peaked hoods some East European Nomads. But all these vases are found in Italy and it would be rash to decide where they were made.

1 Mon. Inst. iv. 54. Wiener Verlagblätter vi. 1888, pl. ii.
2 E.g. Hartwig, Die Griechischen Meisterschalen, pl. xiv., Gerhard, Ausserste Vasenbilder iii. 264.
3 Terra-cotta Sarcophag in Brit. Mus. pl. i.
4 Rom. Mitt. ii. p. 171, pl. ix. I am indebted to Mrs. H. B. Seward, of Newnham College, for calling my attention to this and to the Agathysri vase. She has even been good enough to allow me to reproduce her drawing. Miss Jane Harrison has also helped me very much in this question of vase-paintings. To both I wish to offer my best thanks.

1 Prof. Furtwängler, Ant. Gemmen, iii. p. 88, would assign them to a local Italian make, and Mr H. E. Walters, Hist. of Anc. Pottery i. p. 359, will not decide between Kyme and Italy.
in the case of a cylix (Fig. 8, top) figured by Hartwig¹. He guesses that these strange people are Agathyrsi, but he does not adduce any evidence; in his discussion he treats Herodotus in the most cavalier fashion and entirely ignores his distinctions between the various neighbours of the Scythians. He thinks the knowledge of detail points to the master having been a Scythian. That there was such an one we know² from a signature. One of the supposed Agathyrsi is wearing on his chest just such a rayed plate as was found at Nymphæum (v. p. 213, f. 114).

We have a tangible reason for referring to a Scyth the fallen figure labelled Agathyrs that occurs in a black-figured vase (Fig. 8, below) with the combat of Hector and Diomede³. His hood with a high point behind and perhaps his bow-case, seem accurately remembered, but inasmuch as he wears a sleeveless tunic adorned with crosses and no trousers but greaves, he does not agree with more exact pictures. This freedom of treatment shows that we are not to expect accuracy in cases defined by no inscription, and therefore we cannot deny that a barbarian is meant for a Scythian just because his clothes do not exactly tally. On the other hand figures are much too often described as Scythians. I know of no figure upon a red-figured vase which I could be sure was meant for a Scythian. Phrygians, Persians, Greek archers equipped in Asiatic guise, most frequent of all, Amazons have a common dress which is not so far removed from that of the Scythians but that a Greek might apply it to the latter. These people all have a headdress with more or less of a point, but there are nearly always lappets which could be tied about the chin (Fig. 8, top). Their clothes seem made of a thin material; the trousers (or perhaps stockings) usually fitting quite close to the legs and the jersey having sleeves often of the same striking pattern. The close-fitting tunic over these is usually plain and sleeveless, sometimes patterned and sleeved (Fig. 8, below). Another form of tunic is rather flowing and then is generally sleeved or its place is taken by a cloak with sleeves that wave empty behind—perhaps this is the *cynys*. The wearers mostly have axes as well as bows. Their bow-cases have no place for arrows (v. p. 67, f. 17) and their

¹ op. cit. pl. XXXVIII, XXXIX. 1, p. 441.
² Jahrb. d. k. deutschen arch. Inst. 1887, p. 144.
³ Genhard, A. V. iii. 192.
swords are not at all like any Scythic type. Only when they are labelled or when they are hunting griffins or engaging in any other distinctive occupation can we say who they may be. Persians on Hartwig's plates i.v., lvi., nor the young Athenians on his plate xiv., so on the well-known vase with a δοκυαρία of horsemen the central figure is surely not an outer barbarian. Likewise the Amazons are often clear enough; in other cases, e.g. Hartwig's ii. 2 and xiii. they are only to be distinguished by the inscriptions. The list of Scythians in Walters (p. 170) contains the examples which I have discussed and others which all appear to me Persian as far as I have been able to see them; so too with Reinach. It is much safer to call such figures oriental archers. An Arimasp such as we find on the calathos from the Great Bliznitsa (ch. xii.) is no doubt an Arimasp, but his dress is purely fantastic. The crowning example of the decorative use of barbarian costume is on the Xenophonias vase, and here we know that all are Persian. Yet Clytios would pass for an Amazon (ch. xi. § 7).

So likewise with engraved stones. There is one which represents a barbarian with a long cloak and a tunic leaning on a spear, and there is that signed by Athenades with a man sitting on a folding stool and trying the point of an arrow. Both come from Kerch, yet neither is specifically Scythian but rather Persian; the latter is even closely paralleled by a coin of Datames satrap of Tarsus. Terra-cottas found in the Crimea give us very generalised figures wearing it would seem the native hood and trousers and the Greek chiton; much what we should expect from Dio Chrysostom's account of the Olbiopolites. But again this is very like Phrygian dress and may be merely another example of influence from Asia Minor, always strong on the northern Euxine. The last classical representation of conventional Scythian dress is on an ivory diptych of the 6th century A.D.

\[\text{FIG. 10. Terra-cotta Barbarian or Greek in local costume, Kerch. KTR., p. 264, f. 128; CR. 1875, VI. &.}\]

\[\text{jaehr. 1889, pl. 4.} \]
\[\text{v. Reinach, Répertoire de Vases, sub v.} \]
\[\text{88 1889 Walters, op. cit. ii. p. 176, f. 137.} \]
\[\text{e.g., Walters, pl. XXXVII. 21, Ashmolean 310, pl. 13, Louvre, Potter, ii. F. 126; K. Wermke.} \]
\[\text{"Die Polizeiwache auf der Burg von Athen"} (Hermes, XXXVI. 1891, f. 51—73) points out that the policemen in the fifth century were ever-present models of Scythic dress.} \]
\[\text{ch. xi. § 13; KTR., p. 207, f. 190—ABC.} \]
\[\text{XVII. 8.} \]
\[\text{KTR. p. 185, f. 178—CR. 1861, pl. vi. 11.} \]
\[\text{KTR. f 179.} \]
\[\text{Or. xxxvi. p. 50, v. ch. xv.} \]
\[\text{Mon. Hist., xvii. p. 79, pl. x7, Dar. et Saglio s.v. Diptychon.} \]
Dress as shown in local Work

Even in the other class of monuments apparently made by Pontic Greeks although they bear every appearance of accuracy we cannot be sure of every detail. Also we must remember that none of the folk represented need necessarily be Scythian in the narrower sense of the word. They are most of them in all probability Sarmatians. They are almost always shewn with beards. They wore close-fitting coats with narrow sleeves, cut rather short behind, but in front coming down much lower to a point. The flaps folded over so that the coat was in some sort double-breasted without coming up to the chin. It was apparently trimmed and probably lined with fur.

It was adorned with, as it were, orphrey or bands of either embroidery or gold plates following the seams at the inset of the sleeves, down the middle of the back and at the sides. At the sides were little slits to allow free movement as in some modern coats. The round dots on the Kul Oba coats seem rather ornaments than actual buttons in both cases. The belts kept them to. The coat was apparently the only upper garment, for the man facing on the Chertomlyk vase has for some reason freed his right shoulder of his coat and this leaves it bare. The under side of the coat is of different texture from the upper. The belt is apparently of leather and a strap run through a slit in it carries the bow-case. Trousers are either full enough to hang in folds and adorned just with a stripe down the seam, or tighter and covered with stripes round or lengthwise (Kul Oba). They were tucked into soft boots which were tied round the ankle and sometimes the instep as well. The fuller variety were so tucked in as to come down and partly conceal the boot.

Such clothes had no need for fibulae, but we find pins with ornamental heads in Scythian graves.

Headdress.

We find these men with long hair and considerable beards. They either went bare headed or wore hoods more or less like the Russian bashlyk. It is difficult to tell which forms belong to the nomads and which to the Persians. The Asiatic nomads had very high pointed head-gear, according to Herodotus and the Bisutun bas relief of Sakinka the Saka (p. 39, l. 12). But in other cases the apex of the hood is allowed to hang down, and that this is intended is shewn by the pattern on a band round the end of the chief's hood found at Karagodenaushkh. It contains griffins whose heads are towards the longer side of the band. A somewhat similar band from Kul Oba goes the other way up and is adorned with figures and foliage. A very remarkable object, which seems to be a

1 These details can be best seen on the Kul Oba Vase (pp. 200, 201, g, 93, 94), the Chertomlyk Vase (pp. 159—162, t, 49—50), and the Kul Oba Necklet (p. 202, t, 97). Other representations are added from Kul Oba plaques bearing a man shooting a hare (p. 197), two men shooting in opposite directions (p. 198), man and woman with mirror (p. 198, g, 20), man with goytius (p. 197), two men drinking out of one rhyton (p. 202). Also two men one with a severed head and one with a sword from Kurdiapa (p. 223, t, 126, C.R. 1895, p. 62, t, 140), the seated man from Axumititis (p. 182, 72—82) and two wrestlers from Chmyrov barrow (p. 150, t, 62, C.R. 1898, p. 27, t, 24); i.e. t. 26 is an obscure figure which seems to have on a sleeved coat without putting its arms into the sleeves; this seems a Persian fashion. Cf. Persianian sarcophagi, etc. Pina, p. 191, t, 93.

2 p. 219, t. 123=Mat. XIII, viii, 1, 2.

3 p. 202, t. 96=ARC. II, l.
headgear, is a golden truncated cone about 10 in. high made of four hoops separating three bands of pierced ornament, two of griffins and one between of palmettes set with garnets. This alone shows that its date is comparatively late. It was found by Prof. N. I. Vsevolovskij at Beslen-eevskaja Stanitsa on the Kuban. Another strange head ornament, which may be put down to native influence, though found in a grave near Panticapaeum, is the heavy gold pilos' ornamented with volutes. But these still metallic headgears must have been rare. More commonly the stuff head covering is adorned with gold plaques, as we see on the Kul Oba vase and find in actual fact. For instance, a man's skull covered with gold plates of two patterns in situ, which must have been sewn on to a stuff cap. It was found at Sinjavka on the Rossava (Kiev Government).  

Asiatic Nomads.

Almost as instructive as the accurate Greek representations of European Scythians are those of Asiatic nomads; perhaps the best of these is on a large gold plate from the Oxus Treasure. Although the man who made it could draw, the style of execution is curiously lacking in character: we cannot call it Persian or Scythic, though other plates of the treasure shewing more or less similar figures, women's as well as men's, do appear quite barbarous; also the distinctions of texture which would make the dress more intelligible are not rendered. The costume is almost identical with that we have been examining, save for a difference of cut in the lower border of the coat and the arrangement of the bashlyk which has bands covering the mouth. The man carries a bundle of rods in his right hand. These last details recall the regulations of the Avesta for preventing the breath from defiling the sacred flame and the barson carried by the Mage. Therefore the presumption is that we have before us a Persian: but he is wearing a nomad's clothes, and his dagger makes clear for us the arrangement of the typical Scythic daggers with their side projections.

1 ch. xi. 8 12; KTR. p. 49, L. 56=CR. 1876 pl. II. 1.  
3 p. 190, f. 84; Sm. III. p. 139, f. 71, and pl. xvii. 2.  
4 Cf. the "Alexander" sarcophagus and the Pompeii Mosaic of Issus (Mus. Bors. viii. pl. xxxvi. sqq.).
FIG. 12. Persian bas reliefs showing Nomad Costume.
On the bas relief of Bisutun we have a Saka labelled as such in the inscription of Darius; unfortunately being a prisoner he is without his weapons and his national dress. The only thing distinctive about him is the very tall cyrbasia upon his head. He is fully beardε.

The bas reliefs of Persepolis representing court ceremonies show rows of figures wearing flowing robes with full sleeves and skirts, high head-dresses, daggers with curious broad guards stuck into their belts, and laced shoes, alternating with men wearing the nomad costume, close-fitting coat and trousers, round-topped bashlyk without lappets, the Scythic dagger with its complicated attachment to the belt and shoes tied with a thong round the ankle. Both have the same way of wearing their hair, the same torques, and the same bow-cases decidedly unlike the Scythic gorytus. They are taking the same part in guarding the king, introducing persons to whom audience was to be granted. The difference of costume must go back to an original difference of race, but what relation they bear to each other we cannot say. It has been suggested that we have Medes and Persians, or that one sort are nomads hired to be a palace guard like the Turks at the court of the Caliphs.

At Persepolis, besides the men in nomad costume that appear to be palace guards, we have on the same platform which supported the Great Hall of Xerxes representations of strange peoples bringing tribute. Those for instance on No. 109 have pointed caps, and are carrying cups such as are used for kumys: also they have rings or bracelets quite similar to Scythic types (cf. p. 257, f. 178, No. 140 of the Oxus Treasure) and lead a cart with them. On No. 109 we have bowmen with metal objects, hammers and rings and daggers of the Scythic form. They are clothed in a kind of coat cut away in front and long behind, which irresistibly recalls Radloff's description of the curious garment in the big tomb on the Katanda (v. inf., p. 248). It just answers to his comparison of a dress-coat.

On the staircase of the Palace No. 3, or dwelling palace of Darius or Artaxerxes, we have similar people, but this time they are leading a sheep. When the great king is represented on a throne supported by various peoples, such figures occur again; so on the king's tomb to the S.E. of the platform called No. 10.

The peoples on these monuments are unfortunately only to be distinguished by their attributes, by the animals that accompany them, and by what we already know of Asiatic dress. The inscriptions do not help us to put names to them, but in some of these tribes we can surely see the Sacae, whom Herodotus puts among the subjects of the great king, and other northern tribes who were tributary or represented as such by the Persian court. Herodotus (viii. 60—66), in his review of the army of Xerxes, gives most of the tribes of Iran and its northern borders much the same clothes, that he says the Persians borrowed of the Medes;

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1 p. 59. f. 12 = Flandin et Coste, Voyages en Persie, p. 16.
2 op. cit. III, pl. 119.
3 op. cit. III, pl. 155.
4 op. cit. III, pl. 104.
the differences seem mainly in the headdresses, tiaras among Medes, Persians and Hyrcanians, Cissai with mitrae, Bactrians and Arii much like the Medes, so too Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdi, Gandarii and Dadicae, while Sace had tall-pointed caps.

Another picture of Persians and nomads is on a cylinder and represents a Persian king stabbing a nomad whom he holds by the top of his hood. The attitude is exactly the familiar one of the king slaying a lion or other beast. The barbarian is trying to hit the king with a battle axe. He is bearded, wears a short sleeved coat, trousers and a gorytos just like the men on the Kul Oba vase. Behind each protagonist is an archer shooting. The bows are the typical Asiatic, sigma-shaped, asymmetrical bow suitable for use on horseback. Above all the symbol of the deity lends its countenance to the king's victory.

With all their differences these costumes are essentially the same, the costume which climate and custom force on the nomad, and it is probable that the Persians borrowed it from their nomad neighbours or kept it from the time that they were nomads themselves.

A later form of the same costume and especially of the headdress as worn by the Parthians, descendants of conquering Nomads, is shown on the annexed coin.

Women's Dress.

Of the women's dress we have only a vague idea. In Kul Oba and Chertomlyk were found identical plaques with the figure of a woman seated holding a handled mirror and a nomad standing before her and drinking out of a horn. Over her dress she wears a cloak with hanging sleeves and her head is covered with a kerchief.

The dancers figured on a plaque from Kul Oba are Greek and go back to Scopas (compare the dancers on the tiara from Ryzhanovka) though their kerchiefs rather recall the Scythic fashion.

The best view of women's dress is that furnished by the three-cornered gold plaque from the headdress of the queen at Karagodeuashkh. On this we see the queen herself sitting as it were in state with a woman attendant on
each side behind her and a man on each side in front. Unluckily the plaque has suffered much from the falling in of the tomb’s roof, but we can still make out that the lady wore a tall conical headdress such as that to which this very plaque belonged. From it a kind of veil fell down behind; the whole effect being like that of the medieval headdress in which fairies are often represented. Her dress can hardly be seen as she is almost shrouded in a great mantle adorned with dots, which may well represent gold plaques. Some such headdress belonged to the woman in Kul Oba, and about the woman’s head at Chertomlyk could be traced a line of gold plaques (pp. 161 and 158, f. 45 = ASH, xxx. 16) forming a triangle with a rounded top and lines going down thence to the hands, the vestiges of a kind of mitre with long lappets. She was covered with a purple veil of which traces were found.

Gold Plaques and Jewelry.

Both men and women among the Scythians adorned their clothes with the gold plaques so often referred to. Poorer people wore bronze instead (e.g. the grooms at Chertomlyk), but gold is the characteristic material. The Hermitage is said to possess over 10,000 specimens. The plaques were sewn on to the clothes chiefly along borders and seams, more rarely as if were scattered over the field. They were of every shape and size, and bore figures of men, animals, and conventional patterns, such as palmettes, rosettes, and the pyramids of grains, called wolf’s teeth. Enough specimens to shew their extraordinary variety are illustrated below (e.g. pp. 158, 178, 184, 192, 197, 208, etc., cf. p. 157). Of a special character are the strips which seem to have chiefly adorned headdress. They seem rather of barbarian work, being less adaptable than the plaques and therefore made on the spot. The plaques are mostly found on the floors of tombs, not in situ but fallen from clothes that have rotted away hanging on pegs in the walls.

Solid gold also the nomads, both men and women, wore in every conceivable ornament. Herodotus mentions this of the Massagetae (I. 215), and Strabo of the Aorsi (xI. v. 8). Besides the high headdress of which we have already spoken, the women wore frontlets of gold mostly of Greek workmanship, and these were used also to support temple ornaments which took the place of earrings. This fashion is best illustrated by the finds at Kul Oba. So at Ryzhanovka and Darievka.

Earrings were also largely worn. Men it seems only wore one, women had sometimes several pairs buried with them, at Kul Oba for instance, where the finest pair may be either true earrings or temple ornaments. Ryzhanovka, Karagodeuashkha, Chertomlyk, Zvenigorodka.

This magnificence is still more marked in the torques and necklaces. The latter, as indeed most of the women’s adornments, are chiefly of Greek

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1. cf. ASH, II. p. 107, KTR, p. 263.
2. e.g. p. 157, f. 44 = ASh, xv. 3. Chertomlyk, KTE, pp. 302, 310, f. 250 = CR, 1864, v. 3–5. Darievka, Sm, II. pl. x. xl, Avjatimsky, int. p. 182.
3. p. 195, f. 88 = ABC, II. 3, xix. 4, 5, including the well-known Athenian heads.
5. Sm, xii. 5.
6. KTR, p. 200.
7. Sm, xxi. 5, f. 147 = Vettersfeld, I. 5 = e.g. Chertomlyk, KTR, p. 264.
8. Sm, xii. 5, f. 88 = ABC, xix. 5.
9. Sm, xvi. 4 and 5.
10. Sm, xii. 119 = ABC, xix. pl. III, 6 and 7.
work, or imitations of it, and present some of the most wonderful examples of goldsmith's skill that exist. The simplest are such plain circlets as that from Axjutintsy, just a thick gold wire, or with nothing more than simple grooves or other moldings, as at Karagodeuashk, or a wire adorned at the end with rude animals' heads, such as one found in Stavropol government, at Akhtanizovka on the Taman Peninsula where the wire went round the neck several times and made a kind of collar opening by hinges, and at Volkovtsy. At Chertomlyk were gold, silver-gilt and bronze torques, the latter for grooms and servants, the former with lions at the ends or all along the hoop for the king and queen. At Alexandropol a servant had a bronze hoop. Better work, purely Greek, we find on the Salgir in the Crimea, and at Karagodeuashk; here the ends represent a lion fighting a boar. The best known specimens are those from Kul Oba. Of these, the first, belonging to the king, ended in the excellent representations of nomad horsemen, to which we have already referred. The second belonged to the queen, and ends in lionesses. Of the third only the ends remain, adorned with a lion's head and bands of enamelled palmettes. So the warrior at Vetertsfelde had a gold neck-ring (III. 3). The composition of these rings ending in lions' heads seems to be a Greek execution of the Iranian design exemplified in the collar and bracelets found at Susa by J. de Morgan. In feeling near akin to the Iranian, are two neck-hoops from Salamatino (Saratov), in style they are almost identical with the Oxus Treasure.

Besides the solid gold hoops we have wonderful gold plaits and chains and necklaces, as at Karagodeuashk and Ryzhanovka, but they do not equal those found in purely Greek graves as the Great Bliznitsa on the Taman Peninsula and at Theodosia.

Even more varied than the neck rings are the bracelets. At Kul Oba the king had in the sphinx bracelets on his wrists a pair of the most beautiful personal ornaments existing. But even here under the Greek execution lies an Iranian base; they recall the armilla published by Mr Dalton. More purely Greek are his queen's armlets with griffins and deer, and that with Peleus and Thetis from above his right elbow.

Very pleasing are those from Karagodeuashk ending in sea horses. A pair found near the station Golubinskaia in the country of the Cossacks of the Don, just where it approaches the Volga, is interesting as offering a close analogy both in design and colouring of enamel to armlets from the Oxus Treasure. Simplest of all are mere wire circlets, such as those from Ryzhanovka, in bronze and in silver. Unusual in type are the ribbon-like
armlets found *in situ* at Volkovtsy and Axjutintsy. The Vettersfelde warrior had his arm ring.

As well as his Greek armlets the Kul Oba king had almost plain native ones in pale gold or electrum, one large pair worn upon his upper arm and four as a defence below the elbow.

Finger rings were also much worn. For instance at Chertomlyk the queen wore ten rings in all, one on each finger; the king seems to have had two, and the servants mostly one each. They occur of all materials, gold, silver, glass, iron, copper, even stone. Good specimens were found at Karagodeuashkh and Ryzhanovka. Three of these are specially interesting as having bezels set with Greek coins whose aesthetic beauty was appreciated in this way (Pl. v. 16).

Besides these regular species of adornments, the nomads had a taste for amulets or charms as we call them. Besides various pendants there have occurred animals' teeth, a natural gold nugget, a flint implement at Vettersfelde (i. 3), an Assyrian engraved cylinder, even a rough stone (Ryzhanovka).

Those who could not afford the precious metals used beads, either home-made of clay or stone, or of glass imported from the Mediterranean area; even cowrie shells found their way so far north. The best coloured plate shewing the variety of beads found in S. Russia is given by Count Bobrinskoy.

As materials, he enumerates paste, rock crystal, shells, stones, carnelians, gold, silver, amber, birds and beasts' claws and teeth, and there seems to be also Egyptian porcelain. The glass beads comprise most of

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3. Furwängler, l. a.
4. v. p. 192, f. 90 = *A. B.,* xxvi. 5.
6. *Mat.* xiii. iii. 10 and 11.
7. Sm. ii. xvii. 2, 9, 10, 11, 13.
8. Sm. ii. 1.
9. Sm. iii., pl. xiii.
10. p. 108, l. 106 below = *CR.* 1877, ii. 15, No. iv. of VII. Brothers.
Jewelry. Mirrors

the ordinary types. Further south corals have been found. The annexed
cuts offer as good a representation as can be given without colour.

To admire themselves in all this finery the Scythian women had metal
mirrors. These were of three types, that of the ordinary Greek mirror
with handle in the same plane; that with merely a loop behind; and that
in which the loop has been exaggerated to make a kind of handle at right
angles to the plane of the back of the mirror.

In almost every rich tomb in which a woman was buried, there has
been found a mirror. The first type is the most frequent and corresponds
to the common Greek type (there are none like the round handleless
Greek mirrors in boxes), and many are of actual Greek work or direct
imitations of it; we even get, as in Kul Oba, Scythian patching of Greek
objects. It is a mirror of this type that is held by the woman on the plaque
already mentioned (p. 158, f. 45). Three very simple examples are figured by
Count Bobrinskoy, one has a bone, and one a bronze handle nailed on to the
bronze disk. Equally clumsy in a different material is that from Kul
Oba, on which a gold handle of native work has been added to the Greek
disk of bronze.

Greek mirrors of this type early found their way into Scythia, for
some specimens (ch. xl § 10) belong to the archaic period. Those of which
the execution is purely Scythic show a reminiscence of Greek models, not
merely in the general shape, but in the division of the handles into panels
that were filled with characteristically Scythic beast forms. More often
there has been worked out an arrangement thoroughly in the spirit of
Minussinsk art, the end of the handle being adorned by an animal in the

1 Cf. Bobrinskoy, Smolde, iii, p. 57, and K. Schuh-
macher, Barbaresch und Griechische Spiegel,
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XXVIII (1891), p. 91 sqq.: J. Hampel, Skythische Deckmuller aus Ungarn in
Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn, Bd IV.
(1895), Heft 1; F. Reincke, Die skythischen
Alterthiimer im mittleren Europa, Zeitschrift für
Ethnologie, XXXVIII. (1896), p. 1 and Uber einige
Beziehungen der Alterthiimer Chinas zu denen des
skythisch-sibirischen Völkerskreises, Zf. f. Ethn.
XXIX. (1897), p. 141.
2 Sm. i, xiv. 5, and l. a. 2.
3 Sm. iii, p. 95, l. 144.
4 p. 291, l. 95 = ABC. XXXV. 7.
cit. X. 75, 55, and those from Hungary, Poka-
siva, and Transylvania, Otach Zsokoda, Hampel,
Lc. II. 25-29.
round (bear or wolf, v. p. 178, f. 73) or two beak-heads facing (p. 191, f. 83, No. 351, cf. daggers, p. 249, ff. 169—171, v. p. 266). Thoroughly Scythic are the mirrors with a loop at the back (v. p. 190, f. 82, No. 237). These are mostly smaller and may have developed from the phalerae, from which it is hard to distinguish them. In Siberia and in China, to which this type penetrated, the loop is sometimes in the shape of an animal, and this form was exaggerated in the west, so that the animal is disproportionately raised, or the loop develops into a handle at right angles to the plane of the mirror.

Bows, Bow-cases and Arrows.

The most characteristic weapon of the nomads was the bow. Owing to its material we cannot depend on actual remains for exact knowledge of it. Two bows have been found in S. Russia, one at Michen near Elisavetgrad, the other near Nymphaeum, but they were not in such perfect preservation as to give us an exact idea of the shape. But we have many representations and descriptions by ancient authors. The Scythic bow is compared by Agathon to the letter sigma, probably the four stroke one, not the C, which is suggested by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. viii. 37) who likens it to the waning moon. The shape of the Black Sea is continually compared to that of a Scythic bow, the Crimea representing the handle with unequal curves on each side bending round to the string represented by Asia Minor. This agrees fairly well with the bows on the Kul Oba vase (p. 200, f. 93), especially that which the archer is stringing, and with those on the coins of Olbia and Cercinitis (Pl. III. 4, IX. 1), and of Leucos of Panticapaeum (Pl. VI. 16). Compare the bow held by Arsaces, who on the Parthian coins takes the place of the Seleucid Apollo on the Omphalos. The asymmetry is best seen in a bow wielded by an Amazon, and quite possibly copied from a Scythian bow. It is harder to judge of its shape when it is represented at the moment of aim being taken, as on the handle of the sword from Chertomlyk (p. 163, f. 51), and on the plaque with two nomads shooting in opposite directions. More often we see it represented in the gorytus or combined bow-case and quiver as on the Kul Oba vase, and the coins of Olbia.

This complicated curve of the bow made it more convenient to use on horseback (the Scythians are called ἐπτυχοτοροι, yet we have no view of one; on pp. 278. 279. ff. 201. 203 we have Siberians), and allowed it to be carried comfortably in the gorytus. The modern Tartar bow seems the very counterpart of the Scythic, and the bows pictured by Chinese artists in the hands of the Hiung-nu are also similar. These latter had bow-case and quiver separate, and the Manchu bow-cases in the British Museum are quite unlike the Scythic ones in all details of their construction.

1 v. p. 193, f. 83 top = Soc. iii. xiii. 3.
3 Khrenko, op. cit. xvii. 6.
4 Luppe, Dasilievskii, Sc. Autiq., p. 434.
6 Strabo, II. v. 22.
7 p. 67, f. 14. BM. Cat. Parthia, Artabanius L., pl. v. 7—7; Mildredtis II, pl. vi. 1, etc.
8 Gerhard, Aussersteu. Vasenbilder, I. cxxii.

Cf. snake drawing bow on ring stone, ch. xii. = CR. 1851, VI. 8, and the Persian bow on p. 44, f. 8.
9 p. 197, f. 95. ATR, p. 135, f. 130 = ABCXXV. 6.
10 Cf. a little model of a bow and bow-case, p. 244, f. 132 = F. R. Martin, L'Age de bronze et Musée de Minossia, XXX. 15, where the asymmetry is well shown.
11 p. 96, f. 27. Certainly the Scythic bow was not a simple or "self" bow, but composite. For
These combined quivers and bow-cases (γυμνόσαν) were peculiar to the Scythic culture, except in so far as they were borrowed by neighbouring nations. They were worn on the left side. The wooden model from a tomb at Kerch supplements the numerous representations on vases (Kul Oba, p. 201, f. 94) and gold plates (Kul Oba, p. 197, f. 90). Axjutintsy, small barrow, p. 182, f. 75 δε'), on the coins of Olbia (Pl. iii. 4), a Greek grave-stone from Chersonese (ch. xvii.), and frescoes from Kerch (ch. xi. § 4), also on a cylinder representing the Great King fighting Sacae (p. 61, f. 13), wherein the latter only have them. The Persians, as shewn on the bas reliefs (p. 59, f. 12), seem to have had simple bow-cases, and of such we have a model in bronze from Minusinsk (p. 244, f. 152). All these enable us to recognise as gorytus-covers three richly repoussé gold plates (from Chertomlyk p. 164, f. 53, Karagodeuashkh p. 221, f. 125, in very bad preservation, and from Iljintsy, district of Lipovets, government of Kiev, a replica of that from Chertomlyk), upon which the adaptation of Greek ornament to Scythic form is especially remarkable (v. p. 284). Less rich was the specimen from Volkovtsy (v. p. 183) of leather with five small gold plates instead of one complete cover. Such plates are the dots in the pictures named above. The quivers were likewise made of leather and adorned with gold plates, but we have none completely covered; at Axjutintsy, large barrow, the deer took up most of the surface (p. 181, f. 75). The three-cornered gold plates found in the viii. Brothers (pp. 209, 211, 213, f. 108, 111, 114), and one of similar shape


As an indication of the range of such a bow we have an inscription from Olbia, published and discussed by von Stern (App. 6 = Trans. Ox. Soc. XXIII. p. 12 = Fest.P.E. 19, 485), making a prize shot to be 282 fathoms, about 860 yards, according to von Luschan (third) too far for a self-bow but not unprecedented with a Turkish bow. Mr C. J. Langman gives 360 yards as the utmost for an English bow, and for a Turkish mentions 483 yards attained by Mahmud Effendi in London in 1795, and 572 yards shot by Sultan Selim in 1798 in the presence of the British Ambassador to the Porte. Selim could shoot farther than any of his subjects (Badminton Archery, pp. 103 and 427). Major Heathcote, a practical archer, suggests to me that for use in war where only point blank shots could be effective, our self-bow would not be as inferior as appears from the above figures; also it did not require such careful protection from damp. Cf. also F. von Luschan, "Über den antiken Bogen" in Festschrift für Otto Bemelhor, 1898, pp. 189—197, and Zusammengehörigkeit und verstärkte Bogen in Verh. d. Berlin. Anthrop. Ges. XXXI. 1899, p. 221, as noticed in Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, v. (1900), p. 54.

The Persian bows were longer (μεγιλάδα, Her. vii. 64, probably self-bows, the Sc having their local (periphan) bows, c. 64.

from Karagodeuchkkh (p. 219, f. 123), are usually explained as the ends of quivers. Their number need not surprise us, seeing that a common man-at-arms among the Mongols was required to have three quivers\(^1\). In each quiver were very many arrows. At Volkovtsy there were about 330, and similar numbers in those found in other tombs. Each Scyth could well spare an arrow-head for the king's monumental cauldron\(^1\). The arrows were made usually of reed, sometimes of wood, and were about 30 in. long (e.g. at Chertomlyk). The bow was about the same length. The gorytus is 49\(\frac{1}{2}\) cm. and about a quarter of the bow sticks out beyond in the illustrations, so the whole would come to 60 or 70 cm., say 2 ft. 0 in. The fragments of the Nymphaeum bow made up about that amount. The breadth would be about 30 cm., say a foot\(^2\).

The arrow-heads are of stone, bone\(^3\), iron, and especially of bronze. A few are the shape of small spear-heads with two cutting edges, but the typical shape is of triangular section. Count Bobrinskoj discusses the various types and illustrates a very varied series\(^4\). The triangular ones seem the latest, being furthest from the stone forms. Some have a small socket, others also a kind of barb or thorn on one side. Many a head has a hole for a sinew to bind it to the shaft. Doubtful traces of feathers have been found by Count Bobrinskoj\(^5\). In general arrow-heads are far commoner in Scythic graves than in those of any other people. Of the 200 found in Kul Oba\(^6\) most were gilt, and the bronze is perhaps the hardest known\(^7\).

Spear-heads were found in most of the well-known tombs, copper in the Round Barrow at Geremes, in Tsymbalka bronze, most often iron, e.g. the Stone Tomb at Krasnojetsk, Chertomlyk and Tomakova. So, too, many in Count Bobrinskoj's district about Smela. The shape is that of a leaf with a socket running up into a kind of midrib\(^8\). In the frescoes of the tomb of Anteferius (ch. xi. § 4) the spears are painted of enormous length, 15 or 20 feet apparently, but at Chertomlyk was found one about 7 feet which is much more reasonable. They also used shorter darts, which are mentioned by the ancients, and are represented in the hand of the hare hunter\(^9\) and on the Kul Oba vase. Apparently the weapons grew longer with time, for Tacitus\(^10\) speaks of the great Sarmatian spears (conti).

**Swords, Daggers and Sheaths.**

At close quarters the Scyths used swords or daggers, less characteristic than the bows, but in themselves interesting for their form. Hardly any of them are worthy to be called swords. The longest specimen of the type comes from outside the ordinary region for Scythic finds. It is 113 cm. long, and its haft is 18 cm. It was found at

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\(^1\) De Plano Carpini ap. Rockhill, p. 261, n. 3.
\(^2\) Het, iv. 31.
\(^3\) Lippo-Danielvskij, Sc. Antt, p. 454.
\(^4\) p. 118, f. 43; p. 165, f. 82 = Sm., ii. 24.
\(^5\) p. 190, f. 82 and Sm., iii. p. 68 sqq. and pl. xvi.
\(^6\) Cf. E. Lerm, BCA. xiv. p. 63 sqq.
\(^7\) BCA. xiv. p. 31.
\(^8\) ABC. xxvii. 11.
\(^9\) ib. 20 gives an arrow head. The shaft was of ash.
\(^10\) v. p. 190, f. 82 and Sm. ii. xxxvi. 6 and 7: 111.
\(^11\) ii. 8; Collection Khmelnik, vol. ii., pl. 3, xxxviii.
\(^12\) 164, 165.
\(^13\) p. 107 = ABC. xx. 9.
\(^14\) Hist. i. 79.
Alloboly, in the county of Háromszék, Hungary. To judge by their sheaths—those from Kul Oba, Chertomlyk and the Don had blades about 54 cm. long, and most specimens of daggers are shorter than this. Almost every Scythic grave has yielded one or more such daggers. The pommels

\[1\] J. Hampel, Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn, Bd IV. (1805). Heft 1; Skythische Denk-
are usually plain knobs, sometimes they have a pair of beak-heads or beasts curled round towards each other; these curls degenerating in the later and longer specimens into a likeness of the antennae of Hallstadt swords; but the make of the weapon is quite different. The guard is narrow and heart-shaped, rarely projecting enough to be any protection. The hilt is often overlaid with gold as at Vettersfeldia, Chertomlyk (both the king’s great sword and three others, p. 163, ff. 31, 32, Kul Oba and Karagodeuashk, where the blade was rusted right away). In western Scythia about Kiev these swords have occurred very often, e.g. at Darievo, Axyuntintsy, several at Volkovsy and Prussy near Cherkassk, and one in the district of Dubno in Volhynia.

As we go west swords of this type grow steadily longer. The Siberian dagger is the short sword of Chertomlyk and the long sword of Aldoboly, which would almost merit the description in Tacitus of the swords of the Sarmatae. This seems to correspond to an evolutionary progress, the Minusinsk daggers are certainly early compared with the Hungarian swords: in between come one from Ekaterinenburg (54 cm.), from Izmailovo (Samara, 63 cm.) and another from near Samara (83 cm.). Such swords also made their way to the north to Ananino and the basin of the Kama. The above examples all have iron blades and hilts of iron, gold or bronze: a whole bronze dagger was found by chance at Kamenka, district of Chigirin. The all bronze dagger is rare in Europe though common in Siberia.

This type of sword had a special sheath to suit it, marked in the older examples by special adaptation to receive the heart-shaped guard, in others by a special tip or chape made separately and often lost (it was this separate tip (μυρως) that caused the death of Cambyses, by coming off as he jumped on his horse and allowing his dagger to run into his thigh) and a projection on one side by which it was hung to the belt in the manner shown by the Oxus plaque (p. 255, f. 174), and the Persepolitan reliefs (p. 59, Nos. 95, 100). The sheaths have of course perished, but they were often covered with gold plates which enable us to judge of their shape. An early plate of this type forms part of the Oxus Treasure (p. 255, f. 174). It is in very bad preservation, having been snipped up into small pieces, some of which as well as its tip are lost. It is decorated with hunting scenes in which the king appears under the familiar winged disk, all in a rather mechanical style, bearing the same relation to Assyrian bas reliefs that the Chertomlyk bow-case bears to Greek marbles. The costume of the figures is rather

1. p. 163, f. 81 = Sm. i, vii. 2 and 5; hat cf. E. Lenz, BCA. xiv. p. 52.
2. Fortwängler, iii. 5.
3. ABC. XXVII. 10. Cf. ibid. 9 from the otherwise Greek tomb of Mira Kekuvatskl.
4. Mat. XIII. v. 4.
5. Sm. ii. xxv. 7.
6. Sm. ii. xxix. 4.
8. Ib. 167.
9. pristronger, Hist. i. 79.
10. E.g. others from Filin, Bereg and Neagrad.
13. Tambov Government, A. A. Spitzen, Ant. of Kama and Oka, Mat. xxv. pp. ii. 59, pl. xii. 3.
14. p. 163, f. 84, Sm. ii. ii. 39.
15. p. 245, f. 150 = Mat. i. ii. 103; p. 249, f. 169.
16. Har. iii. 34.
17. The bow-case being worn on the left side, the sword was on the right, not a common practice.
Scytho-Persian than Assyrian, and the patterns which mark the structure of the sheath are distinctly queer, suggesting a barbarization of Greek models. Doubts have been cast on its authenticity, but it shows a combination of motives upon which a forger would hardly hit, and which may be explained by our supposing its maker to have been a craftsman trained in the Assyrian traditions and working for a nomad.

This view is supported by the analogies presented by the Melgunov dagger and sheath (pp. 171, 172, ff. 65–67) which, being of the same Scythic shape, is regarded as being a product of Assyrian work of the early 8th century B.C. The blade was 43 cm. long. The illustrations make a long description unnecessary. At the tip were two lions rampant facing each other, along the sheath eight monsters with fishes for wings shooting towards the hilt. The fifth from the tip is lost on both sides, but his tail appears on that not shewn. At the hilt end is the familiar composition of two figures and the tree of life. The projection for hanging has a typical Scythic deer, otherwise the workmanship seems purely Assyrian.

In 1903 a very close parallel to this hitherto unparalleled decoration was found by Mr. D. Schulz at Kelermes near Majkop. The description of the sheath sounds identical, but the motive of two beardless winged genii adorning a tree at the upper end is repeated upon the guard, while the grip is adorned with a geometrical design. The work is finer than in Melgunov's example.1

Another sheath, important for its forming a link between these and the later Siberian style, was found in 1901 near the Don.2

Of Greek work we have such plates from Vettesfeld (p. 237, f. 146), Kul Obba (p. 203, f. 58) and Chertomlyk (p. 164, f. 53). For the same kind of dagger quite a different sheath, without the side projection, is one from Romny (government of Poltava, p. 186, f. 79, No. 461).

Another type of smaller dagger and sheath, apparently of Greek work, occurs at Tomakovka3 and Vettesfeld (f).4

As to the custom of setting up a sword and worshipping it, the attendant circumstances seem rather to suggest its belonging to some Thracian tribe in western Scythia within reach of trees. The ascription of the same custom to the Alans by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxxix. c. ii. 23) is of a piece with his wholesale borrowing of details from Herodotus to adorn his account of Sarmatia. Thue Attila regarded the finding of a sword as a good omen of his warlike might does not prove that the Huns actually worshipped a sword as the incarnation of the god of war.5 However, Geza Nagy6 cites something of the sort among the Bulgars, the Voguls, the Tunguz and the ancestors of the Magyars. Elsewhere (vii. 64) Herodotus says of the Saca, whom he identifies with the Scythians, that they had daggers ἀκινηταί, though in iv. c. 70 he speaks of their putting an acinaces into the bowl from which they are to drink for the ceremony of blood brotherhood. But even acinaces need not mean a very long sword; it is usually applied to the Persian sword, which is represented as short

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1 v. p. 222 and B. V. Pharmacovskij in Arch. Ann. 1904, p. 100. This find is not yet illustrated.
3 p. 158, f. 45 = ASH. xxvi. 16.
4 Ibid. III. 2.
5 Her. iv. 62.
6 Jordanes, Get. c. xxxv., quoting Priscus, f. 8.
7 Müller, SKH. iv. p. 91.
8 op. cit. p. 49 sqq.
on the reliefs of Persepolis. Had he meant an ordinary sword he would have said ἵθος. The archaeological evidence therefore exactly bears out the natural inference that the Scyths used short swords, hardly more than daggers, and similar to those of the Persians.

Besides swords or daggers we find knives in Scythic tombs, seemingly knives for general use rather than weapons. The best example of the type is that from Kul Oba, which has an ornamented gold handle and a steel blade. The whole is not unlike a modern table-knife. Usually, as in the country about Kiev, they have plain bone handles. Two similar ones were found at Chertomlyk. Near Zhurovka was found an iron knife, quite recalling the Minusinsk "cash" knife.

 Axes.

Herodotus further speaks of the Scyths as having axes, sagarisi; they formed part of the equipment of the Sacae of the Persian host (vii. 64) and were used with the sword in the ceremony of blood brotherhood. The Greeks mostly thought of these as double axes, and it is such that we find in the hands of Amazons and of barbarians, vaguely meant for Scythians, on fantastic works of art. On the coins of Olbia (Pl. III. 4) we find weapons with one cutting edge, and on the other side of the handle a curious projection whose nature it is somewhat hard to make out. On coins of Cercinitis and on the plate from Axjuintsy (p. 182, 1. 73 bis) a seated figure holds such an axe. Moreover, actual finds do not help us much to determine the real shape of Scythian axes. It may be noted that most of these finds and the coins likewise come from western Scythia, and it is in the western legend that special mention is made of axes.

Earliest in type are axe heads from west Russia about Smela, all unfortunately chance finds. They include a very simple one with the beginnings of flanges, and three socketed specimens, distinguished from the ordinary European types by a double loop. Such an one was also found at Olgenfeld (Don Cossacks). Much the same types extend across to Siberia (p. 243, 1. 151). A single-looped axe occurred at Pavlovka in Bessarabia. Very modern looking iron axe-heads found by Mazarak at Popovka (Romny, government Poltava) seem to belong to late Sarmatian times. More characteristic is a bronze model axe-head from Jarmolintsy; it is not known from what particular barrow. The wrong end is in the form of an animal's head. Another such model has the haft preserved. These objects seem to have been symbolic and call to mind the model picks from Siberia. The real axes most like those on the coins are an iron specimen from near Romny, and one in bad preservation from the banks of the Salgir. It is certainly remarkable that the axe is so rare in characteristically Scythic graves, seeing that the Greeks evidently associated

the Scythians with axes. At last in 1903 a really fine axe, overlaid with gold work in the Assyrian style, has been found at Kelernes. 1

Besides axes the Scythians may well have used maces, for instance that figured by Count Bobrinskij 2 but as this was a chance find it cannot be certainly referred to the Scythic period 3 . The use of lassos by the Sauromatae is mentioned by Pausanias (i. 21. 5). Also sling stones have been found, but to whom they belonged is not clear 4 .

To keep his weapons sharp the Scyth always carried with him a perforated whetstone, and no object is so characteristic of the Scythic graves. So de Plano Carpini (c. 17 § 6) says of the Tartars that they always carry a file in their quivers to sharpen their arrow-heads. Often the hone is set in gold, plain as at Karagodeusashkh 5 and Vettesfelde 6 , more usually adorned with palmettes and other Greek patterns, as at Kul Oba 7, Chertomlyk, Salgir 8, and Zubov's barrows 9 . At Kostromskaja 10 and Grushevka (p. 177, f. 72) were found large slabs of stone which had served as whetstones.

Shields and Armour.

On the Kul Oba vase (pp. 200, 201, f. 93, 94) we find long-shaped shields, oblongs with rounded corners. Hence Furtwängler has supposed that the Kul Oba deer and the Vettesfelde fish adorned shields of this shape. But at Kostromskaja, a deer very similar in outline to the Kul Oba deer was found attached to a thin round iron shield, 33 cm. across 11, and it is quite probable that this gives the size and form of the Kul Oba and Vettesfelde shields. Iron scales were found round the gold panther at Kelernes. In any case the shields were quite small and suitable for use on horseback. The oblong gold plate with a deer from Azjutinsky 12 may have been a shield ornament or may have decorated a quiver, inasmuch as there was a heap of arrows below it. The round gold saucer from Kul Oba 13 was certainly a drinking cup, not a shield boss. Stephani calls it a breast-plate. The oval shields with a lozenge boss borne by combatants on catacomb paintings and shown on grave-stones can hardly be called Scythic. (Ch. xi. §§ 3, 4) Aelian 14 says that the Scythians covered their shields with Tarandus (reindeer) skin.

The only certain breast-plate which appears to have been made for a Scythian is that from Vettesfelde 15. Another possible breast-piece is the silver relief of a golden-horned hind with her fawn and an eagle below found in the second of the Seven Brothers 16. This seems to have belonged to a coat of scale armour from the same tumulus and it is clear that scale armour was characteristic of the nomads. Pausanias gives an interesting description of the Sarmatian armour, which seems to have struck him by its ingenuity (i. 21, 6). He and Ammianus Marcellinus (xviii. xii. 1) say

2 SM. III. syl. 1.
3 Cf. a statue at Odessa. Lappo-Danilevskij, op. cit. p. 432.
4 L.-D. loc. cit.
5 Med. XIII. vii. 7.
6 p. 135, f. 145 = Furt. ii. 2.
7 p. 147, f. 90 = AB. 33X. 7.
8 CR. 1891, p. 78, f. 57.
9 BCAL. 1902, iv. p. 103, f. 31.
10 p. 222, f. 128 = CR. 1887, p. 13, f. 44.
11 Ibid. and p. 222, f. 130 = CR. 1897, p. 13.
12 p. 181, f. 75 = Sw. ii. xxi. 3 and p. 163.
13 p. 204, f. 90 = ABC. 33X. KTR. p. 85, f. 114.
14 De Animal. ii. 10. Thoraces, Pliny. NH. VIII. 124.
15 p. 337, f. 145 = Furt. ii. 1.
that it was of horn or horses' hoofs. Of this material we have no specimens, but iron, bronze and bone are common enough. The scales were sewn on to a leathern or stuff backing, being arranged like feathers or "like the scales of a dragon. And if any one may not have seen a dragon he must have seen a green fircone." Apparently the backing was always present, the arrangement of the holes does not permit the scales being held in place by a system of thongs plaited and intertwined as in Japanese and Tibetan scale armour. But in the specimens at Oxford the scales are held so well by interlaced thongs that the backing might have been left out.

Examples in iron and bronze have been found in almost all the tombs of Scythian type, Kul Oba, Alexandropol, Seven Brothers, Krasnokutsk and Tsymbalka, Bezchastnaja. From Popovka come scales of bone polished on one side. There are other such in the Historical Museum at Moscow. Bronze (Kul Oba) and iron (Alexandropol) scales were sometimes gilt.

Further defensive armour consisted in greaves which are always of purely Greek form and work; such were found at Chertomlyk. Unique are a cuirass and a pair of bracings of 4th century Greek workmanship found near Nicopol in 1902; at Kul Oba were sollerets for the king's feet.

A helmet of pure Greek work from Galushchino (Kiev) is figured by Khanenko, and another Greek helmet was found at Volkovtsy.

The native helmet seems to have been covered with scales. Lenz (l.c. p. 61) figures what may be part of one, and they are well shown on the frescoes of the catacombs at Kerch, whereon the people wear scale helmets and coats of scale armour. The latter were so long and awkward that the wearers had to sit their horses sideways. The Greeks wear shorter mail covered with some kind of surcoat. The pictures are an instructive commentary on the remarks of Tacitus (l.c.) on the clumsy arms and mail of the Sarmatians, which rendered them helpless against the handy weapons of the Roman legionaries. The resemblance of this kind of mail to that worn by the Tartars and to that ascribed by the Chinese to the Hsiung-nu need not be insisted upon.

Horse trappings.

The horse trappings of the Scythians are perhaps the most characteristic of their belongings. In some cases the horse must have been most richly caparisoned, in a style that recalls the magnificence of Oriental equipment from the time of the Assyrians to the present day, especially the fashions of the Sassanian kings as portrayed on dishes and bas reliefs.

When Scythian horsemen are represented by the Greeks they seem equipped quite simply. Those on the Kul Oba torque and the Hare

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1 Cf. Tacitus, Hist. i. 79
2 ABC. xxvii. 5-6
3 p. 152, f. 45=ASH. xi. 13
4 KTR. pp. 274, 275, 277.
5 ib. pp. 268, 270.
6 lb. p. 278. Illustrations shewing the construction may be found in ABC. l.c. JHS. 1884. xi. 11. (from Kerch, now in the Ashmolean); inf. p. 331. (from Jaffa); CR. 1897. p. 13. f. 45; Khanenko, op. cit. ii. Part 2, pl. vii. Part 3, pl.
7 XXXIX. Sm. iii. viii. 15-21, cf. II. p. 175; v. inf. p. 188, f. 86. The subject is discussed by E. Lenz, publishing scales from Zhurovka, ABC. xiv. p. 54.
8 Arch. Chron. of S. Russia, No. 4, 1903, p. 35, pl. vii, ABC. xxviii. p.
9 op. cit. ii. 2, pl. ix. 218.
10 v. ch. xli. § 4=CR. 1802, text pl. ix.; and KTR. p. 211, f. 193.
11 Cf. KTR. pp. 114, 115, pl. 332, 333.
hunted
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the very spirited sketch of a Scythian being dragged by the reins shows a saddle with some kind of saddle cloth cut into a vandyke; but is very vague about the girths and so is no evidence as to stirrups. On the Chertomlyk vase (p. 161, l. 48) we have a man hobbling a hog-maned pony with a simple saddle, with a girth and martingale but no crupper, and as it seems no stirrups, though a thong hanging from the girth looks rather like a stirrup leather. So on the Kerch frescoes there seem to be no stirrups. The bridles look much like modern ones, except that the cheek pieces are usually longer than nowadays and generally have three loops in them, probably for two pairs of reins and something answering to a curb. The actual bit is made in two pieces like a modern snaffle. They were sometimes made more effective with ports (έριτρόν). The types of bits and cheek pieces (П,t) are the same right across the upper Jenisei. Horses slain to accompany their owner into the next world are mostly provided duly with all necessary harness, though in some cases the front row of a number of horses is so equipped, but not the back row, or there is a regular gradation from harness elaborately adorned with gold, to silver, bronze and iron bits. There is said to be a Scythian saddle in the Hermitage, but its provenance does not seem clear.

When driven in carts, horses seem to have had much the same bridle, but no saddle. There must have been some kind of collar, but our only view of a Scythian cart, that on the coin of Scirrus, shows neither this nor shafts.

Of the carts, especially the funeral cars, we have considerable remains, in the Alexandropol barrow a space seven feet long was covered with fragments of the car, at Krasnokutsk and Chertomlyk the pieces were piled in a heap about four feet long by three feet broad and two feet high. Here were found fragments of tires, naves of wheels, nails and bolts, rivets and various strips of metal. At Krasnokutsk there seem to have been eight wheels, but perhaps here were two cars, or else one so great as to compare with those described by Hippocrates or even Rubruquis, as used for carrying the dwelling houses. In most cases the car had been broken up on the site of the tomb, at Karagodenashikh so effectually that hardly anything was left. Harness and cars were decorated with all imaginable metal plates of gold or bronze. Especially important were the frontlets and cheek ornaments on the horses' heads. The finest specimens of all are perhaps those found in Chmyreva barrow.

1 p. 197, l. 50—ABC. XX. 9.
2 p. 204 v, l. 193—ABC. XII. 9.
4 Stephanis calls them φυκος, and that term is usual in Russian archaeological literature. But E. Persia—VIII. Winckelmann's Programm, Berlin, 1822, Grabhügel, p. 24, note 30—shows reason to believe that the cheek pieces (Σειτινα) were called Αξον, whereas φυκος was a vague word for a bit as a whole. From the cheek pieces I would distinguish the cheek ornaments something in the shape of a top-sided bar, which with two frontlets and round plafones served merely for adornment (cf. the specimens from Volkovt, p. 185, l. 78, and others). The elaboration of the bit and bridle was occasioned by the indolence of the northern horse. Hence it is that much of the same devices were needed over the whole of his area—whereas the thoroughbred was docile and obeyed a mere halter. (Cf. W. Ridgeway, The Origin of the Thoroughbred Horse, parish.)
5 So too the Scyhtians among the ancients rode geldings, a practice which is described as originally Turkish. (Vâmbi, op. cit. p. 195.)
6 Lappo-Danilevskii, op. cit. p. 456.
7 p. 80, l. 4—ATR. p. 175; l. 170.
8 Act. xii, p. 59.
9 p. 16, l. 54, l. 55—ATR. pp. 86—272, ff. 241—
10—2.

11 From Tsyamba; Scri. III. p. 83, 945, ff. 33.
Harness was also adorned by phalerae, chiefly at points where strap met strap. These may be plain or be decorated, sometimes with the most exquisite Greek work, as in those from Chmyrevka. The plain phalerae are hardly to be distinguished from the looped mirrors, and may well have given rise to the type. Many of the plates of bronze and gold found in various graves seem to have decorated straps rather than garments; and the whole class of so-called Siberian gold plaques seems to have adorned horse trappings. The nomads have always loved to decorate these as well as themselves. As Herodotus says of the Massagetae (t. 215), they adorn their bits and bridles with gold phalerae.

Most interesting for their purely Scythic style are the cheek pieces. Something of the sort was necessary if only to prevent the bit being dragged sideways out of the horse’s mouth: specimens which occur without trace of cheek pieces may have had them of bone, or possibly somehow more effective arrangement of straps. They can be well seen in place in the specimens from Bobritsa near Kaniev, and others from the district of Verkhne-Dneprovsk. At Bobritsa there were three bits, and the bridle of one was adorned with four big round silver plaques which came on the horse’s neck, two smaller ones from above his mouth, two long-shaped ones for cheek ornaments and a frontlet 24 cm. long and more or less triangular, adorned with a gold crescent. At Axjutintsy the cheek pieces were still

attached to the bit itself, so at Constantinovo and Zubov’s Farm. Separate cheek pieces of interesting style were found in most of the Seven Brothers, and at Nymphaeum in what seemed otherwise a Greek grave. The silver trappings from Krasnokutsk are specially remarkable.

35. 35, 41, or better: Khienko, ii. 2, pl. XXI.—
XXIII. 401—403 = p. 185, f. 78 from Volkovsk; Sm.
III. p. 99, f. 60 = Khienko, ii. Pt. 3, pl. LVII, from
Berestinje; from Chmyrevka, p. 169, ff. 56, 61, CR
1898, pp. 27, 28, ff. 37, 38, 37; a frontlet of the
same type, but native style, from Alexandropol,
p. 138, i. 15 = ASH. XIII. 6.

1 Chmyrevka, p. 168, ff. 38, 59. Bagasevskaja,
1 ff. Sm. i. v. 10 and 12.

33. 35, 41, or better: Khienko, op. cit. Vol. ii. Pt 3,
pl. XI. 334.
3 Sm. III. pp. 137, 138, ff. 64—67.
4 Sm. ii. xxvii. 9 and 17.
5 BCA. iv. 1902, p. 32, f. 1 and p. 33, f. 7.
6 p. 231, f. 135. BCA. ii. 1901, p. 98, f. 16.
7 p. 314, f. 115. KTP. p. 52. CR. 1876, pp. 124—126, 132—
8 ff. Sm. i. vi. 105, 168, ff. 56, 57.
Horse trappings. “Standards”

In the western district we find cheek pieces made of bone and various other patterned bone ornaments. These give us specimens of the Scythian beast style executed in a fresh material. The most common pattern which has parallels in bronze has a horse’s head at one end and a hoof at the other. Others have drawings of horses, deer, or beaky birds, the flat shape necessitated by the weaker material giving a good space for a repeated pattern. There are also bone plaques in the same style. The varieties of metal cheek pieces are more numerous as the material allowed more license. Besides the horse-head and hoof pattern we get model axes, pick-axes, various monstrous creatures, and merely ornamental shapes.

For pictures of cheek pieces in use see the Issus Mosaic at Pompeii, giving a view of the general arrangement of the bridle, and the plaque of the Hare hunter from Kul Oba (v. p. 197, l. 90).

In the central tomb and in Chamber III. of Chertomlyk were found what appear to have been whip handles, and in Kul Oba there was one decorated with a gold band twisted round it spirally. Herodotus speaks of the Scythians’ whips in the legend of the slaves’ trench (iv. 3). They were like the nagajkas: the Cossacks have adopted from the Tartars.

“Standards.”

With the horse trappings seem to go various ornaments whose exact use is not clear. They all agree in having sockets for mounting them upon staves, and it has been suggested that they are all ornaments for elaborate funeral cars. Others have seen in some of them standards, in some maces or staves of office.

For instance, at Alexandropol there were found bronze sockets like those of spear heads crowned two of them with a kind of three-pronged fork with birds on the top of each prong and bells in the birds’ mouths, two pair with an oblong plate of pierced work with a griffin and a row of oves, also with pendant bells; others with simple birds, five with a kind of tree of life and little silver roundels hanging from each branch; others had a winged female figure very rude in style. Such are winged monsters from Krasnokutsk, birds, griffins.
from Slonovskaja Bliznitsa. At Chertomlyk were four standards with lions, four with very much degraded deer, and some with birds like those from Alexandropol. Pierced figures of a deer in a like style even more characteristically Scythic were found at Bělozerka near Chmyrova barrow. Arrian speaks of the dragon standards of the Scythians, but these he describes as being of stuff, and they need bear no relation to the bronze griffins. Still these socketed figures may have crowned the standard staves, as we read of the Türkic, that a young wolf was upon the top of their standard, because they traced their descent from a wolf. Conceivably deer or griffins held the same place in the estimation of various Scythian tribes as the wolf among the early Turks. Certainly the re-occurrence of representations of these beasts, almost always in much the same attitude, seems due to something more definite than mere decorative fitness. The explanation that in the combats of griffins and deer it is a case of Panticapaeum versus Chersonese cannot of course commend itself in spite of the occurrence of these animals on the coins of the two cities (e.g. Pl. v. 13).

On the other hand these ornaments were found by the heap of fragments of the Alexandropol chariot, and with them were other pieces that could only have been nailed on to something, possibly the sides of the chariot. Most of them have something jingling about them, and this is a further point of resemblance to the other class of so-called maces of office. (In Russian Bunchuki or Bûlâvy, from the word for a Cossack Hetman's mace.) The general disposition of these is a socket merging into a kind of hollow bulb pierced by three-cornered openings and containing a metal ball which rattles; above all is the figure of an animal.

These Bunchuki occur chiefly in West Russia, but some come from the Kuban, from Majkop and Kelermes. The best account of them is given by Count Bobrinskoj. They have been found in Bessarabia, Rumania and Hungary as well as in Russia.

Hampel, following J. Smirnov, thinks that from their occurring in pairs or in sets of four these objects cannot be signs of rank, but that they probably adorned the tent upon the waggon. A pair found near Zhurovka shewed no signs of staves but were apparently riveted together in the middle like scissors. Reinecke in a second paper suggests a likeness to a kind of rattle figured in Kin-shih-so (Vol. ii.), but there seems a want of intermediate links, and as no one knows what the Chinese object was for, does not help matters much. The characteristic animal top is also lacking. In the Scythic examples this is always some sort of deer or bird of prey.

Here may be mentioned two bone or ivory knobs of Ionic work, both representing lions heads. The style is orientalising, the amber eyes being typical, and the date about the 7th century B.C.

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1 ASH. xxiv. 3-5; xxvii. 1, 2.
2 ib. xxviii. 3 and 4.
3 ASH. xxviii. 1 and 2.
4 p. 77. f. 20. CR. 1897, p. 803, ff. 143, 144.
5 Tac. Ann. 35. 5. They seem really to have been Dacian (v. Pauli-Wisowa a. V. Drace) and appear on M. Antoninus's Column, Petrucc. 5, pl. xxvi. 1xv.
6 Sw. iii. p. 66, f. 25. CR. 1900, p. 37, ff. 96a, 97. 1904, pp. 88, 89, ff. 139, 140.
7 Sw. iii. p. 63. CL. pl. xxvi. and xvii. 4, also Kharkov, op. cit. ii. 2, pl. xii. 224, and 3, pl. xiii.
8 347. - 7. INF. p. 186; f. 79, also p. 183, f. 78.
10 BCA. xiv. p. 34, f. 78.
11 Uber einige Beziehungen u. s. w., Zt. f. Ethn. xxix. 1897.
12 Sw. i. and ii. frontispieces, for latter v. inf. p. 193, f. 85. Bobrinskoj calls them staff-heads.
Of other gear beside what we have named the Scythians possessed but various kettles or cauldrons or pots. Of these the bronze or copper cauldrons are the most characteristic in form, being with the special daggers and horse trappings the particular marks of Scythic culture. They are found from Krasnoyarsk to Budapest, and the type is constant though the workmanship is sometimes native, sometimes quite Greek. Their distinguishing feature is that the body of the cauldron is roughly speaking hemispherical and is supported upon a truncated cone which forms a foot or stand. The handles project upwards from the upper rim. The whole stands from 1 to 3 feet high, and is 2 ft. 6 in. across. Evidently the people who devised this base had not thought either of suspending the cauldron from a tripod or making it stand on three legs of its own. Therefore it is hard to believe

in Reinecke's idea that this form is derived from that of the Chinese sacrificial
three-footed cauldrons figured in Po-ku-tlu, Kin-shih-so, and the like. True, the handles are set on in much the same way, but the difference in the supports seems decisive. These cauldrons are regularly put in tombs and contain mutton or horse bones, shewing that once there was in them food for the use of the dead. An interesting specimen is that from Chertomlyk\(^4\), which has six goats round its rim instead of handles; in the same tomb was found a kind of open work saucepan, which may have been used for fishing meat out of the water in which it had been boiled, or for grilling it over the fire: another curious example coming from Mikhailovo-Apostolovo in Kherson government and district\(^*\) has pure Greek palmettes decorating its surface.

This type is also common in Siberia, and it is there only that the same form occurs in earthenware\(^4\). Herodotus speaks of the Scythian cauldrons (iv, 61) and compares them to the Lesbian ones. But this does not help us much. And again (iv, 81) he speaks of the monumental one at Exampaeus as containing 600 amphorae, and being six fingers thick, but such dimensions would make it perfectly useless.

Herodotus goes on to say that when they had no cauldron the Scyths boiled the animal in his own skin, making a kind of haggis, as is done by sundry savage nations. He seems scarcely right when he speaks of the bone burning excellently and taking the place of wood. Nowadays the steppe dwellers use kirpich, bricks of dried cow dung, and that answers the purpose, but is ill spared from the enrichment of the fields. But Gmelin describes ceremonies of burning a victim's bones and of cooking in skins by means of heated stones as practised by the Buriats in his day.

\(^{1}\) Zt. f. Ethnol. xxix. (1897), Uber einige Beziehungen u.s.w.
\(^{2}\) p. 162, f. 59 = KTR, p. 262, f. 238.
\(^{3}\) KTR, p. 259, f. 236 = ASH, xxvii. 1.
\(^{4}\) p. 79, f. 21 = CR, 1807, p. 82, f. 200.
\(^{5}\) For further examples: Kul Oha, Arch. xlv. 11, 13; Aigina, Sm. ii. p. 163, f. 19; Volavkova, Sm. iii. p. 84, f. 30; Hungary, O Szöny, J. Hampel, Ethn. Mittel., aus Ungarn, Bd. iv. f. 11 (other cauldrons called Scythic by Hampel do not seem to deserve the name;); Alexandria (Kherson govt.), CR. 1896, p. 115, f. 64; to the east of the sea of Azov, Jaroslavskaja Sianina, CR. 1896, p. 56, f. 277; Khatasravskaja Aul, CR. 1899, p. 53, f. 95; Vosdvienskaja, CR. 1899, p. 46, f. 77; 79; Zubov's Farm, BCA. 4, p. 96, f. 10; int. p. 259, f. 133; further north near Vosdvienskaja, at Mazinka, CR. 1899, p. 101, f. 197; even as far as Perm at Zamaževskoe, CR. 1889, p. 93, f. 45; see also Sm. iii. p. 72; Béla Póta, K. Zichy, Dritte Asiatische Forschungsreise, Bd. i. p. 514 sqq., vol. 287 sqq., figures many and works out a theory of their development, which appears to apply mostly to the later specimens. Vol. iii. p. 69 he says that they occur up to the 4th century A.D. and still survive among the Kirghis about Tschukhsk.

Most of the drinking vessels found in Scythian graves whether they be of metal or of fine pottery are of Greek workmanship and Greek shape. However, the Kul Oba vase (p. 200, l. 93) seems of native shape, at least it has no counterpart in pure Greek design, save in the companion vessels found with it, in one from Katerles and one from Ryzhanovka. It is from such a cup that a nomad is drinking. From Volkovtsy (p. 186, l. 79, No. 451) came two such cups of native work and from Galushchina a similar one but shallower (ib. No. 450); the form is common in clay in the Kiev district (p. 82, l. 25). The Scyths also seem to have liked shallow bowls or cylikes, and saucers with a boss in the centre. These were all of pure Greek design.

At Pavlovka in Bessarabia was found a shallow cup or saucer of bronze, with a handle riveted on to one side. This and another more or less like it are the only cups that could be carried at the belt according to the legend in Herodotus.

Very common in Scythic tombs are the so-called rhyta or drinking horns. They are mostly not the true Greek rhyta, which had a hole in the pointed end from which a stream was let flow into the mouth, as may be seen represented on Greek vases, but horns from the broad ends of which the liquor was drunk. On gold plaques we see pictures of Scythians drinking from such horns, e.g. the man standing before the lady with a mirror, and the group of two Scyths apparently drinking blood. No actual specimens were found, two at Kul Oba, three at Seven Brothers and at Karagodeuszashk. Others have been found in a less perfect condition or of a less characteristic form, e.g. one from Kerch shaped as a calf's head with scenes in relief on the neck of the vase. It is remarkable for its extraordinary resemblance to a small bronze vessel figured in Po-ku-ku-lu. This has been noticed by P. Reinecke, but the objects are not really comparable, as the exceedingly small size of the Chinese specimen makes it quite a different sort of thing. Moreover that from Kerch does not seem to have occurred in a Scythian grave (v. ch. xi. § 11).

Unique in its way is the famous Chertomlyk vase (pp. 159—161, ff. 46—48 and pp. 288, 9) evidently meant for kumys, as it has a sleeve in its neck and at each of the three spouts, shaped two of them as lions' heads and one as a winged horse. Besides these we have various ladles, caldrons, pails, bowls, and other vessels of Greek make. But the most famous Scythian drinking vessels were not made of gold or silver, but of the skulls of their enemies. Something of this sort has been found in Siberia in the government of Tomsk, a human skull adapted to form part of a cup.

1 inf. p. 195, l. 91 and ABC. xxxiv. and xxxv.
2 See xi. vii. 7.
3 p. 97, l. 90, middle = ABC. xxxi. 1.
4 Kul Oba, p. 205, l. 93—ABC. xxxvi.; Seven Brothers, p. 201, l. 407 = CR. 1878, p. 167, and iv. 3 and 10; Zalesko's Farm, p. 237, l. 170—SCR. 6, p. 99, l. 18; Karagodeuszashk, Mat. XIII. p. 153 and Vi. 4.
5 CR. 1891, p. 85, l. 63.
7 p. 158, l. 45 = ABC. XX. 11.
8 Kul Oba, p. 203, l. 93 = ABC. xxix. 14.
9 p. 197, l. 90; ABC. xxxvi. 4, and 5.
10 pp. 241, 245, CR. 1875, 114 and CR. 1878, 14, 8.
11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, KTR. p. 320, f. 286.
18, 19, 21, 23, CR. 1878, 114 and CR. 1876, iv. 8.
20 p. 219, l. 121, Mac. XII. p. 140 sqq., tt. 16—23.
21 ABC. xxxvi. 1 and 2 = KTR. p. 320, l. 116.
22 Einige Beziehungen u. s. w. p. 101 in ZR. f.
23 Elks. XXIX. (1897).
Scythian pottery has not received much attention. It is always handmade and mostly very rough both in fabric and material. Only in the west, where it really belongs to the native inhabitants, not to the Scythian elements, we find considerable variety of form, and even decoration applied by incising a pattern and filling up the lines with white. The most interesting products are cups with high handles¹ which have analogies to the south-west,¹ and others of the same shape as the Kul Oba vase. They also used dishes made of stone². But the best pottery they imported from the Greeks. Besides the amphorae which were brought merely for the sake of their contents, we have more artistic products occurring far inland (ch. xi. § 7) that they were highly valued we can judge from their having been mended after ancient breakages. Large vases are comparatively rare, but smaller specimens are not uncommon. They are some help in dating the tombs in which they occur, but not much, as it is hard to say how long they had been in use before being buried. They are mostly of the last period of red-figured ware. Some are evidently manufactured in the Pontic colonies, and not sent from Greece³. There is, for instance, a kind of small ugly kantharos with inferior glaze that is peculiar to the Euxine coast and its sphere of trade influence (figured in ch. xi. § 7). Except in beads, glass does not occur until quite late, probably Roman times. Vessels were also made of wood; to this day the Kalmucks value old wooden saucers, something like mediaeval mazers, extravagantly highly, especially if they are well coloured. Herodotus mentions that milk was kept in wooden vessels⁴.

¹ _B.C.A. IV._ 1902, p. 33, f. 4—6; _Sm. I. xiii_.— _Sm. II. vi._ and _vii._, III. p. 37, f. 65. Khaneiko, op. cit. II. 5, III. 54, iv., viii., xiii. Bobroiskij, _B.C.A. IV._ p. 32 and _Sm. II. vi._, xvii., says that this pottery belongs to the earlier Scythian period when iron was still rare; same form at Ladonshchina on the Kuban, _C.R._ 1902, p. 75, f. 160.


³ _Sm. II._ p. 136, f. 21, and _III._ p. 141, f. 78.

⁴ _Tran. Od. Soc._ Vol. XXII, 1902; E. R. von Stern, _On the importance of Ceramic finds in the South of Russia_, p. 167, _Sm. II. vi._ (Kipriany), and _x._ (Krajanovka), and _x._ (Bobroiskia); cf. II. p. 126.

⁵ _J._ 7. The particular ferment which made kumys would be better communicated by wooden or leather vessels than by clean metal or earthenware.
Of the ways of the Scyths in war Herodotus tells us in chapters 64 to 66. A Scyth who has slain an enemy drinks his blood, and cuts off his head, which acts as a voucher in the allotment of booty; then he takes the scalp, scrapes it with the rib of an ox and wears it at his bridle, or even, when he has taken many scalps, and is hence accounted a great warrior, makes a cloak of them. Others use the skins of their enemies' hands to cover their quivers, or stretch whole skins upon wooden frames and carry them about. Furthermore, they take the skulls of their very greatest enemies or of their own people with whom they have been at feud and whom they have vanquished before the king, saw them off above the eyebrows, clean them out and mount them in ox leather, or if they are rich enough, in gold, and use them as cups. Furthermore, once a year, the headman of each pasture land (may we not say uhes?) mixes a bowl of wine and there drink of it all those who have slain a man. But those who have not are kept away and disgraced accordingly. And those who have slain very many men drink from two cups at a time.

More important information as to how Herodotus imagined the Scyths waging war we can gather from the accounts of the contest with Darius, and can supplement by the general testimony of antiquity and Oriental history as to the tactics of the nomads. There is no need to enlarge upon the policy of retirement before the regular troops of the invader, of harassing his rear, cutting his communications and enticing pursuit by pretended flights. In defence, the strength of the nomads lies in the fact that there is nothing for the invader to destroy and no source from which he can get supplies, and he is helpless in the face of the superior mobility of his opponent; for the offensive the nomads are powerful because their whole population can take part in battle, no one is left on the land, as with settled peoples, for there is nothing to defend in detail, also the host carries its own provision with it, and is very mobile. Still the nomads have rarely been successful against settled states in a sound condition. Their inroads have been irresistible only when internal division or decay laid the civilised countries open to them. They are at a great disadvantage when it is a question of walled towns, forests or mountains, and only by becoming settled have they been able to keep moderately permanent dominion over agricultural countries; though they have often exacted blackmail or tribute from powerful states on the borders of their natural sphere of influence, the Euro-Asiatic plain. Thucydides (v. sup. p. 35) exaggerates their power.

2 εγκόπω οικίαν ἀποτελούσιν παύσαντας. Looking at p. 205, f. 36 inches one to translate "drink in two, sharing their cups together."
3 Arrian, Tacit. 16, 6 ascribes to the Scythians attacks in wedge-shaped (diadochion) columns.
Their raids brought the Scyths slaves, employed in herding the cattle and making kumys, but among nomads master is not far above man, and so thought the mistress when the master was away. Upon the king's only native Scyths attended.

In Chapters 73 to 75 Herodotus seems to describe three different customs as one: a ceremonial purification from the touch of a corpse; this may not have been separate from the second, the usual vapour bath enjoyed much as it still is in Russia, in spite of the ridicule of St Andrew. Thirdly, a custom of intoxicating themselves with the vapour of hemp. He adds that the women whitened their skins with a paste of pounded cypress, cedar and frankincense wood; something very like the Russians' lye.

Position of Women.

Herodotus goes on to say that the Scyths were very much averse from adopting foreign customs; and quotes the lamentable ends of Anacharsis and Seyles. But one might take this rather as evidence of the attraction the higher Greek civilisation exercised over some of them. Incidentally we learn that the Scythian kings were polygamous, that a son succeeded to his father's wives, and that some had married Greek women.

We have already noticed that the chief difference between the Scyths and the Sarmatians was in the position of the women. Among the former they were apparently entirely subject to the men and were kept in the waggon to such an extent that, as Hippocrates says, their health suffered from want of exercise. Whereas among the Sarmatians they took part in war, rode about freely and held a position which earned for some tribes the epithet of women-ruled, and gave rise to the legend of the Amazons. This is in some degree the natural position of women among nomads; they have to take charge of the Jurtas when the men are absent rounding up stray cattle, and are quite capable of looking after everything at home, entertaining a stranger and even beating off an attack by robbers. It does not argue primitive community of women or Tibetan polyandry, such as the Greeks attributed to the Scyths and Herodotus to the Massagetae (v. p. 111). The queens who are so prominent in Greek stories about nomads, Tomiris, Zarinaea, Tirgatoa, can hardly be quoted as historical proofs of woman rule, though they might be paralleled in Tartar history. We must regard the confined condition of women among the Scyths as exceptional, due to the position of all women being assimilated to that of those captured from conquered tribes, this being possible because the exceptional wealth of the leading men among the Scyths enabled them as members of a dominant aristocracy to afford the luxury of exempting their women from work, and so to establish a kind of purdah system even in the face of nomad conditions, which are naturally unfavourable to seclusion.

1 Her. 10. 10. 27.
2 Laurendian Chronicles (so-called Nestor), ed. 3, St P., 1827, p. 7. "I saw wooden baths, and they heat them exceeding hot, and gather together and are naked and pour lye (aqua sanitatis) over themselves and heat themselves... And this they do every day, not tortured by any men, but they torture themselves."
3 E. Huntington, The Mountains of Turkestan, in Geographical Journal, Vol. XXV. 2, Feb. 1895, p. 154 sqq.; de Plano Carpinus ap. Bergeron (Hague), p. 47, 1420; Rockhill, p. 75, n. 3. The maids and women ride and race upon horseback as skillfully as the men... They drive the carts and load them... and they are most active and strong. All wear trousers, and some of them shoot with the bow like men.
Religion.

All that we know of the Scythian's religion is contained in three chapters of Herodotus (iv. 59, 60, 62). The following deities were common to all, Tabiti—Hestia who was the principal object of their veneration, next to her Papaus—Zeus with Apiā—Ge, husband and wife, after them Goetosyrus—Apollo, Argimpassa—Aphrodite Urania, and Ares. Thamimasadas—Poseidon was peculiar to the Royal Scyth. They raised no statues, altars or temples to their gods, save to Ares alone. They sacrificed all sorts of animals after the same manner, but horses were the most usual victims. The beast took his stand with his fore feet tied together and the sacrificer pulling the end of the rope from behind brought him down. Then he called upon the name of the god to whom the sacrifice was offered, slipped a noose over the victim's head, twisted it up with a stick and so garrotted him; then he turned to flaying and cooking. Sacrifices were made to Ares after another ritual described below.

The catalogue of gods hardly tells us more than that the Scythes were no monotheists. The forms of the names are very uncertain, being variously read in different ms. of Herodotus and in Origen, who quotes them from Celsus. Also as Origen says, we cannot tell what meaning we are to attach to the Greek translations; e.g. Apollo or Poseidon. For instance, the latter may have been either the horse-god or the sea-god.

However, Zeus and his followers find that a list including Hestia, Zeus and Earth, Apollo and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and further Poseidon, has an Aryan, even a distinctly Iranian look. So when Theophylactus (vii. 8) says of the Turks "they excessively reverence and honour fire, also the air and the water: they sing hymns to the earth, but they adore and call god (i.e. the heaven, Žengri) only him who created the heaven and the earth: their priests are those who seem to them to have the foretelling of the future." Zeus had to explain that these Turks were really only Tadzhiks—Iranians under Turkish rule. But this can hardly be said of the Tartars of whom de Piana says "Les Tartares adorent donc le soleil, la lumière et le feu comme ainsi l'eau et la terre, leur offrant les prémices de leur manger et boire."

G. Nagy, besides pointing out the general analogy between Scythic and Uralo-Altaic religious conceptions, even makes an attempt to explain the actual god-names and succeeds better than those who have sought Iranian derivations: he suggests, for instance, as analogies for Tabiti = Hestia, the Vogul takt, tōt, fire: for Papaus = Zeus, baba = father in most Uralo-Altaic languages, but of course in many other tongues there is something similar; for Thamimasadas or Thagimasadas (Origen) = Poseidon, the Turkish Žengiz, Magyar Ženger = sea, and Turkish ata, Magyar āva = father; the word for sea also occurring in Temirinda (= n. maris with Turkish an, Ostjak anka, mother) and Tamyrace (sup. p. 10). The phonetic change is similar to that in cannabis, probably a loan word from the Scythic, and Magyar kender hemp. Less convincing than these but more plausible than the Iranian comparisons are Apiā = Ge, cf. Mongolian Abīja, fruitful, and Artimpasa = Aphrodite Urania,

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1 C. C. J., v. 41, 46, vi. 39, Poyjirrwe, Ap-

2 op. cit. p. 283 sqq. (v. inf. p. 58, n. 3).

3 Bergeron (Haguen), § 31.

4 Pliny, NZ, vi. 20, native name for Maeotis.
Scythian Customs

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ef. Cuman erdeng = maiden, and Moldva paz = god. (G) oetosyrus = Apollo is so uncertain in form that it is useless to propose etymologies for it. Certain it is that the Scythic pantheon offers nothing like the complete series of analogies which may be established between the other Aryan pantheons.

The method of sacrifice by hobbling the victim, throwing him down and throttling him may be compared with the Burja ritual with its precautions against the blood falling upon the earth. The favourite sacrifice was a horse, so also it was a horse that the Massagetae offered to the sun. For similar ritual at sacrifices of reindeer, horses and cattle among the Voguls, Ostjaks, Votjaks and Altai Turks, compare Nagy.

Herodotus goes on to say that Ares was worshipped in the form of an acinaces set up on a platform of bundles of brushwood, three furlongs square, heaped up one in each district. Besides horses and sheep they sacrificed to him one man out of every hundred prisoners, pouring his blood upon the sword on the top of the mound, and below cutting off the victim’s right arm and throwing it into the air.

This worship of Ares seems to stand apart from the other cults. The most probable derivation for it is Thrace: it was most likely commonest among the western Scythians who had close relations with Thrace, e.g. Ariapithes had to wife a daughter of the Thracian Teres, father of Sitales. In the treeless steppes of Eastern Scythia it would have been impossible to make mounds of brushwood of anything like the size described by Herodotus (iv. 62), whence were the 150 loads of brushwood to come every year when the people had not even the wood for cooking-Ares? Each mention of Ares and his worship has the appearance of a later insertion added by Herodotus from some fresh source. He does not give the Scythian word for Ares. Heraclides also, for whom likewise no Scythian name is given, is not so well attested as the other gods. He may well have been put in because of the “Greek” legend which made him the ancestor of the race. Nagy, however (p. 45), finds a similar figure in Finno-Ugrian mythology, e.g. in the Magyar Menrot or Nimrod.

Witchcraft.

Herodotus (iv. 67—69) gives a fuller account of the witchcraft of the Scyths than of their religion, and the account seems to apply to the Royal Scyths. He says that their wizards prophesied with bundles of rods which they took apart, divined upon separately, and bound up again. It is remarkable that the man represented on the plaque from the Oxus Treasure (p. 255, f. 174) carries a bundle of rods: and hence Cunningham* calls him a mage, for he says the mages had sacred bundles of rods (barsom). This would suggest that the wizards came from the Iranian population, that the invaders left this department in the hands of the people of the country, as so often happened. The Enarees also claimed power of divination by plaiting strips of bast. But something similar was practised by Nestorian priests among the Mongols.

Characteristic of the low state of culture is the belief that if the king fall sick it must be by the fault of some man of the tribe who has sworn

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1 Neumann, op. cit. p. 262.
2 Her. i. 416.
3 op. cit. p. 47.
4 Her. iv. 76 sqq.
by the king's hearth, and forsworn himself, bringing down on the king the vengeance of the offended deity. A man whom the wizards definitely accused of this according to the results of their divinations could only hope to escape if other and yet other wizards declared their colleagues' accusation false. We can hardly doubt that the decision was generally upheld, and the accused beheaded, and his property distributed among his destroyers. The horror of the punishment meted out to wizards whom their colleagues did not support, makes us think that it could not have been inflicted often. Bound hand and foot and gagged they were set in a pyre of brushwood upon a cart, and oxen dragged them until themselves set free by their traces burning. It looks like a kind of scapegoat ceremony by which the guilt of dishonest wizardry was purified by fire and scattered over the face of the earth.

With their witchcraft goes their rite for taking oaths, and swearing blood brotherhood. They pour wine into great earthenware cups and mix with it blood drawn from the parties to the oath: then they dip therein a sword, arrows, an axe and a dart, and after praying long over it the contracting parties drink it off together with the chief of their followers.

Parallels for the divination ceremonies and the mode of discovering the man responsible for any disease of the king's, also for the oath ceremony, may be found in almost any race from Kamchatka to the Cape of Good Hope, and such parallels prove nothing but that the human mind works on similar lines in different countries. We may, however, mention divination by sticks among the early Turks. So the ceremonies of blood brotherhood may be also paralleled among the Parthians, also apparently an Uralo-Altaic tribe, the Magyars and the Cumans or Polovtzes, whose prince made such a covenant with Philip, son of Nariot de Toucy, and Andronicus the Greek Emperor. But it is in their burials that the Scythians and the Hunnish nations most resemble each other.

 Funeral Customs.

The account of Scythian funerals given by Herodotus (iv. 71—73) agrees so well with the archaeological data, as summarised below in the survey of the principal Scythian tombs of South Russia (ch. viii. p. 149 sqq.), that the two sources of information may be used to supplement one another.

As to the burials of the kings, Herodotus says that they take place in the land of the Grrhi (v. p. 29). Here when their king dies they dig a great square pit. When this is ready they take up the corpse, stuff it full of chopped cypress, frankincense, parsley-seed and anise, and put it on a waggon. Their own cars they crop, shear their hair, cut round their arms, slit their foreheads and noses, and run arrows through their left hands. Thus they bring their king to the next tribe on the way to the Grrhi and make them mutilate themselves in the same way and follow with them, and so with the next tribe until at last they come to the Grrhi. There in the place prepared they lay the body upon a mattress, and drive in spears on each side of it in line, and rafters across and make a roof of mats (or wicker work). They strangle and lay in the

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1 For a remarkably exact parallel among the Hungars, see infra, p. 93.
2 Nagy, op. cit. p. 51.
3 Tacitus, Aenarii, xii. 47.
4 Nagy, op. cit. pp. 53, 54; Rockhill, Rubruck, p. xxxiii, quoting from Jouville, Histoire de S. Louis.
vacant room within the tomb one of the dead man's concubines, and his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, and his messenger and horses, and cups of gold (they use none of silver or copper), and firstlings of all his other possessions. When they have done this they make a great mound, vying with each other to make it as great as possible.

After the lapse of a year they take fifty of the king's best attendants (and these are Scyths born, whomssoever he commands to serve him: no bought slaves serve the king), and fifty of the finest horses, slay them, and stuff them with chaff. Next they fix the felloes of wheels on posts, with the concave side uppermost in pairs, run a stake through each horse lengthwise, and set him on each pair of felloes, so that one supports the shoulders of the horse, the other the hind-quarters, and the legs hang down freely. Bits are put in the horses’ mouths and the reins taken forward, and fastened to a peg. One of the fifty strangled youths is then put astride of each horse, a stake being run up his spine and fixed in a socket in that which runs horizontally through the horse. So these horses are set in a circle about the tomb.

Thus are the kings buried. Ordinary Scyths are carried about on a waggon for forty days by their nearest kin and brought to their friends in turn. These feast the bringers and set his share before the dead man (who presumably has been embalmed), and so at last they bury him.

It is by the general correspondence of funeral customs that we are enabled to say that certain of the barrows opened in South Russia belonged most probably to the people whom Herodotus and Hippocrates describe. Much has been made of small differences of detail and of the decidedly later date of the works of Greek art found in the tombs of which we have good accounts, but that substantially the very people, of whose funeral ceremonies. Herodotus gives so full an account, raised the mounds of Kül Oba, Chertomlyk and Karagodeuashk, is not open to reasonable doubt.

When Herodotus uses the present and speaks as if each of the details he describes were repeated at every king’s funeral there is no need to believe anything but that he has generalised from the current account of the last great royal burial. If we have not yet found remains of a circle of fifty impaled young men upon impaled horses standing on ghastly guard about a Prince’s tomb, it does not mean that the tombs opened so far belong to a different nation, but that we have not come on that in which was laid Octamasades, or whoever it may have been, whose funeral was narrated to Herodotus. Even did we find it we might well discover that rumour had exaggerated the number of sacrifices.

**Burial Customs of Mongols and Turks.**

Yet even such wholesale slaughter can be paralleled from Marco Polo’s.

“All the great Kaans and all the descendants of Chingis their first lord are carried to the mountain that is called Aitay to be interred. Wheresoever the Sovereign may die he is carried to his burial in that mountain with his predecessors no matter an the place of his death were an hundred days’ journey distant, thither must he be carried to his burial. Let me tell you a strange thing too. When they are carrying the body

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of any Emperor to be buried with the others, the convoy that goes with the body doth put to the sword all whom they fall in with on the road saying 'Go and wait upon your Lord in the other world.'... They do the same too with the horses: for when the emperor dies they kill all his best horses in order that he may have the use of them in the other world as they believe. And I tell you as a certain truth that when Mangou Kaan died more than 20,000 persons who chanced to meet the body were slain in the manner I have told." Mangu died in the heart of China. So Rashid-ul-din (ap. Yule, i.c.) says forty beautiful girls were slain for Chingiz.

William de Rubruck says of the Comani or Polovtzes, "They build a great tomb over their dead and erect the image of the dead party thereupon with his face towards the East, holding a drinking cup in his hand before his navel. They erect also upon the monuments of rich men Pyramids, that is to say, little sharpe houses or pinacles.... I saw one newly buried on whose behalf they hanged up 16 horse hides; vuto each quarter of the world 4, betwecne certain high posts; and they set besides his grave Cosmos for him to drink and flesh to eat: and yet they said that he was baptized."

So Ibn Batuta, who travelled in China in the middle of the fourteenth century, thus describes the funeral of a Khan slain in battle. "The Khan who had been killed, with about a hundred of his relations was then brought and a large sepulcre was dug for him under the earth, in which a most beautiful couch was spread, and the Khan was with his weapons laid upon it. With him they placed all the gold and silver vessels he had in his house, together with four female slaves and six of his favourite Mamluks with a few vessels of drink. They were then all closed up, and the earth heaped upon them to the height of a large hill. Then they brought four horses which they pierced through at the hill until all motion ceased; they then forced a piece of wood into the hinder part of the animal until it came out at his neck and this they fixed in the earth leaving the horse thus impaled upon the hill. The relatives of the Khan they buried in the same manner putting all their vessels of gold and silver in the grave with them. At the doors of the sepulcres of ten of these they impaled three horses in the manner thus mentioned. At the graves of each of the rest only one horse was impaled." This was all at El Khansa—Shen-si.

And de Plano Carpini, of the Mongols, says in Bergeron's words:

"Quand le capitaine est mort on l'enterre secretement en la campagne avec sa loge. Il est assis au milieu d'ecelle avec vne table devant lui et un bassin plein de chair et vne tasse de lait de jument. On enterre aussi avec lui vne jument avec son poulain & un cheval selle & bridé et mangeant vn autre cheval dont ils remplissent la peau de paille puis l'eslevent en haut sur quatre bastons.... Ils enterrrent de meme avec lui son or & son argent. Ils rompent le chariot qui le portait et sa maison est abatue et personne n'ose proferir son nom jusqu'à la troisieme generation.


1 Paris, 1634, c. iii. The reader will lose nothing by the French translation, though I have learnt since this was in type that it was made from Hak-luyt's English. Cf. Rockhill, p. 81.
"Ils ont vne autre façon d'enterrer les Grands. C'est qu'ils vont secrètement en la campagne et la ostent toutes les herbes jusqu'aux racines puis font vne grande fosse à costé ils en font vne autre comme vne caue sous terre: puis le serviteur qui aura esté le plus chéry du mort est mis sous le corps... Pour le mort ils le mettent dans cette fosse qui est à costé avec toutes les autres choses que nous avons dites ci dessus, puy remplissant ceste autre fosse qui est devant celle la et mettent de l'herbe par dessus.

"Et en leur pays ils ont deux lieux de sepulture, l'un auquel ils enterrent les Empereurs, Princes, Capitaines et autres de leur noblesse seulement & en quelque lieu qu'il viennent à mourir on les apporte la tant qu'il est possible et on enterrer avec eux force or et argent. L'autre lieu est pour l'enterrerement de ceux qui sont morts en Hongrie. Personne n'ose s'approcher de ces cemeteries là. Si non ceux qui en ont la charge et qui sont estables pour les garder. Et si quelqu'autre en approche il est aussitost pris battu foueté et fort mal traité."

Nearly every detail of these passages can be paralleled from Herodotus or the excavations. Only the Mongols could do things on a more magnificent scale than the Scyths, who could not rival the horrors of Mangu Khan's funeral. The mutilation of those who met the funeral car of a Scythian king is mild compared to the wholesale slaughter we find in Asia fifteen hundred years later.

Such customs we can trace 800 years earlier among the T'u-kiie or Turks as reported by the Chinese.

In the second of the inscriptions of the Orkhan, the earliest monuments of Turkish speech, erected by Jolygh Tigin in memory of Bilgä or Ptekha, the Khan of the Turks, brother of Kurl Tigin, the Khan says "My Father the Khan died in the year of the dog in the 10th month the 36th day. In the year of the pig in the fifth month the 37th day I made the funeral. Lusin (or Li-hiong) tai sangün (a Chinese ambassador) came to me at the head of 500 men. They brought an infinity of perfumes, gold and silver. They brought musk for the funeral and placed it and sandalwood. All these peoples cut their hair and cropped their ears (and cheeks?): they brought their own good horses, their black sables and blue squirrels without number and put them down."

This inscription is dated A.D. 732, Aug. 1st. It recalls Herodotus also in a passage in which the Khan warns the Turks against the charm of the Chinese and their insinuation, and blames the Turkish nobles who had abandoned their Turkish titles and bore the Chinese titles of dignitaries of China. That is, that the Turks had their Anacharsis and Scyles attracted by the civilisation of the South. And the warning of the Khan was too late, for ten years afterwards the Turkish empire was conquered by the Uighurs, their western neighbours and former subjects.

Nagy supplies further parallels from among Uralo-Altaic tribes. For
self-mutilation he instances the Huns at the death of Attila, and says that
it is still practised among the Turks of Central Asia, who also set up spears
in the grave, a custom of which traces survive in Hungary. The horse-
burial as practised among Indo-Europeans he ascribes entirely to nomads'
influence, and quotes examples among the Avars, Magyars, Old Bulgars
and Cumans in Europe. The funeral of a Cuman as described by Joinville,
A.D. 1341, very closely recalls the Scythic custom, as with the dead man
were buried eight pages and twenty-six horses; upon them were put planed
boards and a great mound quickly heaped up by the assembly. The horses
are still stuffed and set over the grave among the Jakuts, Voguls, Ostjaks,
and Chuvashes: while among the Kirgiz a horse is devoted to the dead at
the funeral and sacrificed on the first anniversary. The interval of forty
days before the funeral recalls the identical interval which comes between
the death and the wake among the Chuvashes, and the fact that the Voguls
believe that the soul does not go to its home in the other world until
forty days have elapsed.

Nomads of Eastern Asia.

Since it is a question of the Scyths coming out of Asia it is worth
while to see what the Chinese have to say as to their north-western
neighbours. The accounts they give resemble wonderfully the accounts
of the Scyths given by the Greeks, but inasmuch as integral parts of China,
not mere outlying colonies, were always exposed to serious inroads of the
nomads, the latter’s doings were observed and chronicled with far more
attention, so that we can watch the process by which the name of one empire
succeeds the name of another, while the characters of all are precisely similar.
If it be allowed to say so “Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose.” The
most convenient account of the series is that given by Professor E. H.
Parker in A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 1895. The same writer has
given literal translations of the original texts in the China Review.

In the earliest times we have mention of raids which plagued the
Chinese as far back as their traditions went. They say, for instance, that
in the time of Yao and Shun, and later under the dynasties T’ang and Yu,
b.c. 2256—2208, there were nomads to the north with the same customs
as the later Huáng-nu—Hien-yün and Hün-küh (or Hun-yök) to the west, and
Shan Chung to the east. The Emperor Mu of the Chou dynasty, 1001—
946 b.c., received as tribute or present from the Si Chung or western nomads,
a sword of K’ü-mu or steel, which is said to have cut jade like mud. The
Huáng-nu, who are perfectly historic, were supposed to trace their descent
from Great-Yü the founder of the Hia dynasty, b.c. 2205—1766. At this
time one Duke Liu took to the nomads’ life and drove them back with their
own tactics.

They made fresh encroachments, but were once more driven out by
Shun, 827—781. Just before the ascent of the Ts’in dynasty c. 255 b.c.

1 Jordanes, Get. XLIX.  
2 Vols. XXI. seq. The latest account is O. Franke, 
Zur Kenntnis der Turkvolker und Skythen Zentral-
3 F. Hirth, China and the Roman Orient, p. 350, 
according to Liou Tse, ap. Yuan-chien-lé-han.
the nomads were decoyed into an ambush and defeated. Several times the Chinese have treated them just as the Medes treated the Scyths.

During the troubles arising on the fall of the short-lived dynasty of Ts’in, Touman, the head or Zenghi (Shan-yü) of the Hiung-nu, raised their power very high and was succeeded by his son Mao-tun, who extended their empire to Kalgan and the borders of Korea.

East of the Hiung-nu were the Tung-hu (Tunguz) or eastern nomads, who have produced the ruling tribes of the Wu-huan or Sien-pi, the Kitans or Cathayans and the Manchus. These were reduced to subjection, and Mao-tun also extended his dominions over the tribes represented by the Kao-ch’e or High Carts, later called Uigurs and the Kirgiz. He also conquered the Yue-chih between Ki-lien and Tun-huang (Western Kan-su) and the Wu-sun by Lop-nor and drove them westward. So he could boast that he was lord of all that use the bow from the horse. By the next Zenghi Kayuk (or Ki-yük), now allied with the Wu-sun, the Yue-chih were driven part into Tibet, part yet further, out of the Tarim basin to the west of Sogdiana, whence they extended southwards to the Oxus. From Oxiana they moved on and established a lasting kingdom just north of the Hindu Kush. From the chief of their five tribes they took the name of Kushanas. In their advance to the south they drove before them the Sai (Sek, i.e. Saka). Between them they crushed the Graeco-Bactrian state and finally advanced their dominion to India, wherefore they were known to the west as the Indo-Scyths. In all this the settled Iranians were not displaced. The movement is singularly like that to which Herodotus ascribes the coming of the Scyths into Europe, only the line of least resistance led south and not north from the Oxus. Kayuk made a cup of the skull of the Yue-chih king, and it became an heirloom in his dynasty. He died in B.C. 160.

The Chinese sent an ambassador Chang K’ien to the west, 136—126 B.C., to try and make an alliance with the Yue-chih against the Hiung-nu and the Tibetans. They did not succeed but they established intercourse with the west, and at this time various Greek products first found their way to China. About 110 B.C. the Hiung-nu were defeated, and in B.C. 90 the eastern nomads, who had recovered their independence, invaded the Hiung-nu territory and desecrated the tombs of former Zenghís; that being the worst injury that could be done, as in the case of the Scyths. Forty years later it is said that if the Hiung-nu dominion was just about to fall, as there was a quarrel between Chih-chih and Hu-han-yá, two heirs to the throne, but Hu-han-yá established his position by a treaty with China in 49 B.C. The Emperor Yien-Ti’s ambassadors were Ch’ang and Meng. They went up a hill east of the Onon and killed a white

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1 Written variously Mé-t’ch, Mè-t’ch, Bagator, Méguder and Moduk. Franke, op. c. p. 10, n. 3. Not knowing Chinese I cannot answer for correct or even consistent transliteration. Thanks to Professor Giles I have been saved many mistakes, but he is not responsible for such as may be left.
4 Her. iv. 127.
horse. The Zenghi took a king-lu knife, some gold and a rice spoon, made with them a mixture of wine and blood, and drank of it with the envoys, himself using the skull of the Yue-chih king who was killed by Kayuk Zenghi. Soon after this the Huung-nu divided into a northern and a southern state; in 87 A.D. the Sien-pi of the eastern nomads attacked the northern horde and took the Zenghi, and skinned him to make a trophy. About 196 A.D. the last remnants of Huung-nu power were swept away and the people are said to have been driven west, to reappear as the Huns we know in eastern Europe two generations later (infra, p. 122). In the east they were ousted by the Sien-pi; it is said that when these conquered the northern Huung-nu 100,000 of the latter submitted and called themselves Sien-pi, though these being eastern nomads differed from them more than any of the western tribes.

The eastern tribes were more democratic than the westerners, also dirtier, and they disposed of their dead on platforms instead of burying them. They held their power till about 400 A.D. when they gave way in exactly the same manner to the Zhu-zhu or Zhan-zhu, a mixed multitude of western nomads, known to Europe as Avars but not the false Avars who once ruled Hungary: they held under them an obscure tribe called Tu-kue or Turks, who did metal work for them. They were a clan of Huung-nu called A-she-nu; and took the title Turk from a mountain near Tu-men, their Khagan or Khan, having defeated a neighbouring tribe, asked the daughter of the Khan of the Zhan-zhu in marriage. He replied, "You are common slaves whom we employ to work us metal: how dare you ask to wed a princess?" But Tu-men married a Chinese princess and rose against the Zhan-zhu power and destroyed it in A.D. 546. Se-kin his successor is described as having a very broad dark red face, and eyes like green glass or lapis lazuli. He defeated the Yi-ta and extended Turkish sway from the Liao Sea to within measurable distance of the Caspian. These Yi-ta, more fully Yen-tai-i-li-to, were formerly called Hua; in the west they are known as the Ephthalite Huns: a very mixed race, they probably had something in common with the true Huns. They had supplanted the Yue-chih, and destroyed the kingdom of the Kushanas. We hear of their polyandry, a primitive Malthusianism which seems to have been endemic in their country, as it is ascribed to the Massagetae, to the Yue-chih and Tu-huo-lo or Tochari, and to the Yi-ta.

So to the Turks succeeded the Uigurs, whose ancestors are called Kao-ch'ye, High Casts, "Adaçofoa": after them came Sutans from the east. They in turn gave way to the Mongols, and the Manchus have been the last of the nomad tribes to establish an empire.

The process is always the same, the great bulk of the conquered horde amalgamates quite readily with the victors, the ruling class and their dependents, if not caught and skinned by their enemies, retire towards China.
or to the West, where they often retrieve their fortunes. Hence the invasions of Huns and Avars and Turks: it was only the Mongols that themselves extended their empire so far. To the north also this influence reached so that most of the Jenisei tribes and most of the Finno-Ugrians have been so much Tartarised that it is hard to reconstitute their original mutual relations. We have only to take the series back one more term and the movement which brought the Scyths into Europe and all the effects of their coming fall perfectly into line.

The foregoing sketch of Central Asia from the Chinese standpoint recalls many details in Herodotus, and the complete picture as drawn by the Chinese agrees precisely with his. Take for instance the accounts of the Tu-kie (c. 530 A.D.). They begin by saying that these are descended from the Huang-nu and have exactly the same mode of life; that is to say, details which do not happen to be given as to one tribe may be inferred from their applying to the other. The various Tung-hu or eastern nomads differ considerably. The Tu-kie were then a tribe of the Huang-nu and traced their descent from a she-wolf, hence they had a she-wolf on their standards. (We can imagine them to have been like the animals on sockets found at Alexandria.) Their habits are thus described. They wear their hair long, and throw on their clothes to the left; they live in felt tents and move about according to the abundance of water and grass. They make little of old men and only consider such as are in the prime of life. They have little honesty or proper shame; no rites or justice, like the Huang-nu. Perhaps this is only one point of view; another passage says that they are just in their dealings, suggesting the Greek view of nomads, διακατωτοι ἀνθρώπων (v. p. 109).

Their arms are bow, arrows, sounding arrows (used for signals), cuirass, lance, dagger and sword. On their standards is a golden she-wolf. Their belts have ornaments engraved and in relief. This reminds us of the universal Scythic gold plates. So Zemarchus at the Turkish court remarked on the profusion of gold. They use notches in wood for counting: elsewhere it says they have an alphabet like other Hu or barbarians.

When a man dies his son is put dead in his tent. His sons, nephews and relations kill each a sheep or horse and stretch them before the tent as an offering. They cut their faces with a knife. On a favourable day they burn his horse and all his gear. They collect the ashes and bury the dead at particular periods. If a man die in spring or summer they wait for the leaves to fall, if in autumn or winter they wait for leaves and flowers to come out. Then they dig a ditch and bury him. On the day of the funeral they cut their checks, and so forth as on the first day. On the tomb they put a tablet and as many stones as the dead man has killed enemies. They sacrifice a horse and a sheep and hang their heads over the tablet. That day the men and women meet at the tomb clothed in their best and feast. These feasts seem to be the occasions when the young men see girls to fall in love with them and ask their hands of their fathers. This whole account seems rather to describe a funeral in two parts or funeral

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1 Menander, i. 20; P.H.G. iv. p. 227.
3 Radloff says this must be a mistake, as he has found no traces of cremation. Some tombs both in Siberia and in Russia have the wooden erection partly burnt, cf. A. Helck, Antiquités de la Sibérie ancienne in Mém. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne vi (1894), and Radloff, Aus Sibirien, ii. chap. vii.
and after-funeral than really to imply that the dead were kept according to the time of the year. It corresponds generally with what is found in Scythic tombs and with the account in Herodotus. Hieh-li, the last Khan, was buried under a mound, and an attendant willingly sacrificed himself to serve him in the next world. When a man dies his son, younger brother or nephew takes his wives and their sisters to wife. This was the case with the Scythians, e.g. Scyles married Opoea, wife of his father Ariapithes.

Although the Tu-kie change places, yet they have special land for each family. Agriculture is not unknown to them. The Khan lives at Tu-kin Shan. They revere demons and spirits and believe in magicians. Their food of milk and cheese and kumys is just what Herodotus describes.

A curious point of likeness already referred to is the attraction civilisation exercised upon them, so that individuals were continually trying to imitate Chinese ways, they married Chinese wives, and some could even talk Chinese, and occasionally it required the good sense of Chinese deserters to prevent the nomads giving up their ways and so rendering themselves open to attack. On the other hand, when the Chinese tried to make them adopt small details, Sha-poh-fih the Khan, 581—587, replied, “We have had our habits for a long time and cannot change them.” Just the same opposition is characteristic of the Scythians, some of whom were always hankering after Greek ways, in spite of the disapproval of their fellows. So Marco Polo speaks of the degeneracy of the Tartars, who by his time had adopted the customs of the idolaters in Cathay and of the Saracens in the Levant.

Géza Nagy remarks on another point of resemblance between the Scythians and the Turks, their very concrete metaphors. Just as the Scythians replied to the Persians’ defiance by sending the Great King a bird, a mouse, a frog and five arrows, which is rightly interpreted by Gobryas to mean that they will fall by the arrows, unless like birds they can fly into the air, or like mice burrow underground, or like frogs jump into the waters, so the Turks threatened the Avars that, flee as they might, they would find them upon the face of the ground, for they were not birds to fly up into the air nor fishes to hide themselves in the sea.

In just the same way, in A.D. 1303, Toktai sends to Nogai as a declaration of war a hoe, an arrow and a handful of earth; which being interpreted is, “I dig you out, I shoot you, better choose the battlefield.”

So the familiar story of Scylus and his counsel to his sons, illustrated by a bundle of faggots, is told by Hayton the Armenian of Chingiz Khan.

**Pictures of Hiung-nu.**

Not only the verbal accounts agree but also the pictures. In the Pien-i-tien and I-yü-kuo-chih we have pictures of Hiung-nu. They have more...
beard than we might expect. Their tunics lined with fur are not unlike the Scythic tunics on the Kul Oba vase, their soft boots tied about the ankle with a string are very similar, and the bow and bow-case are very much like the western representations. Scythians are always bare-headed or wear a hood, but the Hung-nu have conical fur-lined caps. The Kara Kitan in the latter book, sitting between the hoofs of his horse who is lying down, reminds us of some of the Siberian gold plates. The bow-case is well shown on the Pa-li-féng, a kind of Tartar. The horns on the head of the women of the Tu-huo-lo and their neighbours, adorned as they were with gold and silver, resemble the headdress of the Queen at Karagodeuashkh. But these resemblances do not go deep and many of the coincidences in customs may be merely due to like circumstances, still the likenesses are so great and the barriers between South Russia and Central Asia so often traversed, that it is harder to believe that entirely separate races developed such a similarity of culture than that a horde driven west by some disturbance early in the last millennium B.C. finally found its way to the Euxine steppes. And the character of the objects they had buried with them on their way from the Altai to the Carpathians sets the matter almost beyond doubt.

So far we have used no more evidence than was before K. Neumann, the champion of the Mongolian theory, the strength of whose case rests upon coincidences of custom, very close indeed but not sufficient to prove that the Scythians had any real connection with upper Asia, for his philological comparisons have been rejected by serious students of Mongolian, or was before Müllenhoff, chief defender of the dominant Iranian theory, who supported it on philological grounds, stronger indeed than Neumann's, but affording too narrow a basis for the weight it has to bear. Neither of these writers have given due weight to the analogies between the remains found in the tombs of Scythia and those that occur in southern Siberia, in the basin of the Jenissei, far beyond the limits of Aryan population. Until the affinities of that civilisation and of the tribes that were influenced by it have been cleared up, the final word cannot be said on the position of the Scythians.

SCYTHIAN PROBLEM.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY.

So many different views as to the affinities of the Scythians have been propounded that their enumeration seemed too much of a burden for the text of Chapter IV. At the same time their succession has a certain historical interest and space had to be found for a short account of the more important theories. The older writers are more fully dealt with by Dr L. Niederle, but one or two useful books have escaped even his marvellously wide reading.

The traditional view regarded the Sarmatians, and the Scythians naturally went

1 However Neumann, op. cit. p. 276, quotes Gamelin's account of the graves on the Alaikhan.

with them, as the ancestors of the Slavs. For one thing the Byzantine writers applied to the latter these classical names which had already served for the Goths; for another there was no more obvious ancestry for the Slavs to be discerned among nations mentioned by ancient writers, and the Scythians and Sarmatians, though great nations, did not seem to have left any other descendants. This theory naturally appealed to the tendency of chroniclers to push the ancestry of their own nation as far back as possible, and accordingly it was accepted by most of the Slavonic historiographers. Since the appearance of later hypotheses it has been almost dropped in Germany, Cuno, with his fanciful Slavonic etymologies, being a solitary exception in later times. In Russia, however, national feeling has kept it still alive. It gained support from the undoubted superficial resemblance of the Russian *mushchik* and the figures on the Kul Oba and Chertomlyk vases. The chief exponent of it has been Zabelin.

During the eighteenth century there appeared one or two dissentients, but the first to gain general approval with a new theory was B. G. Niebuhr. He made a careful examination of Herodotean geography and referred the Scyths to a stock akin to the Tartars and Mongols. His main arguments were based upon similarity of customs. Grote gives a good statement of this view. Boccck, in the introduction to *Inscriptions Sarmatiae, etc.*, regards the Scyths as Mongolian and the Sarmatae as Slavs with Mongolian mixture, but admits the Iranian element. Niebuhr's line of proof was carried further by K. Neumann, who also deduced etymologies from the Mongolian which were promptly demolished by the great Turcologue Schieffer.

Meanwhile Kaspar Zeuss had advanced the view that all the stepppe peoples as far as the Argippaci were Iranian. His main argument was the similarity of Scythian and Iranian religion, but he also proposed Iranian etymologies for a certain number of Scythian words. This view gained general favour when supported by K. Müllenhoff, who supplied a large number of Iranian etymologies. Duncker states Müllenhoff's view without reservation as fact. W. Tomasek accepted this theory and developed the geography of the subject. Much the same general position was taken by A. von Gutschmid, and Th. G. Braun follows Tomasek closely. So too, Dr. Niederle (op. cit.) seems to have not a doubt of the broad truth of Müllenhoff's view on this matter, though generally inclined to disagree with him. I. Wilser takes the Iranian character of the Scythian language as proven and tries to prove in his turn that it has also special affinities with German. In fact he regards Germans, Scyths, Persians, Parthians and Medes as a series without very considerable gaps between the neighbouring terms.
whereas he entirely denies the close connection between the speakers of Sanskrit and the speakers of Zend. Unfortunately, not having seen his paper, I cannot give his arguments for this novel position. Something similar is J. Pressl's view, and E. Bonnell seems to waver between assigning Germans, Lithuanians, Slavs, and Celts as descendants of the Scythians, whom yet he calls Iranian. Likewise Fr. Spiegelthinks the bulk of Scythian Indo-European, but will not decide between Iranians and Slavs; still he admits a possibility of Uralo-Altaic Royal Scyths. So, too, Professor Lappo-Danilevskij, in his convenient collection of material concerning Scyths, gives rather an uncertain as to their ethnological affinities.

Meanwhile Niebuh's theory lived on in spite of the Iranian hypothesis of the philologists, especially in Hungary, where A. Csengery referred the Scyths to the Uralo-Altaic folk, perhaps to the Sumner-Akkadian, and Count Géza Kuun to the Turco-Tartars on the ground of the god-names, and A. Vámbéry on the ground of customs. This view finds its most complete expression in a monograph by Géza Nagy.

A Magyar has a hereditary right to speak on any question concerning Finno-Ugrians, but he is apt to have his racial prejudices, which act as a corrective to those of the German or the Slav. Accordingly Mr Nagy maintains that the Scyths were Uralo-Altaic, and thinks that an Uralo-Altaic language has always been dominant in the Steppes, save for the comparatively short interval during which the Aryan branch of the Indo-Europeans was making its way from its European home towards Iran and the Punjab. This view he supports by destructive criticism of the etymologies proposed by Müllenhoff and other advocates of the pure Iranian view, criticism that in truth shews up their mutual disagreement and the arbitrary character of their comparisons. But he in turn advances Uralo-Altaic etymologies equally arbitrary, and in them has recourse to Sumner-Akkadian, a language whose existence is hardly so strongly established as to allow it to lend support to further fabrics of theory.

There follow further arguments drawn from physical type, manner of life, customs and religion, much the same as those advanced above, with the general result that although the author does not deny the existence of a strong Iranian influence and of a certain Iranian element supplied by the leavings of the great Aryan migration, he takes their main mass to have been Uralo-Altaic in speech, and even distinguishes among them different layers, Finno-Ugrian and development, matriarchal and patriarchal.

8 Die Scytho-Sakten die Ureinwohner der Germanen, München, 1886.
9 Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Russlands, St Petersburg, t. 1882, H. 1887: a book of useful material used uncritically, Rawlinson Herodotus, III. p. 158 makes Sc. a special branch of Indic-European.
10 Erznische Altertumskunde, ii. p. 333 sqq.
13 A Szátkhó Nemzetség: (The Scyth's Nationality), Budapest, 1859.
14 Codex Cumanicus, Budapest, 1880.
15 A Magyarok-Eredete: (The Origin of the Magyars) (Chap. t.), Budapest, 1882; for these references to Magyar books I am indebted to G. Nagy. Cf. also Vámbéry's Die germanische Kultur der Türk-Tartaren, Leipzig, 1879.
16 Archaeologica Etrusca for 1895, reprinted as No. 3 of Meprasz Füzetek, Budapest, 1895. "A Szátkhó Nemzetség: (The Scyth's Nationality)." With the aid of Mr. S. Schiller-Szreyssy of Cambridge, I could not have learnt to read this valuable essay.
17 With regard to affinities with the early popula-
18 tion of SW.-Asia, various writers have already pointed out resemblances between the Hittites and the Scythian dress. Some have brought in the Etruscan too, hoping to solve the three chief problems of the ancient world under one, that there is no physical impossibility about North Asia, in Asia Minor, as is shown by the discussions spoken of by the Hebrew prophets and supposed to have changed Beth-sean to Scythopolis.
19 Fr. Hommel ("Hitler und Skythen und das erste Auftreten der Iraner in der Geschichte," in J. Jahrh. d. k. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil-Hist. Classe, Prag, 1896, vi.) proposes Iranian derivations for the Hittite names on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, and on this basis goes on to identify Hittites and Scyths, taking the Iranian character of the latter for granted, arguing from the late Greek inscriptions with barbarian names. In support of this surprising hypothesis he quotes the mythical accounts of combat between Sesostris and the Scyths, Herodotus, ii. 192, 193; Justin, vi. i. 1 and v. 3; Diodorus, i. 55, v. 43, 45, and says that these Scyths were really Hittites (v. 41, 55). Karoebis, Die sogenannten Asyroschänder und Hittiten, Athen, 1896, suggests something of the same sort, to judge by Jansen's review in Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1897, p. 354.
Even in etymology he makes out a very good case for the Uralo-Altaic origin of some of the Scythic god-names (v. supra, p. 85). Other words with a likely Uralo-Altaic origin are the Greek ὑπερό, cf. Magy. ᴵ->{$}, “cursed,” and Ὠὐραῖος, the men of the darkness, cf. Magy. ősfér, “dark,” Zyrjan kumir. On the other hand some of the etymologies proposed by the Iranian party are reasonable and G. Nagy’s substitutes very far-fetched. As he applies all the stories of origins to the Altaic tribes and makes even the Cimmerians and agricultural Scythians Altaic, he has to find suitable meanings for Colaxatis and his brothers, which leads him very far afield. So too with Oiorpata, Arimanapi, Enaveres, Exampaceus, all of which are either obviously or very probably Iranian.

The upshot of all this is to prove from the other side that no one etymological key will open all the locks that bar the way to a full understanding of the Scythian problem. This Jurgewicz saw, but endeavoured to explain too much from Mongolian, even those names in the Greek inscriptions that most easily yield Iranian meanings. These have been most satisfactorily interpreted from the Ossetian by Professor Va. Th. Miller. But his successful use of Iranian has not blinded him to the presence of other elements and he takes an eclectic view, allowing a strong influence and possibly rule exercised upon the Iranians by Uralo-Altaic folk. Professor Th. I. Mischaenko, the Russian translator of Herodotus, sets forth a similar theory in various articles, and with these authors’ general views I am in very close agreement. However they have mostly regarded the Sarmatians as an Iranian tribe that has swept away the supposed domination of the Uralo-Altaic horde: but I find it hard to draw any real line of demarcation. Many of the archaeological finds on which I have largely relied for evidence of Uralo-Altaic influence undoubtedly belong to the Sarmatian period. Each people probably consisted of an Iranian-speaking mixed multitude, dominated by a clan of “Turks” whose language died out but supplied many loan-words, particularly special terms touching the official religion and the necessities of Nomad life. The Iranians who took to that life had no such words of their own and had to borrow them of the real steppe folk, together with their customs, dress and art.

New possibilities are opened by the surprising discovery made by Dr E. Sieg and Dr W. Siegling that among the MSS. brought by Dr A. von Le Coq from near Turfan in Eastern Turkistan are fragments of an Indo-European language which as a “centum” language, and, so far as deciphered, in vocabulary, is rather European than Asiatic, but which in its case-formation seems to follow Altaic models. The decipherers call it “Tocharian, the language of the Indo-Syths,” i.e. of the Yue-chi, on the ground of the colophon of an Uigur MS. noting a translation made from Indian through “Tovri.” In view of the numerous languages represented in the Le Coq, Grünwedel and Stein MSS. from E. Turkistan, there is not evidence enough for putting a name to the new language (the more that the Uigur for Yue-chi is Ktes., v. p. 111, n. 3), but its existence and perhaps also the pictures of a blonde race formerly in these parts make us ready to believe that migrations from Europe, subsequent to those of the Indo-Iranians, penetrated the heart of Asia. Any of the peoples of whom we know neither the physical characteristics nor the languages, but only the names upon the map of Scythia in the widest sense, may have been Indo-Europeans of this or some other new branch. One thinks at once of the Wu-sun with red hair and blue eyes set deep in the face, who made the same impression on the Chinese as do Europeans, and of the fair Budini among whom were the Geloni talking something like Greek. We may hope any day for specimens of Saka speech as Dr Le Coq tells me, but I still hold the above view of the Scythians in Europe.
CHAPTER V.

TRIBES ADJOINING SCYTHIA ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS AND ARISTEAS.

On the South, Tauri and Getae.

Before treating in detail of the archaeological evidence as to the population of the Euxine steppes, it seems suitable to consider the statements of Herodotus and other ancient authors as to the different peoples that surrounded those whom he called Scythian. In spite of the confusion in the account of the rivers, they are our best guide in locating the various tribes both within and without the ill-defined outlines of Scythia proper. (Maps 1. iv., v.)

On the mountainous south coast of the Crimea lived the Tauri, some have called them Kelts, comparing the name of the Taurisci: but some theorists find Kelts everywhere. We have no data whatsoever for giving relations to the Tauri. They probably represent the earliest inhabitants of S. Russia, perhaps akin to the aborigines of the Caucasus; possibly they would be Iranians if Ἀρδαβαν was their name for Theodosia, which lay on their borders. Then we could understand their later mixing with the Scythians, when in the latter the Iranian element had again come to the top. Otherwise we must take the Scytho-Tauri to be like the Cельto-Scytheae and the Celtiberians, products of the Greek belief, that a race of which not much was known was best named by combining the names of its neighbours.

The Tauri were chiefly famous for their maiden goddess, to whom they sacrificed shipwrecked sailors. They seem always to have been pirates and wreckers. In the second century B.C., they were the dependent allies of Scyllerus, and though their name survives on the maps their nationality seems to have merged in the surrounding tribes.

Along the lower Danube the western Scythians marched with the Getae, a tribe of whom Herodotus and Strabo have much to say. Our authorities generally agree in making them a branch of the Thracians, though it is doubtful how far Thracian is more than a geographical expression. There seem to have been two races there with different customs and different beliefs as to a future life. The Getae would be akin to those whom Professor Ridgeway regards as invaders from Central Europe, with light complexions, and a religion shewing decided resemblances to Druidism. But they do not come into our subject except in connection with the history of Olbia, which they destroyed about 50 B.C. The Kelts on the lower Danube and also the Bastarnae belong to a later distribution of races.

1 Anon. Peripl., § 77 (31), it is more probably Alan.


3 For Getae v. Müllenwolf, Del. iii, pp. 125—127.


4 W. Ridgeway, Early Ages 1. p. 351, sqq.
On the West, Agathyrsi and Sigynnae.

The Agathyrsi, the westerly neighbours of the Scythians, are said by Herodotus (iv. 104) to resemble the Thracians in most of their customs, and are taken by all writers to be closely connected with them in race, as later the Getae and the Dacians, whose names we afterwards find in the same region, the modern Transylvania, out of which flows the Maros (Mápus) to join the Danube. It is just conceivable that they were Iranian, at least the name Spargapithes has such a look. The effeminacy of the nation does not agree with the general character of the Thracians, but the weight of opinion assigns them to that stock. F. Hartwig seeks to identify the Agathyrsi with people in curious fringed gowns on a cylisx from Orvieto.

The Sigynnae whom Herodotus (v. 9) mentions quite in another connection as living beyond the Danube and stretching westward to the land of the Enetae, would be more likely to be Iranian, for he says that they called themselves colonists of the Medes and that they wore Median dress. He says he cannot tell how Median colonists should come there, but that anything may happen, given sufficient time. This expression certainly suggests that Herodotus had no idea that from the Carpathians to the confines of Media there stretched a whole row of nations, more or less akin to the Medes, for, as I take it, the Iranian character was disguised by the Scythic element which gave the tone to the whole. Strabo (x. i. 8) puts the Sigynni (sic) on the Caspian, and Niederle seems inclined to think him right, supposing a confusion to have arisen through the use of the word Sigynna in Ligurian in the sense of pedlar; but Herodotus, by mentioning this fact, makes it unlikely that he should have been led astray by it; a national name may well gain such a meaning. A point about the Sigynnae which is mentioned by both Herodotus and Strabo is their use of small shaggy ponies for driving. The Median dress may mean no more than that they wore trousers. It seems as if trousers were introduced to Europeans by immigrants from the steppes to the east. The form of the word "braccae" suggests that they were adopted first by the Germans and then by some of the Kelts.

Northern Border.

The Neuri marched with the Agathyrsi. Their position would be about the head waters of the Dnestr and Buh and the central basin of the Dnephr. The Neuri are perhaps the most interesting of the Scythians' neighbours, for we can hardly fail to see in them the forefathers of the modern Slavs. This is just the district that satisfies the conditions for the place from which the Slavonic race spread in various directions. The one distinguishing trait that Herodotus gives us, that each man became a wolf

1 In treating the neighbours of the Scythe I have mostly followed Tomaschek, "Kritik" ii. v. supra, p. 98, n. 11.
2 Her. iv. 48.
3 Her. i. 78, cf. the Scythian S. iv. 26, and Spargapithes, king of the Massagetae, i. 211; but it may have been supplied to give individual circumstance to the story of Scyllus. Their community of wives also recalls the Massagetae.
4 Niederle, Slav. Ant. i. p. 263.
5 Die Griechischen Meisterschulen, p. 221, Pl. xxxviii, xxxix, v. supra, pp. 34, 35.
7 a. e. Lithuanian Sataus, i.e. Scut = pedlar.
9 Her. iv. 105.
for a few days every year (iv. 105), recalls the werewolf story that has always been current among the Slavs; even now the word for werewolf is one of the very few Slavonic loan-words in Modern Greek. Everything points to this identification. 

Braun (op. cit. p. 79 sqq.) puts the case very well. 

Valerius Flaccus (Argon. vi. 122) speaks of "rapitor anorum Neuri," which calls to mind the account of the Drevlans and other Slavonic tribes of this region who carried off their wives at water, but we do not know if he had any foundation for the expression. When Herodotus says that the Neuri had Scythian customs, it might well describe the frontier men on whom the Scythic culture had evident influence (v. p. 173). The geographical names of the district are purely Slavonic, whereas immediately further east the occurrence of Finnish words for rivers shows that we are no longer in territory originally Slavonic. 

Tomaschek suggests that the invasion of snakes which drove the Neuri eastward to the Budini, said by Herodotus to have happened one generation before the campaign of Darius, an invasion usually taken to mean an attack from a hostile tribe, was really a movement of the East Germans, and Braun goes so far as to say that it was a movement of the Bastarnae, forced down between them and the Carpathians by the expansion of the Kelts at their time of greatest power for aggression. 

He sees in the occupation of the Desna the first movement of Slavonic conquest. For here we have a river bearing a Slavonic name, the Righthand river, clearly approached by the Slavs from the south and flowing through a country of which the other river-names are Finnish. That the Slavs came to know the Kelts through the Germans is clear from loan-words, especially Russian volokh, O. Slav. vlaxh, from Gothic *wlokaris, our "Welsh," the German name for Kelts and later for Romance speakers.

Eastward of the Neuri in the general description of Scythia and in the other passages where they are referred to, come the Androphagi. But in the account of the Neuri, c. 105, it is said that the latter, when invaded by snakes, migrated to the Budini, that is past Androphagi and Melanchlaeni. 

Either then the Budini changed their abode, perhaps in consequence of this invasion, or there were two tribes of Budini, eastward and westward. This might help to account for the genesis of the story about the march of Darius across Scythia. If the tale went that Darius marched to the land of the Budini, it would be readily thought to speak of the eastern Budini, well known because of the town Gelenus and its connection with Greek trade. 

We must then allow a probability of a second tribe of Budini near the Neuri.

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3. Niedere, "Slav. Ant. t. i. p. 295, vehemently protests against this interpretation, and takes the account literally.
4. op. cit. p. 247.
5. The identification of Neuri and Slavs seems first to have been well established by P. J. Safala (Slovakian Studia), "Slavonic Antiquaries," Prag, 1862—63, t. 2. p. 460. He regards their land as the very kernel or heart of the region originally settled by the Wends. He takes the Budini (ibid. p. 215) to be Slavs also, and their name to mean Waterfolk, from wodo. Gelenus reminds him of the typical spread-out Slav settlement. His tradition is carried on by Niederer, "Slav. Ant. t. i. p. 266.
6. Her. iv. c. 102, 106.
7. This expedient of supposing doubled tribes is excused by many instances of tribes with similar names, especially in Eastern Europe, under conditions which make it easy for part of a nation to split off, e.g. Royal Scythians and colonists Scythes in Herodotus, three or four tribes called Huns, so too with Alani, Tures, Bulgars, Tartars, Kalmucks, Nogas, all of which have had subdivisions living at one time far apart from each other. This list might be almost indefinitely extended.
The Androphagi were probably Finns, and the most barbarous of them, as no trade route passed through their land. Theirs would be central Muscovy and southwards towards Chernigov. Hence, too, the most exaggerated stories would be told of them. But we need not believe that they were cannibals any more than the Samoyeds, Finns also, whose name means the same. Tomaschek ingeniously suggests that the Amadoci of Pseudo-Hellenicus and of Ptolemy are the same as the Androphagi, amádák, cf. Skr. ámád, eater of raw meat. He would propose to identify them with the Mordva of the present day, which is very possible, for there is no doubt that all the Finnish tribes now found on the middle Volga and on the Kama once lived far to the west or south. But when Tomaschek (in. p. 10) sees in Mordva another Iranian nickname meaning cannibal, he hardly carries conviction. The necessary sound changes are as unlikely as that a nation would take such a nickname to itself. Still Mordva is a loanword from the Iranian (=Mensch), and many other words show that these Finnish tribes, now so far separated from any Iranian nationality, once had close dealings with some such. That the Mordva once marched with speakers of the Baltic group far to the west of their present place is shown by loans from an early stage of Slavonic and from Lithuanian.

If the Androphagi are Finns, Mordva, the Melanchlaeni are Finns also, Merja and Cheremi. The former were early absorbed by the advance of the Slavs, and the latter have been so strongly subjected to Turkish influence that all earlier traces have been wiped out. But archaeological evidence proves that some such tribe occupied the region corresponding to that assigned by Herodotus to the Melanchlaeni about Riazan and Tambov. It may be a coincidence that the Cheremi wore black till a hundred years ago. Dark felt is the natural product of the coarse dark-wooled sheep of the country. So we need not see any connection with the Σανδαρία of the Protogenes inscription (Ossete saun black, daras garment) who were almost certainly a Sarmatian tribe. For the kind of name compare the Caucasian Melanchlaeni, who have tended to the confusion of later writers, and in modern times the Kara Kalpaks, White Russians, and such like.

Next to the Melanchlaeni and now above the Sarmatians, well to the east of Scythia, lived the Budini, fifteen days' journey from the corner of the Maecotis. The Oarus seems to have flowed through their country, coming from that of the Thyssagetae. If then we measure fifteen days' journey up the Don to the portage by Tsaritsyn and then up the Volga, we come to the lower part of the governments of Saratov and Samara, and not far to the north begins the forest region. The territory of the Budini probably included the lower courses of the Belaja, Vjatka and Kama. The inhabitants are most likely represented by the Permaks, driven north and east by the spread of the Slavs and the irruptions of the Tartars.

Near the junction of the Kama and Volga there has always been an important trading post, Kazan since the coming of the Mongols, in early mediaeval times Boggary. Gelonius seems to have been the first of the

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1 Stephan, Byz. ad loc.
2 Count Uvarov, Les Mérimées, St. P., 1875; however A. A. Spitzyn, BCA, xv, 164, argues that the particular barrows that Uvarov assigns to the Merja belong rather to early Russians, but he does not deny a still earlier Finnish population.
series. We have the name of another town among the Budini, Kap dissolve. Tomasechek compares Permian karysek, little fortress. The wide commercial relations of this district are shown by the wonderful silver plates found in the government of Perm, splendid specimens of Graeco-Roman, Syrian, Byzantine, Sassanian and even Indian work being dug up in these remote forests, as well as coins of Indo-Scythian kings, evidence of connection with Central Asia. All these precious wares must have been paid for with furs. There may well have been a sufficiently lively trade to tempt the Greeks to establish a factory in the interior of the country, even as far from the coast as the land of the Budini. Herodotus probably exaggerated the number of the Greek population, as he has most clearly exaggerated the extent of the town of Gelonos. Three miles and a half square is an impossible size, three miles and a half about would be plenty for warehouses and temples and gardens and space for folding the local sheep of which Aristotle speaks.

The establishment must have been like one of the forts in Canada, inhabited by a mixed population of traders and trappers, or the Ostrogi in Siberia, round which towns like Tomsk and Tobolsk have grown. The description of the Budini themselves tallies with that of the Permiaks, grey-eyed and reddish-haired: ψηφιποπατώντα—compare what Ibn Fadhlan says of the Bashkirs, "Pediculos comeditur." The otters and beavers of Herodotus have become rarer with assiduous hunting, but they were common when the Russians first came, and found a home by the many rivers of the country. His lake may be the marshes on the course of these, for instance about the lower Kama.

It is barely conceivable that the Neuri should have come so far for refuge as to the middle Volga, hence the probability of there having been other Budini near the Dnepr. These Darius may perhaps have reached; Ptolemy's Bodini seem the mere survival of an empty name.

Niederle, while admitting that the Androphagi and Melanchlaeni are Finns, is inclined to think the Budini Slavonic. He regards them as stretching from the Dnepr to the Don behind the Androphagi, although Herodotus says distinctly that beyond these is a real desert and no men at all. Budini looks certainly very like a Slavonic tribe-name with the common suffix -in, and there are plenty of Slavonic names from the root bud. But they certainly stretched further east than Niederle allows, for they lived fifteen days up the Don above the Sauromatae. By bringing them west he puts Gelonos on the site of Kiev.

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1 Aristole, ap. Aelian de Nat. Anim. xvi. 33.
2 E.g. Kudphrases, l. Cl. 1895, p. 132; KTE, p. 411-437; Arch. Az., 1895, p. 150 sqq.
3 J. Aberronm, The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns, Vol. I, p. 124, describes the trade routes followed by the mediaeval Arabs, both directly up the Volga to Bogorod, and, when the Khazars hindered, across the Kirgis steppe from the Amur-Daria, and so to the west of the Ural; he suggests that the Persian plate found the same way, and in yet earlier times, the foreign imports found at Amanino, v. inf. p. 257. If the Gelonos spoke something like "Tocharian," a Greek hearing the numerals might think them bastard Greek.
4 For a view of such a wooden-walled town in Europe in mediaeval times, v. Nordenf. Chron. (1493), fol. ccl., "Sabat in Hungary." The gorodische or camp at Belz (p. 147) excavated by Gorodtsov is 20 miles round, much larger than Gelonos.
5 Her. speaks of a marsh in which are taken χρυσά και κατσαρις και άλλοι θηρία τερατοπυράκτων. The last I wrongly identified with the Tarandus or reindeer, v. sup. p. 5 and nn. 6, 7, but the marsh and Theophrastus, l.c. rule this out.
6 The officially translated "otters" are watersnakes, v. Pliny, VI. xxx., § 21, xxi. 82, and the square-fated beasts are the otters; a gloss to this effect has been unsupplied.
7 op. cit. 1. p. 375.
The late Professor I. N. Smirnov of Kazan, the chief authority on the Volga Finns, directly denies that the ancestors of the Cheremis and Mordva were the Melanchlaeni and Androphagi. But he does not advance any very valid objections, and admits a contact with Iranians which argues a seat further to the south. He denies any contact with Greeks such as we must suppose in the case of the Budini. Incidentally he describes many customs among the Finns that recall Scythian usages: among the Cheremis the sacrifice of a horse forty days after death and the stretching of its skin over the tomb; the soul does not really leave the body for forty days and even later comes back to it by a hole left for the purpose. On this fortieth day is the wake, at which the dead man assists, and is taken back to the grave on a cart with bells: among the Mordva again, after forty days there is a wake and a horse sacrifice and a washing of the funeral car. In both cases many things are put in the grave, or the dead will come and fetch away both things and people. This is all in favour of the existence of an Uralo-Altaic element among the Scyths, although there was a clear line of distinction drawn between them and these Finns; for the Finns lived in the forest and the mixed multitude of Scythians in the steppe.

South of the eastern Budini were the Sauromatae, stretching east and north from a point three days' journey to the east of the Tanais (which Herodotus takes to run southwards), and the same distance north of the corner of the Maeotis. Hippocrates says they are a special tribe of Scythian, and Herodotus, deriving them from a marriage of Amazons and Scyths, shews that they spoke a language akin to that spoken by the Scyths but gave their womenfolk more freedom.

North-Eastery Trade Route.

Herodotus derived his account of these nations, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlaeni, Budini and Sauromatae, from two sources and gives particulars of them in two places. In the one (cc. 100—109, Map iv. p. 27) he is keeping in view the story of Darius and his expedition, but these tribes, although set out according to the scheme of the square, are not wrested far from their places as given by the less detailed account which goes with the less schematic description of the lie of the land (cc. 16—26, Map v. p. 34). This he supplements with much information, partly due to Aristeas, as to tribes living in a north-easterly direction far into Central Asia (Map i.). Due north of the European tribes Herodotus imagines a continuous desert, occasionally diversified with the lakes necessary for the southward-flowing rivers: this desert is a real desert as opposed to the patches of thinly peopled land separating hostile tribes. Probably this real desert was actually uninhabited, as the forests of the far north were only peopled comparatively lately, when these very tribes were driven up by new comers from Asia, or the Lapps and Samoyeds crossed from the far N.E.

1 *Les Populations Finnoises du Bassin de la Volga et de la Kama. 2e Partie. Les Tcheréméisses, Les Mordvas,* Paris, 1898, tr. by P. Boyer in *Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivasantes,* IVe Série, T. VII. I should like to express my gratitude to the author of this book for his kindness to me at Kazan, and especially to the translator, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of Russian and for many favours, including the loan of this very book. Abercromby, op. cit., mostly follows Smirnov.

2 Her. IV. 21, 110—117, also infra, p. 449, for their migration west of the Tanais.
The land of the next tribe, Thyssagetae, is beyond a desert seven days' journey across, lying to the s. or rather e. of the Budini. From their country run the four rivers Lyca, Oaraus, Tanais, and Syrhis into the Maeotis. This last detail is not to be reconciled with geography (cf. p. 30). We can only think that it was a country with several rivers running sw., down which people got to the Maeotis across the Tsartysyn portage. This would give us the western slope of the Ural from Ufa to Orenburg. Herodotus says nothing of the Urals. Their incline is so gentle that they do not strike a traveller as mountains. Here is a river, Chussovaia, which may have the same root as Thyssagetae. The termination of this latter form is Scythian or Sarmatian, cf. Tyragetae, Massagetae. In Ossetian, -gū is an adjectival affix and -ü the plural termination. Tomaschek identifies the Thyssagetae with the Voguls.

The trade route described by Herodotus passed far to the north and crossed the Urals, avoiding the barren Caspian steppe. Herodotus knew that hereabouts was no channel leading to the Northern Ocean, and in this he was in advance of the more scientific geographers down to Marinus of Tyre.

To the south lived tribes of more or less Iranian affinities, Sauromatae, later Aorsi and Alans, marching with the Finnish and Ugrian tribes above them and with the Caucasians to the south. They carried on a profitable trade between the mines of the Ural and Iran, and also between the Mediterranean world and the Far East. In the Chinese annals the Yen-ts'ai or Aorsi, afterwards called A-lan-na, held the country from the Aral sea to the borders of Ta-Ts'ın (Roman empire), and their traders even reached China.

With the next tribe, the Iryeae (iv. 22), we get beyond the stage for the wanderings of Darius. They are interesting for their name, which can hardly be other than the Sarmatian form of Jûgra, the word whence we have Hungarian. The ancestors of the Magyars were a tribe between the Voguls and the Ostjaks, swept from their place by the Turkish invasions and now a racial erratic block in the middle of the Slavs. Here we have the first notice of them. Their peculiar method of hunting, represented on a gold plaque in the Hermitage, required a country full of trees but not a thick forest: such would be the basins of the Tobol, the Ishim, and the Irtysh, just to the e. of the southern Ural and the land of the Thyssagetae.

As neighbours of the Iryeae, Herodotus speaks of a tribe of Scyths that had separated from the Royal Scyths of the Euxine Steppes. Considering the ease with which a nomadic nation divides and sends off one part to a surprising distance (e.g. the Kalmucks, the majority of whom in the reign of Catherine II. of Russia left the lower Volga for the frontiers of China), it is impossible to say that part of the Royal Scyths could not have migrated.

1 Her. iv. 22, 123; Tomaschek, ii. p. 32.
2 Such a transposition of mute and liquid is regular in Ossete, cf. Turgatau=Tigrataava, and Slav. Miller, Os. Studien, iii. p. 53.
3 Cf. also Dr. Bernhard Moldwany, Die ältere historische Erwähnung der Ugrer, in Ethnol. Mitth. aus Ungarn, Bd iv, Heft 4—6, p. 152, and Bd v, Heft 1—3, p. 7.
5 The conjecture Tygum is an anachronism.
6 The name Turk had not yet come into existence, though it would be no proved anachronism to say that races kindred to the Turks had passed this way. "Turke" in the MSS. of Mela, l. 116, and Pliny, NH, vi. 16, may well be due to intelligent copyists.
7 De Quincey's account is mostly fancy, but vividly presents the possible circumstances of the great migration. Corrections are made in vol. vii. of Masson's Edinburgh edition.

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north-eastwards. That there is a connection between inhabitants of these mutually remote regions is rendered probable by the similarity of many objects found here on the upper waters of the Jenisei and in the Scythian graves. Perhaps an easier way of supposing the conditions is to imagine that here again travellers found a subject population ruled over by a tribe with customs and language similar to those of the original royal caste of the Scyths. It is hard to imagine Iranians so far to the north beyond the utmost bounds of the Aryan world. If the Scyths were Ugrian rather than Turko-Tartar, this would be just the place from which they should come. The Scythian traders finding these Scyths far in upper Asia recalls how the mediaeval Magyar missionaries found again their kin the Voguls and Ostjaks.

Argippaei.

As far as these Scyths, says Herodotus, all the land is flat and deep-soiled; henceforward it is stony and rugged. That is, we are coming to the outliers of the Altai mountains. On the upper Irtysh the steppe ceases about Bukhtarmaisk. The trade route from the Ural came down from almost a north-westerly direction, and continuing the line we should be brought to Dzungaria and the country about Kuldzha well described as lying beneath lofty mountains, the Altai on one side and the Tien Shan on the other. Here we meet with the Argippaei (c. 23), (the exact form of the name is uncertain: Argimpaei, Arimpaei, Orgimpaei, etc.). To the e. of them again, or rather to the w. following the same general line, come the Issedones. The position of the Issedones can be approximately fixed from Ptolemy’s account which has been well interpreted by Tomaschek as placing them in the Tarim basin. That is that the northern route followed by the informants of Herodotus, and a more direct way by which went Maës Titianus, the Syrian merchant, bring us to the same region.

In the Argippaei we have undoubtedly pure Mongols. Herodotus says of them that they are bald from their birth both men and women, have flat noses and large *yeëra*, translated by Tomaschek cheek-bones, and speak a language of their own, but wear the dress of the Scyths. The baldness may well be a misunderstanding of the custom of shaving the head, or an exaggeration of the scantiness of hair which distinguishes the Mongolian race; the other details point clearly to Mongols and are borne out by what is told us of their food and manner of life.

They live off a tree called *Poncitum* about the size of a fig tree, bearing a fruit like a bean but with a stone. When this is ripe they rub it through a cloth and a thick black juice runs off from it. This juice is called *Aschy*. This they use as it is or mix it with milk, and of the pulp of the fruit they make cakes and eat them. For they have not much cattle; their pastures are not excellent. This ponticum seems to

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1 Tomaschek, ii. p. 54.
2 L. p. 734, sec infram, pp. 110 and 114 n. 2.
3 Persis might be taken for *chins*, cf. in the letter of Yvo of Narbonne to Gildas, A.D. 595, of Bordeaux; Matthew Paris, 1245, "menia pruriens et acutia" of the Tartars (Keane, *Ethiologiae* p. 350, Note 21); Halkuyt, p. 21, "long and sharp chins." Mongol as defined sup. p. 48 n. 1.
be an Iranian word meaning the way-tree, "travellers' joy" as it were: but "aschy" is Turkish and seems closest to ăći, sour. It appears to be the Bird Cherry, Prunus Padus, which is treated in exactly this way by the Bashkirs. But many other steppe berries are similarly used by various tribes.

The tree covered with felt in the winter is a picturesque account of the felt tent supported by a light and portable framework now universal among the nomads of Asia. It has entirely superseded the waggons in which the Scythians lived, being more roomy, more adaptable and in every way superior, except that it has to be taken up and down, and affords no shelter during the actual journey (v. supra p. 32 and f. 7).

The most remarkable point about the Argippaei is the respect in which they were held by their neighbours. Says Herodotus, "No man at all wrongs these men. For they are said to be sacred. Nor have they any weapon of war. And they both act as adjusters of differences among their neighbours, and if any man take refuge from pursuit with them he can be touched by no one." Tomaschek supposes that these were the frontier officials of a well-organised Turkish kingdom, set to prevent the interruption of commerce by the quarrels of the various tribes upon its borders.

In general, however, the Greeks had a tendency to idealize the life of nomads. One might almost say they found in them the noble savage. Hence Homer speaks of the Mare-milkers as the most just of men, and Strabo (xi. viii. 7), speaking in particular of the Massagetae, but in general of all who live in Scythic wise, says, "Such have a manner of life common to them all, which I have often spoken of, and their burials are much the same, and their customs and all their life together, independent but rude, wild and warlike, however as to contracts they are straightforward and honest." So the Chinese speak alternately of the treachery and honesty of their nomad neighbours.

Herodotus (iv. 24) says that all is perfectly clear and definite as far as the bald people, that Scythians and Greeks from the Pontic trading towns can tell about them; further that these Scythians use seven interpreters to make their way through seven tongues. It is not quite clear how the number seven is made up. The tribes that may come in are Scythians, Sarmatae, Budini, Gelonii, Thyssagetae, Iyrae, other Scythians, Argippaei and perhaps Issedones. In such a tale there is a great temptation to bring in as many tongues as possible, and the informants may well have reckoned in the Scythians themselves, or made Sarmatian into a separate language, or likewise Eastern Scythian, or counted in the Gelonii, whatever their jargon may have been: in any case seven is a fair total, though five would probably have done.

Beyond the Argippaei (c. 25) to the north as it seems are indeed great and high mountains, the main ranges of the Altai: the goat-footed men need not be snow-shoe men, as Tomaschek suggests, but any active mountaineers, and the folk who sleep six months in the year always mark the bounds of knowledge or rather inference towards the north.

1 Ox abdominal, várásé, op. cit. p. 96.
2 H. XIII. 6.
To the East, or rather SE, of the Argippaei, are the Issedones (c. 26)¹; apparently Tibetan tribes in the Tarim and Bulunggir basin.

The customs of these people as related by Aristaeus exactly recall those ascribed by mediaeval and modern travellers to the Tibetans. As Zenobius sums it up (v. 25) the Issedones eat their parents except their heads: their heads they cover with gold. Compare Rubruck translated by Hakluyt (p. 116):

"Next unto them" (i.e. the men of Tangut) "are the people of Tebet: men which were wont to eat the barkases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake they might make no other sepulchre for them but their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they have left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious unto all other nations. Notwithstanding unto this day they make fine cups of the skuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drink out of them they may amidst all their soillities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was told mee by one that saw it. The sayd people of Tebet haue great plente of golde in their land." In the British Museum may be seen skull cups richly mounted such as are used in Tibet in the Lamaist ceremonies.

Further τρισμότεροι θείοις αἱ γυναικεῖς τοῦ χρόνου ἀνδραῖς. Not so much as it seems from their taking part in war and chase like the Sarmatian women, as from the importance naturally gained by the one woman of a polyandrous household. The Chinese even speak of states in this region in which the women held all the political authority.

If the testimony of Ptolemy according to all interpreters could not be adduced for putting the Issedones on the Tarim the positions of all the tribes along the trade route would lose a very important confirmation. The chief difficulty is that the Chinese describe wholesale changes of population as occurring between the times of Aristaeus and of Ptolemy: the encroachments of the Hsiung-nu (v. pp. 92 and 121) had in the second century B.C. driven the Yüe-chih from the Bulunggir basin into that of the Tarim. The Yüe-chih are said to have customs similar to those of the Hsiung-nu, but polyandry is ascribed to them and they appear rather to have been nomad Tibetans, perhaps with Hunnish chiefs, at least they use the Turkish title juheu. To the west of Lop-nor they found a town-dwelling population called Tu-huo-lo (Tochari)². Later we meet with both peoples in Trans-Oxiana and Bactria (hence the name Tokharistan) and they apparently leave the Tarim basin to the Hsiung-nu. Had not the Yüe-chih been driven out of the country long before Ptolemy's time their identification with his Issedones would be

² Of them the Wei- and Si-su-shu say, "Brothers: have one wife in common: she wears on her cap so many horns...as there are brothers: when one brother enters her chamber he puts his shoes before the door as a token. The children belong to the eldest brother." This likewise sounds Tibetan and we can never clearly distinguish between the Yüe-chih and the Tu-huo-lo, but it is written of them in Bactria when they had long ago coalesced.

² They cannot have been cleared out completely. We know that same, the Little Yüe-chih, remained behind among the Tibetan Kiang. The inaccessible caves of the Tarim basin have harboured the relics of many races. From his last journey Dr. M. A. Stein brought back MSS. in twelve languages (Times, Mar. 3, 1909), but the Tibetan element seems the oldest at least along the South, having been present in Khotan before the historic invasion (Hein, Ancient Khotan, I, p. 147).
obvious; perhaps the name had clung to two settlements Issedon Scythica (Ak-su?) and Issedon Serica (Lou-lan near Lop-nor?), reason enough for him to put the well known tribe on to his map. This is not on a par with his haphazard insertion of antiquated names towards the edges of Sarmatia: he had, as I shew below, a very good knowledge of the Tarim basin.

So Ptolemy's Issedones represent the Yüe-chih in their second position on the Tarim, but Aristeas knew them on the Bulunggir and probably included the Tochari under them. So his Issedones might extend to the Pamir, where they would be opposite to the Massagetae just over the pass into the Jaxartes basin.

Massagetae.

Like tales are told of the Massagetae, of the Oxus, of their way of eating their parents, not even having left them to die a natural death, and of their marriage customs. They are described as living opposite the Issedones; that is, just across the mountains to the west of them, and are often coupled or even confounded with them. In iv. 13 Herodotus says, when speaking of the movement that drove the Scyths out of Asia, that according to Aristeas the Arimaspi attacked their neighbours the Issedones, and these drove out the Scyths; whereas in c. 11 he says that the Scyths were pressed by the Massagetae. The Massagetae are evidently a mixed collection of tribes without an ethnic unity, the variety of their customs and states of culture shows this, and Herodotus does not seem to suggest that they are all one people. They are generally reckoned to be Iranian. But it is probable that at any rate part of them were practically identical with the Issedones: that just as the Yüe-chih were driven by pressure from the Huns over the mountains into Bactria, so before them another Tibetan tribe had trodden the same path under the same pressure and gained the country of the two rivers: perhaps this was the very movement of which Herodotus and Aristeas speak. Other Massagetae may well have been Iranian, or as some thought, much the same as the Scythians; whereas the inhabitants of the islands of the Araxes (Oxus or Jaxartes, v. sup. p. 30) were aboriginals connected perhaps with the tribes of the Caucasus. The picture drawn of the nomad Massagetae seems very like that of Scythians in a rather ruder stage of development. The tale of Tomyris may bring to mind either the Tibetan gynaeocracy or that of the Sarmatians. Certainly it appears more closely linked with the latter. The name Massagetae seems to mean belonging to the great (horde), and probably just as all the tribes north of

1 p. 114. n. 3. In the same way the name Tochari survived in Ptolemy's Thagum, Thagumus, Mens and the town Thagum (v. I. 80, p. 149), Justin's Thogar and Thib Thogar, and still later attached to the ruined towns ascribed by Huan Tsang to the vanished Th-huo-lo. 2 Even phonetically the identification, hinted at by Tsemašek, is not impossible. Iranians and Greeks might make Issedi out of Nger-shi, the oldest form of Yüe-chih, of Canton, yii, jap, geshu, Franke, op. cit. p. 23; Uigur, Kisi, Mong. Geri, F. K. W. Müller, 3 Uigurica, p. 15; n. 1; in Acta d. k. pr. Ak. d. W., Berlin, 1908.

3 Compare Her. I. 215, 216, ἔστη στὸν γαμήλιον ἀρχιτέχνην, παρὰ τοῦ ἑπτάχρονον χρόνον. 4 σὺν καὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ γλώσσῃ ἐπηρεάτω Μασσαγητής ἅπαξ λεπτομέρειαν ἔστησε Μωσαγητής ἢ ἑλληνικῷ μεταφραστῷ, ὀπ. cit. p. 34 G. Nagy, op. cit. p. 7 sqq. takes the Massagetae to be essentially the same as the Scythi, but the latter having attained to the idea of exclusive property in women who had been seized in war, had passed out of the stage of community of women.

1 Her. I. 201.
the Pontus were for the Greeks more or less Scythians; all the tribes that were under the "great horde" were regarded by the Persians, from whom the Greeks mostly got their ideas of the peoples on the northern border of Iran, as all more or less Massagetae; again it may have been the Scythians' name for them.

Sacaes.

For we must confess that no word like Massagetae occurs in the Old Persian inscriptions in which as we should expect from Herodotus (vii. 64) we find Saka. In the epitaph of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam (a) we have Saka Tigrakhandu, Saka Humavarka, and Saka [Tyarsy la]radaraya (transmarini). Oppert explains Tigrakhandu as "cunning with arrows." It is usually taken to mean "with pointed caps," and Humavarka has been compared with Σκόθα, Αμύργιος: the transmarine Sacaes may be beyond either the Aral or the Caspian or even, as F. W. Thomas* suggests, Lake Hamun, as well as the Euxine, so that we are not much helped.

On the rock of Bisutun* Darius says himself (v. 22) "I went against the land of the Saka...Tigris...to the sea: I crossed it on a bridge, I slew the enemy, I seized...by name Sakunka...I seized also other rulers;" but the lacunae make it impossible to know to what expedition this refers. Saka are also mentioned as having revolted. At Persepolis (t. 18) Saka are named as bringing tribute. But which of these may be among the varied nations sculptured we cannot say. Those whose clothes have any resemblance to Scythic dress have been reproduced (p. 59, f. 12). Most interesting is the figure at Bisutun inscribed Iyam Sakunka iya Saka: "this is Sakunka the Saka." But of his national costume only the cymbasia is left him.

Arimaspians and Hyperboreans.

As far as the Issedones reached there was a quite practicable trade route, and as it seems nearly allied Iranian tongues served as a medium of intercommunication beside the native idioms. As far as the Issedones it is quite possible that Aristeas of Proconnesus penetrated. From them he heard of other men living yet further east, but what he tells of these shews that we are coming to the lands where travellers' tales flourish with most luxuriance. In the quotation from the Arimaspia preserved by Tzetzes, the Issedones say, "Above us to the north dwell men whose borders march with ours, many are they and mighty warriors indeed, rich in horses, wealthy in sheep, wealthy in cattle, shaggy of hair, sturdiest of all men; and each has but one eye in his fair forehead—the Arimaspia." Whatever the word


† J.R.A.S. 1896, p. 181. He thinks that from early times the Sacaes reached down into Sistan.

‡ Spiegel, op. cit. p. 41. The third column at Bisutun is only called Scythic on the general principle "Omne quatum pro Scythico."

§ So Tomaschek, t. p. 738. combines the lines and translates, putting all into nominatives which do not seem to me to scan. Latyshev (Sc. et Comm. t. p. 322) = Tzetz. Chron. viii, 680) gives them thus: ἰεράδιον λαόν τοῦ σκύθους τοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς οἰκείας ἑαυτοῦ ἡμών ἄνδρας, εἰς ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἀνδρὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς οἰκείας ἑαυτοῦ ἡμῶν ἀνδρὸς, εἰς ὑμᾶς ἑαυτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτόν... ἀνδρὸς καὶ δαίμονον ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτόν ἑαυτὸν...
means, whether or no it be a folk-etymology, we cannot go behind the statement of Herodotus that the Scythians took it to mean one-eyed. The Chinese still say of the Khalkas, these people have but one eye, one hand1, thus describing their awkwardness, and some such metaphor probably lies at the bottom of this tale. Beyond the Tarim basin to the north, we come precisely to the cradle of the Mongolian race. In this region the Chinese annalists of the Chou (B.C. 1155—255) and Han dynasties put the Hien-yin or Hung-nu stretching from Shan-si across the Sha-mo far to the north of the Tien Shan range. These are they whom we know in Europe as the Huns. Shorn of the poetic epithets, the description of Aristeas applies to them. They often joined into a well-organised state as often destroyed by the dissensions of the tribes. When united they controlled the commerce between China and the west and regulated it. The Bald-heads of Herodotus (IV, 23) would be their outpost to the west. True, Aristeas calls the Arimaspī χαράγματα but the warriors may well have been unkept, while the custom officials would be shaved and smooth. Also in that western part in the gate of Dzungaria there would not be the abundance of flocks and herds that marked them on their native plains. Whether the Issedones received of them gold from the eastern Altai, or whether it did not rather come from the south from the mountains above India, and whether the griffins are not the ants or baikbas, that according to the story threw the gold out of their burrows, is more than can be said. Certainly the representations of Arimaspians and griffins in art belong to Western Asia. The griffins come from eastern stuffs (cherub), and their name is Semitic, the Arimaspians are dressed in barbarian costume, as conceived by the Greeks, on the model of the barbarians most familiar to them, Phrygians and Persians. Still the subject was felt to belong to Scythia, and was used to adorn goods destined for the Scythian market.

Beyond the griffins, says Aristeas2, live the Hyperboreans, reaching down to the other sea. Herodotus doubts this, for he says he heard nothing about them from the Scythics.3 The Hyperboreans are always the people beyond knowledge towards the north. They must always figure as the last term of any series that stretches in that direction. Still, as Tomaschek suggests,

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2 Her. iv. 15; 32; Damastías ap. Syr. lye. s.v.
3 By ignoring Prolem (iv. p. 114, n. 3) F. W. Thomas (op. cit. p. 197) puts the Issedones in Farghiana and the Arimaspī (= Araspi) in Sistan, which hardly suits Her. and his Kauraspes. F. Westergärd, Klio (vol. iv., 1904, pp. 182-192. "Zur Topographie des Herodotus," by giving up the same point of departure and restricting the area under consideration, has to use excessive ingenuity in fitting in the various tribes. He puts the Boudi about Sarataw on the steep or right bank of the Volga, and identifies them with the Boudas of Ibn Rusta; further he believes that Darius reached the Volga in the region. The desert above them is the high ground of the Zhugil Mountains, and the Tassagatae are on the southern bank of the Volga, and about the lower Kama with the Yricae on the Belaya and in the southern Urals. The Bashkirs are the Aragipae, although they would appear to have reached their present position only in some later migration of Turkic-Tartaric peoples. The names due to Aristeas he regards as mere alternatives of other tribal names known to Herodotus, so he identifies the Massagatae, whom he puts N. of the Jaxartes, with the Arimaspi, and opposite them the Issedones, whose women were so independent, with the Sarmatians. The Araxes of Herodotus 7. 201 is for him the Jaxartes, but in c. 202, the Volga with its delta among the islands of which the fishers live, and the Rhodolani, whom we meet in later times, are Araxalani, called after the river. Such a scheme seems to me to wrest the data given by Aristeas and Herodotus from their natural meaning, whereas something like Tomaschek's view is far less arbitrary. Most original is D'Arbois de Jubainville (op. cit. t. p. 241 note); he supposes that the Arimaspī migrated from upper Asia to the Alps or Rhirgizian mountains above Friuli. His object is to identify the Kelts with the Hyperboreans.

M. 15
some faint account of the civilised empire of China may have penetrated to Aristeas or his Issedon informants.

Aristeas also mentions the Khipaem mountains, but again Herodotus does not believe in these. He is right in rejecting them to the north of the Euxine, but in upper Asia the difficulty is rather that among so many ranges we cannot tell which was intended by the name.

Always it has been at the apogee of the dominion of some Turko-Tartaric tribe that it has been possible for westerners to traverse central Asia. The voyage of Aristeas (c. 528 B.C.) comes at the time of the early nomad power which troubled the Chinese under the Chou dynasty. Those of Zemarchus and the Nestorian Alopen coincide with the greatest extent of the early empire of the western Turks which likewise gave Huian Tsang his opportunity to journey westwards. De Plano Carpini, Rubruck and Marco Polo were enabled to travel by the organization of the great Mongol Empire, and since its fall, till the other day, no European had followed in all their footsteps just as for seven hundred years no Greek followed Aristeas.  


3 POLYB. SVRC. As it is physically possible for Aristeas to have penetrated as far as the Tartar, the question whether Polybius' Issedon can guide us in localizing his, is a question of how much real knowledge of Central Asia Polybius had, and requires a brief examination of his map of Serica &c. in the light of recent travel (Polyb. Geogr. i. 31. vii., xi. vii. vii. vii., cf. Maps I. and VI.; see Yule, "Abydos and the Way Thither," pp. xxxii. and xvii.; Richthofen, "China," I, p. 477-500 and Map 8; Dunbar, "Studies on Geog.," II. p. 500 sqq.; Tomasek, op. cit. I. p. 736; Marquart, "Erzgebien" (Abh. d. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Bd. III. No. 3, Berlin, 1901), p. 154, and for one or two new points in A. Stein, "Quellen,” i. p. 4 sqq.; Richthofen seems most nearly right. Tomasek gets everything too far to the E. Marquart hopes too much for a mechanical formula for reducing P.'s degrees to modern measurements. This is a fundamental mistake. In these regions all his knowledge is derived through Marinus of Tyre from Maes Titannus (60-50 B.C.) a Syrian merchant, who himself appears to have reached the "Stone Tower" and to have sent agents on to Sera Metropolis seven months' journey; this distance Marinus maliciously reckons at 30,000 stades, which P. is about right in halving; but this he does on general grounds, not on definite information. Hence we cannot take figures beyond the "Stone Tower" seriously. The more important is it that his map gives the general shape of the Tarim basin very fairly. The Imaus is clearly the Pamir, the only real range in Central Asia, though of course it does not stretch indefinitely northwards. On it see "Erzgebien," i. p. 736; "Quellen," i. p. 4 sqq.; and Irsksham the Russian Custom-station commanding the passes both towards Farghanda and toward the Alai plateau (Stein, p. 55) suit very well; the "Stone Tower" 5 W. must be on the Alai road. The Aq'chun are the Tien Shan and the Aq'shun in the S.E. of them the Karkuk.

Tagh, the Kairas 'sp' are not about Kashgar but the Yum-lun from which comes jade (Turk. tsou), Thugurima Mome to the E. is Aq'chun Tagh or perhaps Nan Shan. Between the two mountain lines flows the Oxerardees or Tarim with its important source (Ak-su?) in the Tien Shan, its sudden turn S. towards Lop-nor (by the Ke Katun 'sp' or 'kara', v. V. Hedin, "An Inland Asia," 1891, and its tributary from the Kun-lun, the Charchan Darya; the eastern part of it with its source in long. 174°, lat. 47° 30', would perhaps be the Bulungur which Stein says once joined the Tarim in Lop-nor (Geogr. Journ. XXX. 1907, p. 501; Dr. Hedin tells me he doubts this). Outside the Tarim basin the physical features are not so clear, but we may recognize the "Aq'chun" as the Altai, Emundus and Otororocohras as the Himalaya and North Tibetan ranges, the Bajams the Upper Brahmaputra, but information as to the Southern source came from India, and it is not likely that Tibet has made this river one with the Huang-Lo crossed by the agents of Maes towards their journey's end. The limit between Scythia extimus and Serica represents if anything the extent of Chinese power in the 1st cent. A.D. As Aq'shun in Yen-chi would be Kashgar and Issedon Scythica, Ak-su Issedon Serica, Lop-nor by Lop-nor (Tomasek brings it within the old western extension of the Chinese wall, Stein, Lc.); the Issedones between the memory of the Yen-chi; it is tempting to see in Kairas 'sp', Khotan and in Aq'chun the Khotan, confusion being produced by the combination of Indian and Serica information: the Thugurima though far to the E. may represent the Tochaur (v. sup. p. 111, n. 1); Aspaca were an Iranian term for nomads probably Tibetan; Bautar, the India for Tibetans, etc. Aq'shun, Sera Metropolis is more likely Chang-an, the capital of the Elder Han near Si-an-fu, than Lo-yang in Ho-nan. P.'s Sinae Metropolis (long. 130°). The Anaibah, Garmatae (Mountaineers) and Rhabhamae would be Huns and perhaps Sienari; the Scythia, Kaur-ch'i, is also that fancy name like Ali and Anthropophagi are confined to the N. border of the map, so Issedon is not of that class.

* Please correct out-of-order-coordinates, etc. on Map 62.
CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF SCYTHIA, LATER MIGRATIONS.

In the preceding pages has been given a sketch of the position, and as far as possible ethnology, of the inhabitants of the great steppes and their neighbours, according to Herodotus and his informants, especially Aristeas, who enables us to extend our knowledge as far as the borders of China. Aristeas gives us the first recorded example of one of those movements which have altered the names on the map of Asia from that day to the day of Tamerlane. The fate of the Greek settlements on the north coast of the Euxine is so intimately bound up with these changes of population that a brief survey of them is indispensable.

The Chinese chronicles of the Chou dynasty speak of the restlessness of the Huung-nu interfering with communications with the west in the VIII. century B.C.; and Aristeas says that the incursions of the same people whom he calls Arimaspi drove the Issedones to fall upon the Scyths and make them enter Europe. We have supposed this in conjunction with Herodotus (iv. 11) to mean that Issedones forced themselves into the country to the west of the Tarim basin and joined with the Massagetae or impelled them against the Scyths. These latter, crossing the Volga and Don, pressed the inhabitants of the land, probably Iranians, towards the west, where they joined Thracian tribes, Treres, and invaded Asia Minor, and towards the SW. where they passed the Caucasus and attacked vassals of the Assyrians. These called them Gimirrai, in Greek Cimmerians. The eastern horde was followed by Scyths, Aksuzoi, who appeared as allies of the Assyrians, effected a diversion of the siege of Nineveh and made a raid over a great part of western Asia. It seems impossible to get a more detailed view of the movements of these various northern invaders from the accounts in Herodotus (i. 103–6), the Assyrian monuments, and the Hebrew Prophets (v. pp. 41, 42).

In SW. Asia the Scyths, broken by the Median Vespers still commemorated in Strabo's Sacaea (XI. VIII. 4, 5), disappeared without leaving any traces, the Cimmerians finally vanished after having held their ground for many years at various points such as Sinope and Antandrus, but to the north of the Euxine the Scyths established themselves as the ruling caste of nomads in the eastern part of the plain, exacting tribute from various tribes in the western half. Above the steppe belt, the row of forest tribes, Slavonic Neuri, Finnish Androphagi, Melanchlaeni, and Budini, Ugrian Thyssagetae and Iyrcaei, take no part in the changes which swept the open steppe. In the time of Herodotus and Hippocrates the Scyths seem on the down grade, on their eastern frontier appear the Sarmatae, nomads from the Caspian steppes, pressing the Maetae and allied, probably Caucasian, tribes towards the mountains, and threatening their neighbours across the Tanais.
Though we have so full an account of the customs of the Pontic Scyths as to know few events in their history; still from Herodotus we can construct a kind of genealogy of their reigning house. We cannot tell whether this was in any way related to Madyes and his father Prototyhes (Barattatua), whose exploits were in Asia. But we have the succession Spargapites, Lycur, Gaurus, Saulius (with his brother Anacharsis), Idanthyrus, who was probably father to Ariapites. This latter had three wives, the Istrien woman by whom he had Scyles his immediate successor, the Scythian Oposa, who bore him Octus, and the daughter of the Thracian Teri, mother to Octomasades, who eventually slew Scyles and reigned in his stead. We have no means of placing Ariastus, who made the cauldron out of arrow-heads, or Scopasis and Taxacis, who were kings under Idanthyrus at the time of Darius.

**Invasion of Darius.**

Except for one incident we know nothing of the reigns of these kings, save the stories of Anacharsis and Scycles, shewing the attraction exercised by Greek life on the more advanced Scyths and the tragic result. But to that incident, the famous invasion of Scythia by Darius about 512 B.C., we are indebted for the introduction of the Scythian episode into the history of Herodotus.

After what has been said of the geography of Scythia there is no need to insist on the impossibility of the story as related to us. Its whole basis is inconceivable and the tale is adorned with improbabilities of every kind. We may take it as true that Darius crossed the Danube and disappeared for a time into the steppes. It may well be that he was severely harassed by his mobile enemy; but it cannot be believed that he went further than the Dneistr, the crossing of which would have involved a bridge and dangerous operations in face of an active foe. Strabo indeed says (vii. iii. 14) that the desert of the Getae was the scene of the expedition, but this may be only the outcome of his own reasoning, not independent historical evidence. However, he must be substantially right: Darius can hardly have done more than make a demonstration against the northern barbarians, with a view to securing his frontier on the Danube. It may well be that the ruling race gathered the western tribes to oppose him, so he may have come in contact with the western Budini (if as is suggested above there were two

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1 Her. iv. 76-81.

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That Scyles took his father's wife Oposa (c. 78) is in accordance with the almost universal custom of polygamous countries. Still we may remark that this custom shocked de Plano Carpini, Ralrue (c. 6), and Hayton (op. cit. c. xvm.) among the Tartars, and is noticed by the Chinese.

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*Cossm. Frag. 29, 38, 16, 17 (Muller) says Darius advanced 15 days' march, and returned on finding the Scyth's bow stronger than the Persian, cf. the tale of the Khazar and Russian swords in *Pa. Nestor*.
Invasion of Darius

divisions of these), and this may have brought into the narrative a confusion which Herodotus turned to account to enforce several of his favourite notions, the condign punishment of the Great King’s overweening pride, the servility of the Ionians, and the solitary merit of Miltiades. In this latter Mr Macan, as Thirlwall before him, sees the chief motive of the whole tale. He thinks it an echo of the defence made when he was on his trial for tyranny in 493 B.C.

Darius can never have meant to reduce all European Scythia. The device of keeping his communications open sixty days and no more, if it meant anything, would mean that Darius intended to return by the Caucasus, if he found the path open. But with his experience of nomads on his north Asiatic frontiers, to say nothing of the fate of Cyrus (the common story may well be unhistorical), he would never have trusted himself unsupported in an unknown country, even supposing that he was absolutely ignorant as to the extent and character of the countries he must traverse. He reduced Thrace, received the submission of Macedonia, and made a demonstration, perhaps not entirely successful, against the northern neighbours of his new territories; that is sufficient justification for his European expedition, and we need not regard this as part of a scheme to gain profit from the gold of the griffins, and round off his empire by making the Euxine a Persian lake.

A most original view is that advanced by Professor Bury. According to him the real objective was the gold of Transylvania, afterwards worked so profitably by the Romans. Had Darius meant to go east he would never have left his fleet at the Danube, but it could support him no further in a north-westerly direction. His idea then would seem to have been to build a line of forts along the Oarus—Ararus—Buzeo to keep his communications open, but upon realising the difficulty of permanently defending such a line, he abandoned his plan and returned. Confusion of the Ararus and the Oarus would then be the foundation of the story bringing Darius all across Scythia: also a more definite object for his expedition would be furnished, and an explanation of his attempted fort-building. One only wonders if the Great King in Susa had heard of the gold mines in the land of the Agathyrsi.

Duncker rationalises the story and suggests that the sixty days was merely an arbitrary limit given out by the Ionians to prevent daily discussion of the question whether Darius should not be abandoned. He does not think Darius went far. It is surprising what a good defence of the traditional account is made by Rawlinson (ad loc.) who strongly urges the independence of commissariat shewn by an Asiatic army, and its power of crossing rivers without difficulty. But in this case it is too much to believe.

Herodotus (vi. 40, 84) tells us that in revenge the Scyths made a raid which reached the Thracian Chersonese and drove out Miltiades; and even proposed to Cleomenes a joint invasion of Asia.

Decline of Scyths. Advance of Sarmatae.

After the time of Octomomasades, who may be reckoned a contemporary of Herodotus, we can trace the Royal Scyths no farther with any certainty. The name Scyth seems to move westward giving place to those of eastern

tribes, but then it spreads again over all the steppe countries, and embraces all the nomad peoples. These changes of connotation make it hazardous to make any statement as to the fate of the true owners of the name, save that they moved west and were absorbed between theGetae and Sarmatians.

When exactly these latter crossed the Don is not quite clear. As Niederle says, it was probably a gradual process. In § 68 of the Periplus ascribed to Scylax, dated by K. Müller about 338 B.C., a tribe of Sarmatae is given in Europe close to the Tanais, but in § 70 Sauromatae are in Asia, just over the river. Stephanus Byzantius cites this rare form Sarmatae from Eudoxus of Cnidus, and gives it as the same as Sauromatae, Sarmatae. Braun wishes to make these Sarmatae Frinis, and to distinguish them from the Iranian-speaking Sauromatae. But it seems more probable to suppose the mention of "Sarmatae" west of the river to be put in by a later hand than that of the compiler of the periplus. In the second half of the fourth century the Sarmatae are still east of the Don or just crossing, for the next century and a half we have very scanty knowledge of what was happening in the steppes. Probably an era of mutual strife had broken out which made impossible, not merely journeys into upper Asia such as Aristaeas had accomplished, but even regular communication with the hinterland of the Euxine. The Scyths had shown readiness to trade and an appreciation of Hellenic culture, in spite of the statement of Herodotus (iv. 76) that they were hostile to foreign influences, for no nation ever thinks another sufficiently ready to adopt its customs. But now they were fighting a losing conflict with the ruder Sarmatae, and the latter were not to be such good neighbours to the Pontic Greeks.

The first definite mention of Sarmatae in Europe is in Polybius (xxv. ii. (xxvi. vi.) 12). Gataulus ὁ Σαρμάτης was one of the rulers in Europe who joined a great league of states in Asia Minor and on the coast of the Euxine, B.C. 179. This is the first occurrence of the form Σαρμάτης in place of the earlier Σαυρομάτης which continues to be used as a proper name.

The centre of gravity of the Scyths' power, and it may well be the representatives of the Royal Scyths, shifted westward for a while under pressure from the east. They even extended their borders in this direction, and crossed the Danube, so that the Dobrudzha gained the name of Little Scythia, which was also applied to all West Scythia as far as the Boryshenes. Demetrius of Callatis early in the second century B.C. speaks of Scythians near Tomi. They may have appeared here when their king Atheas, after successful struggles with the Triballi and with Istrus, concentrated his power on this side, only to be defeated by Philip of Macedon, 339 B.C. (v. p. 123). We find Scyths also mentioned in the decree in honour of Protagenes at Olbia, in such a fashion as to show that their power was no longer what it was. There it is a case of their seeking protection from other invaders. The names of tribes mentioned with them,
Sarmatae on Don, Seyths on Danube, Scilurus

Saxii, Thisamatae and Saudaratae, recall the forms of Sarmatian names. From this time forward the word Scythian becomes a purely geographical designation for any northern nation, Sarmatae, Goths, Huns, Russians all have applied to them the name sanctioned by classical usage.

For instance, it is hard to define the Scythians ruled over by Scilurus and his son Palacus. Strabo (vii. iv. 3) and the Diophantus inscription* call them Scythians, and they are in close alliance with the Sarmatians and with the Tauri; they may perhaps be the people loosely termed Tauroscythae or Scythotauri; they were scarcely a homogeneous tribe, but more likely a casual aggregation of the dwellers along the coast between the Dobrudzha and the Crimean mountains. Scilurus struck coins in Olbia, and the other barbarian kings, whose names we find of coins struck in that city, were probably lords of the same power, but whether before or after Scilurus we cannot say, the style is all we have to go by, and this is so barbarous that it can be no sure guide as to date. A reasonable view is that of A. V. Orêshnikov†, according to which there were kings of the Scythians about the Danube-mouth Canites*, Cau-, Sarias and Aelis*, who had not full control over Olbia. Later, about 110 B.C., Scilurus, who must have organised a considerable power sufficient to give much trouble to Chersonese and Mithridates, and appears to have had something of a capital at Kermencik by Symphoropol*, became suzerain of Olbia, and put his name upon its coins. Pharzoeus and Inismeus (Inisimeus) also struck coins with the name Olbia, but style and lettering appear considerably later, and these kings seem to belong to the time when the city arose from the Getic devastation, and existed under the tutelage of the natives who had missed its commercial services. After a period of hostility towards the natives, as described by Dio Chryssostom, who calls them vaguely Scythian, this tutelage was exchanged for Roman protection. Latyshev is inclined to put Pharzoeus and Inismeus before Scilurus. If the coins are genuine which are figured by P. Vacquier*, Scilurus and his dynasty ruled at Cerciniths also, as is itself very probable.

This disappearance of the true Herodotean Seyths does not denote any great destruction of population, merely that the ruling caste lost its vitality and merged in the mass of the people, and another tribe having defeated it assumed its place and spread its power over much the same group of tribes as had owned the sway of the Seyths. The difference cannot have been great. Objects found in tombs which must be referred to the Sarmatian period are often preeminently Seytho-Siberian. The leaders of the Sarmatae were again probably Uralo-Altaic, though it is just possible that they represent an Iranian reaction. We are unable to make any distinction between

* App. 18-19PE. 1. 185.
** Cf. Baudot, Sociales, PLANITIA en Varna (Cig. 2560); Latyshev, Olbia, pp. 129-135. v. infra ch. Xv.
*** V. ch. Xv. end, Coin Pl. III. 20-25. Örêshnikov, Materials touching the ancient Numismatics of the Black Sea Coast, Moscow, 1892, p. 59.
* Neapolitan, cf. 19PE. 1. 241-244, IV. 191, 192. The two inscriptions with kings' names are unfortunately very imperfect. 19PE. 1. 241.
** Numismatique des Seythes et des Sarmates, Kerkouiti et Tammir (sic), Paris, 1881.

* Hasiagev, E, ονθοβορος, BAG. . Δ., Α. 2
* Λαγης. . Α. Ν. Π.
* Λεια. . Hasiagev. A.
* Bach. . Xeiagovrit?
* Ομπραλοστ

is not sufficiently certain to warrant our adding these names to history.
the various tribes of Sarmatae, two or three names occur frequently and probably denote conglomerations of tribes upon which the name of a successful tribe has been imposed; the names of the lesser tribes, of which Pliny and Ptolemy have preserved many, can never mean anything to us.

**Scythia according to Strabo.**

The superficial accounts of these countries that we find from the time of Herodotus to that of Strabo offer compromises between the state of things learnt from the former and the actual state of things in the author's own day. Strabo found this so changed that he dismissed all the information given by Herodotus as pure invention, and has given us a fresh description of the population to the north of the Euxine. But his information only embraces the belt of open steppe, and he knows nothing of the northern peoples beyond. He says (vii. iii. 17):

"Of all the country lying above the said interval between the Ister and the Borysthenes the first part is the desert of the Getae, next come the Tyregetae, after them the Iazyges-Sarmatae, and those called Royal and Urghi, the greater part nomads, but some engaged in agriculture. They say these also live along the Ister, often on one side and on the other. In the back country are the Bastarnae marching with the Tyregetae and with the Germans, and indeed themselves having something of German race about them; they are divided into several tribes, some are called Atmoni and Sidones, and those that hold the island Pauce in the Ister, Peucini. But the Roxolani are furthest to the north and hold the plains between the Tanais and the Borysthenes...But we do not know if any one lives above the Roxolani."

He goes on to give the stock description of nomad arms and mode of life, adding that the Roxolani winter in the marshes by the Maeotis and spend the summer on the plains. Still further E. beyond the Tanais, between it, the Caspian and the Caucasus, Strabo places the Aorsi and Siraci, the Sirachi of an inscription at Tanais (193 A.D.) in which Sauromates II. claims to have conquered them. These people are also rich in horses and mostly nomadic though not quite without agriculture. They were just then specially prosperous owing to the overland trade with India. The Aorsi seem to be mentioned as Yen-ts'ai by the Chinese historians and to have later been known as A-lan-naa. Whereby we may identify them with the Alans or Alanorsi in Ptolemy. Pliny is the first writer in the west to speak of Alans, and the Roxolani themselves are interpreted as Blond Alans. The personal names of Aorsi and Siraci preserved by Strabo bear an Iranian stamp. Strabo does not mention the name of the Iazamatae, the first tribe of the Sarmatae, which we meet as their extreme western out-post towards the Tanais; the name occurs in various forms, Hecataeus calls them Ixibatae; Ephorus who distinctly refers them to the Sarmatae, Iazabatae; Polyænus

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Scythia according to Strabo

(viii. 55) makes them Ilxomatæ and by mistake Maeotian, he speaks of a time when they were living to the e. of the Maeotis. But Mullenhoff is probably right in regarding Iazyges as a later form of the same word.

So the chain of Sarmatian tribes according to Strabo is Iazyges, Royal Sarmatians, Urghi of which we know nothing more, and chief of all Rhoxolani with the Aorsi and Siraci beyond the Tanais. These nations gradually pass westwards. Ovid still knows the Iazyges in W. Sarmatia, but in Tacitus they appear as allies of the Suevic king Vannius, that is, they are already on the middle Danube in A.D. 50. Ptolemy has them in two places, along by the coast of the Maeotis and Iazyges Metanastae, between the Theiss and the Danube, the result of combining information of different dates.

In Western Sarmatia the Iazyges are succeeded by the Rhoxolani. Tacitus tells how they made an unsuccessful raid into Moesia, A.D. 70, and clearly shews the inferiority of their long swords or spears and heavy coats of mail to the handy equipment of the legions later. Later they fought Hadrian on the Danube and their land extended to the borders of Dacia.

East of the Rhoxolani came the Alans who crossed the Tanais and finally found themselves neighbours of the Goths and Vandals, with whom the name of their western division becomes so closely linked.

Westward Movement of the Huns.

All these movements from the East, like that which brought in the Scythians, seem to have had their origin in Mongolia. Towards the end of the Chou dynasty (c. 1155–255 B.C.) the Huung-nu were pressing both upon China and south-westwards upon the Yüe-chih (Issedones? V. p. 110) and Wu-sun. The Ts'In dynasty (255–209) resisted the Nomads and secured China against them by building the Great Wall. Hence the Huung-nu turned westwards and c. 176 B.C. drove the Wu-sun into the mountains about Ili and the Great Yüe-chih into the Tarim basin. Here the latter seem to have amalgamated with the earlier population, the T'u-huo-lo (Tochari). After their defeat by Kayuk c. 160 B.C. we find the Yüe-chih probably including the T'u-huo-lo 2—3000 lǐ w. of Ta-Yüan (Farghan), N. of the Kuei (Oxus); w. of them is 'An-si(k) (Arsaces, i.e. Parthia), N. to the nomadic K'ang-kii and again N. of these the Yen-ts'ai (Aorsi). To the s. of the Kuei, 2000 lǐ w. of Ta-Yüan, is Ta-Hia, and s.e. of this again Yen-tu (Panjab), so Ta-Hia must be Bactria (v. infra p. 129, n. 4). The appearance of the Yüe-chih in Trans-Oxiana displaced the Sal (Sek = Sacæ) southwards, but may also have exercised pressure northwards, as in the following century we find the Aorsi on the borders of Europe. Next we hear in the Han Annals that the Yüe-chih have moved south of the Kuei and conquered

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3 Tr. ii. 191, ubi codd.: Zangies: Owen presume Sidones.
4 Ann. XII. 25, 30.
5 For the later history of these Sarmatians on the Theiss. cf. Niederle, Sktn. Ant. II. 127.
6 Hist. I. 79.
7 For pictures of Sarmanus on the walls of the walls of the vaults of Anthesterus and others near Kerci, CK. 1873; KRT. p. 203 sqq., v. infra ch. xi. § 4.
8 Chang: Kien c. 126 B.C., Ap. Shih-lu c. 123. The first character of Yen-tu (= India) is commonly read Shin, body, hence the identification Sindh, but here we are specially directed to pronounce it Yen or Yhan (H. A. Giles).
Ta-Hia. This would be soon after the unsuccessful attack of Artabanus on the Tochari (c. 124 B.C., Justin xli. 2), as it seems to be the movement Strabo (xi. viii. 2) records, whereby the Asii, Pasiian (in these names lie hid Yue-chih and Wu-sun), Tochari and Sacarauli (vii. Saracaui) from over the Jaxartes drove the Greeks out of Bactria. Of the five Yue-chih tribes the Kushanas eventually came to the front and their power also gravitated towards India, replacing the Greek dominion in Afghanisitan. Hence in western usage they shared the name of Indo-Scyth with the Saka states on each side. Meanwhile we catch glimpses of the westward movement of the Hiung-nu due to pressure from the Sien-pi, their eastern neighbours, who finally absorbed part, penned part in the Altai to reappear as the Turks, and drove the main body to the far west. About 200 B.C. the Phauni are coupled with the Seres as the limits of Graeco-Bactrian ambition, that is the Huns were in their original position. Ammianus puts them to the n. of the Indians by the Tochari; Ptolemy or rather Marinus of Tyre places them as Chuni on the borders of Europe, and gives the Ural river its Turkish name Aïzik, now Jiayyk. So from the other side the Hou-han-shu tells of the Huns spreading westward, c. 100 A.D., and subduing the A-lan-na, c. 250 A.D., and the Wei-shu of their taking the land of the Yin-t'sai.

Finally, in 375 A.D., the storm of the Huns' invasion fell upon the Alans and afterwards on the Goths, and all the peoples of Eastern Europe were involved in confusion. It is beyond my purpose to follow their fate.

**Invasions of Scythia from the West. Getae.**

But not only from the east did peoples enter the steppe land. The force of the backwash of the Iranians and advance of Huns was not sufficient entirely to prevent the western peoples from moving down towards their end of the great plain.

The Getae may almost count as original inhabitants. Certainly we have very early traces of their presence to the n. of the Danube. Whenever their nation was strong and united they seem to have extended their sway to the Dniestr, in times of decadence their borders would fall back to the Danube, and as we have seen, sometimes the Scyths crossed even this. To the Getae belonged very likely the Tyragesiae, not from the similarity of name which seems to be but Sarmatian for men of the Tyras, but Derbicae and Ochotae, the form preferred (he says) by Eust. ad v, 735 of Dion. Periegi, but this is but to strengthen his view of the late invasion of the Panjab by the Aryas, Eust. really rejects the O. ap. Pliny, N. H. vii. 55; Deltzoff reads "Thum et Focari," adding "al. Chani, Phuni vel Phurni, et Tochari;" similar var. ii. in Dion. Periegi. v. 775; so much for arguments founded on the supposed etymology of tribal names.

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2. All the Chinese forms, v. sup. p. 94, including Haji the older name for the Yuta or Ephthalites, the Yue-chih's successors, called in Sanskrit Haja but generally regarded as no true Haji, go back to an original Han. In western authors we have Chuni, Phuni, Xauna, Xuna and Ochone; the interchange of ph, kh, and h is found in Turkish dialects and Tomasschek (i. p. 759) may be right in identifying all these forms.

3. Strabo xi. 1, on authority of Apollodorus. Codd. Pegasus, Muller Pegasus, H. Brunnhofer, Iran und Turan, p. 294. Other more in Dhrilika, Cumuri and Dthin, beggar folk of the Veda, nomad tribes Derbicae and Ochotae, the form preferred (he says) by Eust. ad v, 735 of Dion. Periegi, but this is but to strengthen his view of the late invasion of the Panjab by the Aryas, Eust. really rejects the O. ap. Pliny, N. H. vii. 55; Deltzoff reads "Thum et Focari," adding "al. Chani, Phuni vel Phurni, et Tochari;" similar var. ii. in Dion. Periegi. v. 775; so much for arguments founded on the supposed etymology of tribal names.


from there being no other stock to whom the Tyragetae can be referred. They seem clearly distinguished from any variety of Scythian.

In the time of Philip of Macedon we read that Atheas had spread the power of the Scythians to the south of the Danube, but this power was, it seems, destroyed by the defeat inflicted by Philip, b.c. 339. For in 336 Alexander, having driven the Triballi to take refuge in the island of Peuce, crossed the Ister, defeated the Getae on the north bank to the number of 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, and took their town. It seems hardly possible that in three years' space the Scythians should have thus disappeared and left in their place another nation with a town and large forces, and that this nation should continue the war with Macedon. The question arises, was not Atheas a Getan, called a Scythian just because he lived N. of the Danube? Alexander's attack was merely a demonstration, and later the Getae gave much trouble to the rulers of Macedon. While Alexander was conquering the east his lieutenant in Thrace, Zopyrion, made an expedition against the Scythians and was annihilated. This again suggests that the authorities did not clearly distinguish Scythians and Getans in this region. About 291 B.C., Lysimachus undertook an expedition against Dromichaetes, king of the Getae, was defeated and taken prisoner with his whole force in the space between the Ister and the Tyras in which, according to Strabo, Darius had suffered defeat (vii. iii. 8 and 14). Tacchella 8 refers to successors of Dromichaetes coins bearing the names of Acrosandrus, Crites, Adraspus and Sarias, also perhaps Scostoces. We hear little of the Getae for the next two hundred years, for the Galatian invasions weakened all the Thracian and neighbouring tribes. Then about the time of Sulla there arose a vigorous king among the Getae, as Latyshev thinks, or according to others among the Daci. The fact is that these were two closely connected peoples, and the Romans were apt to apply the name Daci to both because they approached the pair of them from the west, whereas the Greeks called both Getae, having come in closest contact with these. It is with this king Byrebista 9 that Strabo (vii. iii. 11) begins his account of the Getae. He found his people oppressed and weakened by continuous wars but united them and trained them till he had subdued the greater part of their neighbours. He married the Roman provinces and Thrace, destroyed the Keltic Boii and Taurisci, and took Olbia and the other Greek towns along the coast as far as Apollonia. At least the time given by Dio for this destruction, 150 years before the delivery of his speech, between 67 B.C. and 50 B.C., agrees with the time of Byrebista's power which ended with his death about 44 B.C. Caesar intended an expedition against him, but when Augustus sent one, the king

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1 For a good account of the Getae see Mallerhoff, D.A. iii. pp. 129-163; also Kreischer, Geschicht, der Gete in d. Geschichten d. Gr. Spr. p. 213, and Tomashok, Thraker, l. p. 93; Latyshev, Olbia, p. 72; nov. 1842, p. 149 n. 94.
2 Justin, I. x. ii.
3 Arrian, Anab. i. iii. 1, 2; Str. vii. iii. 3-8.
4 Justin, II. iii. 41; XII. v. 4; II. 16; cp. xxxviii. iii. 3. Getae in Q. Curtius, x. i. 43; Thucydides, ii. 99, already classes both together as Θεσσαλονίκη πόλεως.
5 Reuss, Ἀρχαία καθολικά, p. 109, f. 3. 6 Jorda, Der. ο. XI.
7 Cf. Dio Cassius, RH. LXVII. 6. 8 This form Baphebora is indec. used in a contemporary inscr. from Dionysopolis, x. of Varna, Latyshev, Jour. Min. Publ. Int. 1836; Dil. 9 l. 342. 9 Strabo has Baphebora, vii. iii. 11; Trogus Pomp. Prof. xxxvii. 8. 44; or something like it; Jorda, Der. ο. XI., Barvisita.
10 Dio Chrysostom, Or. xxxvii. p. 49. He seems to have had a peaceful suzerainty over Dionysopolis, Dil. 9 l. 342.
had been murdered and the country was divided into four or five warring
states, so that the power of the Getae sank as quickly as it had risen.

To the Getae belong the Carpi, Carpianoi (Ptol. iii. v. 10), Harpii (ib. iii. x. 7)
between the Tyzas and Ister, with the town Harpis on the coast. Niederle1 puts
them further inland and connects their name with Carpathian, and suggests
that they were Slavs, the same as the enigmatical Khorvate or Croats. They
are not mentioned by Strabo, whereas they were known to Marinus of Tyre.
They could hardly have come in after the annexation of Bessarabia to the
Roman Empire under Nero (v. chap. xiv.), so that their appearance coincides
in time with the migration of the Iazyges into the basin of the Theiss,
and there may well have been causal connection between the two events.2
Geographus Ravennas (i. 12) speaks of Sarmatum Patria which may be
either the Theiss valley or Sarmatia e. of the Carpathians, and adds, gens
Carporum quae fuit ex praedicta in bello egressa est. That the Carpi were
Dacians is shewn not so much by the form Ὀλαραυ,3 as by the characteristic
place-names in -daue given by Ptolemy in their country. The forms
with Ἡ came through the mouths of Germans, Bastarnae4.

Bastarnae and Sciri.

These Bastarnae5 are the next invaders from the w. who came to join
the mixed population of this part of Scythia. They were the easternmost
outpost of the Germanic world, the first Germans to come in contact with
the Greeks. These latter at first regarded them as a variety of Kelt and
the earlier authors speak of them as Ἡλαραυ, but the clear statements of
Strabo and others6 who had learnt the difference between Kelt and German
have given Müllenhoff and Braun good grounds for confidently affirming
their German blood. They are also interesting as having stood between the
Keltic and Slavonic worlds in the place afterwards occupied by the Goths.

Whether or no they were the serpents who drove the Neuri from
their country (p. 103), the first position in which we can clearly trace them
is on the e. slopes of the Carpathians, which they must have reached before
the first great sound-shift, for from them must have come the form Harpaßa
in which the word Carpathians occurs in Norse epics.7 At the beginning
of the second century B.C. they moved down to the Danube and were
employed by Philip of Macedon against the Thracians. Being defeated
the greater part returned home, but a part settled in the island Peuce,
near the mouth of the Danube (p. 12), and never rejoined their fellow
tribesmen, though consciousness of their affinity continued for centuries, and
geographers, mistakenly identifying Peucini and Bastarnae, placed the former
in the interior in the places occupied by the latter. Strabo is the first to say
where the main body of the Bastarnae lived after leaving the Carpathians.
He locates them in the interior bordering on the Tyragetae and the Germans,

1 Slav. Ant. i. p. 424 sqq.; ii. 107, 122.
2 Braun, p. 174 sqq.
3 Zosiunus, iv. xxxiv. 6.
4 Carpidae, given by Ephorus ap. Scymnus
84 in Periplus Antonini, § 75 (46), is probably a
mistaken correction of Callippalae, for E. follows
Herodotus, and the change might be made by Anon.
or one of his authorities who knew the late Carpi.
5 Braun, p. 99 sqq. Cf. Niederle, op. cit. i.
p. 280 sqq.; Müllenhoff, D.A. ii. 504 sqq.
6 Str. viii. iii. 47; Pliny iv. 100; Tac. Germ. 46.
7 Niederle takes the snakes literally, and will
not allow the Bastarnae on the Carpathians before
750 B.C. Trogus Pompe. xxviii. mentions them
about 200. N. will not grant any defined date to
the sound-shifting.
that is in Galicia and upper Bessarabia. In this position, though they retained their German speech, manner of life and houses, living a settled life and going afoot as opposed to the Sarmatians who spent their time in wagons or on horseback, still by mixed marriages they took on something of the dirty ways of the Sarmatians. In spite of the words mixed marriages, we must beware of thinking of the Bastarnae as bastard Germans, as Braun has shewn that this use of the root bast is only mediaeval. Also they are not to be identified with the Galatae of the Protogenes inscription. If \( \Gamma \alpha \lambda \alpha \tau \alpha \) there meant Germans, we should not have \( \Gamma \alpha \lambda \alpha \tau \alpha \ kαι \ Σκίρα \), as these latter would be included in the greater denomination.

These Sciri offer no great difficulty, although they are not mentioned again until the time of Pliny, who puts them on the Vistula to the s. of the Goths, between them and the Bastarnae: we may suppose that they, with their companion Kelts, were partakers in the movement which brought the Bastarnae into Thrace, but instead of continuing as far as that more distant objective they turned aside to plunder Olbia. Being foiled in their attempt the Sciri probably returned to the Vistula with the chief mass of the Bastarnae, whereas the Kelts who came from Northern Hungary remained on the Danube together with the Peucini. It seemed as if the Sciri remained among the most remote Germanic tribes, until these at last moved south in the wake of their more advanced countrymen. But some Sciri are found among the tribes subject to the Huns about 381 A.D., and again in 409, when they were caught in a flight and destroyed or sold as slaves. The Huns could scarcely have reached the Sciri on the Vistula; perhaps some of them had settled further south. Ptolemy does not mention any Sciri.

**Kelts and Goths.**

Finally, beside the Germanic Bastarnae and Sciri there were Kelts on the lower Danube. Ptolemy puts them above the Peucini, between them and the Harpi, calling them Britolae, v. l. Βριτογάλλοι. Their towns were Noviodunum and Aliobrix, names whose Keltic character is evident. Various views have been taken as to how Kelts came there, and whence and when, and with these questions is bound up that of the date of the Protogenes inscription. The eastern movements of the Kelts had brought them to three positions from which a detachment might have moved down to the lower Danube. From the Eastern Alps, occupied about 400 B.C., they spread further, and in 281 attacked Thrace along the western border, and in 279 made their great descent upon Delphi. On their way back the remnants occupied Ætolia. Thrace, and founded a kingdom under Comontorius with a capital Τάγη or Τάξι, near Mount Haemus. This kingdom continued till 213 B.C. when a rising of the Thracians utterly destroyed them. These are the Kelts who are supposed by W. A. S. Schmide, and after him Latyshev.

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1 Commius, mixtus nonnulli in Sarmatarum habitum Geodanturn, Tac. Germ. 45.
2 A. Spartina refers to the Bastarnae the same objects of La Tène style found in Russia, BCA. XLI. p. 78, but it is as likely that they are due to Kelts.
3 NH. IV. 97.
4 Braun, p. 117 sqq.; Niederle, op. cit. 1, p. 302 sqq.
5 Polybius IV. xiv. 10; xvi. 1.
6 "Das oblice Faschismus zu Ehren des Protogenes," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 5, Rom, 1855-6, p. 337 sqq., 571 sqq.
7 Oliva, p. 66 sqq.
to have extended their devastations as far as Olbia. Boeckh thought that the assailants were Scordisci from Pannonia. In each of these cases the incursion must have been pushed very far from the base of the people making it, and they must have returned to their own place again. Moreover it is hard to see how they should have come into combination with the Germanic Sciri. Whereas if we suppose that there was a general southward movement of Keltic tribes settled in northern Hungary, and Germanic tribes from over the mountains in Galicia, Britolagae, Bastarnae and Sciri, this combination could be well understood and the assailants would be found again in the Britolagae on the Danube. That would put the Protogenes inscription in the second century B.C., not in the third, and this agrees best with the general character of the lettering which still does not preclude its belonging to the third century according to Latyshev's view.

To Keltic influence we may attribute the presence in S. Russia of fibulae derived from the La Tène type, but Spitsyn (l.c.) puts them down to the Bastarnae. Keltic too, if we may trust the engraving, is a coin from the Crimea figured by Waxel.

Yet one more nation entered Sarmatia from the west, the nation which brought about the fall if not the absolute annihilation of the Greek colonies on the mainland. The Goths appear in the steppes early in the third century A.D., and by 238 already receive a stipend from the empire. This aroused the envy of the Carpi, who claimed to be as good as they, and on being treated by the Romans with contempt they crossed the Danube and destroyed Istropolis, A.D. 241. Under Philip the Arabian the stipend to the Goths was unpaid and they in their turn invaded the empire and laid siege to Marcianopolis. After defeating the Gepidae who had tried to follow them into the rich plain, but were forced to return to their seat in Galicia, the Goths under Chiva again invaded the empire in 249, took Philippopolis in 250, and the following year defeated and killed the emperor Decius. In the war which followed the Goths, whom the historians with characteristic pedantry call Scythians, used boats to harry the coasts not merely of the Euxine from Pityus to Byzantium, as the Russians were to do after them, but also those of the Aegean, sacking even such towns as Ephesus and Athens, as well as "Trojan Hiumque vix a bello illo Agamemnoniaco quantumum se reparantes"!

But a great combined invasion, rather a migration by land and sea with women and children, was destroyed by Claudius, who well earned the title Gothicus. Aurelian ceded Dacia to the Goths and peace was made in 270, a peace which lasted with slight interruptions till the eve of the Hunnish invasion. But before crossing the Danube the Goths had worked their will upon Olbia and Tyras. Coming comes to an end with the first half of the reign of Alexander Severus, and the latest inscription (App. 14) is of the time of Philip the Arabian: Olbia was not quite deserted, for later coins, even Byzantine ones, have been found on the site, but it ceased to be a Hellenic

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1 v. Bruun, p. 126 sqq. ; Niederle, l. p. 393 sqq.
2 B. Salin, Diß Altgermanische Thier-Ornamen
3 Salin, in Recueil dʼAntiquités, t. 57.
4 Cf. Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, Vol. i. p. 46.
city. The Goths probably obtained from it, as from Panticapaeum, some of the ships they used in their distant sea expeditions. But from the time of the coming of the Goths the history of the Pontic Greek states is at an end, save only for Chersonese on its well-defended peninsula. For her these new tribes mostly meant new markets for her commerce.

Crimea and Caucasus.

At the other end of the region whose history we are considering, about the west end of the Caucasus, we find another group of tribes whose position it is again very hard to determine. Here the causes are just the opposite to those which produce difficulty in the great plain. The mountainous country has cut up the inhabitants into tribes so small that the number of names furnished by the ancient authors conveys no idea to our minds. Pliny, for instance (NH. iv. 85), speaks of thirty tribes in the Crimea, and hardly any of his names occur in any other author, they seem to be the designations of the inhabitants of particular valleys and villages. This region appears to have preserved some relics of the Scyths, possibly joined with the Tauri. Scythotauri may mean but the Scyths living in or near the Tauric Chersonese, or it may be just the Tauric natives, loosely called Scythians. It is hard to see how the Scyths could have really amalgamated with the mountain people. However, Scilurus as ruler of the western steppes in the time of Mithridates made his power felt against Chersonese, and had occupied Balaklava, so that he had penetrated to some extent into the Tauric territory. The Scythae Sataarchae in the Crimean steppe may be either relics of Scyths or a Sarmatian tribe.

Our written authorities draw no clear line of distinction between Sarmatae and Maeotae on the one hand, and on the other between the Sindi, who were almost certainly Maeotae, and their st. neighbours. But the barbarian names found in the inscriptions at Phanagoria and Gorgippia shew a much smaller proportion of Iranian derivatives than those of Tanais, and these few are either widely distributed Persian names or names of particularly common occurrence at Tanais that seem to have spread about the Bosporan kingdom. This would seem to point to the indigenes of the Euxine coast being of a different stock from the Sarmatian natives surrounding Tanais, and so presumably Caucasian. This is Mullenhoff's view. On the other hand, Professor Lappo-Danilevskij points out the substantial identity of customs and civilisation of the people who heaped up barrows along the Kuban and along the Don and, assigning his Karagodevaskh barrow to the Sindi, refers these to the same stock as the Sarmatians. Possibly a ruling tribe, nearly related to the Scyths, played the same part to the east of the Maeotis that their cousins played to the west, and dominated many tribes of various origin, some Iranian and some Caucasian. This would account for the similar customs used at the burial of kings in two regions so widely separated.
East of the Sea of Azov the tribes along the coast where the Caucasus comes close to the Black Sea were certainly the ancestors of the people that inhabited the district till the other day. The best account of these, and of the Maeotae too, is in the first chapter of Latyshev's introduction to the Inscriptions of the Bosporus. But he only takes notice of the tribes mentioned in his inscriptions.

As we have seen, the Sarmatae really included the Iazamatae, whom some authorities give as Maeotae; Iranian too were the Aorsi and Siraci, of whom Strabo says that they came down from the north (xi. v. 8). They seem to have encroached upon the Maeotae, who appear once to have reached as far as the Tanais along the Palus that bore their name.

Earlier (xi. ii. 11) Strabo gives a list of tribes among the Maeotae, Sindi, Dandarri, Toretae, Agri, Arrhechi, Tarpetes, Obidaceni, Sittaceni, Dosci, and the people called Aspurgiani. Of these the Sindi are much the most interesting. They first fell under Greek influence, their territory, the Taman peninsula and a little to the e. of it by the southern mouth of the Kuban, being full of Greek towns, hence they alone have left us coins (Pl. ix. 25—27) and they are first mentioned in the inscriptions of the Bosporan kings apart from the other "Maeotae," that is they became so Hellenized that they hardly counted as Maeotae (IosPE. ii. 6—15, 36, 344—347, iv. 418). After the Sindi the Maeotae are taken together, e.g. Σινδαν καὶ Μαιωτῶν πάντων. Next are mentioned Toretae, Dandarri, Tarpetes, Doschi, Sirachi. Strabo omits to mention the Thateis, and the name is found in the text of no author, but Boeckh restored it for Θατείς Diodorus xx. 22 and in Ptolemy for MSS. Θερμαϊτας, Θετριώματα put Θετριώτης Μαιωτας. The inscriptions give also the name Pseis[s][i]. Of these tribes the Toretae seem to have lived on the coast just e. of the Sindi, the Dandarri n. of them near the upper branch of the Kuban, the others cannot be well located except the Aspurgiani between Gorgippia and Phanagoria, and these appear to have been not a tribe but rather a political party or a military colony founded by Aspurgus.

Along the coast next to the Toretae (at Bata) came the Cercetae, says Artemidorus, then the Achaei, Zygi and Heniochi; but the authors who treated of the wars of Mithridates put the Cercetae to the east of these latter, between them and the Moschi. Last of the coast series come the Colchi. The Cercetae may well be the Circassians. There may have been a change of population here in spite of the natural difficulties, or Artemidorus may have confused the Cercetae and Toretae, whom Anon. Periplus (63 (22)) makes the same. Further up in the mountains Strabo (xi. ii. 11, 19; v. 7, 8) tells of Macropogones, Phthiro-

11 Strabo, xi. ii. 14.
Maeotae, Caucasus

The tribes mentioned in the text include Melanchlaeni, Soanes above Dioscurias, in what is now Svanetia, and barbarous Troglodytes (in the Caucasus there are great cave cities of unknown date), Chamae-coctae, Polyphagi, Isadici, and to the north of the chain Nabiani and Panxani; other authors add many names in their lists, but they cannot be identified. The Melanchlaeni and Phthiophagi occurring here have been identified with the Melanchlaeni and Budini in the interior beyond Scythia, and have accordingly added to the confusion. The descendants of these tribes have not moved or have only been moved of late years by the Russian administration, which found the Circassians too little amenable to its rule. The survival of the names Cherkees, Svan, Aiskh (the Abasgi) shews that there has been no great change of population, although most of the modern tribal names are not to be identified with those mentioned by the ancients.

This completes a general view of the peoples of the north coast of the Euxine and their chief movements down to the period of great migrations.

1. e.g. Uplasnikhe, Dubois de Montpéreux, Vol. IV. pl. 1. sqq. and Haschhausen, Transcaucasia, London, 1854, p. 424.
3. Z. Geol. 31 (10).
4. Ta-Hia, v. p. 121. Marquart (Fränkisch, p. 199 sqq. Exc. 311. Tuchistan) tries to show that Ta-Hia is an attempt of the Chinese to write Tuchhara, the form Ta-hue-lo (in Hua Tsoang, A.D. 629-645, and Wei and Sai-shu) belonging to a later date when they were rather more successful in expressing foreign sounds. The old equation Ta-Hia=Dahae (A. Rémiusat and others) had been disproved by Guschmidt (Gesch. Iran., p. 62, n. 2), for the Dahae were far to the SW. near the Caspian (Str. XII. vii. 1 et al.) whereas the data (supra, p. 121) make it clear that geographically Ta-Hia=Bactria. Marquart explains his own identification by supposing that the Tochari left the Tarim basin in a migration earlier than that of the Yue-chi, and that these caught them up and conquered them in Bactria; but we have no Chinese account of such a separate movement of the Tochari, nor does Strabo or Justin support it (v. p. 122). I have supposed (mainly following Franke, op. cit. p. 30) that the Yue-chi when driven W. by the Huns conquered the Tochari in the Tarim basin, and the two tribes, whatever the former differences between them, became politically one, then together they were forced through Farghana (rather than Dunagaris, v. Shi-hi-ki etc.) to Trans-Oxiana and later moved S. to Bactria. The Chinese went on using the name Yue-chi for the combination, among the Westerners (and Southerners, Sin Tukhara) the word Tochari was the more familiar (cf. Gece and Daci, p. 123), so that it clung to their new country and so got into later Chinese. As to the name Ta-Hia, we have Ta-hue-lo already as the Chinese transcription of Tuchhara and Ta-great was, as I understand from Professor Giles, too familiar as an ideogram often to be used as a mere phonogram (Ta-shih= Tashik used for Arabs being understood as Polyphagi), so that Hia is all we have to deal with, and by its tone there is no reason to suppose any lost final consonant. It would therefore do for the first syllable of Yavana (Gr. Yavana, Pers. Yavna, cf. Av. Ar. Aryan) the name by which the Bactrian Greeks were known in India. The Ta would distinguish these Hia from the Hia nearer home, cf. Ta-Ta-lin=the Roman empire and Ta-Yi-lan=Farghana. This latter might seem more like Yavana, but F. Hirth, Uber fremde Einflüsse in der chinischen Kunst, München, 1886, p. 24, gives good reasons against this interpretation.
CHAPTER VII.

PRE-SCYTHIC REMAINS IN SOUTH RUSSIA.

I ought perhaps to ask forgiveness for mentioning remains that have no direct connection with Greeks or even with Scythians, but these paragraphs make accessible to English readers what it is difficult for them to read for themselves, and give a certain completeness to this hasty survey of Russian archaeology. Also the interest of the Tripolje culture soon to be described is so general that exception can hardly be taken to some account of it being given.

No satisfactory attempt can yet be made to sum up the prehistoric antiquities of Russia. The time has not come. As compared with Western Europe the series still has many gaps that will be filled up in due course: we cannot yet tell whether the absence of certain stages be due to their never having existed in Eastern Europe, or to the fact that it is only within the last thirty years that this vast area has been seriously investigated. Even now for the Stone Age we are chiefly dependent on chance finds, and very little has been done towards examining the remains of these early periods in situ.¹

Palaeolithic Remains.

The first finds of palaeolithic weapons were made in 1873 near Gontsy (district of Lubny, government of Poltava). They were followed by others in the same part of the country. The remains were associated with the bones of mammoths¹. Next Count Uvarov² found others near Murom (government of Vladimir) by the village of Karacharovo and along the course of the Oka. Further, a station has been discovered on the Don, near Kostenki (government of Vorónezh), and another not far off at Borishev³. Bone implements of the same periods have occurred in caves near Kalisz in Poland.

¹ See Archaeological Chronicles of S. Russia, no. 1, 1903, p. 6, N. Th. Belashevskij, "Current Problems of S. Russian Archaeology," also Dr Niederle, "Man in Prehistoric Time," or better its Russian translation by Th. K. Volkov, ed. by Prof. D. N. Amušin, Moscow, 1898, pp. 53 sqq. (quoted as Niederle, Prep. Man) and CR. du Congrès Inter. d'Archéol. préhist. et d'Anthrop. XIe Session à Moscou, Vols. 1, 2 (1897-7). Professor Amušin's résumé made for Brockhaus & Efron's Encyclopaedia has been published in German in the Internationales Centralblatt für Anthropologie u. Ethnologie, 1903, pp. 65 sqq., 129 sqq. For Western Russia and its connection with Western Europe see Niederle, Slavonic Antiquities, Part 1, Prag, 1904, pp. 45 sqq.
² Count A. S. Uvarov, Archeology of Russia, Stone Age, Moscow, 1891, Vol. 1, p. 104. For similar finds made by Karashin at Umrikhino near Kursk v. JGA. XXI. suppl. p. 10.
³ CR. 1905, p. 84.
But by far the most trustworthy information as to the Early Stone Age in Russia is due to the careful investigation by Mr V. V. Chvojka of a station on the very site of Kiev, known as the Cyril Street Settlement.

At a depth of 19 metres from the top of a steep slope forming the S. side of the Dnëpr valley, underneath layers of black mould, moss, clay, streaky sand and sand with boulders and above a tertiary stiff blue clay, were found very many mammoth tusks, bones of mammoths, and in a less quantity of other animals contemporary with them, mostly broken and shewing traces of fire, places where fires had been made, that is patches of mixed earth and charcoal often several yards each way and two or three feet thick, and finally mammoth tusks with traces of definite handiwork, even a rude attempt at a drawing, together with flint implements of the earliest type.

The conditions under which the finds were made are best satisfied by the supposition that here was a settlement of man living in the interglacial age a little to the south of the great glacier that covered all N. Russia: the original limits of steppe and forest seem to answer to the line reached by the said glacier. Man settled in the valley of the Dnëpr and hunted the mammoth who furnished the chief means of his subsistence. The great amount of the remains shews that he must have lived on this spot for many years. It was probably sheltered from the cold winds and convenient for hunting purposes. Occasional floods marked by layers of sand drove him from his place, but he returned again and again. In the streaky sand above the main layer of remains we find a few patches of charcoal with bones of lesser animals, no longer the mammoth; no doubt a change of climate or of physical conditions made this spot uninhabitable and drove away the earlier fauna, so that man could no longer occupy the site permanently. Th. K. Volkov\(^1\) has endeavoured to prove that these remains belong to the period called by French archaeologists La Madeleine, the latest palaeolithic period, but Chvojka, in an article in the same journal, makes out a good case for an earlier date. Flint implements of a similar type to those found in Cyril Street have been picked up in various parts of Russia, but this is the only palaeolithic settlement that has been excavated, at any rate in the south of Russia.\(^4\)

Finds of the very latest palaeolithic period, possibly indicating a transition to the neolithic, have been more frequent and extend much further north as the retreating ice-sheet allowed man to occupy more country. Such have been made on the banks of Lake Lădoga by Prof. Inostrantsiev and about the Oká by Count Uvarov. Cave dwellings with chipped flints have been investigated along the Dnëpr near Kiev by Prof. V. B. Antonovich and by K. S. Merezhkovskij in various parts of the Crimea.\(^4\)

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2. The Stone Age on the middle course of the Dnëpr.
Early neolithic stations are also found in all parts of Russia from the so-called Winter-Shore (Zimmij Béreg) on the White Sea and the borders of Lake Onéga to Kazan on the Volga, and to Jirjeva Góra near Směla, with many other points in the basin of the Dněpr about Kiev. The pottery is very rude and shows no special points of contact with other cultures.

In the far west of Russia, between the Carpathians and Kiev, we find in the neolithic period distinct traces of connection with the coasts of the Baltic, pottery with string patterns (Schnurkeramik), northern types of axe and amber, but such finds are few and poor. This gives way in transitional times to banded ware, which seems to have come in from the south and has analogies in central Europe.

Close by the palæolithic station at Cyril Street, Kiev, Chvojka investigated the most important neolithic site in S. Russia. Whereas palæolithic man preferred the lower slopes of the valley, neolithic man chose the plateaus above. Here were found the remains of a village which must have existed long. The more primitive dwellings were as it were caves cut in from the edge of the slope, the great majority was formed by digging out a shallow pit oblong or round from three to five and a half yards across and about a foot or eighteen inches deep. In the middle of this they dug a hole from 2 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. deep, 6 ft. 6 in. to 8 ft. across, with a way down into it made with steps, and at the other end a niche in the face of the inner pit with a hearth and a hole for smoke to escape. Round the outer shallow pit were walls of wattle and daub, and over all a roof. The inhabitants threw all the remains of their food into the central pit, shellfish, bones of deer of various kinds, wild boar and beaver, and to some extent horses and cows. But they were also acquainted with agriculture, for we find several examples of hand-mills and lumps, which Chvojka supposes to be cakes. Also they seem to have kept tortoises as pets. Spindle whorls show that spinning, and probably weaving in some simple form, were known. Most weapons and tools are made of stone or horn of deer or elk. The latter are well made, but the flint implements are very slightly ground. There is a remarkable absence of arrow-heads. Most characteristic is the pottery, in which is to be traced progress from very ill-baked, formless, cracked vessels, made of the first earth that came to hand, such as are found in the cave dwellings, to fairly graceful pots of considerable size, adorned with dots and lines and made of a careful mixture of clayey sand and pounded shells. Some few pieces approach to the finer kinds found on the "areas" next described.

On this same site between two of the huts was found an earler mould for casting copper or bronze axes, and near it was a horn axe of exactly the same type, but inasmuch as no metal was found in the houses themselves we may be allowed to class them as neolithic.


3 Spitsyn gives a Map of the stations of the earliest copper age in Central and North Russia, TRAS. Russ.-Slav. Section, VII. Pt 1, p. 73.
The next class of remains distinguished by the "areas" hereafter to be described with their remarkable pottery and figurines is of very special interest because of the wide range of its affinities, considering its rather special character.

The actual "areas" are about Kiev but the culture occurs in Russia in the governments of Chernigov, Kiev, Poltava and Kherson, in Podolia and in Bessarabia. Pottery of the same type has been found long since in Galicia at Wygnaanka and Złote Błcze, in Bukovina, in Moravia, in Transylvania.
and in northern Moldavia near Cucuteni. Something similar occurs in Serbia and at Butmir in Herzegovina. A southern extension has been traced through Thrace to Thessaly and across the Dardanelles to Hissarlik and Yortan on the Caicus. The first finds were made about the village of Tripolje on the Doněr forty miles below Kiev, whence this is called the Tripolje culture. The remains consist of so-called “areas” (ploščad). These are arranged in groups of a circular form, sometimes the circle is double or triple for part of its circumference, in any case the areas are closer together on s. and w. than on the n. and e.; in the middle of the circles are usually two or three areas of larger size than the rest. The group is always on high ground dipping down to water on the south side. Each “area” is a space from 5 to 10 yards long or even, if it be in the centre, more than 20 yards long by 6 or 8 or even 12 broad. The distinguishing mark is found in one or more layers of clay lamps spread over its surface and mixed therewith a surprising number of pots of various sizes and shapes. Also there appear pedestals like inverted cones or pyramids, sometimes shewing traces of having been coloured red or white, several times, axes of deer’s horns and of flint, sling stones, corn-grinders, shells, bones of animals among others of horses and tortoise shells, and little figures in clay that distantly recall those from Hissarlik.

The construction of an area seems to have been as follows. The space to be occupied was marked and dug out to the depth required from two feet to about four, then walls were built of wattle and covered with clay which was fired when dry. Sometimes we seem to have a lean-to with only one wall and a roof; others had walls on two, three or four sides. In some cases the walls were whitewashed or coloured red or bear layers of alternate colour, and there

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is every trace of the structure existing a considerable period and being restored and beautified from time to time. Remains are also found of a kind of cornice to the walls. Sometimes there had been a floor of hardened clay. The layers of clay lumps seem to be the remains of the walls and perhaps the roof, and

where there are many layers it is probable that the structure has been destroyed and reedified. Occasionally there seem to have been interior walls. Amid the clay lumps, standing or lying or upside down on the original floor, are the remarkable vessels which give chief interest to the discovery, as in them and the figures some have seen an analogy to the early Aegean culture. As many as eighty have been found together. Chvojka divides the areas into two classes
Pre-Scythic Remains

V.V. Chvorjka. Stone Age on the Middle Dniepr.

Culture A.

Tripolje. Copper. XXI. 10.

Veremej. Plate 33, fig. 33.

XXI. 11.

XXVIII. 1.

White or Brown.

Black outlines.

Veremej.

Shubertsevka. Dark Red Clay. XXII. 2.

XXVIII. 10.

Cream and Dark brown.

Painted Pottery, Culture A.

XXVIII. 2.

XXVIII. 11.

White or Brown.

Outlines dark Brown or Black.

Fig. 30.
that he calls A and B, without wishing to prejudge the question which of them comes first in point of time.

A (ff. 28—30) is distinguished by pottery of very various shapes, e.g. a double jar-stand (?) like an opera-glass or twin bottomless dice-boxes, pyri-

form pots with small openings above, conical pots on little rims to support them, rude faces made by a pinch of the fingers and three dots on a round or heart-shaped projection of clay, stone axes bored through and even one or two copper ones, most of all by the adornment of the pots either with graceful and
free spirals or wavy patterns made by four or five parallel grooves giving a ribbon-like effect, or with equally easy spirals painted on a yellow or reddish ground with reddish or brownish paint and polished to a smooth and pleasant surface. Also the idols are more like crosses than human beings.

In B (flf. 31—34) on the other hand the shapes of the pots are more angular, the ornament especially when incised is less free and chiefly confined to the upper half of the pot, the rim of which is sometimes adorned with heads of animals and birds in relief. There are no axes with holes bored in them and no metal whatsoever, by so much B seems inferior, but the statues of women are very much better than the cruciform idols of A. Also B has curious pedestals of clay which have been painted several times, or stands of clay supporting a stone basin. In B also have been found remains of half-cooked corn hidden below the general level of the platform. Moreover in B have been found marks, some occurring singly upon vessels and perhaps denoting ownership as the Tamgi of the Caucasian tribes, in one case set in a row and presenting a remarkable resemblance to an inscription. It would seem as if A were superior to B and later than it, but the difference in the statuettes is most remarkable.\footnote{Figured in the \textit{Trans. Oul. Soc.} Vol. xxii. p. 202.}
Chvojka thinks that the cultures A and B belonged to the same people but that A has mostly imported from the south the elements that distinguish it. Perhaps the occurrence of metal in A proves it to be the more modern.

As to the object of the areas, they cannot be dwellings, because about them are none of the traces of habitation, no remains of food or pottery thrown away, hardly any implements or signs of a perpetual hearth. Though no urns of ashes or interments were found in the earlier diggings Chvojka came to the conclusion that they must be tombs or chapels of the dead. It is a remarkable conception that on the highest suitable hill near the village there should have been the circle of little chapels dedicated to the departed of each family. Except in one case we have not happened upon the village. The culture of the pit houses on M. Sventoslavskij's ground near the site on Cyril Street, Kiev, of which we first spoke, seems to occupy a half-way position between the period of the earlier pit-houses and that of the areas, having similar pottery and also arrow-heads which are not found in the earlier houses. The pottery rather resembles A than B. Later excavations about Rzhishchev and Kanav have shown that the same people lived in the more advanced pit dwellings and built the areas. Better preserved specimens of these unspoilt by the plough have yielded urns full of human ashes and thereby placed their purpose beyond a doubt: bodies some scorched and some untouched by fire shew that cremation was not the exclusive custom, but it is not clear whether it was going out or coming in.

Superior especially in range of colour to anything from Tripolje is a pot from Podolia of which Chvojka has recently sent me a photograph. This pot which he classes with B stands 2 ft. 6 in. high and its surface is covered with light brown slip. On the upper slope are two bands of ornament in dark red, the lower curvilinear, the upper having drawings of a he-goat, a nery goat, a deer and a dog. It was full of scorched wheat grains. Other vases from Podolia have on a ground painted black, light brown, yellow or grey, spirals and curves in three colours, white, light or dark red, orange or brown according to the ground.

Von Stern's finds at Petreny likewise surpass Tripolje ware in range of colour. There is little incised work and the figurines are few and very rude, one of them is striped; most of the attempts at modelling in the round come from one single area. The shapes too of the vases are not so varied as further north. The painting however is very abundant and of a high order. In a few cases on the natural red or yellow surface of the clay the patterns have been painted directly in black or violet brown. More often the natural clay is covered by a slip, polished if it be red or brown, dull if it be white or yellowish. on this the painting is applied in black or violet brown (often with a greenish tinge to judge by the plates), rarely yellow or red. In a few cases
both black and red are used together. The designs are mostly of much the
same character as those here illustrated, especially those of culture B (p. 138,
f. 32). They are founded on the spiral, executed with wonderful skill, simpler
curves also come in, arcs of circles and fairly straight lines. The attempts at
the human figure scarcely come up to those illustrated above, and the animals
including oxen, dogs and goats are not equal to those on the Podolian pot.
There are the same knobs and tiny handles. The potter’s wheel is strange to
the whole culture.

Chyozka, the first discoverer, thought that this was an autochthonous
civilisation developed by the Indo-Europeans before they differentiated, perhaps
more particularly by that section of the race which was to become the Slavs.
Those who studied the Western regions, where somewhat similar spirals occur,
did not at first dare to think that northerners could have been so artistic without
external influence, and ascribed the highly developed decoration to the
influence of the Aegean exercised through traders and the importation of wares.
Independently M. Much, H. Schmidt and von Stern advanced the view that
the movement was the other way, that the northern finds are earlier in date
than the similar objects in the Aegean region—in fact von Stern even entitles
the Russian version of his paper “Pre-historic Greek Culture in the S. of
Russia,” and thinks that the artistic people who made the Petreny pots moved
south and conquered even as far as Crete.

The difficulty here is that we can trace back continuous development
on such sites as Knossos to a neolithic stratum far inferior in artistic power
to the pots at Petreny; that is, that the supposed northern immigrants
must have gone back in their art on reaching new countries, and afterwards
raised it again to the height of Kamares ware or ware from Phylakopi
which according to von Stern recall Tripolje and Petreny. This is of course
possible; the wars of conquest may have caused a setback in art. But
the fact is that we do not know enough yet to talk of movements or
affinities of races. Still, having regard to the artistic gifts of the Mediterra-
nean as opposed to the Northern race, it may be that the basis of the
Tripolje population was a geographically northern outlier of the former
subjected to the strong influence of its neighbours, the varying strength of
this influence accounting for the differences presented by similar cultures to
the westward. The inconsistency of funeral customs argues the same
mixture. Cremation would seem to have come in from the north, but not
yet to have put an end to the vivid consciousness of the dead man’s con-
tinued presence and needs which goes with primitive interment. Hence the
numerous offerings. Under their less favourable conditions pottery painting
was the one art which the Tripolje folk brought to a high standard that
and the modelling of some B figurines1. Before they could advance further
they seem to have come absolutely to an end. There is nothing in S. Russia
which can claim to be in any sense a successor to the Tripolje-Petreny
culture. They may have moved south or they may have been overwhelmed
by newcomers. They were agriculturists long before the date of the agricul-
tural Scythians, but the next people to dwell in their land were thorough

1 For a fuller statement of the various views of op. cit. pp. 180—196. He regards the art as due to
Wasinsky, Schmidt, and Hoernes, see Burrows, an outlier of the Mediterranean race.
Nomads. At Khalepje one area had been spoilt by its materials having been used to pile a barrow for a man of the nomad race buried doubled up according to custom with only one pot by him, but with his bones coloured with the characteristic red.

Niederle\(^1\) reviewing the whole subject with very wide knowledge of the Central European finds comes to no very certain conclusions. He is disinclined to hold to the view at first current in Russia that the Tripolje culture evolved entirely on the spot. He takes it to be a special development of the South European band pottery (Bandkeramik) already approaching the Tripolje forms at Butmir and other sites across to Transylvania. This development may have been called forth by intercourse with the Aegean area and Asia Minor going by way of Rumania and Bessarabia, but the gap in our knowledge of these countries makes it so far impossible to trace its progress. A distant resemblance to forms from the Mediterranean region is undoubted, but investigators of Aegean styles seem to see it less clearly than those who have dealt with N. Europe\(^2\). The statuettes also recall Southern forms. The \(B\) culture moreover shews analogies with the Northern style before mentioned, especially in the wide open flower-pot shaped vases\(^3\). A consideration of these relationships inclines Niederle to put the whole culture at about 2000 B.C., which would give time for the period of coloured skeletons to follow. But it seems premature to attempt to assign dates, only we must allow a long period for the red skeletons.

\textit{Coloured Skeletons.}

Right across South Russia from Podolia and Kiev to the slopes of the Crimean mountains and the Caucasus, the most primitive type of grave commonly met with is distinguished by the fact that the skeletons are coloured bright red, mostly with ochre or some other earth containing iron. The colour is found in a thick layer most abundant upon the upper part of the body and head, and even occurs in lumps lying to one side. The body usually lies with the legs doubled up in a position "making our last bed like our first." The interment is in the untouched earth, not in the mass of the barrow. The size of the barrows raised over them shews that these men were great chieftains in their day, though they took so little with them into the tomb\(^4\). Often later peoples have used their barrows, putting their own dead into a shallower grave in the heap\(^5\). Also we find various interments of this type in one great mound, which suggests that within the limits of this period men had had time to forget the first owner of the barrow. Often, but not always, above the body there are the remains of a kind of wooden shelter, more rarely a stone cist. Few objects are found in the tomb, at most one or two round-bottomed pots\(^6\), more rarely chips of flint, still more rarely copper or bronze arrow-heads. This gives their

\(^1\) Chvostok, \textit{Stone Age}, p. 41.
\(^2\) \textit{Stara. Ant.} i. p. 450.
\(^3\) Cf., however, some of the vases from Cossus illustrated by Mackenzie, \textit{J.H.S.} 1903, 337 sqq., esp. p. 189, \textit{ft. 2 and 3}.
\(^4\) Cf. p. 136, \textit{ft. 32} (right hand bottom corner) and the northern pots figured by Niederle, \textit{Stara. Ant.} i. p. 444, \textit{ft. 2 and 3}.
\(^5\) Sir T. Browne, \textit{Hydraulography}, chap. iii.: shown in side tomb, p. 177, \textit{ft. 72}, but no colour was found there.
\(^7\) e.g. Geremits Barrow, \textit{K.F.R.} p. 252.
\(^8\) A good example, Mastigino (Veronese) \textit{C.R.} 1901, p. 307, \textit{ft. 183}.
date as belonging to the latest stone age, and the first beginnings of metal. But much more metal is found with the colouring of the skeleton in the south at the foot of the mountains.

There seems no doubt that the colouring matter was very thickly smeared on the body at burial, and that after the decay of the flesh it impregnated the bones when they had become porous with age. The colour is almost always red, sometimes whitish yellow. The circumstances of the finds preclude the idea that the flesh was taken off the bones and the latter stained on purpose, or that the colouring matter is the remains of paint on the coffin or dye in clothes or cere cloth. Probably these people painted themselves with ochre during life, and when they died they wished to enter the other world in full war paint, and even had a supply for future use put with them. Professor Kulakovskii® compares the painting red of the face of Jupiter Capitolinus and of the hero of a Roman triumph, suggesting that this is an instance of Roman conservatism going back to the most primitive times; the practice was common in Neolithic Italy®.

In the Kuban district richer tombs with the characteristic colouring accompanied by pottery and axes and spear heads of copper were found by N. I. Veselovskij at Kostromskaja®, Keleremes®, Kazanskaja, Tifisskaja and Armavir®. Many have intruded Scythic interments as that at Vozdizhenskaja (inf. p. 229, f. 137). Of unexampled richness was a tomb at Majkop®, so much so that one might doubt whether it have any connection with that of the typical coloured skeletons. Here we have associated with the colouring, in this case by means of red lead, gold vessels and other objects testifying to remarkable artistic progress. The style in some cases, e.g. the plates with lions and bulls®, recalls the Scythic, in others rather the products of the Caucasus. Still the wooden covering and the characteristic doubled up position offer some resemblance to the simpler coloured burials. Articulate objects are a vessel made of stone, but mounted in gold and with a gold stopper, and implements of stone and copper, as well as bronze; also the pottery is not unlike that found in other graves. Quite unlike anything else, and so far unexplained, is a set of silver tubes about 40 in. long, four with golden end-pieces: upon these were threaded, through a hole in their backs, solid golden bulls (p. 144, f. 35). There were also fourteen silver vessels, of which two had engraved ornament, recalling faintly the compositions of Western Asia. One is shown here (p. 144, f. 36), the other® has a more conventional frieze and no landscape.

It is probable that we have here relics of a people which formerly stretched all over S. Russia, and buried its dead after daubing them with red colour. We have seen that many tribes were pressed towards the Caucasus when enemies entered their land, and this may have been the case with this people. Here they would be in contact with the Caucasian tribes, and

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1 J. A. Kulakovskij, "On the question of coloured skeletons," Trans. of the Xth Russian Archaeological Congress (Kiev), Vol. i.; Count A. A. Bohrinskij, Sitz. 211, pp. 54–55; and 212, p. 34, and for a very full list, A. A. Spitsyn, Trans. xii. (1899), pp. 133–135.
2 P. J. Ny. xxxiiii. 111, 112; T. E. Peet, op. cit. pp. 129, 168, but there the bones were stripped of flesh before the colour was applied.
3 CR. 1897, pp. 15–17, ff. 53–62.
4 CR. 1904, p. 98, ff. 163, 164, one ax® double looped, the other of Kuban type.
5 CR. 1902, p. 45, f. 105; 1904, pp. 66–89; 1902, pp. 68–75, 80–89, ff. 193, 198; 1903, pp. 61–71; 1903, p. 69; the ff. noted shew the three-legged clay incense-burners (?) peculiar to these tombs.
6 CR. 1897, pp. 2–11.
7 Inf. p. 3, ff. 1–2.
Pre-Scythic Remains

Fig. 35. Golden Bull. Majkop. CR. 1897, p. 5, f. 142.

Fig. 36. Silver Cup from Majkop. CR. 1897, p. 7, f. 26.
through them with Western Asia, also sooner or later they would have to
do with the "Scythic" culture, whether the Scythians were their immediate
migrant or settlers, or whether other movements of population intervened. Hence
an intelligible mixture of original customs, Scythic dress shewn by the
many gold plates in the form of lions, and Caucasian metal work shewn
in the gold and silver bulls and the engraved vessels.

We must beware of trying to give this race any historic name. Professor
D. J. Samokvashov wishes to call it Cimmerian and date it to the 7th
century B.C. but this is going further than is safe. Mr V. I. Goszkiewicz
of the Kherson museum unhesitatingly applies the name Cimmerian to graves
of this class, which he enumerates fully as far as they occur in the govern-
ment of Kherson. He says that in particular cases the position of the
bones makes it appear that the colour was applied after the flesh had been
removed, and suggests that there existed some arrangement like the "Towers
of Silence." But there are too many suppositions concerned for this to be
an argument in favour of the Iranian affinities to the Cimmerians. I take
it these are the people Professor L. Myres calls "the Kurgan people,
and declares to have been blonde longheads. He gives a map shewing
such burials right across from the upper waters of the Obj to the Elbe, and
as far south as Thessaly and Anatolia. As kurgan is just the Russian for
barrow, the name Kurgan people would suit any one between these early
time and the nomads of the 11th century.

In the neighbourhood of Kiev, according to Professor V. B. Antonovich,
these people were dolichocephalic. He mentions two other types of very
early burials that occur at any rate in his district, small barrows with the
bodies lying straight and often wrapped in elm bark, no objects therewith;
and graves without barrows but with stone cists, bodies burnt accom-
panied by rude pottery. Both these types are comparatively rare and do
not seem to offer any data for putting them before or after the widely
spread people with coloured skeletons. The early date of the latter is shewn
by the invariably bad preservation of the bones.

Megalithic Monuments.

The Dolmens of Russia have not yet been duly investigated, but it
seems probable that they are to be referred to a very remote date. They
offer close analogies to those in Western Europe, but any direct connection
is hard to suppose, because there is a gap in their distribution. That
similar forms may arise independently is shewn by the occurrence of dolmens

1 History of Russian Law, Warsaw, 1888, p. 134
2 Treasures and Antiquities, Bk. L. Kherson, 1902, p. 137.
3 Geographical Journal, XXVIII. (1900) p. 331.
4 Niederle, Slovo, Ant. t. p. 449.
5 Taliko-Hrinewicz, J., Przyczynki do poznanua
6 Kieva, Komarowego, Ukraiwy (A contribution to
7 Crocos, 1899, says that the percentage of long
9 KTR, pp. 446-8; CR, 1896, p. 163; 1898, p. 33.
in India, the Sudan, Algeria and Syria. It is with these last that O. Montelius would connect those in the Crimea and the Caucasus. At Tsarskaja in the latter the further detail is found of a hole in one of the side slabs agreeing with a disposition remarked in Western Europe and also in India. To those who see Kelts in the Cimmerians the dolmens are a welcome confirmation, but in both ends of Europe these monuments probably precede any population to which we can put a name. In a barrow at Verbovka (Kiev government) was found a circle of twenty-nine stones about four feet high, with engravings something like those of Gavr'inis, but no objects.

Diagram of Dolmen, Tsarskaja, CR. 1893. p. 36 fig. 53.

Fig. 37. Total length 371 metres = 10 ft. 2½ in.
Dolmens with similar holes near Tuapse, BCA. XXXII. pp. 83–86, ff. 14–16.

Earthworks.

Sheer want of stone might prevent the erection of dolmens on the steppes, but no country could better suit earthworks. Besides the innumerable funeral barrows which generally reveal their date on excavation, are many works meant either for look-out stations or for defence. These are of all dates, from the earliest times to the works thrown up by Charles XII of Sweden or the Russian expeditions against the Crimea under Münnich or Suworov. But merely defensive considerations will not explain the singular forms of some of these great works; their extent suggests that they were the work rather of settled people than of nomads, moreover, they occur in the wooded country beyond the steppe.

The first account of them was that by A. Podberezskij. They occur about Kharkov, Poltava, and in the south of the government of Chernigov, but are specially common in that of Kiev and so westwards into Podolia. Some seem to have been occupied in Scythian times from the pottery picked mostly near Romny. In BCA. v. pp. 1–95, A. Spasyn gives short particulars of them in many governments.

1 "Orienten och Europa" in Antiquitets Tidsskrift for Sverige, XIII. 1.
2 BCA. XX. p. 12.
4 In BCA. XXII. pp. 55–88, N. E. Makarenko gives plans and descriptions of eight such forts.
up upon them, but of those that seem built for defence the lie of the land makes it probable that they were designed by people who had very feeble missile weapons. Matroñenskij Gorodíshche, the greatest of them, goes down into a ravine in such a way that part of the bank would be entirely commanded by good bowmen.

At Belsk (Poltava) is a camp of another type, the largest in Russia; it has been specially well excavated by Mr V. A. Gorodtsov. It is six-sided, like a truncated octagon, one long side running N. and S. by the river Vorskla, which defended it from the E. whence attack was most to be feared. This side, which is seven miles long, is broken by a fort, a stronger fort is at the salient angle away from the river, the greatest breadth (four miles) being measured between them; there is a smaller fort to the N.E. The whole circumference is some 20 miles. The site had been inhabited in the Tripolje period and yielded the typical pottery and statuettes. With these came early Scythian things, pots with white incrustation (v. p. 82), bone and bronze psalii and a whole hoard of arrowheads, besides Ionian vases and beads of "Egyptian paste": from this we can distinguish a later Scythian period with black figured and later Greek vases and glass beads; to this the earthworks belong, for the older remains are used up as material in the banks; the whole comes under the special form of Scythian culture described on pp. 175 sqq. About were barrows of all sizes, most of them plundered. Some had the queerest resemblance to spiders or crabs, consisting of a small circle with one or more openings, on either side of which stretch out claw-shaped banks, sometimes two or three, one within the other. Such are found elsewhere and called Majdans, and were long unexplained. One of the first to be carefully excavated, that at Tsvento (Kiev government), was quite of a spider shape (see plan, p. 148, f. 38). Within the enclosure was found a typical grave of a Scythian woman, and near by other Scythian remains of the iv.—ni. centuries B.C., but in connection was a barrow with a red skeleton. The combination offered no clue to date or purpose.

But Mr Gorodtsov, after examining a considerable number of such earthworks, came to the conclusion that they were merely barrows which had been plundered for their contents, the peculiar form assumed by the earth that had to be moved being due to the conditions of working with volokusha, wheelless carts or sledges used by the Russians in the xvith century.

A. A. Spitsyn has cleared up the whole mystery. In the xvith and xvith centuries saltpetre was regularly extracted from the grave mounds: the earth was boiled on the spot and the liquor again boiled. The banks are merely spoil-heaps trending away from the barrow, so as not to get in the way of the operators. Spitsyn shews how a certain amount of system producing fair symmetry was rendered necessary, and describes exactly how the process was carried on. He supports his case by many extracts from contemporary authors and documents referring to it as quite a common

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1 Plan in Soc. II, p. 52.
2 He is to publish an account of it in the Transactions of the XIVth (1908) Russian Archaeological Congress (Chernigov), but he has been good enough to give me private information, for which my best thanks are due.
3 Drewnost', Trans. Soc. Arch. Comm., xx, 2, pp. 27—31. L. V. Pudalka, Archeological Chronicle of S. Russia, 1905, pp. 125 sqq., dissent strongly, but by his article I have been made acquainted with Gorodtsov's view.

19—2
thing, and coins of the time are found in the banks, e.g. near Bělsk. The centre of the mound was naturally the richest, and the flanks were left

as not worth boiling. Hence the ring form. Most likely the application of the process to the Siberian barrows first shewed their richness in gold, of which the Siberian collection at the Hermitage is almost the sole relic.

1 A. A. Spitsyn, *TRAS. Russo-Slavonic Section*, viii. 2, pp. 1—28. He gives plans of about fifty mājdnas and a very good bibliography of the question, which can now be taken as settled.
CHAPTER VIII.

SCYTHIC TOMBS.

If Herodotus is the main source of our information as to the population of the north shore of the Euxine during the flourishing time of its Greek Colonies we are hardly less indebted to the finds made in the barrows of the country, finds which on the whole bear out what Herodotus has said and supplement it with many details throwing much light upon the elements which went to make up the mixed culture of the inhabitants. From about the viith century B.C. to a little after our era is the period to which may be referred a series of tombs that seem to belong to peoples all closely connected with each other in funeral customs and general mode of life. To give any ethnic name to this class of grave is begging the question of their origin, yet it is impossible to habitually refer to them as "graves of nomadic tribes in contact with central Asian and Greek civilisations." They are generally called "Scythian" or "Scytho-Sarmatian," or those showing Greek influence are called "Scythian," those with Roman manufactures or coins "Sarmatian." This latter distinction is certainly unsatisfactory, for the name of Sarmatian had spread over the European steppes certainly before Roman influence had been brought to bear on these countries. In fact as will be seen the greater part of the tombs usually called "Scythian" appears to belong to a time when the Scyths of Herodotus had disappeared. On the other hand the general agreement between the archaeological evidence and the information furnished by Herodotus argues the substantial identity of the cultures described in these different sources. This all points to there being but little real difference between Scyth and Sarmat. The latter were apparently nearer the Iranians of Iran both in language and dress, but in both there seems to have been an Altaic element.

I propose then to call the class of tombs, which I shall now describe, "Scythic," not wishing to assert thereby that they belonged exclusively to Scyths, but suggesting that they are the most typical tombs of the inhabitants of Scythia, when that was the general name for the Euxine steppes; still there can be little doubt that the true royal Scyths of Herodotus were among the tribes that buried in this fashion, although no tomb has been found which could be referred to the particular generation observed by him.

Unfortunately in spite of the enlightened efforts made by the Russian government to protect these remains, and in turn to explore them with the best archaeological skill, we cannot point to any first-class normal Scythic tomb which fate has reserved for quite satisfactory exploration. The great majority was plundered long ago, as it seems in most cases, shortly after the very funeral, in other cases the discovery has been made by peasants searching for treasure, or amateurs who have neglected to keep a minute account of all details as to the position in which everything was found; finally it has happened that an excavation already almost brought to a successful conclusion has been ruined by the insufficiency of the guard set over it. Hence our picture of a Scythic interment must be pieced together from the best preserved
parts of many tombs. It is impossible to take one tomb, even Kul Oba or Karagodenashk, describe it fully, and make it a norm, treating all others as varieties. Besides, enough remains to show that each great tomb had its own peculiar features which have their interest in filling in the general outlines of Scythic life.

In the following enumeration of the most important tombs the older finds, particulars of which are more accessible, will be treated as briefly as possible; further particulars can be found in books so easily obtainable as S. Reinach's reprints of the Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien (ABC.) and of Kondakov and Tolstoi's Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale (KTR.). Descriptions derived from the Antiquités de la Scythie d'Herodote (ASH.), from the Compte Rendu de la Commission Archéologique (CR.), especially since it has been published in Russian, from the Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique (BCA.) and from other Russian publications will be given more fully.

The distribution of these Scythic barrows reaches from Podolia and the Kiev government southwards to the Euxine and eastwards to the valley of the Kuban on the northern slopes of the Caucasus. The finest of them are about the bend of the Dniepr, near Alexandropol, near where we should put the land of Gerhus; a special character marks those in the governments of Kiev and Poltava; a few occur about the Greek towns of the Bosporus on each side of the strait, and the Kuban series is hardly second to the Dniepr group. Isolated is the remarkable find of Vetterstelde in Lower Lusatia. Also a burial of somewhat similar type has been found in Thrace, Dukhova Mogila near Philippopolis. Further, as has been said, objects of a type resembling the barbarian element in Scythic tombs can be traced right across to Krasnojarsk beyond the Altai. To the west also, in Hungary, objects of Scythic type have been found.

The question of dating and classifying these tombs is very difficult. Our only criteria are the objects of Greek art found in them. Yet these only give us the earliest date possible. And even as to this there is some doubt, for various judges make more or less allowance, for barbarous influence, for the difference between the best art and that of articles made for export, and for the time necessary for new fashions in art to penetrate to such remote regions.

Moreover, unfortunately none of the tombs with the most archaic Greek objects have been opened by skilled archaeologists. For instance, the tomb at Martonosha (p. 173) may well have belonged to a contemporary of Herodotus. The amphora handle seems to be eight century work, and the other objects are not definitely later in date; but we shall never know, for our account of the excavation is derived from peasants nearly twenty years after the event, and we know yet less of the circumstances under which were discovered the archaic "Cybele" or the mirror handle with almost the earliest nude female of archaic (rather than primitive) Greek art.

In the account which follows the barrows are arranged rather geographically than chronologically, though in the first group their dates would seem to

1 BCH. xxv. (1906), p. 168, G. Seure.
3 CR. 1894, p. 17, f. 337.
4 CR. 1897, p. 78, f. 186. All these three bronzes are illustrated in Chart, xi. § 16, f. 278-281.
be in the order I have given. Each barrow described has its own features of interest, and from them all some idea of the Scythic type can be formed. Fewer descriptions would have left out interesting points, more would have wearied the reader without attaining completeness; many important excavations have for this cause been necessarily omitted, for them the reader must be referred to the CR., BCA., and other special publications.

Poor Class. Twins.

Professor A. Lappo-Danilevskij, in his review of the various types of Scythic graves, divides them into four classes. His first class seems not clearly to be distinguished from the class of coloured skeletons of which we have already treated, except that the colouring is not predominant. The bad preservation of the bones, the poverty of the objects found with them, the large number of burials in one mound, rank tombs like the Pointed Tomb on the Tomaakovka, the Round Kurgan (= barrow) at Geremes (variously written Guéremens, Héremesse, Germeov), the Long Tomb near Alexandropol, all on the right bank of the Don near the great bend, with the Bezschastnaja (unlucky) Tomb on the opposite bank, which distinctly contained coloured bones. It is remarkable that all these are near the land Gérhus, it seems as if the Scyths had adopted the sacred burial district of earlier inhabitants. Lappo-Danilevskij takes these great barrows with as many as fourteen separate interments to have been burying places of comparatively obscure families which heaped up great mounds when enough dead had been accumulated; but more probably the distinction between these and the following graves is one not merely of social position, but of time and race. We may put them down as of the last pre-Scythic phase, for the skeletons are not coloured, and are not all doubled up, and there are a few objects of copper or bronze; but there are no chambers hollowed out, no horse graves, and none of those mines by which the rich booty of the true Scythic type of graves was carried off by men who well knew what they were doing. In this class there was nothing to tempt them.

An isolated example recalling this type is the barrow called Perepiatikh, in the district of Vasílkov (Kiev government), opened in 1845. It is far to the west of the central Scythic group, but cannot be classed with the generality of Scythic barrows in Kiev government. It contained fourteen skeletons under a wooden roof upon which stones had been piled; by four of them were lumps of paint, necklets, metal disks, one bronze arrow, two iron axes, an earthen vessel with a stone stand, and 24 gold plaques of griffins once sewn on to a white-yellow stuff. This is not a normal Scythic tomb, and the paint suggests an early date; perhaps the Scythic objects belong to an intruded interment.

A fairly simple example of a Scythic grave (Lappo-Danilevskij's second class) is the Stone Tomb (Kámennaja Mogila) near Krasnokutsk, between

2 V. ASH., passim.
4 Op. cit. p. 479; KTR. p. 268; ASH. Plan E.
Nicopol and Ekaterinoslav. The tomb derives its name from the fact that all the skirts of the heap and the central portion above the actual grave consist of stone. The main grave contained a human skeleton and those of two horses, three spears, scales from armour, fragments of amphorae, and of an alabastron and a jug, but all was in confusion. In a separate grave was the skeleton of another horse with a bridle adorned with bronze plates and with an iron bit. This would appear to be the grave of an ordinary cavalier whose position did not allow him the elaborate funerals of greater men. Yet the barrow is a considerable size, 19 feet high and 200 in diameter.

The third class consists of so-called twins (Bliznitsy). Best known are the Geremes, Tomakovka and Slonovskij twins, all in the same district. In these we have two mounds close to each other, one flat-topped with steep sides fortified with stone, containing one human grave, horse graves and various gear including Greek wares, the other round-topped with many poor graves. Moreover, only in the chief mound are there traces of thieves' mines; about the chief of the Geremes and Slonovskij twins is a ditch and bank; in these chief twins also there seem to have been one grave chamber and a side chamber for the horse grave. But as all have been plundered in ancient times we cannot be sure of their disposition or contents. They offer close analogies to the next class, but are on a smaller scale; it is suggested that in them small tribal chieftains were buried, and that the ordinary folk of the tribe rest in the lesser twin alongside.

Big Barrows.

The fourth and chief class is that of the so-called Big Barrows (Tolstaja Mogila). Chief of these are those near Alexandropol, often called the Meadow Barrow (Lugovaja Mogila), and the Chertomlyk or Nicopol Barrow. Others are at Krasnokutsk, the Tsymslnik, the Orphan's Grave (Sirotna Mogila), Chmyrava barrow, Oguz near Serogoz in the

Fig. 39. CE, 1894, p. 191, t. 105. Double barrow at Pavlovka. I. Barrow with core of rammed earth. Circumference 100 paces. Diameter about 36 m. Height 3 1/2 m. II. Barrow with core of stones. Circumference 100 paces. Diameter 20 m. Height 2 1/2 m. III. Joining bank with small tumulus 1, 20 paces long; 15 m. broad, 1 1/4 m. high, 360. Extreme circumference 600 paces. b, d, f pits dug. The original interments were of red skeletons, others of later nomads, but none, it seems, Scythic.

Mogila for a grave, but in the language of L. Russia where all the Sc. tombs are, Mogila=barrow.
Melitopol district (Tauric govt.) and Martonosha in that of Elisavetgrad (Kherson govt.). In height they vary from 30 to 70 feet, and they may be from 400 to 1200 feet round at the base. On the top there is always a flat space some 50 feet or more across. Hence the sides are rather steep, especially on the north. The heap during its progress was rammed down hard and further fortified by a basement of stones; about the mound would be a ditch and bank with gaps for entrance. The grave chamber is from 9 ft. 6 in. to 15 ft. long by 7 or 7 ft. 6 in. broad and sunk into the earth itself to the level of a layer of clay that runs under the black soil at a depth of from 9 ft. 6 in. to 42 ft. (at Chertomlyk barrow). The sides of the grave chamber were sometimes smoothed and plastered with clay, in other cases traces may be seen of the narrow wooden spade with which they were dug out; such a spade was found near Smela1. Beside the main chamber there are side chambers ("catacombs"), varying in number. In the Krasnokutsk barrow one only beside a horse grave, in Tsymbalka two, five each at Alexandropol and Chertomlyk. These chambers are generally on the north side of the main chamber. Beside these chambers for the burial of the king's servants and the storing of his gear were horse graves, always to the w. of the central grave, and in the Chertomlyk barrow two graves near them for the grooms. These chambers are roofed with unsquared tree trunks.

The king was brought to his tomb on a funeral car, of which the remains have been found, well bearing out the description of Herodotus. The car was left for the dead man to use, being broken up and buried in the heap or led down into the grave chamber. So too the horses, whose lives were even more prodigally wasted at these funerals than those of human beings. In the Ulkij barrow on the Kuban were found over four hundred horses (v. p. 227). At Krasnokutsk and Alexandropol the remains of a second car were found. On this probably the dead man's favourite wife rode to her fate.

None of the Big Barrows have been left unplundered, so we cannot know the exact disposition of the most precious objects about the principal bodies, but in chamber No. v of Chertomlyk king's and queen's things seem put apart from each other in niches. Amphorae and other vessels, mostly of Greek workmanship, were put on the floor and clothes hung on pegs in the wall. The body was usually laid on some kind of mattress which at Chertomlyk was covered with a pall adorned with gold plates. In the Alexandropol barrow there were only two servants buried with their master, in Chertomlyk five with their feet towards him ready to stand up and face him at his call. In the Krasnokutsk and Alexandropol tombs were also found heaps of human and horses' bones. When the way into the tomb had been filled up, upon the flat space where the barrow was soon to be raised was held the funeral feast, well marked at Chertomlyk and elsewhere by fragments of amphorae, horses' bones, and things lost by the revellers. After that the barrow was heaped up; but, as it seems, before all knowledge of plan and contents was lost, daring robbers sank mines into it from the north side, the side on which the heap was steepest, towards which there were always extra chambers, and braved not only the vengeance of the dead man and that of his successors (the Mongols had guards to watch their burial places), but

1 Sm. III. p. 53, b. 12.
the chance of a fall of those tunnels, that the secrecy of their operations made it impossible to support properly. Since then, Genoese on the coast and Cossacks on the plains, and in modern times the neighbouring peasants, have made a regular practice of seeking the dead men’s gold. It is no wonder that the archaeologist often finds himself forestalled. His only comfort is that the bronzes are almost as interesting as the gold work, and that the thieves left everything but the precious metal. If only they had not thrown everything about in seeking for that, we should be better pleased.

**Alexandropol Barrow.**

Of the barrows about the Dnepr, those most remarkable for the variety of their contents are that near Alexandropol and that at Chertomlyk, twelve miles N.W. of Nicopol.

The full report of the excavation of the former is given in _ASH._ with plan and sections and many plates, and a well illustrated summary in _KTR._

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*Fig. 40. Alexandropol. Bronze standard? * _KTR._ p. 241, f. 217

*Fig. 41. Alexandropol. Bronze standard? * _KTR._

p. 241, f. 218 = _ASH._ II. 1.

(pp. 238—251), but the exploration was so desultory and the sepulchre itself and all the objects belonging to it had been so thoroughly ransacked by thieves who, after an unsuccessful attempt, finally reached the central chamber, that it is hard to get a clear idea of the whole, and the main interest belongs.

*For a description of Italian (in this case Venetian) enterprise in robbing a barrow near the mouth of the Don in 1436, see *Viaggio di Josafat.*"
to the accessories, the remains of two chariots, the horse tombs, and the bronze "standards" (ff. 40, 41), while little is left of the riches of the actual occupant but gold plates, many, very similar to those of Kul Oba (f. 42, others on p. 158, f. 45, also a horse frontlet, an armour scale and a bone arrowhead). Clearly the plunderers had not time to seek trifles. For dating

Scythic things, certain round and oblong silver plates that formed part of the harness are very important, as their style seems late Hellenistic. Other things in the tomb look at first sight almost archaic, but they are only degradations of the Ionian strain.

**Chertomlyk.**

At Chertomlyk the thieves were less fortunate, one of them was found crushed by a fall of earth at the mouth of his mine, but here again the central interment had been much disturbed. The objects worth carrying away seem to have been mostly heaped up in various corners of the plan, and by mere chance the king's things were still apart from the queen's.

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In looking at the annexed plan it must be remembered that only the central part of the tumulus is given; for a complete plan the reader is referred to *ASH. plate F*. Round the whole must be supplied the stone plinth, and it must be borne in mind that the plan is engraved so that the north comes to the right instead of being at the top.

The barrow was 60 feet high and 1100 feet round, surrounded by a stone plinth, and a kind of stone alley led up to it across the steppe.

A is the central shaft descending 35 ft. 6 in. below the original surface of the ground, 15 ft. x 7 ft. at the top and widening downwards. At the bottom opened out four lateral chambers, I, II, III, IV, one from each corner.
The n.w. chamber iv communicated with a large irregular chamber v into which debouched a narrow passage cc, the mine of ancient plunderers. To the west of all this were three square pits in a line from s. to n., viii, ix, x, and to the e. of viii and ix two graves, vi and vii. Later graves, xi, xii, xiii, were sunk in the heap for persons who had nothing to do with its original possessors.

In A everything had been thrown into disorder by the plunderers. There were only found traces of a coffin or bier painted red and bright blue. In i to the s.e. were a small cauldron, at a the remains of a skeleton converted into lime, by it remains of a quiver with arrows and five iron knives with bone handles, not unlike p. 190, f. 82 below; against the wall in a corner 150 more arrows with remains of their shafts, 28 inches long, and what once was a carpet; about the floor many gold plates and strips which had adorned clothes hung from iron hooks in wall and ceiling.

In No. ii to the n.e. were six amphorae along the wall, in the middle a bronze mirror with an iron handle, by the door a skeleton with a bronze torque and a gold earring and finger ring, on his left an ivory handled knife and a leather quiver with 67 bronze arrow-heads, near his head ivory and gold remains of a whip handle, also a silver spoon and the fragments of an ivory box, besides innumerable plates and strips of thin gold for sewing on to clothes. The enumeration of the plates found in one side chamber of a single tomb will shew the variety of these plates and the prodigal use made of them. Figures of many of them are in KTR, still more in ASH. In ii were found 25 plates with flowers, 64 with a fantastic animal, 7 with a lion tearing a stag, one with a calf lying down, 10 with a barbarian combating a griffin, 31 with a griffin alone, 12 with a rosette, 130 with a bearded man’s head, 24 with a gorgon’s head and 5 pendants, 27 with a plain gorgon’s head, 6 with the heads of Athena and a lion back to back (p. 158, f. 45, xxx. 6), 33 of Heracles strangling a lion (ib. xxx. 10), one of a lion combating a sphinx, 24 triangles made up of grains (cf. p. 197, f. 90, ABC. XXII. 7). Besides these a great number of hollow pendants, tubes, beads, buttons, and other golden ornaments to be sewn on to clothes. These plates are very characteristic of Scythian dress, and occur in great numbers in all barrows; less widespread was the use of strips of gold repoussé or ajouré with plant patterns or combats of animals and monsters, sometimes as much as 14 inches long. All these thin gold objects have little holes near the edges for sewing on to textiles.
Objects from Scythic tombs on the Middle Dněpr (Gerrhus)

Fig. 46. (v. pp. 151, 288), Chertomlyk Vase, silver, parcel gilt. Front view.
KTR. p. 297, f. 257 = CR. 1864, pl. 1. 70 cm. (26 in.) high.
FIG. 47. Chersonesian Vase. Side view. *KTR.* p. 296, pl. 156=CR. 1864, pl. 11.
In III, the s.w. chamber, lay a skeleton wearing a golden torque with twelve lions upon it, shewing signs of long wear (ASH. xxxvii. 7 on p. 158). About the head could be traced the form of a hood outlined by 25 gold plates with griffins and fastened at a couple of smaller ones, a flower and a gorgoneion. He wore the usual bracelets and rings, and a belt with brass plates, and greaves (which are not so general); by his head were two vessels, a bronze cup, and a silver ewer with a string to hang it up by, and lower down the quiver with arrows, and a whip. By him lay another skeleton with much the same equipment. In the n.w. chamber (iv) were found remains of a bier painted dark and light blue, green and yellow. Upon it lay a woman’s skeleton in rich attire. On each side of her head were heavy earrings, and upon it were 29 plates in the shape of flowers, twenty rosettes and seven buttons. The head and upper part of the body were covered by a purple veil with 57 square gold plates representing a seated woman with a mirror, and a Scyth standing before her (v. p. 158 = ASH. xxx. 16). The line of these plates made a kind of triangle reaching a foot above her head and descending to her breast, outlining a hood or pointed headdress with lappets falling down on each side of the face; such lappets seem shewn on a plaque of inferior execution figured on the same page (ASH. xxx. 20). Something of the same sort was worn by the queen at Kul Oba, and by that at Karagodeuashkh where the triangular gold plate which adorned it has a scene representing a queen wearing just such a one (p. 218, f. 120). The Chertomlyk lady also wore bracelets and a ring on each finger; by her hand was a bronze mirror with an ivory handle, with traces of some blue material. By the woman’s skeleton was a man’s with iron and bronze bracelets and an ivory-handled knife (the knives are always on the left hand side), a little further were the usual arrow-heads. Along the wall were ranged thirteen amphorae. In the west part of this chamber (b) was made the most precious find of the tomb, the famous Chertomlyk or Nicopol vase (ff. 46–49, cf. p. 288 sqq.). By it was a great silver dish with an elaborate pattern engraved within, and two handles formed by a kind of palmette of acanthus leaves with the figure of a woman wearing a
Figures from the Chertomlyk Vase. C. R. 1864. Pl. III.

Fig. 49, cf. p. 57.

Fig. 50. Chertomlyk. Bronze cauldron. C. R. 1864. Pl. 112.

162. Scythic Tombs.
calathos in the middle. This chamber (iv) opened into another (v) to the west of it; v had suffered so much from the falling-in of the roof and still more from the operations of the tomb-thieves, that it is impossible to say what may have been its original plan. It can hardly be entirely due to the thieves. The thieves' mine (ee) opened into it and all round were

3 KTR. pp. 263-4; ff. 259-40 = ASH. xxix. 3, 7.

KTR. p. 264, f. 264 = CR. 1904, V. 2, better
Priddik, Melgunov, pl. V. 1, cf. p. 270.

FIG. 52. Mat. XIII. p. 24, f. 30 = ASH.
XL. 12. Lesser sword from Chermomlyk found at a on plan.
Chertomyk, Gold Plate for Sarcophagus and Dagger from Electotypes at South Kensington Museum.
niches (f, h, l, k) apparently due to them. If on their entrance they found the way into iv blocked up, they probably tried the walls in various directions and finally broke into iv and obtained access to the central tomb.

They seem to have begun to pile their booty in heaps in the corners of v ready to take it away, when the roof, disturbed by their operations, fell in and caught one of them, whose skeleton was found at e by the entrance of his mine; at f was a six-wicked lamp he may have been using; the plunderers at Alexandropol had only potsherds with rags in them. At d was a cauldron of the Scythic type 3 ft. high with goats as handles on the edge; the outside blackened with fire; within the head, ribs and leg-bones of a horse (f. 50). Near it was another, smaller, containing a foal's bones. At f was a niche in the wall with a heap of gold ornaments, at h another with a woman's things, as far as may be judged, at g and i were remains of boards, at l another heap of gold, at k the objects taken from the tomb of the king himself. Three swords had been stuck into the wall, where their blades remained while the handles had rusted off and fallen down (f. 52). Below were the great gold plate that adorned the king's gorget, a strip of gold that went along the side of it, and the plate of gold which covered his sword sheath (f. 53); two more swords with gold hafts (f. 51), a hone with a gold mounting, and many other gold plates and a heap of arrow-heads. About the floor were fragments of Greek pottery.

Of the horse graves, in vii were three horses saddled and bridled, one with gold ornaments, the others with silver; in ix were four horses, two saddled and bridled with gold, two only bridled and with silver. In x were three horses saddled and bridled with gold, one without a saddle and bridled in silver. The grooms in vi and vii had each his torque, one of silver gilt and one of gold, and each his quiver with arrows.

In the heap itself, early in the excavations, was found an immense number of objects pertaining to harness. At the top of the barrow was a mass of such ornaments rusted together, silver had almost perished, bronze was in bad condition, of gold there was little but 29 pair of horse's cheek ornaments. In bronze there were animals upon sockets (the so-called standards), horse frontlets, buckles, buttons, bells, tubes, strips, crescent-shaped pendants, and about 250 iron bits, also a curious open-work saucepan, as it would appear for fishing meat out of one of the big cauldrons.

This description of the finds in the Chertomlyk barrow, though far from detailed, gives some idea of the barbarous prodigality with which the steppe folk buried their kings.

**Krasnokutsk and Tysmalka.**

In the same neighbourhood as Chertomlyk is the Krasnokutsk barrow. In its mound Zabelin found the fragments of a funeral car broken up and piled in two heaps, and the usual remains of harness and trappings: in a special tomb were four horses with frontlets (ff. 56, 37 and p. 158, f. 45; ASH. xxiii.

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1. *KTR.* p. 239, f. 236.
2. *ASH.* plan C; *KTR.* p. 254 (not the same as the “Stone Tomb” there).
These ornaments are interesting because of their remarkable resemblance to the northern beast-style usually associated with the early middle ages. Other two tombs had been completely stripped by plunderers who only left enough to let us judge that the contents were of the usual Scythic type.

On the S. side of the river, in the district of Melitopol, government of Taurida, is the barrow Tsymbalka near Bélozerka. As usual the main tomb had been violated by a mine from the north, but in the side tomb were six horses, four with bronze trappings and silver frontlets, two with very interesting gold frontlets, one of fine late 11th century Greek work with a Schlangenweib, the other barbaric with griffins (ff. 54, 55, cf. p. 269).

1 CR 1867, p. xxi; 1868, p. xix; KTR, p. 258.
Chmyreva Mogila.

Chmyreva Mogila, two miles from Tsymbalka, was investigated in 1898 by Dr Th. G. Braun. Here again the main tomb had been rifled, this time by means of a shaft sunk from the top of the mound, and a later burial for which the barrow had been used was also cleared, but the horse interment was the best met with. An inclined plane led to an oblong pit 7'10 m. x 3 m. x 2'15 m. Ten horses had been led into the pit which was then shut up with boards and

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1 CR. 1898, p. 26: BCA. XIX. p. 96.
heaped over. They had evidently struggled towards the outlet, and their skeletons lay one upon another. Their trappings were adorned with the usual metallic plates, but some were of the finest Greek workmanship of about 300 B.C.¹ (if. 58—60): there were also specimens of native attempts to imitate them. Very strange is a frontlet of a type which has occurred in several of the Gerrhus tombs, but this is the only one of skilful execution (if. 61). In the main tomb was picked up an interesting plate with two Scythians wrestling (if. 62).

Ogiz. Dëev and Janchekrak.

In the same district further to the south near Lower Seregozy, Ogiz, a very large barrow, has been investigated by Professor Veselovskij.² A plan and section of the stone corbelled vault are given overleaf. The interior is 21 ft. square, surrounded and upheld by a solid mass of stone work 50 feet square. The stones of the corbelled vault itself were bound by iron clamps of a ___ shape. Unfortunately the tomb had been rifled three times. The first time the plundersers knew what they were doing, for they approached along the gallery from the s. instead of as usual from the n. The last plundersers came down from above and took off the top stone of the vault. Hence it all filled with earth. The plundersers could do their work much more effectually in the stone vault than in unlined earthen pits and left very little behind them, just the few gold plates, some from the same dies as at Chertomlyk, Kul Oba and Theodosia (e.g. ASH. xxx. 6 on p. 158 and ABC. xxii. 28), and other ornaments, also some horses' bones coloured green with copper, but no bronze objects with them.

At the sides of the great stone mass were small niches: in the eastern one nothing was found, in the northern one was a woman's skeleton with a mirror and one or two poor ornaments. In the niche to the west lay two

¹ CR. 1898, figs. 28—34. ² v. p. 158 = ASH. xiii. 6 and 7. ³ CR. 1894, p. 77.
skeletons with no objects but a bronze earring. At the entrance of the main vault lay a man's skeleton with a long spear, an iron knife and bronze and bone arrow-heads. He seems to have been as it were a sentry outside the tomb moved to one side by the thieves. This would shew that they had penetrated very soon after the heaping of the tomb. Veselovskij points out that such a work as the stone vault must have been built in the king's lifetime though the heap may have been raised after his death. In 1902 further excavations by N. W. Roth led to considerable discoveries in this same barrow, but the objects found are of the same types, save for some new forms of arrow-heads.

Near by was Déev barrow, 500 ft. round but only 14 ft. high. The main tomb was empty, but a woman's (?) still untouched contained mostly poor copies of Hellenistic work, e.g. two diadems, one with a rich leaf pattern, the other with Neo-Attic maenads, also a frontlet with pendants and Sphinx earrings, all to be closely paralleled at Ryzhanovka (p. 179). There was a very fine gold and enamel necklace with alternate ducks and flowers, and an armlet like that from Kul Oba on p. 197 (ABC, xxvi. 3).

1 Arch. Anc. 1904, p. 166; CR. 1904, p. 63, 64a; 1905, p. 166; f. 323; BCA. XIX, p. 157.
From Janchekrak in the n.e. of the district of Melitopol come phalerae of late Roman date, one with the type of winged figure which was adopted for the Christian angel: they were found with a hone and were probably from a late Scythic grave.

Melgunov's Barrow.

Of the barrows which have been excavated without proper account having been kept of the disposition of their contents we can regret none more than that called Litój Kurgan, opened in 1703 at Kucherovy Bueraki, about 20 miles from Elisavetgrad, by order of General A. P. Melgunov, who sent the spoil up to Petersburg for Catherine II to view. Preserved with the Siberian antiquities in the Museum of the Academy of Science the objects have with them found their way to the Hermitage.

Fig. 65: Melgunov's barrow. Golden sheath and fragment of sword hilt. (Fridik, pl. iii. 4)

They included a very interesting dagger and sheath of Scythic forms, but Assyrian style; here is a view of one side of the sheath and a fragment of the
much damaged dagger hilt (ff. 65—67, cf. p. 71) with a restoration (f. 68), parcel gilt feet and fittings of a couch, and one of 17 golden birds displayed (f. 69). There were also a golden diadem or necklet in the form of a triple chain.

1 In *Mat. XXXI* with Pharmacovskij’s “Kalermes,” E. M. Pradik will publish a complete account of the find with excellent plates. He has had the extreme kindness to send me a preliminary copy of his part (St. P. 1906), from which the annexed illustrations are taken. Cf. also *Trans. O. S. A.* vi. p. 501; *TRAS* xii. Pt 1 (1904), p. 270 sqq.; A. A. Spisyn. The sheath had previously only been published by Maskell, *Ant. Art.* p. 112, from the S. Kensington electotype, which lacks the side projection, a separate piece, by its style a Scythic addition; for the use of Mr. Dalton’s blocks I gladly thank him and the authorities of the British Museum.

In order to try and obtain more light, V. N. Pastrebov undertook further explorations in 1894, but does not seem to have it upon the right barrow.

A copper belt with a pattern very like that on the sword hilt was found at Zakim (Prov. of Kars) *CR.* 1904, p. 131, f. 230. For the couch foot see Perrot and Chipiez, *Chaldaens* ii, p. 315, f. 193.
with rosettes set with onyx; parts of silver disks with a pattern of roundels (they seem to have to do with the suspension of the dagger), 40 bronze arrow-heads of types more or less like Nos. 4, 29, 35, 36, on p. 190, f. 82, a golden strip with figures of an ape, two ostriches (?) and a goose in rather a naturalistic style, 23 gilt iron nails and a short gilt bronze bar ending in rude lions' heads, apparently like a Hussar button. The style of all these things seems to go back to early in the 1st century B.C., perhaps the chain and the repoussé strip are later, but this must have been a very early Scythic tomb.

Martonosha.

In 1870 at Martonosha in the district of Elisavetgrad on the borders of the governments of Kherson and Kiev some peasants excavated a barrow and found a man's skeleton, by his thigh a hone, about him spears and arrows, and in the heap various pots crushed by the earth, four whole amphorae buried standing up, an enormous cauldron full of cow's bones, and a bronze amphora with an archaic Greek running or flying Medusa in the pose of the Nike of Archermus. These particulars were collected in 1889 by Mr Jastrebov, who made a further exploration of the tumulus and found another grave plundered in antiquity. He gives the height of the barrow as 28 feet and the circumference of a high bank round it more than 800 feet. It is clear that the interment was a Scythic one of the ordinary type though not very rich. The interesting point is the amphora handle which is Greek work of the 1st cent. B.C., perhaps the most archaic piece found in the steppes.

Eastern Governments.

The governments to the east of Ekaterinoslav have been very imperfectly investigated. Still chance finds in those of Kharkov and Voronezh and the land of the Don Cossacks, also beyond upon the Volga in the governments of Samara, Saratof and Astrakhan, and further in Ekaterinburg and Orenburg, show that there is no serious gap in the continuity of Scythic occupation stretching to within a measurable distance of the West Siberian area (v. p. 252). This region supplies interesting terms in the series of swords' and cauldrons.

4 Tagarnog, ib. pp. 77, 11, 44, ff. 51-57.
7 Kishk, district of Chornyj Tar, C.R. 1904, p. 135, ff. 243-246.
8 Krasnegorsk, C.R. 1903, p. 126, ff. 236, 237. A special point was the absence of the dead man's skull, suggesting Har. IV. 64 and p. 83 supra.
Tombs in the Southern Part of the Government of Kiev.

Fig. 70.
Much the same culture which we find in the tombs on the lower Don is brought to light higher up the river in the governments of Kiev and Poltava. This country is no longer pure steppe, here we have the beginnings of the forest and the people are not so exclusively nomadic as further south. There is no longer such waste of horses at a funeral, no longer indeed such richness in gold and metal work, whereas the bone objects so characteristic of Finnish remains in N. Russia occur here also. Moreover, this is the country of earthworks (goroditsche), and in these earthworks are found things of Scythian type, and great barrows are often near them. This all points to there having long existed here a nation having much in common with the steppe folk, but with some progress towards agriculture, a condition like that ascribed by Herodotus to the agricultural Scythians, whom however he seems to put further south.

This country has been investigated by Count A. A. Bobrinskoy, whose volumes on excavations round about Smela, his estate on the Tjasmin in the s. of Kiev government, have supplied me with particulars of the Scythic tombs of the district. Here also the greater part of the barrows has been plundered at some time or other. A typical simple grave unplundered is No. ccxlvi. near the River Serebrjanka. Under a mound 2.4 m. high and 97 m. round was a rectangular pit 4.1 m. long by 3.35 m. broad and 25 cm. deep. The pit had been floored, lined, and covered with wood; at each end were as it were shelves. Upon one lay a horse’s skull, on the other an earthen pot. In the upper part of the tomb was a rusted bit, some bones and a broken pot, further down a horse’s lower jaw, fragments of an iron spear, a bone-handled knife, and an iron nail. Below all lay the skeleton and by it a bronze needle and sixty tiny yellow beads. The wooden floor was strewn with white sand and the hole filled in with black earth.

Such was a typical poor grave not far to the west of Smela. The same type is rather more developed in another good example in this part of the country near Guljak Gorod. Sufficient description is an explanation of the plan. The mound was 7 ft. high; in the midst was a pit 9 ft. 6 in. x 7 ft. and 7 ft. deep with the remains of a wooden erection supported on four posts and floored with wood. Along the e. wall lay a skeleton n. and s.; w. of it were bits and other remains of harness in bronze, iron and bone, and in the middle an iron coat of mail. In the n. part of the pit lay a small bronze brooch in the form of a boar and the remains of a leathern quiver with over 150 bronze arrow-heads. Along the w. wall going s. were, a long iron spear-head, a bronze mirror with a handle, and a long oblong stone dish and by it pieces of red and yellow colour. At the south end were the remains of another skeleton and an extra skull.

Essentially similar but more elaborate are the tombs near Zhurovka s. of Shpola. The example No. cd at Krivorukovo, two miles from Zhurovka,
was chosen because of the special interest of a Greek cylix with a 7th century inscription \( \Delta \varepsilon \varphi \nu \nu \varepsilon \) \( \varepsilon \varphi \nu \nu \varepsilon \) \( \varepsilon \varphi \nu \nu \varepsilon \). It was probably a little valued offering got rid of by an Olbian shrine of Apollo, just as is done at the present day; it is not likely to have been lost. We may allow some time for its coming into the possession of its Scythic owner and finding its way into a grave, so that the interment may be put in the 7th century A.D. The annexed plan (f. 70) gives the general disposition, and the objects found are mostly figured by Count Bobrinskoy. The barrow was 420 m. high and 164 m. round. Just above the natural surface of the ground were found the remains of a flat wooden roof reaching out far beyond the grave pit. The latter went down 22 metres. It was taken up by a wooden erection with nine posts supporting the roof. The sides of the pit were defined by ditches in which were fixed the lower boards of a wooden lining. The floor was of oak.

At the SE. corner entered the approach in which were two horse skeletons with bits (1, 2) and other trappings. To the right of the entrance stood two big amphorae (3, 4) and a native vessel (5), beyond a gold plaque with a crouching deer (cf. p. 214, i. 115 = CR. 1876, p. 136) (6), and the cylix above mentioned (7). On the central post had hung two sets of horse trappings, including a gold plate (8) with interesting spirals and dots. By the post was a piece of meat (9) of which the bone had survived, and from near it there pointed a pair of spears (10) northwards towards the principal skeleton (11), which lay surrounded with the trappings of man and beast, including a mirror (12) and a quiver with 463 arrows (13). A second skeleton of a young man lay along the SW. wall (14). Close to his head was a shirt of iron mail (15), and by him bits and ornaments. The objects found in this tomb recall in style those from the VII Brothers (infra p. 206), as well as those across the Dniepr in Poltava (v. p. 180 sqq.).

\[ \text{FIG. } 71. \quad \text{CR. 1876, p. 160, i. 206. Scythic barrow near Kalinik, government of Kiev. Original height, } 6 \text{ m. Circumference } 193 \text{ paces. } \]

\[ \text{a. Top of barrow levelled for ploughing. } \text{b. Humus. } \]

\[ \text{c. Decayed turf. } \text{d. Black earth (Chernozem) making the main mass of the heap. } \text{e. Wooden } \]

\[ \text{f. Wooden flooring under e. } \text{g. Mass of yellow green clay with burial. } \text{h. Orange and black spots. } \]

\[ \text{i. Pocket of charcoal. } \text{j. Human skeletons. } \text{k. Wooden floor extending over almost the whole } \]

\[ \text{l. Area of barrow. } \text{m. Patch of red clay. } \text{n. Section of ditch. } \]

\[ \text{1. BCA. xiv, pp. 2-13, i. 8-26. The cylix is treated by Ct. L. L. Tolstoi, lb. p. 44, v. infra, Ch. xv. } \]

\[ \text{2. On BCA. xiv, p. 14, i. 28, 29, 39, we have section, plan, and conjectural elevation of such an } \]

\[ \text{erection, but in this case the roof is slightly sloping. } \]

\[ \text{3. Spirals are not common in Scythic ornament. } \]

\[ \text{BCA. xiv, p. 23, i. 51; xvii. p. 98, i. 37. CR. 1904, p. 89, i. 142, 143. } \]
The next two figures explain themselves. Kalnik was excavated by Professor Antonovich. The section gives a good idea of the elaborate wooden floors and tabernacles sometimes found in the midst of a Scythic barrow. The objects found were not of special interest.

**Darievka.**

To the sw. of Smela towards Zvenigorodka at a place called Darievka, near Shpola, Madame J. Th. Abaza excavated a large barrow and found a typical Scythic grave, with the usual gold plates to the number of 270, with griffins (f. 73), deer, lions, triangles with grains, palmettes, strips (ib.) etc.; the types are very similar to those found further south though the workmanship is not quite so fine: there was also found in bronze, a large mirror, 41 arrow-heads (fewer than is usual in the south); in iron, a long spear-head, a javelin-head and knives in bone hafts; 38 bone arrow-heads, some glass beads and two black-glazed Greek vases. The excavation does not seem to have been conducted very scientifically, and it is not apparent whether there was a woman buried as well as a man, moreover there is a strange absence of all horse gear. At Vasilkov near by were found a dagger of the Scytho-Siberian type with heart-shaped guard and a wonderful lion's head in stained ivory apparently of Greek workmanship (p. 193, f. 95, cf. p. 266): also bone spoons and knives with good specimens of the Scythic beast style.

**Ryzhanovka.**

Still richer were the results attained by the Polish archaeologist Godfrey Ossowski in 1884 and 1887, at Ryzhanovka, to the w. of Zvenigorodka.¹ ²

¹ Sm. II. p. 128 sq.
² "Ziade wiadomosci do antropologji krajowej" (Collection of information touching the anthropology of the country) of the Cracow Academy, Vol. XII.; and "Wielki Kurhan Ryzhanowski w budynku dokonanych w latach 1884 i 1887" in Polish, French Abstract, Cracow, 1888 (The Great Ryzhanovka Kurgan according to investigations made in 1884 and 1887). Sm. II. p. 137 seq., pl. XVI.—XIX.
FIG. 73. Mirror (p. 66), Model Axes (p. 72), Gold Plates (p. 177), Earring and Bronzes (p. 256 sqq.).
His accounts have been summarised by Count Bobrinskoy, without
the plan and section. I have adopted the dimensions given on Ossowski's
plan. The great kurgan (barrow) was explored in 1884 by a trench cut
through the middle of it, but only horses' bones and amphora sherds were
found. But in 1887 the side of the trench fell in, exposing the top of a
complete amphora, a bronze vessel, a mirror, and some gold plates. The
peasant who found all this then caught sight of a human skull, was frightened,
gave up digging and handed over his finds to the lord of the manor,
Mr Grineewicz. The latter gave them to Mr. Ossowski for the Cracow
Academy. Then happily a horse fell into the hole and died there, preventing
any further attempts on the part of unauthorised plunderers. Ossowski
proceeded to investigate the tomb systematically, and it proved one of the
most perfect Scythic tombs known.

A passage led down to a depth of 3·1 m. and then continued horizontally
for 6 m., being 1·50 m. broad and rather more than a metre high. It led
into a rectangular chamber 3·10 m. long and 2·65 m. broad, high enough
to stand up in. The chamber was divided into two unequal parts by a
step, 40 cm. high. In the northern part into which the passage led lay a
narrow board 2 m. long with a hole to hold the bottom of the amphora
discovered by the peasant. Along it were ranged the bronze vessel, the
mirror and a bronze pin. In the w. corner of the southern division was
the skeleton of a young woman of weak build in a half-sitting position,
one leg bent under the other. She lay upon some kind of woollen stuff
under which was a layer of moss. She wore upon her head a golden
tiara, with a thrice repeated scene of maenads, well-known Neo-Attic types
going back to Scopa; a golden frontlet with pendants, a long ribbon of
gold with rude griffins and palmettes, three gold plates, a pair of gold
earrings or temple ornaments shaped like griffins (l, 73) hung from the diadem,
four little gold beads, and a big bead of carnelian.

Round her neck she had an elaborate gold necklace, upon her belt
21 gold rosettes, on her arms two bracelets, one silver and one gold; she

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Fig. 74. Mat. xiii. p. 37, l. 7 = Sm. ii. xvi. 9. Part of gold necklace. Ryzhanovka.

wore eight rings, two seal rings, two set with gold staters of Panticapaeum
(rather like Pl. v. 15), one set with an unworked piece of limestone, and three

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1 Rather like Nos. 25 and 27 or 32 in F. Hauser, Die Neo-Attischen Reliefs.
2 Cl. ABC. pl. vi. 2.
Scythic Tombs. Kiev Group

quite plain. The seals are a winged quadruped and a dagger, and Hercules's club and bow, both of them suggest coins of Panticapaeum. Across between the shoulders were three rows of the triangles of grains (called wolf's teeth, as on p. 197, f. 90), points downwards. Upon the rest of her clothing space was found for three big flat rosettes, 44 big convex ones, 21 rayed ones, 47 small convex ones, two small flat ones, 230 large knots, three small ones, 20 silver tubes and two bronze rings.

By the skeleton were found in bronze a pail and plate, in silver an object that fell to pieces, a saucer and a fluted cup with three gilt rings and a frieze of dogs round it, a clay saucer, bottle and spinning whorl, a black-gazed cantharos (mended) and two bone bodkins. We have already mentioned the amphora, mirror, cup and pin found on a shelf by the entrance of the chamber.

I have enumerated all these things because there is no rich tomb whereof the disposition had remained untouched and was noted down with such exactness. It is not quite normal because it is the tomb of a woman only, but it gives a good idea of how the innumerable gold plates beloved by the Scythians were applied.

To judge by Count Bobrinskoy's plates the greater part of the Ryzhanovka objects are imitations of Greek work made by native workmen or by inferior artizans in Panticapaeum; there is little distinctively Scythic about them, but it is noticeable in other tombs that the Scythic work is best represented on horse trappings and weapons, both of which are naturally absent in a woman's grave. In this and in detail, the earrings, the strips with leafwork and with griffins, and the frontlets with Maenads and with pendants, it agrees with the Æcæv barrow (p. 170). The parcel gilt silver cup recalls by its shape and decoration the series of similar vessels from Kul Oba. The form seems native, though Greeks may haveimitated it to order. The earrings have an archaic, almost oriental, touch about them; the two coins are put between 350 and 320 B.C. (v. Ch. xix.); the bronze pail, though it has been rudely supplied with an iron handle, is a beautiful piece of Greek work, perhaps of the 3rd century. The figures on the tiara, already degraded by repetition, and the cantharos (cf. Ch. xi. § 7, f. 254) might be later, so that the whole interment may be put in the 3rd century.


On the left side of the Dnepr near Romny (Poltava government) at Axjutintsy, S. A. Mazaraki dug up an interesting barrow about 1885. In this district the course of the Sula cuts off from the steppe a district rich in wood and water, and it seems as if any nomads that did cross the river tended to settle down to some degree, being protected by the river from other nomads, and henceforward finding no necessity to change their pastures at various seasons, hence the barrows thickly grouped along the river escaped speedy plunder and so their investigation promises well.

The spoils of the chief barrow (No. 2) at Axjutintsy (10 m. high, 156 m.

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about), found in a central pit 8.5 m. x 4.2 m. and 1 m. deep, offers a great contrast to those at Kyzhanovka, inasmuch as the tomb being that of a warrior, almost all the objects are arms or trappings, and all are most purely Scythic. There was a wooden erection over the burial place, under it lay the skeleton much decayed with its head to the south. By its left shoulder were two leathern quivers with 400 bronze arrow-heads, by its head on the right five iron spear-heads and a javelin, in the s.e. corner of the grave three iron bits with bronze ḫuṣa (others were of bone, v. p. 189, f. 81), 18 bronze plates from horse trappings and some ornaments with fantastic beast heads. In the n.w. corner was a bronze Scythic cauldron weighing 40 lbs., a perished bronze dish, a terra cotta kylix, an amphora with 15 gold faces in it, a small oblong gold plate with a deer on it, five stones for throwing and the remains of textile: in the n.e. corner was a small arm. The skeleton wore bronze armour and a plain gold open neck hoop, 1 lb. in weight; by the pelvis were an iron sword of Scytho-Siberian type and a large gold oblong plate with a crouching deer (f. 75), the cover of a quiver or bow case, for under it lay a heap of bronze arrow-heads. There was another grave in the barrow lower down, the skeleton much decayed and by it only animals’ bones, and 40 bronze arrow-heads. The only purely Greek object seems to be the kylix, which may be referred to the 6th cent. B.C. The same date may be given to the great plate with the deer, which recalls the Kul Oba deer (put by Furtwängler in the middle of that century) and Minusinsk designs (p. 251, f. 172).

A barrow opened in 1905 had been robbed, but not till the wooden chamber had rotted, so only the servants’ division suffered. The other held two skeletons and much the same set of grave goods as the chief barrow of Volkovtsy (v. infra). Most noticeable were nine gold plates from a belt (f. 75 bis), a diadem strip, bronze greaves and the bones of swine as well as sheep (v. p. 49). A Greek kylix had 6th century letters scratched upon it, but as the pattern on the strip goes back to 15th century work, this smaller barrow cannot be older than the 3rd century.

Volkovtsy.

In 1897 and 1898 Mazaraki excavated at Volkovtsy, the next village to Axiutinskoje, a rich tomb which Count Bobrinskij has illustrated and described. The barrow was 13 m. high and some 150 m. round; about it was a bank. In the midst was an oaken chamber 5 m. x 3.5 m.

The plan (f. 76) gives a singularly complete view of the contents of a Scythic tomb in this part of the country. The skeleton lay with its head to the s. About its neck was a gold torque (p. 184, f. 77, No. 424), by its collar-bone a gold tube (No. 418), about its right arm a gold ribbon (No. 425), by its left forearm a quiver adorned with gold plates (Nos. 406, 410, 413, 417) and containing three hundred arrows. By its left

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1 Sm. II. p. 165.
2 P. 265, f. 48 = ABC. xxxvi. 1, ii. p. 366.
3 Sm. III. p. 82 sqq. f. 22—42. See also B. Khanenko, op. cit. Vol. II. PI. II. p. 6.
Gold. Volkovtsy. 405. Khanenko

FIG. 78. Horse's frontlet, cheek and bridle ornaments (v. p. 187, 283).
Fig. 70. Cents (p. 51), Banchachi (pp. 78, 187) and Dagger (p. 17) from Poltava government.
hand was a silver cup (f. 79, No. 451). The ne. corner of the tomb was given up to the remains of armour, bronze and bone, and a great bronze helmet. In the nw. corner stood an amphora, a black-glazed vessel and three other pots between, at the dead man's feet hung his clothes whose gold plates strewed the ground (f. 77, Nos. 408, 415, 419, 420). To his right were a dagger and a collection of horse trappings (No. 315), including six bits with bronze psaltes, horses' cheek ornaments and frontlets of gold (f. 78), a large gold fish (f. 77, No. 404) and other fragments. In the sw. corner were nine iron spear-heads, three javelin-heads, and an iron battle-axe, and by them along the s. wall four maces or standards (f. 79, No. 224), and further a big Scythian cauldron and a saucer of gilt bronze. The manner in which the Greek motives have been degraded is well exemplified by the horse's frontlet with a gorgoneion at the top end and two griffins which I did not distinguish until I came to draw them. Compare the pair of horse frontlets from Tsymsalka (p. 166, ff. 54, 55).

Popovka. Later Tombs.

About Popovka, also on the Sula, Mazarakí likewise carried on excavations in a large group of barrows. These belong to a later period as is shown by the abundance of iron used for arrow-heads as well as for swords and spears, which themselves differ somewhat in type from those found in more ancient graves. An interesting find was one of bone scale armour made of pieces of various sizes, sewn on much as were the common bronze scales. That the Sarmatians used such armour we know from Pausanias (i. 21. 5) who says that a Sarmatian hauberk of scales made of horseh's hoofs was preserved as a curiosity in the Temple of Aesculapius at Athens. In one barrow there was also found a mirror with a loop in the middle of the back such as is common in tombs of the time of the great migrations. The figures of stone-bucks and birds of prey recall Siberian objects and the finds in ne. Russia. There seem no Greek objects but amphorae, and no objects of Roman manufacture. Still these graves may be probably assigned to the first two centuries A.D. just before the great apparent changes of population in these parts. Further Scythian finds from the Kiev and Poltava governments are published in the catalogue of B. I. Khamenko's collection now in the town Museum at Kiev. The interest of these is that they lead on to the mediaeval and northern beast style, which owes much, may be even its origin, to influence exerted through the Scythians.

The Scythian graves are succeeded in this region and to the north of it by graves containing very similar objects, but occurring in cemeteries without barrows over the interments. The imported objects become Roman and even include coins (e.g. of Faustina and Gordian), dating these burials as of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Cremation is practised and skeletons are sometimes found in the early huddled position. The native pottery improves, but on the whole not much of value was buried with the dead; there is
Scythic Tombs. Kiev District

Fig. 82. Arrow and Spear Heads (p. 66), Axe and Knife (p. 72), Mirrors (p. 66).
Fig. 83: Mirror (pp. 65, 256), Gold Plates and Earrings (pp. 63, 177, 260), Pins (p. 57, n. 1), Hames (p. 76).
a remarkable absence of weapons, and of horses, the bones found being exclusively those of food animals. Thus the cemeteries of Zarubintsy, Cherniakhovo, and Pomashki, excavated by Mr V. V. Chvojka, form a bridge connecting the Scythic type of these regions with the Slavonic type of later times. There is much to be said for the view well put forward by Chvojka that the basis of the population was the same always, that we have in fact the Slavonic Neuri for a time under strong Scythian influence, even lordship possibly, at other times under Roman or Gothic attraction, but always reverting to their own ways. Certainly the inland Scythic graves which occur north of the forest line are by no means so typical as those about the Dnepr bend, and these are less characteristically nomadic than those on the Kuban; the number of horses sacrificed increases steadily as we go east. It seems rash to call the makers of the Neolithic "areas" Slavs, they might be yet undifferentiated from other kindred stocks, but there does not seem good evidence for any fundamental change of

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1 CE "Cemeteries of the mid Dnepr," by V. V. Chvojka. *Tr. Ass. Hist.,* Pt. 1, St. 1, 1901, Kraso.
population. The agricultural folk remained on the land though they had to submit to aristocracies of warlike foreigners coming upon them alternately from the steppes to the sk. and from the forests and seas to the NW.
Tombs of the Scythic type are also found where we should least expect them, in the immediate environs of Panticapaeum. But for the great finds of Kul Oba we should not ascribe the vaults of the Golden Barrow (Altyn Oba) or the Royal Barrow (Tsarskij Kurgan) to natives but they all belong to the same class and probably once had similar contents, though the first alone preserved them to our day. The masonry of all is clearly Greek, though the plan rather suggests the Mycenaean period. Are we to see in it a survival of the old method of burial among the Milesian descendants of the ancient race? Are we to ascribe this way of building tombs to the influence of Asia Minor, if this be not saying the same thing in other words, or should we not rather regard these as the translation into stone of the wooden roof and earthen pit with a gallery leading down to it which formed the typical Scythian grave? The Tsarskij Kurgan may be said to be the only impressive architectural monument left by Greek builders on the north coast of the Euxine, with the possible exception of the town walls of Chersonese. The great barrow is three miles to the NE. of Kerch, a little inland of the Quarantine, the site of Myrmecion. It has a circumference of 250 m. (820 ft.) and a height of 17 m. (55 ft.). A curious feature in the heap is the layer of seaweed which occurs also in barrows near Taman. Into one side of it leads a gallery 116 ft. long, 11 ft. broad and 23 ft. high, the walls being for six courses (10 ft.) perpendicular, and then for twelve corbelled out one above another until they meet at the top, all being of great stones hewn in the rustic manner. At the end of the gallery is a doorway 13 ft. high and 7 ft. broad, leading into a chamber 21 ft. square and 30 ft. high, roofed by a circular Egyptian vault ingeniously adapted to the square plan. But the whole has been plundered and has lain open from time immemorial.

1 E. D. Clarke, Travels, ii. p. 73.
Altya Oba, or the Golden Barrow to the w. of Kerch along the line of Mount Mithridates, resembles the Tsarskij Kurgan, except that the gallery is much shorter and the vault is round on plan. It contained two subsidiary chambers and had a stone revetment. It also was plundered long ago and the masonry is in no way so well preserved as that of the former tomb.'

Kul Oba.

This is also true of the famous Kul Oba from which much stone has been taken to build an adjacent village, so that the balance of its Egyptian vault was disturbed, and the ransacking that its riches brought upon it has reduced it to utter ruin. For the circumstances of the opening of the tomb in 1830 the reader is referred to the account of Dubrux⁴, but we here reproduce the plan and section on a larger scale.

¹ *ABC* plan A', B, 1.
² *ABC* pp. 4—16 of Reinach's reprint.
Scythic Tombs. Kerch

9—e (not shown here) refer to details of the exterior of the mound on
ABC. Plan A, A, B.

f. Are four amphoras, one with the
stump of Thiasos.

g. A Scythic caldron containing
mutton bones.

h. Two silver gilt basins (lost)
containing three little round
bottomed silver vessels, two
rhyta and a cup marked
EPYMM.

i. Sunk space in which were the
bones of a horse, a helmet and
grave goods.

k. Skeleton of a groom, (?) about him
many gold plates.

l. Woman's skeleton.

m. Electrum vase with reliefs of
Scythians.

n. Great coffin of cypress or
juniper wood.

o. King's skeleton.

p. Board dividing off the compart-
ment 5 in which were the
king's arms.

q. Bronze hydra. Bronze amphora.
Lesser Scythian caldron.

r. Bronze dish about 9 inches
across.

s. Two iron spear-heads, 1 ft. 3 in.
long.

tu. (Not shown here). Pegs in 8
wall from which hung clothes,
from which fell gold plates.

u. Wooden ceiling.


x. Places where the walls had
given.

y. Hole above the door by which
Durbux entered.

z. Beam which held the stones of
the door and vestibule.

aa. Under-tomb in which the deer
was found.

bb. Dry stone wall closing entrance.

c. Rough stone exterior.

d. Walls of tomb.

e. Vestibule.

f. Door.

g. Seven courses of vault closed
by stone.

h. Compartment in which lay the
king's arms.

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1 ABC. xxiv. 11. 2 ABC. xxxiv. 3. 3 [fig. 91], xxxv. 56.
4 ABC. xxxv. 4 [fig. 90]. 5 ABC. xxxv. 7, 12, 13.
6 ABC. xxvii. 4. 7 ABC. xxxiii. [figs. 92, 94].
8 ABC. xx. xxii. [fig. 92].

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Gold Objects from Kul Oba.


Kul Oba. Queen.


Gold Plate. Kul Oba. ABC. XXII. 10.

Gold, blue & green enamel. End of copper. Nucleus from below the floor, Kul Oba.

Kul Oba. Gold. Hollow Figure with Cup & Quiver. ABC. XXI. 2.


Gold. ABC. XXII. 7.

Gold Plate. Wolf's Tooth pattern common to all Sinthic objects. ABC. XXXII. 4.

Kul Oba. Silver. Rhyton with bristles.


N.B. The figure in the middle with cup and quiver should be marked ABC. XXXII. 1, and the archers XX. 5.
Kul Oba.
Silver.

Silver parcel gilt.
Fig. 92. Bracelets from Kul Oba. ABC. XIII, 1. 3. King. 2, Queen. 3.
Kul Oba, the mound of ashes, is about 4 miles w. of Kerch beyond Altyn Oba and with it was incorporated in ancient defences of the peninsula. It is long shaped, contains traces of several minor interments and at the east end had twin peaks. In one the chamber almost vanished long ago, in the other was a vault in construction similar to that of Altyn Oba except that its plan was square, and it preserved its square section up to the summit. The vault was 15 ft. x 14 ft. and 17 ft. high, the gallery only 7 ft. long. The section (p. 196, f. 89) shows the construction and the plan gives the distribution of the objects as they were found, and

should be compared with that of Chertomlyk (p. 136) and Karagodeuakhl. The system of construction, sumptuous though it was, did not allow of the

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\(^1\) These figures and new analogues in terra W. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis*, t. (1929), Pl. XL coronae of Scylians from Egypt c. 360 B.C. and p. 17, v. supra p. 39 f. 3 bns.
Fig. 94. CR. 1864, p. 142. Kul Oba Vase. Two groups. ¶

Fig. 95. Kul Oba. Bronze mirror with gold handle = ABC. XXXI. 7. ¶
many side chambers or of space for horse graves and groom graves in the true Scythic style.

Upon the woman's head was a diadem of electrum with a pattern of palmettes and hippocamps, and with enamelled rosettes. About her neck was a gold necklace finely braided, and a neck ring with lion ends. Near the waist were two medallions of Athena with pendants and three smaller such decorated with flowers. These are all earrings or temple ornaments hung from the ends of a diadem; why they occurred in this position does not appear. By her side were two bracelets with a pattern of griffins seizing deer many times repeated; between her knees the vase with Scythians. She was laid upon the floor and covered with five inches of black mould. Between her and the groom lay six knives with long handles of ivory, and a seventh with its haft plated with gold. This is the only object near her of distinctly Scythic type. She had also a Greek mirror with a handle of Scythic work. About her were fragments of turned wood and painted planks, probably part of her coffin.

The king and his belongings lay in a great box 9 ft. 4 in. square and 10½ in. high. The side towards the woman was open. The king wore on his head a pointed felt cap adorned with two strips of embossed gold. His neck ring ended in mounted Scythians (l. 97). On his right upper arm was a bracelet an inch broad with alternate scenes of Peleus and Thetis and Eos and Memnon, and blue forget-me-nots between. On each fore-arm were two electrum armlets, and on his wrists bracelets with sphinxes at the ends. To the left of the king a narrow board cut off a compartment for his arms between him and the open side of the great box.

There was his sword of Scythic style with a blade nearly 2 ft. 6 in. long and 3½ in. broad; his whip with gold thread plaited into the lash; a gold plate from the sword sheath; a greave, the other being on the king's

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1. ABC. xi. 5.
2. ABC. viii. 2 on fig. 90.
3. ABC. xix. 4 and 5 on fig. 86.
4. ABC. xix. 2 on fig. 92.
5. ABC. xxxii. figs. 93, 94.
6. ABC. xxx. 9 on fig. 90.
7. ABC. xxxii. 7 fig. 95.
8. ABC. lxxxiii. lxxxiv. 13 v. int. Ch. xii. § 4.
9. ABC. xxvi. 5 on fig. 90, perhaps Dubrub means one on each; ten smaller ones (lb. 4) may have come down to the wrists.
10. ABC. xiii. 1 on fig. 92.
11. Haft ABC. xxvii. 16.
12. ABC. xxvi. 2, fig. 92.
right, a hone pierced and mounted in gold\(^1\), and a round drinking cup with a boss in the middle (f. 99). Under the king's head were four gold statuettes of a Scythian with a bow case\(^2\), and one of two Scythians drinking out of the same horn\(^3\). In the engravings it is hard to distinguish these from the ordinary stamped gold plates, but they are in the round. As usual the whole floor was strewn with these stamped plates\(^4\), shewing all the types we have already met; sometimes it seems from the same dies as those found at Chertomlyk, Oguz and VII Brothers\(^5\). Also many bronze arrow-heads were found, too hard for a file to bite on them. In sifting the earth in the vault there were found the remains of the ivory veneer from an inner coffin with fragments of perhaps the most beautiful Greek drawings extant, representing the judgment of Paris (ff. 100, 101), the rape of the daughters of Leucippus (f. 102), preparations for the race between Pelops and Oenomaus\(^6\), and other pieces in a more sketchy style with a Scythian dragged by the reins\(^7\), shewing that these bits at any rate were made for the Scythian market, if not in Panticapaeum itself (inf. Ch. xi. § 5); also pieces with quasi-architectural decoration,

\(^1\) ABC. xxx. 7 on fig. 90
\(^2\) ABC. xxxii. 1, reference omitted on fig. 90
\(^3\) Back view, Sabilitier, Souvenirs de Kartha, V. 4
\(^4\) ABC. xxxii. 10, fig. 98, cf. p. 93, n. 2.
\(^5\) ABC. xx. xxl, xxii. some on fig. 90.
\(^6\) p. 158, f. 45, ASH. xxx. 6, 10, 16; p. 208, f. 106, No. 3.
\(^7\) ABC. lxxix. 13, 14 on f. 103.
Fig. 100. Kul Ota. Drawings upon ivory. Judgment of Paris. *ABC. lxxxix.*
Ivory from Kul Oba. ABC. Lxxix. 17.
All one piece.
including a kind of Ionic capital (f. 104). Before the careful examination and registration of the contents of the vault had been completed, this latter began to fall about the head of Dubrux to whom we owe the account. Unhappily during the third night the guards set over the chamber left their post, and Greeks and peasants of the neighbourhood risked entering into the danger and began to collect the remaining gold plates. This led them to dig up the floor, and under it they found another tomb in the earth itself and not lined in any way. The skeleton was almost decayed away. In this tomb there was much gold and electrum. The story goes that out of 120 lbs. of gold found the government only rescued 15 lbs., and that there was not a woman about Kerch but had ornaments of the spoil. Of the treasury in the undertomb there were recovered only the well-known deer¹ and two gold lions' heads² which formed the ends of a great neck ring of gilt copper. Next day the whole tomb was a wreck.

In what relation the undertomb may have stood to the upper one no man can say. The dead man has been supposed to be an ancestor of the king that lay above, or conceivably it was a cache and the skeleton was a guard for it. The deer seems to have been the ornament of a shield; a very similar one has been found at Kostromskaja near the Kuban with traces of a round shield about it (v. pp. 225, 226, ff. 128, 129).

The cauldrons, the queen's mirror handle, the sword hilt and some of the gold plates alone shew purely Scythic workmanship, but many of the things made by Greeks were clearly intended for the Scythian market, e.g. the deer, the sword-sheath (if indeed these be not of native work, v. p. 265 sq.), the adornments of the king's pointed cap, the hone, the cups and some of the neck-rings, for the forms of the objects are Scythic, even though the style be Greek. Therefore we need hardly hesitate to believe that the man buried in Kul Oba was just as much a native chief as that in

¹ *ABC. xxvi.* 1 on fig. 98.
² *ABC. viii.* 3 on fig. 98, colour. figure, Sabatier, op. cit. pl. 1v.
Chertomlyk barrow. But he must have come within the attraction of Greek civilisation, just as Scythes did, or just as a Sultan of Johore or a Dhuleep Singh puts on the external trappings of another civilisation and buys its products. The house of Spartocus, the rulers of the Bosphorus, though of barbarian origin, were if anything Thracian, and certainly far more truly Hellenized than the king of Kul Oba, with whom the veneer is very thin, as testify the slaughtered slave and wife and the very mutton bones in the cauldron.

Kuban Group. Seven Brothers.

To the east of the Bosphorus the same culture prevailed and along the course of the Kuban many tombs have been opened. These tombs seem to have been less thoroughly ransacked in former times, so that they have now offered many interesting objects. The first group to be explored in this district was that called the Seven Brothers lying on the steep side of the Kuban 10 m. s.e. of Temrjuk. These barrows were excavated by Baron B. G. von Tiesenhausen in 1875 and 1876\(^1\). Of them No. 1 was almost a blank. No. 11\(^1\) contained a stone chamber with one corner set apart for the man, in the remainder 13 horses. The bits, psalia and trappings of three horses offer most remarkable forms, e.g. the fore part of a horse at one end and a hoof at the other\(^2\), others are in the shape of axes or of beakheads (f. 109), some of the bits themselves have cruel \\_\\_\\_\\_ upon them with spikes to make them more effective\(^3\). The man’s skeleton was wearing a hauberk with scales, some of gilt iron, some of bronze\(^4\), and by him was a spare cuirass of iron, once adorned with a splendid pectoral in silver, a horned hind suckling a fawn with an eagle displayed beneath (f. 105). About his neck he wore a torque of gold and two necklaces\(^5\); upon his clothes innumerable various gold plates exemplifying the Scythic love of animal forms (f. 106). Some of these go back to the beginning of the 5th cent. b.c., for there is the turn-up nose and the long eye of the archaic period (ib. No. 1). Some, e.g. No. 3, are identical with those at Kul Oba, but most are earlier in style, compare the winged boar on f. 106 with that on f. 90. By his side were the remains of a very long and heavy sword and of a lance, a rhyton ending in a lion’s head\(^6\), a φῶλη μεσόμφαλος (f. 107), other cups, spoons, colanders, vases\(^7\) and a silver gilt cylix with Bellerophon and the Chimæra\(^8\); also a gold plate in the shape of a triangle with rounded apex decorated in the middle with a winged panther devouring a goat, with nail-holes all about the edge (f. 108). Plates of a similar form were found in the other graves of the group, five in No. iv, and it seems most likely that they adorned the ends of quivers, since no other trace of quivers has been found though arrow-heads occur, and we have other cases of a superfluity of some object being placed with the dead.

The third barrow had been plundered, but there were left gold plates; the style is decidedly later than in No. ii, a sword hilt\(^9\), some amber beads,

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\(^1\) C.R. 1875, 77.
\(^2\) Plan, C.R. 1876, p. 117 on fig. 114.
\(^4\) C.R. 1876, p. 125–126, cf. those from No. iv, on f. 115.
\(^5\) Ib. 11, 15–18.
\(^6\) Ib. iv, 6, 7 and iii. 26 on f. 106.
\(^7\) Ib. iv, 8.
\(^8\) Ib. iv, 11, 12.
\(^9\) C.R. 1881, i. 3, this exquisite 5th cent. engraving came to light on subsequent cleaning.
\(^10\) C.R. 1877, p. 9 and i. i, 2 on f. 105.
FIG. 107. Silver, parcel gilt, pectoral. Seven Brothers, No. II = CR. 1876, IV, 1.
Scythic Tombs. Kuban Group

CR. 1876. III Seven Brothers, Nos. 1-21 NO. 22-33 NO. 34

1. Kul Oba
2. Rock-crystal
3. Gold
4. Engraved Glass
5. Silver
7. Rosettes in blue enamel
8. Armband.
9. Fig. 106. 0.
parts of a broken silver vessel, and to the east of the chief tomb was the tomb of five horses with bridles adorned with bronze.

The fourth barrow had a horse tomb yielding further varieties of bits and bronze plaques with fantastic animals contorted in the typical Scytho-Siberian taste (f. 115). The central vault had been pillaged partly, but not completely; by the head of the skeleton were found two gold rhyta, ending, one in a sheep's head, the other in the forepart of a dog, and a great silver one with winged ibex of Perso-Greek style: five (ff. 108 same as one in No. 2, 111, 112, 114) triangular plates, a silver clyx engraved with Nike girt, three amulets mounted in gold and a gold bracelet. In a compartment boarded off lay a leather jerkin with a crescent-shaped gorget and a gorgoneion on the breast (f. 114), and bronze scales sewn all over it, a candelabrum, a bronze cauldron containing a sponge, some fur, a cloth and a stuff with a branching pattern upon it, a bronze dish and a ladle handle in the form of Hermes Criophoros. This tomb and the second are the oldest of the group and may well belong to the 5th century. The fifth barrow had untouched only the horse tomb with the usual bridles.

The sixth tumulus had not been opened. The chamber was divided into four compartments by thin stone walls (f. 114). In No. 1 lay the dead man, in Nos. 2 and 3 his various gear, in No. 4 his seven horses. Over his coffin was stretched a woollen stuff roughly painted (not embroidered) after the fashion of black-figured vases. It had been in long use, for it was patched and mended (f. 113). There was very little upon the dead man, scale armour, remains of furs, perhaps boots and cap, some good beads, a pair of gold "twists" (v. Ch. xli. § 12), the usual gold plates and, most interesting, a crystal intaglio of a sow. In the small compartment (No. 2) was a bronze mirror, some gold buttons, the sherds of two amphorae, a silver girt clyx with a genre scene and a red figured vase with epheli. No. 3 held a chest with engraved ivory panels, some vases of bronze and pottery and pieces of a basket; in No. 4 the horses wore bits adorned with bronze cheek-pieces and phalerae. The seventh tumulus had but a horse-tomb, in it was picked up an early earring. In none were there any remains of women's burial.

The main interest in the Seven Brothers is in their undoubtedly early date (v. int. p. 265) and in the beast style, which is applied to the adornment of the horse trappings. At Eltegen (Nymphæum) about the same year Professor Kondakov found similar pieces in two tombs, which must be classed with the Seven Brothers owing to the surprising identity of both gold and bronze objects yielded by them. It looks, however, as if in this case we had rather Greeks with Scythian horse gear, than Scythians with Greek tastes (ff. 196, 115). The pattern on the coffin sunk for inlay (f. 115).
Scythic Tombs. Kubaon Group

Bronze & Iron. No IV of VII
Brumers, C.R. 1876
p. 135.

CR. 1877

CR. 1877
p. 13.

CR. 1877
p. 22.

Nymphaeum

No. IV p. 136
& Nymphaeum.

No. IV p. 136

No. IV p. 134.

No. IV p. 134.

No. IV p. 136.

Nymphaeum

CR. 1877, pp. 222, 223
Wooden Coffin from Nymphaeum.

FIG. 115.
cf. Ch. xxi. § 3), and the gold plates are Greek. The rayed silver dish (fig. 114),
the engraved ring and the plate with a winged being on f. 106 (Nos. 8
and 30 below), shew Iranian affinities.

A most remarkable mixture of Scythic and Greek grave-goods was
that found by a peasant in 1900 at Akhtanizovka, NE. of Phanagoria.
A brooch (fig. 117) and still more a big intaglio shew that we have to do
with the first centuries A.D. Quite Greek are a conical helmet with a gold
wreath and cheek-pieces, phalerae and glass vessels. But the necklets, one
of five turns, one of three, and one of nine (fig. 118), are quite Siberian in
character, and the hone is perhaps the latest example of a Scythic hone.
So in place and in contents this tomb came between the Bosporus and the
Kuban.

At Siverskaja, Kuban district,
Cossacka found a similar mixture, glass
vessels mounted above and below in
gold and garnets—from the upper rim
carnelans and gold beads hung by
chains—a roundel in technique like
Fig. 117, one with a curled-up griffin,
a large phalera with rude figures and
coins of the last Paenissades.

Fig. 116. CR. 1877, p. 231. Cheekpiece.
Nymphaeum.

Fig. 117, 118. Akhtanizovka. Brooch with stone (†), and Gold Necklet (‡).
CR. 1900, p. 107, ff. 210, 211.

1 Even the lion with serpent-headed tail, f. 106,
2 Cf. that found at Sasa by de Morgan, Mem. de
la Délégation en Perse du Min. de l’Instr. Pub.,
T. VIII. (Paris, 1905), Pl. III.
Karagodeunashkh.

Of late years excavations have been carried on with much success on the n. side of the Bosporus higher up the Kuban than the Seven Brothers. The most important find is perhaps that made in the barrow Karagodeunashkh, and it has been particularly well treated from the general point of view by Professor A. S. Lappo-Danilevskij, and from the point of view of art criticism by Professor W. Malmberg. This is perhaps the most important contribution to the question of Scythian ethnology for the last fifteen years, and I am much indebted to it.

Karagodeunashkh barrow is near the post and railway station Krymskaja about 20 miles n.e. of Novorojsjisk, just at the point where the Adagum, a tributary of the Kuban, flows into the plain. The valley of the Adagum is the pass by which the railway to Novorojsjisk crosses the ridge of the Caucasus, here not much more than 1300 feet high. The barrow was about 33 ft. high and 672 ft. round. In 1888 a hole appeared in one side of it disclosing stonework. E. D. Felitsyn, a local archaeologist, informed the Archaeological Commission and proceeded to excavate the barrow. There appeared a row of four chambers leading one into the others, built of squared stones, of varying heights. The first was 11 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. 9 in. and 6 ft. 6 in. high, the next 14 ft. long by 11 ft. broad. Both these chambers were plastered; the next room was 21 ft. long and 7 ft. broad, plastered and frescoed. The last chamber was about 10 ft. 6 in. square and 8 ft. high; between the chambers were doorways with stone lintels.

In the first room by the door were the remains of a funeral car, in the middle of the chamber were two or three horse skeletons, one with a bit in its mouth; the bones shewed signs of fire. In the right-hand half of the chamber were a heap of ashes and some bones of a domestic animal, and in the corner a big amphora, 46 cm. high; by it a silver vessel, a copper spoon and some pottery, also 150 various beads and three engraved pates set in silver. Along the left-hand wall lay the skeleton of a young woman in full array. By her head was a thin gold plate (f. 120) roughly cut into a triangle so as to mutilate the subjects on it, Tyche or Nike, a diad, and a queen surrounded by attendants and wearing just such a headress. About it 16 ajoure plates in the shape of a dove (f. 7 on fig. 110) and 50 round Medusa heads, by her temples beautiful Greek earrings (ib. iii. 6, 7), on her neck a golden hoop and a necklace (ib. iv. 1, 2). Upon her wrists were spiral bracelets ending in hippocamps (ib. iii. 8), and on her right hand a ring with a woman playing the lyre engraved upon the bezel. Beside her lay a golden chain ending in a lion's head, a second plaited gold necklace (ib. iv. 3), and the silver roundel with Aphrodite's head (ib. iii. 12). About her were the remains of a coffin. The second chamber was absolutely empty.

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1. No. xiii. of Materials for the Archeology of Russia, published by the Imp. Archeological Commission, St. P. 1894.
2. CR. 1882—1888, pp. ccxvi—cccx.
3. Mat. XIII. iv. 6, 7, 9.
4. ib. iii. 16.
Fig. 129. Karagodenskii. Gold plate from headdress. *Mat. XIII. III. 1.*
In the third long and narrow chamber were frescoes that crumbled away upon discovery. A pasturing deer was distinguishable. In the further corner were the bones of a horse with iron and bronze trappings.

In the fourth or square chamber, also frescoed, were the fragments of several big amphorae and one whole one; along the right wall various broken vessels, a great copper jug, a smaller one, two copper cauldrons,
and a clay lamp. Near it a great copper dish with two crossed rhyta upon it, and by them a silver clyix and scyphus, and further on a great bronze plate (possibly a shield; it fell to pieces in being brought out) with two more crossed rhyta upon it (f. 121), a silver colander and a silver ladle. Along the left wall lay a man’s skeleton, by his head gold rosettes and faces and a strip from his hood (f. 122), about his neck a gold hoop with ends in the form of lions devouring boars (Fig. 119, ii. 8, 9). At his side an iron sword with a gold haft of the Scythic type and a cylindrical hone in a plain gold mount. On the right of his head lay a bow-case adorned with a plate of silver covered with gold and ornamented with figures in relief of the same disposition as the Chertomlyk plate (ff. 124, 125). In the quiver part 50 copper (?) arrow-heads. On the left side was another quiver, adorned with little gold plates, and containing 100 arrow-heads (f. 123). Above the head by the wall lay twelve iron spear-heads. About were the remains of a coffin, but it cannot be said whether the arms lay within it or without.

The stone roof of all the chambers had fallen in and filled them up with earth and stones, severely damaging many objects. Also the objects found were not registered as carefully as might be, so that the details of their original disposition are no longer to be restored. For instance there is an interesting fragment of a phiale mesomphalos with concentric patterns round the perished boss.

On comparing this with the other rich Scythic tombs we may notice the absence of armour scales and of a gold plated dagger-sheath.

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1 Mat. xiii. v. 2 and p. 158, f. 24.  
2 ib. vi. 7, 3.  
3 ib. vii. 7.  
4 ib. vi. 4.
A little further to the east about Majkop are many barrows just where various tributaries of the Kuban enter the plain. The oldest in date, near the Kelermes, was excavated by D. Schulz in 1903; no details or illustrations are to hand, and the novel character of the objects makes it hard to picture them to oneself even by the careful description.

The horse grave in this case had been plundered, but the man's body was untouched. He wore a bronze helmet, surrounded by a broad gold band as a diadem with rosettes, flowers and falcons soldered on to it; in the middle was a stone apparently amber; above and below ajouré rosettes and falcons. There was a second diadem with repousseé flowers. At the skeleton's right hand lay a short dagger of the usual Scythic type with a gold haft and a gold sheath with a row of monsters and genii, and on the usual side-projection a crouching stag, the whole much like Melgunov's sheath (pp. 71, 172), but of a more purely Assyrian style. The haft had similar decoration. There was also found an iron axe, which is unique, enriched on haft and head with elaborate decoration of genii and beasts, wrought in gold; into this the Scythic elements seem to have entered more than into that of the sheath. About a yard to the left was a panther of cast gold surrounded by iron scales, corresponding exactly to the shield ornaments of Kul Oba and Kostronskaia. The eyes and nostrils were filled with glass pastes which had themselves stones set into them; the ears had pastes of different colours, separated by gold cloisons, a very important instance of this interesting technique. Near the feet were arrow-heads of bronze. There were also gold buttons, bronze bridles and big iron lance-heads. The chief pieces are referred to Mesopotamian art of the 11th or 12th century, fresh evidence of direct contact between Scyth and Assyrian.

In 1904 Mr Schulz opened another barrow in which lay a man and a woman. With the former were found a gorytus cover in gold, adorned with crouching stags in squares, and two rows of panthers, a silver rhyton with centaurs and Artemis, the Lady of the Beasts. The woman had a most remarkable belt with gold adornments set with amber, a diadem with a griffin head in front, recalling very closely the griffin from the Oxus treasure (v. p. 256)—from the diadem's hoop hung by chains rams' heads and flowers enamelled blue—and a silver gilt mirror bearing various groups of animals, monsters and centaurs, together with a similar Artemis. In neither tomb had there been a wooden tabernacle. The two silver pieces belong to Ionian art, when it was chiefly occupied with the gods and still had much in common with non-Hellenic art in Asia, and the diadem belongs to the Perso-Greek style. The belt and gorytus are more like the Scythic work, and the former strangely anticipates some details of the so-called Gothic jewelry, although it must be several centuries older.

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1 The usual modern settlement in this district is the Cossack post or Stanitsa, mostly named either after some Russian town, e.g., Jaroslavskaja or Kostronskaia, or from the river upon which it lies, as Kelermeskaia or Kordihipskaja (see Stanitsa).
2 Arch. Ant. 1904, p. 100 sqq. Pharmacovskij is to treat of these finds in Mat. XXXI.
3 Arch. Ant. 1903, p. 57 sqq., figs. 1–4.
In two other barrows opened by Veselovskij standards and bone work recall W. Scythia. Phalerae with gold inlay and with spirals are also interesting, but wooden tabernacles had made plunder easy and only horses were left, 24 in one, 16 in the other, arranged in _ shape. Other barrows held coloured skeletons. At Voronezhskaja the 30 horses were set as a horse-shoe and had trappings recalling the VII Brothers.

Kurdzhips.

On the Kurdzhips, a tributary of the Belaya, another affluent of the Kuban, in the Majkop district, again just where the river reaches the plain, are many barrows. One was opened without authorization in 1895, but most of the objects found were secured for the Archaeological Commission. They comprised the usual selection of gold plates, mostly of rather rude work, but worthy of note are a gold nugget pierced for suspension as an amulet, some round carnelians slung round with gold wire, and especially a kind of cap with a rosette pierced with a hole above, and on each side a group of two men in Scythian dress, each holding one spear set up between them; in the free hand of one is a sword, of the other a human head cut off (f. 126). It might almost illustrate what Herodotus (iv. 64) says of Scyths bringing scalps to their king to claim their share of the booty. This find moved the commission to send Mr V. M. Sysoev to investigate the barrows thoroughly. This one proved to be 9 ft. 6 in.

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8 CA. 1904, pp. 85–85.
9 In pp. 88, 89, f. 139–142.
10 CA. 1903, pp. 73, 75, f. 139–153.
Scythic Tombs. Kuban Group

high and about 84 ft. from E to W, and 70 ft. from N to S. A curious feature was that the heap was half and half of stone and earth. Nothing in the way of a definite burial was found, but many objects occurred in a thin layer going under the greater part of the area of the tumulus. The bronze and iron objects were in too bad a state to preserve, and the clay vessels were all broken. The Greek objects, e.g. a little glass amphora of variegated streaks, and bronze reliefs under the handles of a deep bronze dish, would make the date of the deposit about the last century B.C.

No objects suggested Roman times. The most beautiful thing was an elaborate buckle in three parts, adorned with knots and enamelled rosettes (f. 127). There were more gold plates, and imitations of them in the shape of Medusa heads of gilt plaster. But the most interesting detail was the occurrence of two round repoussé gold plates, fixed to large bronze roundlets. On one was a lion curled up, on the other a tiger or lioness (f. 126). In the former were two turquoise set and holes for them in the latter. The workmanship, and especially the manner of treating turquoise, recalls the plates from Siberia, whose affinities with the Scythic are undoubted but difficult to define. This was the first appearance of such work so far sw. but it has again been found at Zubov's Barrow, and elsewhere in the district1.

Kostromskaja.

In the same country, at Kostromskaja, Veselovskij excavated a very interesting barrow2, see plan and section (f. 128). In the centre of the barrow was erected a kind of tabernacle as follows. Four thickish posts were driven into the ground. Four great beams were laid about them so as to form a square of 3'20 m. = 10 ft. 6 in.; within these, along each side, were put six vertical posts of less thickness; and outside, opposite to the spaces between these last, five such sloping up so as to meet high above the middle. In the square thus formed were found the dead man's belongings about 7 ft. from the original surface. In the s. part was an iron scale hauberk with copper scales on the shoulders and along the lower margin.


2 CR. 1897, p. 11.
Seven human skeletons in rammed earth below Trench and above Trench Horses on this Level.

CR 1887. Kostromskaja Stanitsa. Fig. 42. Section of Barrow & Trench.

Fig. 91. Section Trench.

Fig. 92. Plan of Lowest Chamber.

Fig. 44.

Fig. 128.
To the w. lay four iron spear-heads; n. of these a thin round iron shield, adorned in the centre with a cast deer, like the Kul Oba deer (f. 129). In

the n.w. corner two leather quivers, one worked with beads, and by them bronze arrow-heads. In the n.e. corner lay a big sharpening stone broken into two pieces, all about pottery purposely broken, and in one place several copper and iron bits. Outside the square were 22 horse skeletons arranged in pairs, with the legs of one under the body of the next, except that at the two outside angles to the north there was only one horse each. Some of the horses had bits in their mouths. The tabernacle seems to have been daubed over with clay and the whole structure set on fire and then the earth heaped upon it. The square space had been dug out to 7 ft. below the surface and then filled in with earth rolled hard. In this earth were found 13 skeletons, but nothing with them. The pit ended in two steps on each side going longways n. and s., so that the bottom of all was a ditch a couple of feet wide. On each step lay a skeleton. At the n. end of the ditch stood two small slabs of stone that closed the way into a small chamber going down with two steps again, this time e. and w. In the chamber there was just room for a skeleton lying at full length. Nothing was found with it.

No doubt this burial is very unlike most of the Scythic type, but the deer is a distinct link and the ideas expressed by this ritual are very similar to those expressed by that we have found in Scythic graves. The principle of breaking objects or burning them so as to despatch them to the other world is more logically carried out than usual. The slaughter of men and horses is greater than any we have met, though we shall
meet a worse horse sacrifice in the next tomb dealt with. The bareness of all the human remains and the ingenious arrangement of the dead man's grave-chamber almost suggest that an attempt was made to secure a quiet resting place by withdrawing the body from the valuables which experience had found to tempt the sacrilegious.

**Ulskij Barrow.**

A barrow excavated by Professor Veselovskij in the same district of Majkop, where the Ul runs into the Laba, yielded a yet more astonishing example of sacrificing horses. The barrow was 15 m. high and had a long south slope; but its shape had been disfigured by a battery erected upon it.

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1. *CR. 1898, p. 29.*
during the Russian conquest. A trench 25 m. by 60 m. was cut through it. (v. f. 130). This shewed that the barrow had been partly heaped up and then more than fifty horses laid upon its surface, and these had been covered with another mass of earth. The barrow had been plundered, but in the plunderers' hole were found a gold plaque of Scythic style with griffins and deer, fragments of copper cauldrons, Greek vases and scale armour very similar to that found at Kostromskaja. But the plunderers had not destroyed the general disposition of the grave; first two thick stakes had been driven in 5.35 m. (17 ft. 6 in.) apart, making as it were an entrance gate, 15 m. (49 ft.) beyond were two rows of posts in one line, each row joined by bars across, leaving the 5.35 m. avenue in the middle. On each side of each of these fences lay 18 horses with their tails to the bars (72 in all); 4.25 m. (15 ft.) further on were three posts on each side of the central avenue, and about each post, radiating with their heads away from the posts, again 18 horses (108 in all); 4.25 m. beyond was an oblong, set crosswise (7.45 m. x 5.70 m. = 24 ft. 6 in. x 18 ft. 6 in.). As at Kostromskaja there were perpendicular posts at the corners and four horizontal beams, and along the sides holes (4 and 6 respectively) for smaller rods. Evidently here was such a tabernacle as in the former case. But this had been plundered. At each side of the oblong were the skeletons of two bulls and some horse bones lying in confusion. Beyond in the same order were the fences with horses and the posts with them radiating therefrom. The horses near the oblong had bits in their mouths.

Thus we arrive at something over four hundred horses sacrificed at this one burial. The plundering of the grave prevents us knowing how many human beings shared the same fate. The distances given above appear to have been set out on a standard of 1.07 m., a little over 4 ft. This was divided into three parts of about 1 ft. 2½ in. The measurements are all nearly divisible by these amounts. Another barrow close by had also been plundered, there too were horses' skeletons arranged in rows 2.75 m. apart shewing the same unit. In this tomb were found fragments of a black figured vase giving a presumption of an early date, making it the more regrettable that the grave had been ransacked².

Vozdvizhenskaja.

Among various other interesting barrows in this district should be mentioned that at Vozdvizhenskaja dug up by Veselovskij in 1899⁴. Here the original interment was that of a single skeleton doubled up and stained dark red; he was buried without any objects. Above him lay four skeletons also stained and doubled up, one of them apart, the others on a space paved with cobbles. By these were an earthen pot and a spear, palstaff, axe, chisel and pin, all of copper. In the upper part of the barrow was another stained skeleton and not far from it a complete Scythic interment.

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¹ CR. 1898, p. 391, f. 47.
² CR. 1903, p. 73, f. 138.
³ CR. 1898, p. 37, f. 47 a and b; another black-figured vase in a plundered tomb at Voronozhskaja.
⁴ CR. 1899, p. 44, ff. 67–72 and pl. 2.
Under a wooden tabernacle once supported by four posts at the corners, covered by a pall with stamped gold plates, lay a man's skeleton. By his head was the usual iron and copper scale hauberk and iron arrow-heads, on his breast a golden brooch with a large carnelian and other adornments;

under his heels two plaques with a six-headed snake attacking a wild goat, on his right two iron swords, a hone, a mirror, an alabastron, at his belt a dagger of the type suggesting the Siberian. By his knees were found tinsel threads, perhaps a fringe. On his left one or two vessels of silver and clay and glass, further down two pair of iron bits with wheel- and S-shaped psalia adorned with gold and an iron brooch with a gold plate in
the form of a curled up animal with settings for turquoises. Along one side stood three copper vessels, a big cauldron upside down so that the handles had got bent in, another such, smaller and right way up, and a large copper basin. The glass shews their burial not to be very early. The whole barrow is interesting as an example of the same tumulus being used several times.

Zubov's Barrows.

The last find of this type in this district that need be described is that made in 1899 by the peasants of Zubov's farm 14 m. E. of Tenginskaja between the Kuhans and the Zelenchuk. Two barrows were excavated. A large proportion of the booty was secured for the Hermitage. In Barrow No. 1 by the skeleton there lay seven roundels of gold with a large circle of many coloured glass; in the centre in a border set with small coloured stones and paste and adorned with gold wire soldered in patterns on the surface, rather like that from Akhtanizovka (p. 215, f. 117) but better. These were ornaments of a strap or belt as is shewn by a flat loop at the back. They were of Greek work and would seem to belong to the time about the

Fig. 132. *BCA.* p. 95, f. 2. Gold Roundel.  
Zubov's Farm. 4.

Fig. 133. *BCA.* p. 96, f. 10. Zubov's Farm.  
Bronze cauldron. 8.

Christian era when such many coloured jewels had become fashionable. Five other roundels were of pure Siberian type with monsters and characteristic incrustations: they too adorned a strap (f. 132). There were also the end pieces of the strap and buttons belonging. On the arms were two open gold bracelets, on the breast a hemispherical cup of glass, by the

feet a Scythic cauldron (f. 133), by the head a copper jug (to look at it might be English xvith century work), along the side an iron sword with a gold hilt, on the left a scale hauberkin (f. 134), silver plaques, iron bits with curious psalia overlaid with gold (f. 135), a large stone hone, an earthen jug and iron

Fig. 134. BCA. l. p. 97, f. 13. Zubov's Farm. 
Bronze armour. 4.

Fig. 135. BCA. l. p. 98, f. 16. Zubov's Farm. 
Iron bit with gold mounts. 4.

Fig. 136.

Fig. 137. BCA. l. p. 99, f. 18. Phial from Zubov's Farm. 4.
arrow-heads. The most interesting object was a silver φαλη μεσόφαλος about 8 in. across (ff. 136, 137). Upon the boss is a coiled serpent, about it "stabornament," round the hollow thirteen deer heads facing in relief, about the edge the inscription

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ἩΝΕΚΩΝ ζμι τοι Φάρω.

"Apollo the Leader's am I who is at Phasis." The work of the bowl is very similar to that found in the second of the Seven Brothers (p. 209, f. 107), and referred by Stephani to the early 7th century. The inscription belongs to the end of the century or the beginning of the 8th. What was the temple of Apollo: the Leader at Phasis we know not, but how a bowl belonging to it came into this tomb is no mystery, when we think that this Kuban district is the hinterland of that very coast whose piratical inhabitants are described by Strabo (xi. ii. 12).

In the second barrow the tomb was covered with wood: the earrings, pendants, bracelets, heads, mirror and especially three small jugs, two adorned with a little animal crawling up the side by way of a handle, and containing rouge and white paint, make it appear that it was a woman's though she had a miniature copper-headed spear. Besides there were glass and earthen vessels and gold plates for sewing on to dresses.

It is a pity that the excavation was not made by an expert. For Kieseritzky¹ wishes to use the phiale to date the roundels as of the 6th century B.C. and supposes that an early barrow and one of Roman date have had their contents mixed, but the phiale is a chance survival and nothing else in the find is contemporaneous with it. The cases of the archaic lamp, tripod and stand from Ust-Labinskaja² and perhaps of the black-figured vases (p. 228 n. 2) seem similar.

In this Kuban district a more or less Scythic culture seems to have continued later than in the west of what is now South Russia. This is what we might expect if the Alans are indeed much the same as the Sarmatians of whom we hear in earlier times and the Ossetes of our own day. The tombs of the first three centuries A.D.³ often introduced into the barrows of red skeletons (p. 143) are characterised by the substitution of Hellenistic or Roman industrial products⁴ for the more artistic Greek work; at the same time communication with Central Asia was kept up and we find specimens of the Siberian style, with its beasts and turquoise or garnet incrustations⁵ also a Parthian coin c. 43 A.D., so that the mixture of things at Zubov's barrows need not awake suspicion.

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¹ The inscription can hardly be meant for an Iambic trimeter as the writer in B.C.A. suggests, the trochee in the second foot, the dactyl in the third, and the spondee in the end make it intolerable.
² Arch. Anz. 1904, p. 55.
³ CR. 1902, p. 79; fl. 166—168; Arch. Anz. 1902, p. 82, fl. 1, 2.
⁵ e.g. silver cups, CR. 1902, pp. 70, 78, fl. 143, 165: white bronze basin with copper embossed, CR. 1905, p. 74, fl. 95; Arch. Anz. 1906, p. 111, fl. 1: vessel in form of ram such as is common at Ochla, CR. 1902, p. 67, fl. 136, of a duck (?), p. 72, fl. 134; Arch. Anz. 1904, p. 83, fl. 5.
Later Finds on Kuban. Novocherkassk
Fig. 139. Collar in gold encrusted with coral and topaz from Novocherkassk. *KTR.* p. 491, l. 445.

Fig. 140. Side view of circular box from Novocherkassk. *KTR.* p. 492, l. 445.

Fig. 141, 142. Gold bottle from Novocherkassk, side and top. *KTR.* p. 493, l. 447, 448.

Fig. 143. Gold strip encrusted with light and dark blue and green. Treasure of Novocherkassk. *KTR.* p. 494, l. 450.
These objects were not merely imported as is shown by the well-known Novocherkassk treasure. The main bulk of this find is in the Siberian style, but in the front of the principal piece, a crown (f. 138), is the bust of a Roman empress in chalcedony of the 11th or 12th century A.D. and attached to its lower rim are pendants after the fashion of those found in Panticapaeum work of about that time. Also the work cannot very well be much later because in the following centuries the so-called Gothic jewelry was dominant in these regions (v. pp. 280—282).

This treasure was found in 1864 near Novocherkassk on the lower Don and included the crown mentioned above, a collar (or diadem, f. 139) even more Siberian in style, a spiral bracelet ending in animals; two little boxes (f. 140) and a scent bottle (ff. 141, 142, of the same shape as that found in a tomb of a Bosporan queen at Glinische near Kerch) adorned with beasts, another in the shape of a feline with a body of agate, a statuette of Eros (11th cent., A.D.), some little gold plates recalling typical Scythian fashions, a slip of gold attached to a chain and encrusted with bright blue, turquoise and pink, recalling Central Asia in colouring and the "Gothic" style in make (f. 143), some gold vases, one with a handle formed of an animal (f. 144) and an object like a spectacle-case attached to a chain and adorned with animals' heads. The circumstances of this find render it

![Image of a golden cup from Novocherkassk](image)

**Fig. 144.** Golden cup from Novocherkassk. *KTR.* p. 495, l. 452.

doubtful whether these objects were buried with a dead man or were a tache.

Similar in shape and style to the cup here figured and found in the same neighbourhood is a cup in the Uvarov Collection inscribed

ΕΒΑΝΟΥΟΥΑΡΟΥΑΛΕΤΟΥΚΩΜΑ

in dotted letters: Xebanocus is the name of the owner rather than that of

1. *ABC.* xxiv. 25, v. inf. Ch. xii. end, l. 320.
2. *KTR.* pp. 482—496, l. 441—454 gives all cf. a clearer example in *CR.* 1902, p. 83, l. 184.

except the Eros and the vases. Maskell, *Russian Art.* p. 83 noted.
the maker's father: MH is more probably 48 than a misspelling of με and so Χ would seem to stand for Χωρος. It is all very obscure, but we learn from it that a thing of this style was made for a Sarmate or Alan (cf. some seventy Sarmatian names in -αξος in Ιος Π.Ε.) by a man who wrote Greek.

Vettersfelde.

There is one find which belongs to the class of Scythic antiquities but was made in a region so far distant from the localities where Scythic remains are usually looked for, that it naturally comes in at the end of this survey although in date it may be almost the earliest of the rich Scythic equipments. In October 1882 there were ploughed up near Vettersfelde in Lower Lusatia and acquired for the Antiquarium in Berlin the fragments of a great jar and the complete equipment of a Scythian chief. It included the centre ornament of his shield, a fish 41 cm. x 15 cm. made of pale gold repoussé and covered with animals in relief (f. 146), a gold breastplate 17 cm. square formed of four roundels each with a boss in the middle and animals in relief all round it, set about a fifth smaller roundel or boss (f. 145. 1), a gold plate to cover the sheath of a dagger of the typical Scythic shape with a projection on one side (f. 147), the handle of the said dagger as usual covered with a gold plate and showing the characteristic Scytho-Siberian heart-shaped guard, a golden pendant, earring (f. 148), arm-ring, neck-ring, chain, knife sheath with remains of the iron blade, gold ring, small stone wedge set in gold, a hone bored through and set in gold (f. 145. 2), and some fragments. Professor Furtwangler has treated these things in a masterly fashion and they are all duly illustrated by him. All of them have their analogies in the South Russian finds except the breastplate, but such an object is quite in keeping with the tastes of people who covered themselves with gold plates of various sizes. The earring is declared by Hadaczek to be of an Ionian type and earlier than any found in South Russia and the knife sheath is identical with the one from Tomakovka figured on p. 158.

The fish is the most remarkable of these things. It corresponds in style (v. p. 264) and destination to the Kul Oba deer, and Furtwangler's decision that they are both shield ornaments has been satisfactorily borne out by the finding of the Kostromskaja deer still in place upon remains of the shield, only this was round instead of long-shaped as had been supposed on the evidence of the Kul Oba vase.

The inventory of the find is typically that of the personal effects in the Scythic tombs of kings except that the horse trappings are absent, and of course the women's things. The whole may be dated rather earlier than the older objects from Kul Oba and put in the first decades of the 6th century.

1 XLIII, Winckelmans's Programm, A. Furtwangler, Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde, Berlin, 1883. I wish I could still express to Professor Furtwangler my gratitude for his kind permission to reproduce his pictures. Fig. 147 I owe to Mr Dalton and the authorities of the British Museum.
2 supra pp. 203, 226: CR 1897, p. 12. V. Gardthausen's view that the fish was a Tesserum Hospitallis is an extraordinary instance of the errors of even famous scholars, Rhein. M. N.S. XXXIX. p. 317.
How these things including the brittle whetstone found their way so far from home without loss is unexplained. Save for some little damage by fire and rust they are as good as new. Furtwängler guesses that their coming may have to do with the Scythians' northward retreat before Darius.
Fig. 145. Gold fish from Vettresfelde. Furtwängler, pl. I.
Rather less than half size.
Kamennya Babь.

With the tombs of the Scythic type many investigators have been inclined to connect the mysterious stone figures known as Kamennya Babь—stone women—rude figures hewn out of blocks of stone and almost always representing women, rarely nude, more often wearing a short skirt and jacket and a kind of pointed hat with a veil or hood hanging from it and the hair hanging down in a thick plait behind. The dress is sometimes shown in some detail and an elaborate necklace is a common feature. The face is round and rather Mongolian in aspect, but the execution is too rude to let this be any criterion. The men's dress sometimes distinctly recalls that of a Roman soldier. Nearly all the figures agree in holding a cup rather like a dicebox before them. This does not seem to be for the reception of the offerings of the living because often it is not made concave on the top. A very rare form belonging apparently to the same class is a statue in a lying posture as it were swathed in a winding sheet. These figures, which have been objects of a superstitious reverence till recent times, used to be common about the Steppes, frequently occurring upon Scythic barrows, for instance such famous ones as those at Alexandropol and Chertomlyk, Zubov's, Melgunov's and others. Further their limit of distribution is just that of the Scytho-Siberian culture from Galicia across South Russia to the basins of the Ob and the Jenisei, in the Crimea and on the Kuban.

Professor Lappo-Danilevskij shews that they cluster most thickly just about the bend of the Dnepr, just in the land Gerrhus. This would all suggest that there was a real connection between the Scythic tomb and the statue upon its summit.

It is not important that Herodotus does not mention the setting up of such figures; the golden statue erected to Zarinaea their queen by the Sacae might be a glorified "baba" but is not enough to prove others having really been set up by Sacae. However Rubruck says distinctly (v. supra p. 89) that the Polovtsy or Cumans set up figures holding cups before them, and cases occur of "baba" being found upon barrows of the mediaeval nomads, e.g. at Torskaja Sloboda, district of Kupjansk, government of Kharkov (Veselovskij, i.e.). Further in the Orkhon inscriptions very similar figures are designated as barhals, memorial statues.

It seems then clear that kamennya baba were set up by a mediaeval Turkic tribe, presumably the Cumans as Rubruck says so, and this is the opinion of Tiesenhausen and Veselovskij the best authorities on the relations of Russia with the Orient. Anyone setting up such a statue would naturally choose a commanding position such as is afforded by a high barrow. The coincidence in area of their distribution with that of Scythic remains is due to the fact that, as has been already remarked, the range of the Cumans was limited by the same physical conditions as that of the Scyths when they were the dominant nomad power. We cannot however assert that the Scyths set up no such figures, since a priori they might be expected to agree in this as in other customs with the later nomads, but there is no specimen to which we can point as probably being Scythic.

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1 Scythian Ant. p. 475 sqq. where he quotes the literature of the subject, esp. Piskarev's list in TRAS. (old series), Vol. III. pp. 205—220 (I have not seen this), and Burakhov's sensible account in Trans. O.M. Soc. IX. pp. 65—70.
2 Ctesias, fr. 25 (Mueller, p. 43) ap. Diod. Sic. 11. xxxiv. 5.
3 Spitsyn, TRAS. X. (Russo-Slav. section, 1898), p. 318, figures a male baba from Vernyj (Semirechensk) bearing a cup of well-known mediaeval (xvith cent.) Mongol type.
CHAPTER IX.

SIBERIA AND SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.

In the foregoing pages mention has been made of the resemblances between the culture I have called Scythic and that of early inhabitants of Siberia. These resemblances are so great that it is impossible to treat the archaeology of South Russia without touching that of Siberia. This may be called a case of explaining ignotum per ignotius, but in a sense the ethnology of Siberia is less open to question than that of the Euxine steppes, inasmuch as the north of Asia is not exposed to invasions from so many quarters as Eastern Europe and is inhabited by peoples who, whatever their mutual differences, have more ethnological affinity than those we find side by side at the junction of the two continents.

The best account of the chief forms of tombs in Siberia and of the civilisations to which they correspond is given by Dr W. Radloff.

Radloff describes various types of graves in Siberia, of which the most important division is into graves marked by barrows and graves marked with stones mostly set in rectangles. In the basins of the Irtysh, Tobol and Ob and again in the Kirgiz steppe and in south-west Siberia we mostly have mounds larger or smaller. In the river valleys of the Altai, on the banks of the Jenisei and in the Abakan steppe are found the stone graves, as well as over the Chinese border in Mongolia. In the Altai and on the Bukhtarma we find cairns of stone.

These graves may be referred to four epochs:

(i) All the stone graves in the vale of the Jenisei and the Altai and many of the mounds of the Kirgiz steppe belong to the Copper or Bronze age.

(ii) Most of the barrows and big cairns belong to the earlier Iron age.

(iii) The smaller barrows called Kirgiz graves are of the later Iron age.

(iv) These shade into barrows which contain even xvth century coins and modern Russian objects.

In graves of the first period are found many weapons and tools of east copper and bronze, they have nearly all been plundered so that it is very rare to come upon gold. Similar tools are found in old gold and copper workings in the Altai mountains, and there is no doubt that these people worked the metals themselves and had attained very considerable

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1 Aus Sibirien, Leipzig, 1884, Vol. i. chap. vii. pp. 43—143; trans. into Russian and republished by Comm. A. Bohranaskoj in Tras. VII. (1895) p. 147 sqq. Dr Radloff is now publishing for the Archaeological Commission a fully illustrated work on the Antiquities of Siberia. Materials for the Archaeology of Russia, Nos. III. vi. xvi., form Vol. I., and Vol. II. begins with XXVII. See also D. Klement, Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum, Objects of the Metal Ages, Tomsk, 1886, a catalogue with very good introduction and with illustrations. These latter are rather superseded by those in Martin, F. R., Lige du Bronze au Musée de Minusinsk, Stockholm, 1892.
FIG. 150. Picks, p. 244, knives, p. 246, daggers, p. 248.
Chief Types of Tools and Weapons

II. 4. Red Bronze 1/2
Rad luff,
Siberian Antiquities,
Vol. II. Mat. 37.
Axe heads from Upper
Jenisej

III. 10. Yellow Bronze 1/4

IV. 7. Yellow Bronze 1/4

VI. 3.

VI. 9. 1/4
Yellow Bronze.

Bronze Knife & Dagger from
Pekin. British Museum.

Axes, p. 244.

Fig. 151.

P. 240.

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skill. The old workings consist of simple shafts not more than fifty feet deep and indifferently propped up. Working even to such a depth was dangerous, and skeletons of miners have been found with pickaxes and sacks to hold the ore. Miners seem to have been in high regard, for Radloff figures a copper statuette of one and also wherever these people lived we find elegant models of pickaxes, too delicate for actual use and apparently serving as ornaments or insignia. Their tools are found in the gold washings as well as in the shafts (called Chud mines). Smelting furnaces have also been found in the Altai, and everywhere about the Abakan, Jenisei and upper Obj we have fragments of copper such as are trimmed off castings. Their bronze, when they made bronze, is of very great hardness, and their castings hardly ever have flaws in them, although they cast cauldrons up to 75 lb. in weight. Well finished and rough tools are found together in the same grave. The chief objects found comprise knives and daggers but few arrowheads or spear-heads. Axe-heads especially the double-looped type (f. 151, cf. p. 261) are common, and pickaxes both serviceable and ornamental. They also made scythes and sickles and copper cauldrons. For their own adornment they had earrings of gold and copper, carnelian and metal beads, beast-headed pins, belt pieces, and disks with loops behind serving either for mirrors or for ornaments. The pottery is very rude and falls far below the skill shown in metal work. They were acquainted with weaving, but

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* Acta Sib. ii. pl. IV. 1 and 2 on fig. 174, p. 251.  
* Sib. Anti. i. vol. ii., xvii. 4 on fig. 150.  
* v. Klementz, op. cit. pl. XIX.
Fig. 153. Mat. iii. = Siberian Antiquities, Vol. i. p. 12, ii. 18. Yellow bronze knife. 1.

Fig. 154. Mat. iii. = Siberian Antiquities, Vol. i. p. 10, ii. 10. Copper. 1.

Fig. 155. Mat. iii. = Siberian Antiquities, Vol. ii. p. 18, iii. 9. Golden bronze plated with tin. 1.

Fig. 156. C.R. 1900, p. 123, f. 573. Bronze axe-head. Angara. 1/.

Fig. 157. Mat. xxvii. = Siberian Antiquities, Vol. ii. p. 2, i. 5. Stone mould for axe. 1/.

Fig. 158. Mat. xxvii. = Siberian Antiquities, Vol. ii. p. 33. Bronze axe-head. 1.
their stuffs were also coarse. They do not appear to have kept cattle, but they do appear to have engaged in agriculture for they have left many copper sickles about the fields, and these fields often have traces of irrigation works. The bone arrow-heads found with their objects and their love of beasts in their ornament suggest that they were hunters as well. They do not seem to have been nomads in any sense. So they had few horse-trappings, and the rock carvings ascribed to them shew the men all on foot.

But it is their metal work which makes them interesting. They appear to have originated many types that were afterwards spread far and wide. Their knives (v. the series on f. 150), in their simplest form mere slips of copper, as it were long narrow triangles with a hole towards the base, were improved into excellent instruments with a well formed ring at one end, sometimes in the form of an animal, a firm handle separated from the blade by a well marked fillet and projection, and a blade bent forward so that the edge made an obtuse angle with the haft. Such a knife recalls irresistibly the Chinese knife which afterwards shortened down into the round cash1; and so P. Reinecke2 thinks it an imitation of the Chinese, but just as possibly it came into China by some early raid from the north (v. p. 91).

Then the bronze cauldron upon a conical base round which the fire was built, a type characteristically Scythic, was made by these people; they alone made the same shape in pottery so they were probably the originators of it. They also seem to have invented the disc with a loop in the middle of the back, which grew, as it appears, into the mirror used over all northern Asia and in Scythia and the Caucasus. This mirror Reinecke (loc. cit.) also calls a Chinese invention, but it was only introduced into China about 140 B.C. along with other western products. Together with this new form of mirror the Chinese began to use a new name for mirrors with an ideogram suggesting metal4. The Chinese even followed their models in decorating these mirrors, the loop being formed of the body of an animal just as with the mirrors and knife handles of the Jenisei people (v. f. 152).

Furthermore these early inhabitants of the Jenisei developed a dagger with a curious heart-shaped guard and a well defined knob at the end of the haft, which type is found in Scythic tombs and on the monuments of

1 Cf. the specimen in the British Museum, on f. 151; Rödeway, *Metallic Currency*, p. 127; T. 21.
3 Prof. H. A. Giles, *China and the Chinese*, New York, 1902, p. 132; cf. Po-ku-ta-te, in which such mirrors are figured; Hirth, *Fremde Kindheit*, II. 2-16. I am much indebted to Professor Giles for the information about mirrors and for help in consulting Chinese archaeological works.
Persepolis. But the interest of these objects is not merely in the types of their weapons but in the style of their ornament. Besides zigzags and simple patterns of straight lines they developed a beast style remarkable for its simplicity and naturalism. They portray chiefly bears (ff. 150, 152), deer (ff. 165), and argali or ibex (ff. 166—168, 172) and have no tendency to the fantastic combinations of incongruities found in western Asiatic and also in Scythic work.

Early Iron Age, Katanda.

In the next class of graves, the barrows, we find a different culture belonging to the early iron age. The barrows as usual occur in groups. In such a group on the river Katanda not far from where it falls into the Katunja a tributary of the Obj, Radloff came upon many tombs with interments of men, women and horses, and one in particular yielded very important remains.

The barrow was heaped up of stones and 7 ft. high by 100 ft. in diameter. Attempts had been made to plunder it and in the heap were found in disorder bones of at least six horses, human bones likewise, six iron bits, various iron and bone arrow-heads, an iron spade, an iron and a copper knife, an iron sabre, a mass of blue glass beads and two heart-shaped cernelians from earrings. In the midst of the heap was found the grave pit, 14 ft. long, filled up with big stones and earth; 2 ft. 6 in. below the original surface of the ground the excavators were stopped by coming to earth permanently frozen; water meanwhile trickled into the excavation from all sides and continuance of the work became very difficult; the earth had to be melted with fires and the water and mud baled out. Two fathoms deep they came upon bones of men and horses and also found an iron bit with large rings. Further down were the remains of an oblong erection of larch wood, of which the roof had been destroyed by former plunderers. Across this building went two thick beams and upon one of them was a big bundle of leather enclosed in a skin of ice six inches thick. The bundle turned out to be a kind of coat of silken stuff, much like a dress coat in shape, lined with sable and edged with leather and little gold plates. The first plunderer had not penetrated beyond this level, at which a layer of birch bark covered the whole tomb. In this was another garment of ermine dyed green and red and adorned with gold buttons and plates; this was likewise rolled up into a bundle and encased in ice. It had a high collar and very narrow sleeves. In it was an ermine gorget, a band of silk on which were fastened horses and monsters of wood, a carved wooden saucer and fantastic deer, bears, etc. Under the birch layer was reached the bottom of the pit whereupon were two low tables hewn out of wood and upon each table an unadorned skeleton. Some fragments of clothing and gold plates were picked up in the bottom of the grave. The skeletons were absolutely decayed. Although the state of the skeletons

1 v. pp. 50, f. 12, 61, 88, f. 81 and f. 150 = Sib. Ant. 1. v. 10, iv. 91; a variety with an open hollow knob (ib. xi. 9) has a close parallel in China, f. 151, and also suggests the Buncheek on p. 186, f. 79.

2 Aus Sib. 11. p. 104 sqq.
shewed that the grave was of early date, the frozen condition of the ground had preserved the furs and textiles in a manner unparalleled in warmer countries. The same cause also prevented the complete plundering of the grave, although the thief found that which was in the upper layer and threw some of it aside.

Another field of barrows was explored on the river Berel, near the Bukhtarma, an affluent of the Irtysh. In the heap of stones composing one barrow, about 20 feet high and 100 feet across, was found the skeleton of a horse with an iron bit and two iron stirrups. In the natural earth was a great pit 20 x 24 ft., and the ground was frozen; when it was cleared there appeared a layer of wood at the s. end and of birch bark at the n. end, under this latter sixteen horse skeletons in four rows with their heads to the east. The two easternmost rows had iron bits, and were covered with wooden and birch bark ornaments mostly overlaid with gold. In the middle of the wooden platform at the s. end was a tree trunk hollowed out, adorned at each corner with four birds cast in copper. Under this was a grave-pit with a horse's and a man's skeleton. By the latter were traces of copper and gold. To all appearance this part of the grave had been plundered in antiquity. Other graves about were found to be arranged like those on the Katanda, horse skeletons above and men's below, and objects of silver and iron, with well-made pottery. The iron knives and daggers were made after the exact fashion of the bronze ones, only the iron hafts were covered, each with a thin gold plate. In one case were found scales of iron armour for sewing on to a leathern jerkin.

The earthen barrows about Barnaul agreed mostly with these, except that they were smaller and the horses were not always buried with the men. They contained similar layers of birch bark and wood. Most of these graves had been plundered.

The graves of the later iron age are much smaller than those already described. They are called Kirgiz graves and may well belong to that people. They shade off into quite modern interments containing e.g. Russian xvinth century coins.

The people of the early iron age are evidently quite different from those of the bronze age. Their burials are different and their manner of life likewise. Evidently the horse played a great part in their existence. Also they have many more weapons found with them. That is to say that they were a nation of warlike nomads. Still their civilisation had much in common with that of their predecessors. They adopted from these the characteristic dagger, the characteristic knife, the cauldron, the mirror; they seem even to have continued their agriculture to some extent, and they also engraved representations of themselves upon cliffs; this time we find the figures predominantly on horseback in place of going afoot. The new comers seem to have brought a knowledge of silver and of iron, and also a distinct taste for the monstrous. With them begins the liking for winged quadrupeds, for horns ending in birds, for inconsequent beak-heads, for conventionalised creatures quite unlike the naturalistic style of their predecessors. Yet the similarity in technique, the imitation of bronze forms in iron (ff. 169—171)—we find even such strange cases as bronze daggers with iron handles—the similar love
Aus Sibirien Vol. II. Objects from the Altai.

III. 5. Bronze

V. 3. Wood

V. 4. Bronze

VII. 1. Wood

Katanda.

XII. 5. Bone

XII. 1. Bone

XII. 3. Bone

XII. 6. Bone

XII. 2. Bone

Mut reduced from Kun-Stab. So, after Reinach.


FIG. 172.

v. p. 89.

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of gold plates as adornments, make it clear that the old tradition lived on. It seems as if this new warlike immigrant people conquered the old miners and metal workers, and used their inherited skill in the carrying out of its own taste and thereby formed a mongrel style which is indistinguishable from the Scythic.

Everything points to this immigrant population having been of what may be called Hunnic stock. Their mode of life, their burial customs, their type as seen in statues and rock carvings, correspond with what we know from Chinese sources of the Hsing-nu, the T'u-küe, the Tartars, and all other tribes of that stock (see p. 88 seq.).

The burial customs do not correspond, inasmuch as the Chinese speak of them as burning their dead, whereas no cases of complete cremation have been found. Still near Tobolsk A. Heikel found in a tomb which had much in common with these middle Siberian barrows, that the wooden erection set over the body had been set on fire before the heap was raised.

It looks as if they had already learned something from their southern neighbours before they enslaved their northern ones. This would account for much that is in common between Scytho-Siberian art on the one hand and Iranian on the other, and likewise Chinese. This latter resemblance has already been dealt with by P. Reinecke, in the article already quoted, and by S. Reinach in the Revue Archéologique. The former takes for granted that the northern barbarians were only passive, receptive. This may be true in a sense. But inasmuch as they received from all directions it is possible that they transmitted something to the Chinese, whether it was derived from the west or from the Altai miners to the north.

As to the affinities of these latter it is hard to give any opinion. It would be natural to refer them to the Uralo-Altaic tribes and argue that there is much in common between their civilisation and that of the tribes of that race all across from Finland, central Russia and Perm to the Altai, and that to this day most of those regions are peopled by that race where it has not been encroached upon by intrusive Turks. But Radloff is rather inclined to see in them the ancestors of what he calls the Jenisei tribes, who speak a language quite distinct from Uralo-Altaic and Turkish, and who have been mostly assimilated by one or other of the great tribes about them, yet still in some cases have preserved a hereditary skill in metal-working, for instance the Kuznetsky or Smith Tartars, who talk a Turkish tongue but belong to the older race. The Uralo-Altaic peoples never reached so high a state of civilisation. Moreover we know that the T'u-küe in the 8th century A.D. had long since held a metal-working race under subjection. This employment of alien craftsmen is characteristic of the nomads. For the T'u-küe there worked Chinese, for Chingiz Khan's successors Chinese, Persian, even German miners and armourers and a French jeweller; for Timur were set up the most perfect productions of purely Persian architecture.

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1 Axel Heikel, "Antiquités de la Sibérie Occidentale" in Mémoires de la Société Fennio-Dannois, No. viii, Helsingfors, 1894.  
2 L. J. Ethis, Ethnol. XXIX, 1897, p. 149 sqq.  
3 XXXVIII (1921), p. 37 sqq. La Représentation du Galop dans l'art ancien & moderne.  
4 Rockhill, Ruihuch, pp. 137, 177.
Besides the few objects which have been recovered from tombs excavated by a competent archaeologist, there is a whole class of antiquities nearly all of gold, some set with stones, whose provenance is vaguely given as Siberia. Spitsyn refers them more particularly to the basins of the Ishim, the Irtysh and the upper Obi. They came to the Hermitage from the collection of the Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg, and they represent the first attempt at an Archaeological Museum, surviving from the Kunstkammer of Peter the Great. They were saved because the attention of his government was at last called to the great spoils collected by the bugrovskichiki, or mound-diggers, who went out in large parties and systematically robbed the ancient graves, which must have been astonishingly rich in gold. Nowadays no one has hit on such a rich grave still unripped so as to describe its disposition. Radloff, in an appendix to his "Siberian Antiquities," gives extracts from the works of early European travellers in Siberia who tell of the work of spoliation.

The collection includes collars, frontlets, figures of birds, animals and men, buckles and plates of various shapes, some with loops behind for straps. The commonest forms are oblong and a kind of circular shape which is made to suit the favourite subject of an attack by a carnivore on a pasturing animal very well. Plates of bronze, but exactly similar in shape and design, have been found still nailed symmetrically on to coffins, but they seem too solid for mere funeral furniture and had probably served some purpose in the life of their owner, most likely they had some part in the adornment of his horse or were nailed on to coffers in which he kept his goods. Some idea of date was furnished by their being found with coins of the Han dynasty which circulated from B.C. 118 to A.D. 581.

Witsen, to whom some specimens now lost found their way, figures them in company with coins of the Roman emperors, e.g. Gordian, and there is no reason against their belonging together: only his plates give a most miscellaneous lot of things, and we cannot be sure which was found with which. In accordance with these data M. Hoernes thinks that the Siberian Iron Age came in with the Christian Era, but the South Russian analogies point to a much earlier time.

These Siberian gold objects have never been satisfactorily published; Dr Kiesentzky, the late curator, who referred them to the Massagetae, promised an illustrated Catalogue of all the Scythian and Siberian Antiquities: meanwhile the best pictures of them, some of which I have reproduced below (pp. 272—280), where I treat their style in detail, are in KTR. 4

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2 Excavations of J. D. Tako-Hryniewicz on R. Dahida in the Transbaikal District; as summarised by A. A. Spitsyn, TRAS, XII (1901) p. 277.


4 pp. 379—400, ff. 332—353; cf. also Ch. de Laines, Origines de l'Orfèvrerie Classique.
Oxus Treasure.

From the southern borders of Siberia, where the steppe marches with Iran, comes a collection of objects in the British Museum. It claims to be one hoard discovered in 1877 near the middle Oxus either at Kabadian or between it and Khulm. It includes a few pieces in style similar to the Siberian Plates, some objects whose artistic affinities are not yet cleared up, several examples of Persian jewelry, and some Greek work including coins. It is most unfortunate that this find was not made within reach of any trustworthy authority. We cannot even be sure that all the objects really belong to the same cache. They found their adventurous way down to India into the hands of ingenious native dealers, who added to their number by forgeries, and by duplicating real antiques in more precious materials. One thing is clear, that of the vast number of objects and coins purporting to be part of the treasure no specimen which belongs to a known art and can be dated approximately is later than about 200 B.C.; there are no Parthian coins and none of Eufratides, though they are common in those parts; the latest coin belongs to Euthydemos, whereas some of the things go back at least to the 1st century B.C. The barbaric pieces recall the undoubted Iranian ones closely, and it is almost inconceivable that if they were imitations of Sassanian work and belonged to the 1st century A.D., chance and the caprice of dealers should have associated just these and no others, with this definable find.

Mr Dalton's identification of the purely Persian style of the griffins and other objects that he published in his preliminary article was afterwards triumphantly vindicated by Mr J. de Morgan's excavations at Susa. There, in a tomb proved by coins to belong to the early 1st century B.C., were found armlets and other jewels precisely similar to some from the Oxus, save that their preservation is incomparably better. They are adorned with inlays of light and dark blue and red.

For a catalogue of the treasure the reader is referred to Mr Dalton's work. Its chief glory, the pair of griffin armlets (No. 116), of exactly the same style as the collar from Siberia (p. 272, fl. 188, 189) and the best example of the kind of model which inspired later Siberian plates, has no Scythian character and so no place here. The sheath (No. 22) has already been discussed (p. 70, v. inf. pp. 263, 270). It is 10.9 in. = 27.6 cm. long.

The gold plaque (No. 48) with a figure of a man probably a Persian in a costume resembling the Scythian is very valuable as illustrating the latter, but its purpose is not quite evident and in spite of its clearness it lacks artistic style. The ring (No. 111), on the other hand, has very definite Siberian analogies in the manner in which the animal is bent round, and in the hollows left for precious inlays.

1 O. M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus, London, 1905 (cf also Archaeologia, LXXVIII. (1903), p. 237. On some points in the History of Inlaid Jewellery, gives a full account of it with an illuminating discussion and excellent plates, quite superseding General Cunningham's excellent in JAAS. Bengal, L. (1881) p. 141, lit. (1883) pp. 64, 738, from which are taken E.T.E.'s drawings and some of mine prepared before the publication of Mr Dalton's book.

He and the Trustees of the British Museum have kindly allowed us to make use of the blocks of Nos. 23 and 111.


The coloured plate XVI. in Archaeologia, LVIII.
Fig. 174. Gold plaque from Oxus Treasure. Dalton, no. 22. 

Fig. 175. Gold ring. Oxus Treasure, no. 111. 

Fig. 173. Gold plate from sword sheath. Oxus Treasure. Dalton, no. 22. 

Fig. 174. Gold plaque from Oxus Treasure. Dalton, no. 22. 

Fig. 175. Gold ring. Oxus Treasure, no. 111.
Objects from the Oxus. Gold. Talbot's Numbers.

Fig. 176. Gold griffin (from Tiara?), front and side views. *Oxus Treasures*, no. 23.

Fig. 177. Nos. 11, 12, 140.; No. 117. §; Nos. 118, 144, slightly enlarged.
The same may be said of the griffin ornament (No. 23), though it is nearer to its Iranian originals. The annulet (No. 144) is again more barbaric. The beasts upon it are broken-down griffins with intertwined tails. Other annulets (Nos. 117 and 118) are, on the other hand, purely Persian. No. 140 has less definite style. It is singularly like those brought as tribute on Persepolitan sculptures (p. 59, l. 12). The two figures of deer (Nos. 11 and 12) are very like such figures from Siberia (infra p. 272, f. 190). They are given to shew the muscle lines in an early stage before they had become exaggerated. Whatever doubt may be cast on the genuineness of some of the Oxus treasure these pieces appear to me certain.

Anan'jino, and Perm.

Besides the Altai region and western Siberia, finds of objects of the Scytho-Siberian type are made in the Urals and in the forest region to the west of them. Evidently there was intercourse but no regular domination, such as is suggested by the finds in Little Russia. The best example of a mixed Finno-Scythian culture (it may be premature to name it so, but all likelihood points to such a name being near the mark) is the cemetery of Anan'jino, on the river Tojma near Elabuga, on the lower Kama. Anan'jino belongs to the transition from bronze to iron: there are bronze axes and pick-axes, spear and arrow-heads, and iron daggers of Siberian type (f. 179) and some beast style ornaments recalling Siberian forms, for instance a twisted up beast (f. 180) whose analogues come from the Crimea (f. 181) and from Siberia (p. 274, f. 194). On the other hand some things recall the remains found further to the north about Perm and everything is rudely made. The costume on an incised tombstone is not unlike the Scythian (f. 178).

Further north and west the Siberian dagger penetrated among purely Finnish people such as dwelt in the upper basin of the Kama. This is the country in which are found the wonderful pieces of Graeco-Roman, Byzantine and Sassanian silver plate kept chiefly in the Hermitage and the Stroganov palace at St Petersburg. In this country are found bronze and copper "idols" which have some connection with things Scythian; they seem rather poor relations than imitations, but the outspread eagle with a human face upon its breast, the emblem of the God of heaven, certainly recalls a favourite Scythian motive, and the many-headed deer is, as it were, an exaggeration of the type best exemplified by that from Axju'tintsi.


4 *KTR*, pp. 408 sqq.; *Arch. Anz.* 1908, pp. 150—102, l. i. f. 1—6. Mr. I. Sainov of the Hermitage has made a complete publication of these in his *Arbeiterische Orientals*, St. P. 1909.

La Tène.

On its western border the Scytho-Siberian style met with the Hallstatt and later with the La Tène styles. There seems to have been no interaction, but Scythic objects spread into Hungary¹, perhaps in consequence of such movements as that of the Iazyges Metanastae (v. p. 121). The La Tène objects found in Russia (hitherto very few) were brought by western invaders, whether German Bastarnae or real Kelts (v. pp. 125, 127). Their incursions were, as we have seen, less important than those from the east. So far we can speak of the La Tène culture as having been established in Poland and even in Galicia, but as merely sporadic in Podolia and on the lower Dnièpr, where the Protogenes inscription is the only witness to the westerners' raids². It must have been in S. Russia that the Scythic beast-style, applied to types developed from La Tène, produced the style of the Migration period. Here too perhaps had arisen the fibula with its foot bent back that gave rise to the cross-bow shape. Salin supposes that different modifications of this form, e.g. the radiated and square-headed types, mark different streams of culture diverging from the Crimea as a centre, but he thinks that the Germans' beast-style was their own and not indebted to the Scythic³.

Caucasus.

Resemblances have been seen between the metal work of the Caucasus⁴ and that of the Scytho-Siberian style, but they do not amount to much: they might be expected when we consider that Assyrian influence reached the Caucasus on one side and dominated Iran on the other, and also that some tribes of the northern plains undoubtedly passed through the mountains (v. supra p. 42). Most curious is a perfectly Minusinsk knife from Kortsa, a little west of Koban.⁵ At a comparatively late period the Caucasians seem to have borrowed the characteristic looped mirrors⁶, and along the northern foot-hills finds of Scythic type are constant. Moreover Gothic jewels have

² A. A. Spitsyn in BCA, XII, p. 78, “Monuments of La Tène Civilisation in Russia,” speaks of La Tène finds in Poland and also at Gromyoka and Great Tarnava in Podolia, Zalissje near Kiet, and Vodjanoe near Nicopol.
⁵ Countess P. S. Uvarov, Mat. Arch. Cauc., VIII, p. 180 and pl. LXXV.
⁶ op. cit. pl. LIV, Dergava.
occurred in a great find at Rutkha on the Urukh well in the mountains, and typical fibulæ and bird's head ornaments have been found in several localities. Sometimes types characteristic of the mountains are found sporadically in the plains, for instance the singularly elegant axes of the Kobač recall one or two specimens from Perm, that backwater to which all kinds of flotsam drifted. But it seems as if the Caucasus threw no light on the early population of the northern steppes. The objects of the Kobač cemetery have their analogues in central Europe, whatever the connection may have been; later sites shew products of Roman craftsmanship, but on the whole archaeology is even more at fault in the mountains than in the plains.

1 op. cit. pl. xxvii. 2. 3. Aspelin, p. 69, f. 37; J. Abercromby, Fins.

[Vol. I. p. 249, regards these as evidence of the early existence of the Pernian trade route.]


Fig. 162 (11). Ivory ibex and boar from Ephesus, v. p. 263. Constantinople Museum.

D. G. Hogarth, Excavations at Ephesus, London, 1908. Ch. ix. "The Ivory Statuettes," by Sir Cecil Smith. Iben, p. 163, No. 23, pl. XXVII. 2. Bear, p. 164, No. 26, pl. XXVII. 3; cf. p. 177, f. 33. Bronze ibex and boar from the Troad. My best thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum and to Sir Cecil Smith for leave to reproduce these objects, and to Mr. Dalton who called them to my notice. The pictures came too late to go into their right place in the text.

The resemblance of these animals to the Scythian is exceedingly close. In the ibex the attitude of the feet and the way they are conventionalised is just that of the Scythian deer. The manner in which its head is turned round is a Mycenaean survival; Sir Cecil Smith compares the ibex on the Eakomi casket in the British Museum, but in the Scythian art it can be paralleled by a plaque from the Kobač (p. 279, f. 205), and a cheek-piece and a plaque from Zhabotin (p. 188, f. 30, Nos. 549, 539). On this last a hare, with the head between its shoulder and a star applied in the same way as the circles upon the ibex. Both star and circles may go back to a swirl of hair such as is just visible upon the shoulders of the ibex, the wings of the Metnów relief (p. 171, f. 65, cf. a mosaic in the same position, Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, i. 31). More probably it is due to the practice of adorning the plain surfaces of figures with various decorative motives, a practice common to the Ionian (Sir C. Smith, p. 159) and Scythian styles, and pushed to its fullest in the Kuk Oba deer and Vuteszefalva fish and in the Siberian plates (cf. p. 273, f. 197). The boar is also very like Scythian work, especially about the feet; it has some resemblance to a gold boar from Alexandrovo (ibid. p. 411, f. 223 = ANH, vi. 3). Gold work like some of that from Ephesus, particularly the repoussé plates (Hogarth op. cit. Pl. viii. ix.), more especially a rosette with a griffin (iii. 3) in which Hogarth sees a Central European look, may have served as a model for similar work in Scythian.
CHAPTER X.

SCYTHIC ART AND GREEK ART IN THE SERVICE OF SCYTHIANS

Scythic art has a character of its own. When we have made all allowance for foreign influence there remains something unlike anything else, the basis of the whole development, that to which imported elements had to conform or else quickly degenerate beyond recognition. This native element is at its purest in the art of the basin of the upper Jenisei and its centre may be reckoned Minusinsk. Until the true date and affinities of Minusinsk art have been made clear the Scythic problem cannot be said to be solved.

Unhappily we are not yet in a position to frame even plausible theories on the subject. In the last chapter I have given the few data available: but they do not take us far. The objects there figured give a fairly representative collection of the different classes of Minusinsk work: sufficient to judge of its character, sufficient to let the reader see for himself affinities with the products of other lands. Mr Seebold’s Siberia in Asia is, I believe, the only English book in which any of them have been figured. The few specimens he brought home are in the British Museum. Otherwise these things are inaccessible to British archaeologists.

Almost all the types are peculiar. The knife seems to be a local development, at least we seem able to trace it through many stages: but this type was not spread over the Scythic area, and in China only, as has been said, seems to have its counterpart. The dagger does not seem to have attained its development at once. Its less perfect form also appears in China; but its fully developed type spread westwards as far as Hungary. The mirrors also spread to China and to S. Russia; likewise the cauldrons. The arrow-heads appear nearly all to be of the four faceted as against the later triangular shape. The axe heads seem a final improvement of the socketed celt, having a peculiar second loop (p. 243, f. 151). This also spread over the Scythic area (p. 190); later would be that with one loop in the middle of the broad side (p. 243, p. 245, f. 158). Finally we have the beautifully shaped head with a transverse hole for the haft (ill. 5 on p. 251). All these types suggest that bronze casting was developed longer and further than in most countries; that an out-of-the-way district was left undisturbed to let its bronze craft evolve independently. Something similar seems true of Hungary.

But the ornament has the chief claim to interest and is the greatest puzzle. It is not quite clear which way it is going: whether animal forms are being degraded into easy curves or curves have suddenly been seen to have animal possibilities. To me this latter seems the case. The

More or less similar to Nos. 203 to 18 on p. 190, f. 82, but without side spurs.
loops of a mirror (p. 244, f. 152) or the ring of a knife handle (ff. 150, 165) suggested, perhaps at first owing to the chances of casting, the shape of an animal with its head down, or of two heads neck to neck; the loop of an axe-head (f. 151) joined to another small ring looked like a beak and eye and was improved to bring out the resemblance. So the ends of pomell and guard struck the imagination as being ready to make beak-heads, and beak-heads became the regular decoration of the dagger (ff. 159—171). The wrong end of an axe became a beak-head or an argali schematically rendered (ff. 152, 150). Animals so derived from loops and knobs and handles remained simple and geometrical in their lines. The eyes remain ring-like; the beaks are always curved right round, the bodies lumpy and the limbs thick. Sometimes pure line was sufficient, zigzags in the knife handles (ff. 153, 155), even spirals as on the ornament and mirror from Batteni (f. 152). The ornament from Bijisk (lb.) shows a favourite pattern for incrusted jewelry. When this eye for chance resemblances was turned on to representations of animals it saw them also in antlers or tails in which it was ready to fancy a likeness to other creatures' heads; but this development seems subsequent to the introduction of iron and the conquest of the metal workers by nomads who exploited their skill. It is the distinguishing mark of the Scythic style.

There does not seem to me to be anything in the earlier Minusinsk art which need have come in from outside, except perhaps the socketed celt. It was the nomads who brought beasts and monsters from sw. Asia, and perhaps from the coasts of the Euxine. M. Salomon Reinach has seen resemblances between Siberian art and certain points of Mycenaean. If there be such they are in the later Minusinsk, which is identical with Scythic. But this had received Mediterranean elements into itself; archaic Greek art as practised in Ionia had penetrated to it at an early period, and before that there may have been other influences from the Aegean region. These affected Scythic art from the first and would account for any resemblances. So that there may be truth in M. Reinach's fascinating theory that the representation of a flying gallop in which the animal sticks his legs out in all directions at once, spread from Mycenaean art to some lost Central Asian art and hence through Siberia as far as China, to return to the West and English sporting prints with the Chinoiserie of the xvith century.

Influence of Western Asia and Ionia.

Whatever the ultimate origin of the Minusinsk style, whatever influences it may have felt in spite of its remoteness, upon the coming of the iron people it became the foundation of their taste and was spread by them over all the steppes. Thereby it emerged from its isolation and

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1 Sophus Müller, Urgeschichte Europas, p. 151, brings the style up from S. Rusiás.
2 S. Reinach, "La Représentation du Galop dans l'art ancien et moderne," Revue Archéologique, xxxvi. (1900), pp. 216 and 442; xxxviii. p. 244; xxxviii. (1901), pp. 27 (Scythic style) and 224; xxxix. p. 1, and BCH. 1897, pp. 5—15. "Un Monument oublié de l'art Mycénien."
became exposed to the influences of the arts of south-western Asia. But it is beyond us to disentangle these influences, because we are not yet able to clear up the mutual relations of these arts. Assyrian, perhaps N. Syrian and finally Iranian on the one hand, on the other Mycenaean (in survivals) and early Greek. If, for instance, we take the Ephesus and the Nimrud ivories referred to the viiith and ixth centuries, Sir Cecil Smith is inclined to make both groups Greek: Mr Hogarth finds the former Greek under Assyrian influence exerted over the N. Syrians, the latter N. Syrian. Seeing that very similar ivories come from Sparta, perhaps rather too much has been made of the Orientalism in the Ionian finds, though the very material suggests the East: that Greeks should have had a hand in the Nimrud ivories seems thereby less probable. The difference touches the Scythic question nearly, inasmuch as one or two of the Ephesus beasts (v. p. 260) are in a style almost identical with the Scythic. With the Ephesus Lions may be classed the lion-head from Vasilkov (p. 193, l. 85). But it is precisely in the beasts that Assyrian influence appears most plausible at Ephesus; yet the features which recall the Scythic do not seem to extend to the bas-reliefs of N. Syria and Assyria, though the small figures in the round are not so very unlike. It seems therefore justifiable to distinguish two quasi-independent strains that met in Scythic art, the Assyrian to which the Iranian succeeded and the Ionian which never quite gave way to the Attic.

The earliest objects from Scythia that we can date, the Melgunov and Kelermes sheaths, referred to the viith and vith centuries B.C., are under overwhelming Assyrian influence, yet their general forms are Scythic and the crouching deer upon the side projection is Ionian: in the sheath from the Don (p. 270, l. 186) the two strains are blended. In the Oxus sheath the Scythic element is weaker. Pieces of Iranian work are few in European Scythia, the hilt of the Chertomlyk sword is the best example; further east we can name the better specimens from the Oxus and one piece of Siberian treasure (p. 272, fl. 188, 189), but its imitation is universal in the Asiatic steppes and is carried by tribal movements into Europe. In the viith and vth centuries B.C. Greek and Oriental art were still closely allied, and even later certain classes of objects seem to stand between the two, especially engraved cylinders and gems such as those from S. Russia illustrated in Ch. xi. § 13, f. 298, and others like them from western Asia, and certain silver work (v. p. 265).

In the Greek influence we must distinguish two periods, that of the Ionian archaic art and that of the fully developed Attic art afterwards practised throughout the Greek world. There is something almost barbaric about the Ionian art that makes us barbarians think of our own mediaeval

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1 Hogarth, Excavations at Ephesus, pp. 155-185, pl. xxii—xxvii.
2 Cecil Smith, ib. p. 182, pl. xxviii—xxix.
3 Perrot and Chipiez, Chaldée, loc. cit. pp. 213, 301, 364, fl. 80, 189, 199; ii. pp. 110—122, fl. 56—59;
4 Dalou, Archéologie, I, pp. 246, 247.
5 Ibid. p. 184.
8 Exc. at Eph., xxxi. 1, 3, xxxii. 1, 12.
9 E.g. the deer at Sissabari, K. Humann u. O. Puchstein, Reisen in Kl. Art., xlv. iv., xlv. 3.
10 E.g. many with the Nimrud ivories in the British Museum. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit. II. p. 315, fl. 193.
11 Yet cf. for the hilt Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit. I. p. 334, two calves' heads adorded from Nineveh.
work, a decorative quaintness which does not demand for its appreciation so high a level of aesthetic development as that required by the perfect art of the 17th century. Hence its easy adoption by neighbouring Asiatic nations and the employment of Greek craftsmen by the Achaemenians. Hence too its spreading among the Scythians. Prepared by the Minusinsk culture and perhaps by some contact with survivals of Mycenae skin art, the Scythians made the Ionian archaic style as employed for the representation of beasts their own, and continued to practise it with much spirit, but too little restraint, incorporating into it Minusinsk feeling. The elements that they thus joined were not hopelessly incongruous, but combined to make a whole, with a distinct character of its own and no small decorative merit. Moreover, even when the Pontic Greeks had left it behind, the Scyths having made it their own kept to it fairly consistently; when their models were not beyond them they were capable of assimilating them. So this descendant of Ionian archaic art lived on until after the Christian era and spread from Siberia to Hungary.

The story of Aristeas and the account of the trade route running northeast from the Euxine shews us that there was every reason why products of Ionian art of the viith and vith centuries B.C. should quickly penetrate into the interior of northern Asia, and their style become the property of all the nomad tribes. Hence we can readily admit the possibility that objects of this date found as far north as Minusinsk should recall details of ivory carvings found at Ephesus, and that the Scythic crouching deer itself should be originally Greek. Accordingly in the older period it is very hard, strange as it may appear, to distinguish between Greek and Scythic.

Herodotus (iv. 79) bears witness to a Scyth's use of Greek style by mentioning the griffins and sphinxes in the palace of Scyles in Olbia; we may picture them as like the griffins from Olympia1.

Archaic Greek Objects in Scythia.

Specimens of this archaic Greek art which penetrated to the Scythians and called forth their imitation are not infrequent. They have with them only the Assyrian work at Kelermes and Melgunov's Barrow, in cases such as Vettersfeld and the Seven Brothers they make up the greater part of the find, though there are already some later things. Mostly the older pieces are few compared to the products of the later art. Their interest for the moment being the effect they exercised upon the native style we may leave aside such as produced no imitations; such are the Greek pots, technically as well as artistically inimitable (Ch. xli. § 7), and some of their bronzes (Ch. xli. § 10, ff. 278-281). Flurbinger long ago pointed out that the Vettersfeld objects (v. p. 237) were of pure Greek work, and showed that the details, especially the Triton on the fish, the frieze of animals rather quietly attacking and flying, the convention by which quadrupeds seen from the side have only two legs, the use made of the graver to put in surface details, the eyes on the sheath so suggestive of Angenschalen, and

1 Olympia iv. pl. xlix., cf. Hogarth, Excav. at Ephesus, pl. xvi. 4; Delphes, v. pl. x.
the whole spirit of the three chief pieces, belong to Ionian work of the late archaic period. The earring is put down by Hadaczek to an earlier period and is purely Ionian: the dagger sheath just like the one from Tomakovka (p. 158 below) is perhaps later, but likewise entirely Greek. But the chief pieces, as shown by the shape of the sheath and perhaps by the use of small animals to decorate the big fish, mark the interference of the Scythian customer. The Kul Oba deer (p. 203) has only this last point to make it Scythic, its general character is just like the Ephesus ibex down to the details of the feet, which might strike one as barbarous. The Kostromskaja deer (p. 226) represents a decided conventionalising of the same type, and in spite of the grace of line and skill of execution must be native work. The Seven Brothers also yielded much archaic Greek work. Almost all the gold plates on p. 208 are of this class; such an array of animals would delight a Scythian, and the Asiatic element in Ionian allowed monstrous forms which were not less welcome. On two of the triangular plates, that with the eagle and hare (a well-known design, e.g. the coins of Agrigentum) and that with a lion and ibex, there is only just a touch of archaism (p. 211, f. 112 and p. 209, f. 108); whereas upon a third (p. 213, n. 6) we can see an archaic model through barbarous execution, and upon another (p. 211, f. 114) though the execution is skillful the incongruous monster suggests barbarism. The breastplate with a gorgoneion (p. 213, n. 1) offers a type which is very popular on the small plates of gold; the Scythians could attain to such a grotesque. The great silver rhyton (p. 211, f. 110) with a winged ibex from the same tomb, like the lesser golden dog rhyton and those from Kul Oba (p. 197), is a fine specimen of Graeco-Asian art, having decided Ionic affinities both in its main lines and in its decoration; compare that from Erzingan in Armenia figured by Dalton. The figure of a sow engraved in rock crystal (p. 208, No. 33) is typically Ionic, as Furtwängler points out. Altogether the Seven Brothers give us Greek things just as they best suited Scythian taste without going out of their way to meet it. The gold saucer (p. 204, f. 99) from Kul Oba appears to me Greek work almost as early, but calculated for a Scythian purchaser, witness the bearded heads. The general scheme of rays or petals recalls the dish from the tomb at Nymphaeum which agrees in so much with the VII Brothers (p. 213, III, 5), or a dish found with the Erzingan rhyton. The manner in which the rays are filled is ingenious: archaic Greek art shared with the barbarians a natural abhorrence of void; but the various elements are rather incongruous, and the leopard-heads upside down show a disregard of the fitness of things which would hardly have pleased a Greek. Kul Oba had one or two early gold plates for sewing on to clothes, but these are hardly archaic: just these the 8th century, but a slightly inferior ibex (No. 10 in the VIII Treasure) of the same style has a palmette on its lower attachment which Dalton puts in the 10th century. All these have the muscle-markings brought out in gold (v. p. 268).

1 KTR, p. 318 f. 286 = CR, 1877, t. 7.
2 Chief Treasure, No. 178. He calls it Persian. Much the same technique is exemplified by the great vessel of uncertain provenance with two handles, each a winged ibex or antelope, one of which is in the Berlin Antiquarium (Furtwängler, Arch. Anz. 1892, p. 115), the other in the Louvre (W. Froehner, La Collection Fréminville, Munich, 1895, pl. III.). This is referred by Furtwängler to the VIII century, but a slightly inferior ibex (No. 10 in the VIII Treasure) of the same style has a palmette on its lower attachment which Dalton puts in the 10th century. All these have the muscle-markings brought out in gold (v. p. 268).

3 Vetterfeld, p. 25 (v. inf. p. 270).
and the Seven Brothers; probably the dies were in use a long time. In general the Medusa-head plates were best imitated; others produced the poor result we see at Volkovtsy (p. 181). The Ryžanovka earrings (p. 178) shaped like dumpy griffins with curled-up wings are called by Hadaczek masterpieces of Graeco-Scythian work of the 3rd century B.C.; they look to me earlier, and certainly go back to archaic originals. Sphinxes from Alexandropol (p. 158, xxxi. 24) and from Déev Barrow near Séregozy have similar wings. In the case of one or two types we have not found actual Greek originals in the Scythian district, though they are familiar enough elsewhere: such is the winged goddess from Alexandropol (p. 154, f. 40) and the animal on the mirror from Romny (p. 178, f. 73). The ivory lion heads from near Smela are, at any rate that shown on p. 193, good examples of the orientalising Greek style. The mounting of the mirror from Prusya also looks quite Ionian, being identical with a mirror-mount from Olbia, though the beak-heads are very Scythian and perhaps not original.  

Scythic Beast-style.

When the Scythians set to work for themselves one way of attaining decorative effect was the reducing of organic curves to abstract ones as we see on such mirrors as that from Romny or on the Kostromskaja deer. Another was to imitate the practice of the makers of the Vettersfelde fish and the Kul Oba deer and cover the beasts with secondary ornament or turn extremities into heads of other creatures. This we see on the Axjutintsy deer (p. 181) on which the curve of the belly has afforded space for a bird’s eye and beak, and the antlers end in griffins’ heads. The extreme case is seen in the gold plate of another reindeer from Verkhne-Udinsk (p. 275, f. 197) which is all over small animals fitted in to cover every space. And the addition of incongruous extremities, especially claws (which give such a good excuse for stone settings), has rendered it impossible for us to define the species of some of the Siberian beasts. However for sheer incongruity nothing can surpass the gryllus from the Seven Brothers (p. 231).

In the adorning of men’s things, especially in horse trappings, this older naturalised style remained supreme. It seems as if the Greeks recognised its suitability, for in what was apparently a purely Greek grave at Nymphæum there were many psallia quite similar to those from the Scythic Seven Brothers (v. p. 214). So too the hilts of the characteristic Scythic swords and knives are almost all worked in this style, and again are sometimes the only objects of the kind in the tomb, or else they are Assyrian, as in Melgunov’s Barrow and Kelermes, or Iranian as at Chertomlyk, never as it seems Greek.

Besides the absolutely bizarre and apparently meaningless combinations which seem merely due to the desire for decorative detail or the impulse to complete the chance resemblance which an antler or tail of one animal may bear to the head of another, we also find the well-defined monsters which go back to the symbolic creations of western Asia, sphinxes, griffins

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1) Der Oberschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker, Wiem., 1903, p. 41, f. 16; Sm., ii. p. 143, xvi. 4.
3) Frontispieces of Sm., i. and ii.
4) p. 191, No. 351, cf. CE, 1905, p. 64, f. 32.
5) Ex. Mira, Kelermetskij, near Kerch, ABC.
6) Reimeck, p. 21, pl. xxvii. 9.
and such like. The Greeks were prepared to supply these, already themselves sharing them with the East, and they became the stock decoration of objects destined for the Scythian market, and were in high honour among the colonists themselves who put the griffin on the coins of Panticapaeum.

Besides going to the extreme of making an animal more decorative by adding to him the attributes of another, the Scythians were inclined to insist on surface details and use them to make a pleasing pattern. There is this element in one of the little silver gilt vessels from Kul Oba, and on the dagger sheath from the same grave inscribed POPNAXO; in spite of the Greek model, still archaic though already too far advanced in style for satisfactory imitation, the native taste comes out in the way that the line which indicates musculature on Ninevite sculptures is represented by a volute or

S-curve. We see the same thing on a gem from the Crimea. This tendency when carried further leads to designs like the plates from Karagodelashkh (p. 219, i. 123) or Berestnjak; without looking into them one is not sure that animals are really intended, so far have they degenerated into mere decorative arrangements of curves. The deer from Ak-Mechet is tending this way, but on the other plate vegetable forms are taking the likeness of a snail. A more interesting example of this conventionalising of animal forms is shewn by certain horse trappings from Krasnikutsky. Here the design most clearly foreshadows the northern European beast-style. Very similar are designs from Siberia.

1 ABC. xxxiv. i 168; 2 on p. 207.
2 ABC. xxxiv. 3 on p. 294.
3 Ch. xi. 3 ff. 298; Furtwangler, Ast. Gemeine, xi. 266.
4 Sm. xi. xvii. 11, 16, 3 = Khanenko, ii. 3, 16.
5 on p. 131, 10 Volkovsk, p. 135, f. 78.
6 pp. 167, 168, ff. 56, 57 and ASH. xxi. 4 on p. 129.
On statuettes in the Oxus treasure we have the muscle markings emphasized decoratively though without entire disregard of natural modelling (p. 256, Nos. 11 and 12). But when the beast came to be felt as merely part of the pattern, there was no reason why this line should not be brought out in colour as well as in form, and on the ibex (No. 10, v. p. 265, n. 2) gilt is used, and finally it became the custom among the Asiatic nomads to adorn the flanks of creatures with blue stone or coral inlaid, and the round or pearshaped forms suggested by the prominence of the muscle were combined into one motive of a dot between two triangles, which has suggested to some writers an eye, to others a beak-head doubled for symmetry. All these modifications and departures from naturalism were due to horror of empty space, which also led to the creatures being twisted about in every way so as exactly to fill the space available.

The species represented in Scythic art are many. The lions and other felidæ prey ing upon deer are after Asiatic or Greek models. Their species are hard to define, because the artists did not care to be accurate as to spots and manes and tasseled tails, such details they delighted to add even to lionesses. Chief of the true Scythic beasts is the reindeer who is constantly occurring, mostly in a crouching position with his legs bent under his body—he figures upon quiver covers, breastplates, shields, standards, gold plates for sewing on to clothes, mirrors, bridle cheek-pieces and other trappings, and upon the one Scythic gem, and in Siberia upon a wood-carved saucer (v. p. 251) and another wooden fragment. So too a bird of prey is a favourite subject, sometimes with wings deployed to form a gold plaque for sewing on to clothes, more often a mere head and beak, upon standards, horses' cheek-pieces, no more than beak and eye at Nymphaeum (p. 215, f. 116), ending the horns of the deer or the tail of a monster, the hilt of a sword or the handle of a mirror, second but to the deer. He even occurs double-headed (double-headed eagles seem natural in Russia) on a bronze plaque.

Besides these the ibex is common, especially on Siberian things, and mostly in the round, as an ornament to edges, as it were upon the sky line, e.g., on the Chertomlyk cauldron (p. 162, f. 50) and the Novocherkassk crown (p. 233, f. 138) side by side with the deer. Characteristic are the bell-like objects with an ibex perched upon them (p. 249, ff. 166, 167); such a one serves also as a mirror handle (p. 193). The horse is rare except on his own cheek-pieces, which so often end with a hoof at one end and an admirably conventionalised horse's head at the other (p. 189). The horse is not uncommon (p. 186). In the Siberian plaques the fauna is yet more varied, for we get many different beasts of prey, serpents, eagles, oxen and the yak, as well as horses, dogs and boars, and even human figures.

There is in the productions of this adopted style a unity in the design and execution, an adaptation of the ornament to the form of the object; to be

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decorated, which makes quite rude things satisfactory. It shows that the style had become the natural expression of the people who had developed the characteristic forms of the objects themselves. It is far otherwise with the occasional attempts to apply the fully developed Greek style to these same objects. The things begin to lose their original shape, and at the same time violence is done to the Greek design which is being borrowed from elsewhere and applied to a new field; hence the shortcomings we shall have to notice in some of the more ambitious pieces of Greek work from S. Russia. When an actual Greek form suited their purposes the Scythians used it readily enough, as in the case of various pieces of armour and some decorations for horses (e.g. at Tsymbalka and Chmyreva barrows, pp. 166—169, ff. 54, 58—61). This was always the case with women’s belongings which served for pure decoration, so that their forms were not conditioned by necessities of use. Hence we find plenty of later Greek work at the women’s sides, e.g. at Kulp Oba and Ryzhanovka. But at the latter we see the miserable attempts of the natives to imitate the higher style, corruptio optimi pessima. Other examples of the same failure are the second frontlet from Tsymbalka (f. 55), and that from Volkovtsy (p. 183), and the plate from Berestnjagi (p. 193, Khan. LXXX. X.) in which one can just trace the elegant 11th century griffins.

Especially in representations of the human form did the Scythians fail. They did not do so badly with masks because these derive from the gorgoneion which they received in the archaic phase (v. p. 208), but the Ionic decorative art was not specially fond of the human figure, and the attempts to imitate later models are grotesque without being spirited. Such are plates from Geretmes and Kurdzips. The badness of the figures on the Karagodenshikh headdress (p. 218) may be due to the treatment the plate has received. Most of the thin gold figures in the Oxus treasure, though they are not exactly Scythic, are equally bad, but one is fairly good (p. 255, f. 174).

As with the early Turks so with the Scythians, gold is the favourite material. We know of hardly anything but their gold work. A certain number of similar objects in bronze, a few silver cups and horns, their iron sword blades, some bits of carved wood from Siberia, and the interesting carved bone work from the Kiev and Kuban districts, make up all that is left in any other material; We can well believe that their tents were spread with carpets of their own make, and their garments may have had other decoration more suitable than the innumerable gold plates; but of this we have no remains. In the western districts, where pottery had been successfully practised before the Scythic period, some of their earthenware was pleasing in shape, with a dark ground and incised patterns filled in with white (p. 82, ff. 24, 25), but native work could not compete with Greek pottery; for a nomad with close communication with the Ural and the Altai gold was the special medium for artistic work, accessible, portable and instantly effective.

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1 KTE. p. 232; f. 232—ASH. xxvii. 9, and p. 33.  
3 Dalton, Nos. 49 to 100.  
4 pp. 188, 189, F. 80, 81, and p. 223.  
5 SH. p. 73, No. xxvi. A woolen garment embroidered in red, blue and yellow.
Scythic Style in Northern Asia.

In the borders of European Russia the place of discovery makes very little difference as to style. There may be a rather greater proportion of pure Greek things about the Bosporus, but as pure a Greek style occurs round Kiev or on the Dniepr bend, and some objects even at Kul Oba are absolutely Scythic. As against the Asiatic steppes there is a difference: there the Iranian influence is much stronger, and objects made in Iran, so rare in the West, can be quoted from the Oxus treasure and the Siberian finds: whereas actual Greek work has not been found beyond the Oxus, though we have seen that Ionian art made its influence felt far to the North East.

Still the first art, to which we can point and say that we have actual examples which found their way into the possession of the Scythians and therefore could attract them, was the Assyrian. This contact must have taken place in Asia, and the Melgunov and Kelermes finds must have travelled westwards, the Oxus sheath, which may be Iranian, eastwards. The mixture of Assyrian and Scythic motives is much more intimate upon the sheath from the Don.

As regards form it does not seem to have possessed the characteristic projection by the hilt, but agrees with the other early specimens in its shortness and broadness. Upon it are three beasts; a boar, whose muscles and ear are rendered in a way which will soon let them degenerate into merely decorative curls—his mane has not the gap seen upon the Vettersfelder hog—is pursued by a lion. The lion's mane is represented as though it were a separate cape put on; his tail looks like a string of vertebrae ending in a beak-head (on Melgunov's sheath we have cape-like manes and scorpion tails, pp. 171, 172, ff. 65, 67); his muscles have the S-curve and similar mannerisms. The last beast is a lion, just like the other, save that his headquarters are twisted round so as to bring the feet against the top margin—a most Siberian attitude—and M. Reinach would say most Mycenaean. 1 In this sheath, which cannot be later than the 11th century B.C., because of its closeness to Assyrian models, we see the Scythic style already sufficiently independent to introduce considerable modifications into the model provided by a higher art, modifications dictated by a spirit we can trace for another eight centuries.

The Iranian art was a more permanent neighbour than the Assyrian, just so much higher than the Scythic as to encourage imitation. In Europe its direct contributions are limited to the Chertomlyk hilt 2 and a seal cylinder.

2 p. 163, l. 51, but see the photographic reproduction, p. 115, plate 4, and compare the round silver plaque on the Oxus Treasure, No. 46.
(p. 193, f. 85) found at Kholodnyj Jar near Směla¹; but to the eastwards Iran is supreme. We can see what part it played by merely looking at the pictures of the Oxus treasure. Here, discovered on the borders between Iran and the steppes, we have an ensemble of objects which includes, on the one hand, the most considerable, till de Morgan's find at Susa, almost the only collection of ancient Persian goldwork known: on the other, barbarous imitations of the Persian style strongly coloured by the Scythic character, shading off into the regular Scytho-Siberian work: the Greek things are as it were intrusive, isolated: other objects are unfamiliar in style, and cannot be referred to any known school, though there is no reason to doubt their genuineness. A comparison of these objects from Susa with Nos. 117 and 118 of the Oxus treasure shews their identity in general composition and even in style, allowing for the rough treatment suffered by the latter. Everything in the Oxus treasure has lost its stones. It almost looks as if the things had been prepared for melting down. The mutilated necklet from Kul Oba (p. 197) with enamel in place of stone inlay shews the same scheme as treated by a Greek; the original model was Assyrian².

Siberian Goldwork.

Of purely Persian style, identical with that of the great Oxus griffin-bracelet which Dalton puts in the 5th century B.C., is one piece from Siberia acquired in the same way as the generality of Siberian plates (v. supra, p. 253). It is hardly needed to prove that Persian originals penetrated far northwards, we could deduce that from the imitations, but its presence makes quite certain. It is a necklet in the shape of an overlapping ring, 19 cm. across, made up of two hollow gold tubes, each of which ends in a winged lion. The picture shews the hollows prepared to receive precious stones, turquoise or lazulite: they mark the lines of the face, the ridges of the horns, the shaggy mane, to which is applied a scale ornament which is so effective in any cloisonné technique, the shorter feathers of the wings, the curves of the ribs and, specially typical, the muscles of the hindquarters. Here already the intelligible lines of such a figure as the Oxus deer have given rise to a roundel representing the projection of the hip bone, flanked by hollow triangles that only distantly recall muscle lines (v. above, p. 268). Perhaps the true origin of this pattern is in the purely inconsequent decoration

¹ Perhaps it is rash to call this its Nos. 8 and 30 below on p. 268 specifically Iranian.
³ f. 188. 189: cf. Oxus Treasure, p. 28. f. 18.
Figs. 188 (4), 189 (4). Golden necklet from Siberia. Hermitage. Pridik, Melgunov, V. 2 4; e.

Fig. 190. Gold figure of a reindeer from Siberia. Hermitage. KTR. p. 381, l. 335.

Fig. 191. Ends of a torque in gold from Siberia. Hermitage. KTR. p. 385, l. 339.
of the Zhobotin horse or the Ephesus ibex; but the deer here figured (f. 190) has markings which might well develop into such as adorn the lion.

Another torque is not far removed from the Persian style of the first, but in spite of their spirit the lions that form its ends are distinctly inferior to it, especially in fineness of execution (f. 191).

A similar falling off is noticeable in a great figure of an eagle with a kind of reptile head devouring an ibex. Especially coarse are the cloisons on the neck, breast and upper wings. They were once filled with red stones. The tail feathers seem to have been supplemented by real feathers slipped in. The ibex has the crest ornament. His headquarters are slewed round in a way that can be better seen on other examples (e.g. p. 276, f. 198).

Fig. 192. Gold Plate from Siberia, probably a crest. Hermitage. From an Electrotype in S. Kensington Museum.

Of unusual form is a buckle (p. 274, f. 193), of which the pierced work distinctly recalls the late Roman pierced work figured by Riegl, and a buckle from Chersonese. This, with the Novocherkassk treasure and the coins of Gordian and the Younger Han, confirm the belief that this style lasted well on into the time of the Roman empire.

1 First figured in Archzologica, ii. pl. xx, also Dalton, ii. p. 178, p. 253, f. 19. I have to thank him and the Society of Antiquaries for an electrotype of his block. *ATR.*, p. 379, pl. 337, 335; De Lama.

Original, ii. p. 196.

2 Die Spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn, pl. xii.

Another curious form is a strap ornament formed of a lioness, bent right round until she has almost lost the shape of a beast. Yet exactly the same pattern in bronze and with less complete conventionalising comes from Sympheropol, and another example of still ruder workmanship from Ananjino (p. 258, ff. 180, 181), shewing how even the less important Scythic types spread just beyond the borders of the steppes.

It has been remarked (p. 253) that the typical plates of this style are either in a kind of oblong frame or of a Α shape. As a specimen of the former we have a combat between a boar (bear?) and a great serpent (f. 195). The boar has claws, but all animals in this style have claws, they give such a good excuse for inlaying. In this case there are comparatively few stones. The next (f. 196) is more typical, upon it a griffin and another monster, as it seems a carnivore with horns ending in beak-heads, attack a tiger whose stripes give excellent excuse for inlays.

Of the Α shape a simple instance is a figure of a deer with antlers ending in beak-heads, a tail ending in the same and with the fore part of its body covered by a whole bird, and its hinder parts decorated with an entirely inconsequent head. Some sort of small carnivore is attacking it in front. Attention has already been called to the analogies offered by this to the Kul Oba and Axjutintsy deer. This particular example is interesting because its provenance is known; it was brought from Verkhne-ulinsk. A specimen much like it found its way to China and is figured in *Kin-shih-so* as a coin with the type of a hind suckling her fawn.

Fig. 195. Gold plate from Siberia. Hermitage. *KTR.* p. 380, f. 344.

Fig. 196. Gold plate from Siberia. Hermitage. *KTR.* p. 387, f. 345.

Fig. 197. Gold plate from Verkhne-udinsk. Hermitage. *KTR.* p. 384, f. 348.
In the combat of griffin and horse we have a good instance of the favourite mannerism, by which creatures' hindquarters are decorated with a pattern of a circle between two triangles, and of another by which an animal is represented as having twisted its hindquarters right round in the

Fig. 198. Gold plate from Siberia. Hermitage. ATR. p. 393. l. 331.

Fig. 199. Gold plate with coloured inlay from Siberia. Hermitage. ATR. p. 393. l. 354.
agony of combat. The ibex in the grasp of the eagle above exhibits both
features. The griffin’s wings are becoming rudimentary. Next we have
an eagle and another creature attacking a yak whose presence shews that
these plates must have originated in the higher parts of Asia.

Very decorative is another version of the combat between boar and serpent.
The fellow to this was brought to Holland by Witsen, but is now lost.¹

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**Fig. 200. Gold plate with coloured inlay from Siberia. Hermitage. A.T.R. p. 394, f. 357.**

Interesting for its subject is the following plaque (f. 201)—a boar hunt—
a perfect illustration to Herodotus (iv, 22, v. p. 107) and his account of
the lycae. We have the man ambushed in the tree with his horse waiting
quietly below him and the dog in the corner, and then later we see him
pursuing his quarry at full gallop.

In the last (f. 202) we have a representation of the people for whom these
were made and of their horses. They are not much like representations of
Scythians. They had real saddles with hanging straps that might serve for
stirrups. The bow-case is still much the same; the figure that may well be
a woman wears a tall cap, like the Karagodevashkh queen (p. 218, f. 120)
or the Chinese pictures of T’u-huo-lo (v. p. 110, n. 2).

There is a small statuette (f. 203, 204) of a mounted horseman of this
race, but the only clear point about his dress is the heart-shaped panel on
his back, shewn also on the boar hunt.

The style of these Siberian plates with coloured stones does not penetrate
far into Europe. On the Kuban it occurs most generally on circular plates
or bosses with an animal twisted round upon itself.² On a larger scale we

¹ Figured in his *North and East Tartary*, Amsterdam, 3rd ed. 1785, pp. 748 sqq., and copied by
² Kudłaj, v. p. 243, f. 126; Dobro’s Barrows, p. 236, f. 132; Kazanskaja, CR. 1901, p. 71, f. 137;
Laudubaud, CR. 1904, p. 77, f. 161; and Ust-
Lahinskaia, pl. 78, f. 164, p. 28, f. 177; v. p. 252, m. 4, 6.
see it on a plate of which the exact provenance is not given. It shews us a most typical Siberian griffin with rather ill-developed wings. To judge from the photograph the gold lacks the extravagant solidity of the Siberian work. The griffin is no longer upon his native gold mountains (f. 205).


Fig. 205. Gold plate from the Kuban district. *KTR* p. 486, pl. 449.
Finally we have the Novocherkassk treasure (v. p. 233). In this the
great crown shews a strange mixture of elements. The animals along the
upper edge and the birds between the great stones on the hoop are typically
Siberian, even recalling early Minusinsk productions: the idea of the whole
is perhaps Asiatic, the beading along each edge and the pendants below
are debased Greek, and in the middle of the front is a Graeco-Roman bust
of an empress, shewing that the whole must be of about the 3rd century A.D.
On the collar, shallow box (p. 234, ff. 139, 140) and bracelet we have
the Siberian style, but it has not the expression of ill-regulated vigour that even
the rudest of the former plates presented. The animals are rectilinear, and
the settings for stones are nearly all of the simple pear shape. In spite of
the complications there is no more the same play of fancy. The bottle
(f. 141) is interesting because it also offers some indication of date, for a
bottle of just the same shape and of similar technique, though not covered
with animals, was found in the tomb of the queen with the gold mask. In
it was also found a dish inscribed with the name of Rhescuporis, and it is
ascribed to the Rhescuporis who reigned from A.D. 212—229. This would
agree with the date assigned to the Novocherkassk treasure, but it does not
go for much as there were so many kings called Rhescuporis (v. Chapter
xix.). Among the Novocherkassk objects some (e.g. p. 235, f. 143) presented
the usual technique of the well-known jewelry inlaid with garnets that has
been called Gothic, before which the Siberian style gave place. This is the
final stage of its development under predominant Iranian influence.

The remarkable art of which the examples have been discussed in the
preceding pages evidently flourished in the Asiatic steppes. One specimen
(p. 251), generally similar to the plate from Verkhne-udinsk, found its way
to China and is figured in the Chinese archaeological work Kin-shih-so.
There is some resemblance in character between Siberian and Chinese art:
it may be due to some community of race, or perhaps one may have in-
fluenced the other; the connection may go back even to Minusinsk days. Or
again, the resemblance may be due to both having borrowed from Iranian
or some other central Asian art: in each case we seem to have an intrusion
of monsters ultimately derived from Mesopotamia, the great breeding ground
of monsters. And so they finally penetrated to the borders of China, just as
the Aramaic scripts twice traversed the same stretch in the cases of the Turkish
and Uigur alphabets. The early Chinese bronzes and jade earrings, figured
in such books as Po-ku-tu-hu and Kin-shih-so, are very much conventionalised:
we have the face T'ao-Tieh, or else the patterns are for the most part merely
geometrical. The Dragon, Tiger, and Phoenix only come in under the Han
Dynasty and decidedly recall Persian types, e.g. the Simurg, but the way in
which their bodies are twisted about is rather in the Siberian spirit.

The westward movement of the central Asian tribes, described above,
brought the users of this style into Europe, but here there were neither the
gold nor the precious stones, nor perhaps the skill to make the things. For we
must suppose that the nomads employed some other race, either their original helots from Minusinsk or, very possibly, Tadzhiks, men of Iranian blood from the borders of Iran and Turan, if one may still speak of Turan. Through all their history the nomads have been ready to borrow or rather seize their neighbours' tastes. In Europe the objects are decidedly decadent both in material, size and style. For the evolution and decay of the art we have to allow many centuries. The description of the panther from Kelermes (p. 222) sounds as if it was either an early specimen or a direct model, and that is referred to the 4th century B.C. The Novocherkassk treasure belongs to the 3rd century A.D. The names of the peoples in the steppes change many times during these eight centuries: it is clear that we cannot connect the style with any single historical name. Kieseritzky thought that the objects belonged to the Massagetae, of whom Herodotus says that they wear gold upon their belts and headdresses (i. 215): others have mentioned the gold ornaments of the Aorsi, and the gold ornaments of the Turks as seen by Zemarchus. The latter are of course too late in date, but both the former attributions may be right. A nomad has no other use for gold but to make it personal adornments. The Scythians of Herodotus presumably used the Scythian style which shows traces of Ionian archaic art; in time they or the earlier Sarmatians imported much made in the fully developed or Hellenistic styles; but towards the end of the 4th century B.C. the intercourse of coast and hinterland became less friendly, and the new tribes which arrived—Lazges or Alans—brought with them their own things and had less to do with the Greeks. These Alans came into close touch with the Teutonic tribes pressing down from the north-west, and the latter acquired from them a taste for gold and jewels, which they could not have developed in their own country, and some new elements of a beast-style. Hence a decided resemblance between the art of the Great Migration period and the Scytho-Siberian. Riegl (op. cit.) maintained that this art of the western barbarians was really an art of the Roman provinces developed according to a new "colouristic" principle. By this he meant that taste had shifted away from an appreciation of the delicate gradations of light and shade, the subtle modelling and the absolute disregard of the background which mark Classical art with its essentially plastic basis, towards strong contrasts either of light and shade (obtained by deep undercutting in plastic work) or of opposed colours, and towards a care for the shape of the background as well as for the subject or pattern, so that when the evolution is complete one cannot say which is background and which pattern. Modern decoration has shown a very similar tendency. This is true of Roman art and to a much greater degree, especially as regards colour, of barbarian art of the period, so that the change of taste in the Graeco-Roman world prepared it to receive the foreign elements that came in from the east and north. But Riegl wanted to make out that the character of the barbarian things was the result of the Roman change of taste. Hence he had to make the Siberian style, in which if anywhere the "colouristic" principle is predominant, late enough to be an effect of a process which began about the Christian era. How he would have done it we cannot

1 Strabo, xii. v. 8.
2 Menander, Fr. 20 in Müller, F.H.G. iv. p. 228.
tell, for the volume in which he was to have treated of the barbarian arts has never appeared; and now it never can.

This much seems clear: that the Siberian art as exemplified in the Novocherkassk treasure would naturally lead on to the "Gothic" style, the ornamental style of the barbarians that overran the Roman empire. Specimens of this work are distributed from Stockholm to Spain and from Ireland to the Caucasus, but there seems good reason to suppose that it arose in southern Russia, where alone could be a meeting point for the various influences of which it shews traces. The chief characteristics of the style are great love for beast-forms especially those of birds of prey, whose representations, reduced to a hooky beak and an eye, persist when all the other lines have become purely geometrical, and a way of incrusting the surface of an object with flat plates of stones or pastes, especially garnets or their equivalents, separated by cloisons of gold. The beast-style seems to derive from the Scytho-Siberian, the bright stones from the east, probably from Persia: but the mixing of these streams was not effected without Greek help, probably that of the goldsmiths of Panticapaeum who under oriental influence had long moved in the direction of a prodigal use of various coloured stones, especially almandines. That the origin of the style is to be sought in the east is shewn by the regular degradation of form, material and technique as we go westward, until in Anglo-Saxon graves we have stiff rectilinear designs, mere beak-heads, red glass and gilt bronze instead of conventional but spirited animals and garnets or emeralds upon gold.

The beast patterns already foreshadowed by the horse trappings from Krasniokutsk held their own longest as "Island varieties" in Ireland and Scandinavia, where they came to be thought autochthonous and characteristically Keltic or Northern. The way in which the handle of a bell from Llangwynod Church, Carnarvonshire, is treated might be Scythic. It has a head at each attachment just like the mirror from Sajansk and the ornament from Nikolaevskaja on p. 244, whereas the ornament on the same page from Bijsk has a pattern of right angles which is a very favourite one on the Teutonic cloisonné work.

Scythic Copies of developed Greek Style.

Thus the Ionian style or an adaptation of it survived in Scythia for many centuries after giving place in its own country and among its own people to the style of the great Attic masters. The Greeks in S. Russia followed the fashions of Hellas, so the productions of the finest period and later of the Hellenistic found their way to the Scythisans who evidently admired and valued them. But here was something too high for them to make their own,
and when they tried imitation the result was, as we have observed, hopelessly barbarous and made no approach to style, even the Kul Oba sheath\(^1\) shews something of this.

Fairly good specimens of the more advanced style in barbarous versions are: the quiver-cover from Prusy\(^2\), the Karagodevashkh head-piece (p. 218), and many of the small gold plaques, e.g. the griffins from Darievka\(^3\), others from Oguz\(^4\), also perhaps the gold band with dancers, a native interpretation of two of the Neo-Attic types\(^5\), and the necklace from Ryzhanovka (p. 179, fig. 74), and the plaques from Dört Oba near Sympheropol\(^6\).

The two horse frontlets from Tsymbalka (p. 166, figs. 54, 55), one of Greek work, the other an imitation of a very similar design, let us gauge the difference precisely. The Volkovs'ky frontlet is another such curious perversion of the gorgoneion and two griffins (p. 185, fig. 78). But mostly the Scythic interpretations of Greek motives are beyond words barbarous. Sometimes perhaps they were produced, like the indications from coins so common on Bosporan gold wreaths, by laying a slip of gold upon a relief, and so taking an impression. Such very thin leaves are peculiarly liable to crumpling in the earth, and when they are crumpled photographs do them even less than justice, so that they may not have looked as bad as the pictures of them do now. Also such flimsy work may well have been done just for funeral purposes, yet, all allowance made, the later Scythian craftsman made astonishingly bad copies of Greek originals of the free style. Nothing could be worse than some of the gold strips from Chertomlyk\(^7\), Kul Oba\(^8\), or Ryzhanovka\(^9\), and some of the plates for sewing on to clothes, more especially the masks\(^10\). So too nearly all other things from Volkovs'ky (v. p. 183 sqq.) shew a singular miscopying of Greek originals. The wearers just wanted the sparkle of the gold and did not much care about the design. This rudeness makes it particularly difficult to detect forgeries of Graeco-Scythic work. The forger and the ancient barbarian copyist were so much in the same position towards their models that the results are much the same. All such work is infinitely inferior to the barbarous but spirited productions of the old native art, marked by a distinct and constant style, or its adaptation of archaic Greek work.

**Greek Work for Scythian Market.**

In sharp contrast with the Scythic attempts to copy Greek work come the objects which, be they never so Scythic in shape and purpose, were evidently executed by Greeks on purpose for the Scythian market. Though some of them are disappointing on closer examination, yet they bear witness to the facile skill of Greek craftsmen and the energy of the Greek trader who studied the necessities of his barbarian customer and secured for him what would be a delight to his eyes, and at the same time useful and fitted.

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\(^1\) p. 203 = *ABC.* XXVI. 2.
\(^2\) *Khahenirko,* op. cit. II. 2, vili. 247.
\(^3\) *Sm.* II. iii. 2, p. 178.
\(^4\) *CR.* 1893, p. 89, fig. 145.\(^1\) f. 72.
\(^5\) *Sm.* II. xvi. 3, Husov. Nos. 36, 39 from Déev.
\(^6\) *Barrow,* *ABC.* XIX. pl. iii.
\(^7\) *Cr.* 1898, p. 9, ff. 4 and 5.
\(^8\) *p.* 157, f. 44 and K.T.*E.* p. 399, II. 269, 270.
\(^9\) *ABC.* II. 2.
\(^10\) *Sm.* II. xviii. 14.
\(^11\) *e.g.* *Sm.* II. pl. XI. and XXI.; *ABC.* XXII. et al.
for the necessities of his life. Some of the finer things may well have been presented by the Dynasts of the Bosporus or the governments of other Greek states to important chieftains among the natives, such presents as the tiara of Saitapharnes professed to be; some were probably executed on the spot by craftsmen who had tried their fortune in the service of native chieftains; but the greater part probably found their way through Bosporan middlemen from the workshops of Asia Minor or Panticapaeum to the treasures of Scythian chieftains. The details of such pieces as the Chertomlyk and Kul Oba vases and the Kul Oba necklace, as well as of several minor representations of Scyths, shew that some Greek artists must have been familiar with people and country, and the presence of Greek workmen in the interior of Scythia is evidenced by the existence of such tombs as Ogiz (p. 170, ff. 63, 64) with carefully fitted stones and characteristic Greek clamps. But that objects were exported from Greece itself on purpose for the Scythian market, is shown by the occurrence far in the interior of the productions of Attic ceramics, and the disproportionate frequency upon them of griffins and such like subjects supposed to be specially suitable.

**Chertomlyk Bow-case and Sheath.**

The most famous object made by Greek workmen to a Scythic pattern is the gold plaque from Chertomlyk that once covered the king's Gorytus (v. p. 164, f. 33 for the style, ff. 206, 207, for the compositions). Stephani, who first wrote about it, took it to be Attic workmanship and interpreted the scene by the obscure Attic legend of Alope. This opinion was usually accepted, until Furtwängler, in treating of the Vettersfelde find (op. cit. p. 47), pointed out that its true affinities are rather with Ionian work than with Attic; previous critics having been led astray by the evident reminiscence of the Parthenon frieze seen on the left of the lower tier of figures. Furtwängler, and after him F. Hauser, were unnecessarily hard upon the composition, the first accusing the maker of having merely filled up a given space with perfectly meaningless and unconnected figures from his sketch book; the latter making out that he did not even draw the figures himself, but that both they and the ornamental members were produced from ready made dies. A. N. Schwartz quotes Furtwängler and Hauser, and agrees with the latter, and at the same time points to the peculiar squat proportions of the figures, the prudish arrangement of the drapery, and the luxuriance of the ornament, all of which can be matched in later Ionian art, while the reminiscences of Attic compositions remodelled according to Ionian taste remind him of the treatment of Attic themes on the coinage of Cyzicus.  

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1 CR. 1884, p. 144-490.
3 Die ne-äthlichen Riliefs, p. 125.
5 On the History of ancient Greek reliefs on gold objects found in S. Russia.
7 Graef is very hard on the composition and even on the patterns, which he makes out to be very late.
More recently Prof. C. Robert has, to some extent, restored the reputation of the artist by proposing a new interpretation of the subject. He suggests that it is the discovery of Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes in Scyros, only that the scene has been snipped in half so that the figures of seated women ought to come on the right side of the girl rushing to the right. So we have Achilles, with his hair done like a woman's, seizing a dagger and restrained by Diomedes, while an elderly nurse holds back Deidamia. This latter, her secret discovered, is rushing towards her mother who sits between her other daughters attended by another maid-servant. Further to the right we have Lycomedes in a chair and by him two other men of Scyros examining arms brought by Ulysses, who has disguised himself as a crutched pedlar. More arms are justifiably used to fill in vacant spaces. The corners of the design are taken up with a scene of teaching a boy to shoot, and with the nurse bearing away Neoptolemus. All this goes back, according to Robert, to a picture of Achilles in Scyros painted by Polygnotus.  

and such episodes would be just in the manner of that artist. Hence coincidences with the Gjlishen Heroum well known to reflect his school. But the craftsman who made the relief was singularly awkward in his manner of adapting the design to the space he had to fill. He did not use ready made dies, traces of their edges would have shown on the plate, and the ornamental strips narrow towards the left side, so that no arrangement like a bookbinder's roll could be used. But he has cut the composition in half at

\[2\] *Pannania*, l. xxii. 6.
a critical point, so that the women are looking at nothing at all; and he was quite at a loss to fill in the right hand: acute angle. The best he could do was to repeat the reclining young Scythian from below and put in a perfectly inconsequent elderly man sitting on a camp-stool with a staff against his right shoulder, but no right arm whatsoever. So again the left end of the animal frieze is very clumsily managed: and yet through all the imperfections of the copy the grace of the single figures of the original shines clear.

Robert's interpretation is fully accepted by W. Malmberg, who shows also that enough of the Karagodeuashkh cover (pp. 220, 221, pl. 124, 125) is left to make us sure that it was identical in style and similar in disposition to the perfect Chertomlyk specimen. He suggests that it is derived from the Illu Persis of the same master, but there is not enough left to judge by and certainly Robert's restoration of that picture does not endorse his view.

Malmberg takes the two as a text for a detailed study in the affinities of this whole class of objects and accordingly deals with the Chertomlyk sheath which is of much the same character. He begins by pointing out that the subject of the latter is not, as has been supposed, a combat of Greeks and Scyths, but of Greeks and Persians, and refers it likewise to the school of Polygnotus, to the Marathon painted in the Στοά Ποικίλα at Athens by his pupils Micon and Panaenus. Here again the craftsman has not arranged his material with much skill. For instance the

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two first figures on the left are known elsewhere, one at Gjölbashi, the other in the guise of an Amazon on a vase which he figures; but the Greek is calling forward his men, and his attitude has no meaning if there be no men on that side; whereas he pays no attention to the Persian who is about to cut him down, for he does not belong here but to a scene of single combat with an antagonist in a corresponding position. So too the Persian horseman farther along has no lower part to his body, his shoulders are immediately above the saddle. His horse can be paralleled from Gjölbashi. The horse at the end fills the space rather well but the helmet does not come in satisfactorily. The two griffins at the hilt are not very happy, and in the original, which must have been something like the group on the Chertomlyk vase, the griffin upon the characteristic projection could not have been occupied merely with the head of a deer.

In a review of Malmberg's essay S. A. Zhebeliev enters a protest against his tendency to assign everything to Polycnotus and warns us not to attribute everything to Ionia and nothing to Athens. He does not however offer any definite valid reasons against putting these pieces down as Asiatic.

The whole question receives fresh light from the discovery made by General Brandenbourg of an almost exact replica of the Chertomlyk cover in a Scythic grave near Iljintsy (government of Kiev). Kieseritzky says that the only differences are that the quality of the gold is much inferior and that there is different application of dotted work. He maintains that the two objects were made upon the same die, instead of being repoussé freely. This argues that the Scythian trade was important enough for it to be worth a Greek's while to make not merely isolated specimens of objects for specifically Scythian use, but to prepare for producing several replicas of one pattern. It emphasizes the distinction between the first-rate works of art destined for the Scythians, works which may be taken to be presents from Greek rulers, and the mere trade productions exported for barbarians whose critical faculty was not too highly developed. It does not touch the question whether the designer of the die had heaped together absolutely unmeaning figures or spolli a ready-made composition in adapting it to fill a strange space. Kieseritzky rejects Robert's interpretation and regards the design as disjecta membra of various cycles of representations.

**Kul Oba Vase.**

Of quite another character is the work on the well-known electrum vase from Kul Oba (p. 200, f. 93). The form of the vessel is apparently Scythic. It can be paralleled by three others from the same tomb, two others from near Kerch, one from Ryzhanovka, and two from Volkovtsy. It may well be developed from such round-bottomed pots as are figured

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1. op. cit. p. 188; f. 36 and p. 185; f. 28—Bau-255; p. 2000; f. 2154.
2. Yet cf. *CR.* 1882, p. 69, f. 117; carnivore and ram's head on a copper plate from Jemini.
4. Vase-painting just before the Persian

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*Arch. Anz.* 1903, p. 83; *B.C.A.* III, p. 31; p. 198, f. 91, *ABC.* XXXIV, and XXXV.

*Soc.* 11, xvii. 7.

*Khaneiko,* 11, 2, XXX. 451 and 457 on p. 186.
by Bobrinskoi. An intermediate stage is furnished by a wide-mouthed silver vessel from Galushchino (p. 186, No. 450), resembling the rest of the silver ones in material, but decorated much in the same way as the clay pots. One scheme of ornament is common to almost the whole class, a simple fluting and a guilloche which may go back to Assyrian models: the more elaborate examples have a frieze with beasts, and this one specimen genre scenes from nomad life. There can be no question but that these were executed by a Greek in the 4th century, when the tendency to realism had succeeded to the period of ideal art. The artist must have enjoyed portraying a subject so full of local colour, and he has taken pleasure in representing every detail. Characteristic of the stage of art is the accuracy with which the expressions of pain, care and effort are rendered on the faces. Of the other vases of the type, one with a beast frieze is of Scythic work as has been seen; the other Kerch examples seem rather Greek, those from Little Russia apparently of native execution. The technique is always the same, repoussé and parcel gilt.

Cheromlyk Vase.

Not less than the artist of the Kul Oba vase, that of the Chertomlyk (often called Nicopol, pp. 159—161, ff. 46—49) vase must have studied the Scythians at first hand. But in this case there has been no native influence upon either form or design. Only the purpose is Scythic, for there can be little doubt that the vase was meant for kumys. It stands about 2 ft. 4 in. (70 cm.) high with a greatest breadth of about half as much and is in the form of an amphora with a base instead of a point below. In the neck is a fine strainer and there are strainers in the three outlets. Of these the principal in the midst of the main front of the vase is in the form of a horse's head, itself treated realistically but surrounded by a kind of frill taken from the rayed comb (Strahlenkamm) of griffins, flanked by great wings. The side outlets are rather conventional lion-heads. Each outlet was furnished with a plug attached by a chain. This arrangement suggests that the vase was meant for some liquid with scum or dregs, most probably kumys; strainers are common in rich Scythic graves. Below the neck, which is left plain, the shoulders of the vase are decorated by two bands of reliefs. The upper one, slightly repoussé and heightened with gilding, offers on each side a scene of two griffins attacking a stag. The band below this goes continuously round the vase and bears the well-known scene of breaking in ailly, or whatever it may be (v. p. 48): the technique is curious. The figures have been separately cast solid, gilded and soldered on to the ground. Lassos and reins were in silver wire now broken away but remaining in the grasp of some figures. It is not necessary to insist on

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3 P. 23, f. 23—RCA. IV. p. 31, f. 3; Sm. II. viii. 17—20.
4 The pictures of this vase (e.g. R.T.R. pp. 266—
268, ff. 256—258) all go back to the same outline
drawings in CR. 1864, pl. II—III. and ASH. It
would be well if photographs could be reproduced,
but for this we must await the Hermitage catalogue.
This applies to most of the Scythic antiquities
found about that period. Maskell's figure (Russian
Art, London, 1884, p. 44) is independent but unsa-
satisfactory, better in Raye, op. cit. p. 225.
the ethnographic importance of this scene, nor on its artistic perfection. Its exactness is shown by the care with which two different breeds of horses are distinguished. These cast figures are in equally high relief on all sides, but the repoussé work is higher at the front and shades off so that behind forms are only indicated by engraving and gilding. Below the band of Scythians the whole surface of the vase is covered with arabesques made up of palmettes, flowers, tendrils and leaves of acanthus with storks and other birds about the branches. Some have found this a reminiscence of the luxuriant vegetation of the steppe!

The whole work is perhaps the finest extant example of toretic at the moment of its most consummate mastery, when it was ministering to the suddenly blown luxury of the newly founded Hellenistic kingdoms. An artist of such skill could hardly have been under the necessity of seeking his fortune in the perilous chances of nomad life. Shall we not rather see in it a gift ordered of some Asiatic master by a ruler of the Bosporus or of Olbia, who gave him opportunities for studying the natives, whom he wished to delight with a suitable present? This is no mere boating for commercial purposes such as we have already discussed. This is a masterpiece produced when the very highest art was no longer flourishing, but such decorative work as this was at its very best. Prof. Furtwangler in an obiter dictum assigns the vase to the end of the 1st century, but he gives no grounds and it is hard to think that either figures or ornament can be anything like so early. It corresponds with the naturalistic treatment of barbarians characteristic of the Pergamene school, as in the statues set up by Attalus at Athens, e.g. the motive of the Scyth with one shoulder bared which recalls the Persian at Aix.

Other ornaments made for Scythians.

We may say something similar of the Kul Oba king's necklet (p. 202, l. 97) that ends in Scythic horsemen. The artist had probably seen Scythians and worked in their country: also in his design he has probably but improved upon a native model. The ordinary ending is a lion's head as with the broken specimen. This cannot fail to recall the disposition of the inlaid Persian necklets and bracelets above illustrated (p. 271), and the resemblance is increased by the occurrence of colour, blue enamel in the palmettes, in the Kul Oba example, though enamel is not unknown in Greek work outside South Russia. The queen's necklet with a whole lion and the simple bead ornament also suggests native models; and similar treatment occurs on the necklet from Karagodeuashkh with its particularly spirited treatment of a lion and boar. Very like the Kul Oba lion-head necklet is that from the Selgir. Identical design and execution are seen on the whetstone mountings, for instance one from that same tomb, from Kul Oba and others, all no doubt made for Scythian use (v. p. 73).

1 Arch. Anz. 1872, p. 114.
2 Dr. C. Waldstein and Mr. A. J. B. Wace confirm me in this view. Mr. A. B. Cook compares the patterns on Achian vases, e.g. Furtwangler, u. Reichhold, Gr. Vasenmaler, see ii. £ 32, pl. 88—90; so too Riegl, Stilfragen, p. 255. For fresh light on Chertomlyk, esp. the gorgous, v. Addenda.
3 ABC. VIII. 3 on p. 197; cf. p. 205, n. 2.
4 ABC. VIII. 2 on p. 197.
5 I. s. 8, 9 on p. 217.
6 CR. 1891, p. 76, l. 38.
7 Le. £ 37.

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Another ornament which could not very well have been made for any other than barbarian use is the curious three-storied tiara from Besle-
nevskaja (p. 58, f. 11); its work is rather mechanical and the use of
almandines suggests a late date; but only a Greek could have made it.

A Greek design, which may yet go back to underlying Scythic ideas,
is that of the silver pectoral, or whatever it may be, from No. ii. of
the VII Brothers (p. 207, f. 105). Above we have the hind with the golden
horns, which must have come into Greek mythology from the North—for
among deer only the reindeer female has horns—suckling her fawn, below
an eagle displayed with girt wings and tail. This latter is conventionalized
in the archaic spirit which recalls the Scythian manner, and the horns are
treated much in the same way; but we cannot be sure that it was definitely
made for Scythians; the like is true of the rhyta from the same barrows
(p. 211, f. 110, p. 210, n. 1, 2), from Kul Oba (p. 197, f. 99, p. 196 b) and
from Tannais, all archaic in feeling.

The three rhyta from Karagodeuashkh are in the free style. They
are not in very good preservation but appear to have been of excellent
work. One of them bears figures of barbarian horsemen which would
indicate special preparation for its destined owners. Malmberg makes a
great point of the particular species of deer represented on one of them,
a deer with palmate antlers (πρήκτης) confined, he says, to Asia Minor
and unknown to the European Greeks. Hence the artist must have come from
Asia. This argument would apply to the Chertomlyk sheath and gorytus.

A curious example of Greek work made on a purely Scythic model
is the unique cauldron found by Prof. D. I. Evarnitskii in a barrow called
Raskopana Mogila (the dug-out tomb) near Mikhailovo-Apostolovo in the
district of Kherson (p. 79, f. 21). It is more regular in shape than any
other and has three bands of ornament produced by applying thick wire
to the surface of the vessel. The upper band has conventionalized bucrania
and roundels, the lower is a simple zigzag, between them runs a row of
palmettes. The superior workmanship of the whole proves a Greek
artificer. The palmettes and especially the bucrania suggest a comparatively
late date. As it weighs more than forty pounds this can hardly have been
an article for export. It may have been made in the country under the
direction of a Greek adventurer.

As has been already remarked the Greek style influenced horses' gear
least of all, but one horse's frontlet of Greek work from Tsymbalka has
already been mentioned in connexion with a very similar design of Scythic
execution from the same tomb, and it is accompanied by a cheek-piece
also apparently Greek. These are quite elegant, but are far surpassed by
the set found in Chmyreva barrow in the same district by the bend of the
Dnepre. Here we have a curious forehead ornament (purely Scythic examples
of the same type were at Alexandropol, Krasnokutsk, Chertomlyk and
Oguiz) that has a distinctly eastern look, and one or two pieces are barbarous
imitations of Greek originals; but we have round and oval plates embossed

\[1 \text{ Arch. Ann. 1910, p. 204, f. 5, BCA. XXXV.} \]
\[2 \text{ p. 210, f. 121; Mat. XIII, Lappo-Danilevskij,} \]
\[3 \text{ p. 30, and Malmberg, p. 140.} \]
and then finished with the burin, large ones representing the head of Hercules in his lion's skin, smaller ones with Medusa and cheek plates both of the common wing-shape (as at Tsymbalka and Volkovtsy) and of a special singularly elegant pattern. All are executed in the manner of the best early Hellenistic style. Interesting is the treatment of the gorgoneion. As has been seen, the Scyths had long been accustomed to the archaic round-faced type with the tongue out, and here we have the same type translated into the less naive forms of later art without approaching the refined beauty of the Rondanini type. Finally one cannot but think that the great mass of gold embossed plates was consciously intended for the Scythian market, such a large proportion of them bear Scythian scenes (pp. 138, 197) or the monsters connected with Scythia in the popular mind, that it is fair to say that most of them were always destined thither. By these plates alone we could trace Greek art from the late archaic stage, to which belong some of the Medusa-heads and others recalling early 5th century coin types down to the Hellenistic times. Those found in Scythian graves are of precisely the same style as most of the others and all were probably prepared by the same set of merchants trading with Scythia.

Strips of gold, popular as they were with the natives who largely imitated them (p. 157, f. 44), were also worn as head bands by the Greeks themselves and occur in purely Greek graves both in Kerch and near Olbia (p. 392, f. 288, 289). They did not require to be made specially.

A more difficult question is raised by some pieces that have nothing barbaric about them except that they were found in Scythic graves and show a certain prodigality of gold that hardly agrees with our idea of Greek taste. But this taste for heavy ornaments, were it in its origin barbarous or not, was certainly shared by inhabitants of the Greek coast cities.

The weight of the Kul Oba temple-ornaments with the medallions of Athena does not far surpass those with Nereids carrying the arms of Achilles found in the Taman Bliznitsa, the tomb of a priestess of Demeter; and this lady’s calathos and other head-gear were heavier than anything in Kul Oba (pp. 425, 426, f. 315, 316). Other large ornaments have been found in un-Greek graves at Theodosia (p. 401, f. 294) and in the tomb under the town wall at Chersonese (pp. 397, 422). The Kul Oba Sphinx bracelet in spite of its massiveness seems too elegant to have been made for a barbarian king: much more the Pegasus and Thetis bracelet with its reminiscence of archaic art, and perhaps the queen’s bracelet of griffins in spite of its subject. The same is true of the more delicate jewelry from Karagolevashka and Ryzhanovka. Here a curious example of Greek art, produced with no thought of Scythians’ taste, yet appreciated by them, is afforded by the Panticapaean staters set in rings. In general the Greek things found in Scythic tombs are just those which were in use among the Greek coast population and so were on the spot to be offered in barter to the natives and to attract their taste. Of such the next chapter treats.

1 Yet this was not unknown, v. CR. 1892, p. 20. 4 The British Museum has plates from Kul Oba (?).
3 e.g. ABC, xx. 17; CR. 1877, III. 9, 10 on p. 288.
4 e.g. ABC, xx. 1, 2, 3, on pp. 138, 197, 208.
5 p. 180, cf. pl. V. 16; Sm. ii. viii. 5, 11.
Fig. 265. Hygieia (?). Olbia. 4. BCA. xiii. Pl. II. v. p. 257. Nose restored.
CHAPTER XI.

ART IN THE GREEK COLONIES.

§ 1. General Characteristics.

Scythic art has a special interest because it is one of the most important sources of information as to the origin of the nomads of South Russia, and its productions are all that is left us of a great nation; accordingly its remains have been examined in some detail. The specimens of Greek art found in Scythia or in the coast settlements are, on the contrary, but a small part of the total mass of Greek art-work known, this small part being selected from the greater whole by the taste and commercial connexions of the three or four chief colonies. Still, this comparatively small part has yielded what is absolutely an enormous number of works of art, and it will be impossible to treat these as fully as the Scythic objects. It might be thought safe entirely to ignore the finds made in such obscure towns as being unlikely to tell us anything which would not be more satisfactorily attained by investigations at the great centres of Greek art and civilization, but it just happens that certain crafts of the ancient world have left better specimens in this region than in any other. Whereas we shall find hardly any architecture or sculpture worth serious attention, decorative painting in its latest form is represented; almost the only Greek carpentry, inlaying and drawing on wood and almost the only textiles preserved have been saved for us in South Russian graves; the later styles of ceramics can be well studied, and some special developments observed, and terra-cottas without attaining to a high level shew how the Bosporan artists followed at a distance the movements of taste and fashion in the main centres of life. In bronze work also we have artistic specimens of mirrors and mirror cases, horse-trappings and various vessels with relief work dating from the early 8th century onwards. But it is in the precious metals that the South Russian discoveries are richest. In silver, besides the peerless Chertomlyk vase, we have vessels of all kinds of shapes and very varied decoration dating from the late archaic to Roman times. In gold work not even Etruscan tombs have furnished such perfect specimens. In their own way the necklets from Kul Oba, from Theodosia and the Great Buznitsa, the earrings from Theodosia and Chersonese, one or two of the gold wreaths, the calathis from the Buznitsa, the Nereid temple-ornaments from the same tomb, and those with Athena Parthenos and the Sphinx bracelets from Kul Oba, have never been surpassed as triumphs of the goldsmith's art.

It is possible to guess at some of the causes that determined the character of the finds, at least that of those made about the Cimmerian Bosporus. Here we had Greeks living under strong barbarian influence, their archons were of barbarian extraction, and ruled as kings over neighbouring barbarous
tribes. The Milesians themselves were largely crossed with Asiatic blood: the barbarians both of Asia and of Scythia had very strong beliefs in the necessity of providing the dead with a permanent dwelling and with all that they could want in the next world. Hence the Ionian colonists in Scythia were especially likely to raise solid memorials to their dead and fill the well-built sepulchral chambers with precious things, more likely than the home Greeks, whose notions of the next world were more exposed to scepticism. The Bosporans, too, were rich with the riches of a commercial class and had a taste for ornaments of gold upon their apparel. Moreover, their land produced little fine stone (hence the wooden sarcophagi), but easily worked coarse stone (hence the vaults that often kept all these things in good preservation). Further, we must not forget that the most precious things of all come from frankly barbarian graves. The combination of circumstances is best paralleled by the state of Etruria, where the wealthy lucumones had a taste for Greek art, and fitted up their everlasting abodes with beautiful things of Greek, or imitation Greek, style. But the time of Etruscan wealth, though in all it lasted longer, came to an end sooner than Bosporan and Scythian prosperity, and the one region yields products of stiff archaic art, the other, mostly objects which show the most delicate and fanciful, if rather overblown, art of the times succeeding Alexander. In this the resemblance is rather to Grecian Egypt, from which many parallels will be quoted.

§ 2. Architecture.

It is difficult completely to account for the lack of monumental art. No doubt it existed to some extent, but nothing like what there must have been in most Asiatic Greek towns. Had there been many great buildings adorned with sculpture they could not have perished entirely, troublous though the history of Panticapaeum and Olbia may have been. So the general results have in this respect been disappointing throughout the whole coast, but the new systematic excavations at Olbia give us hope. The Hellenistic house and Prytaneum (?) (pp. 455—457) do present considerable interest, and there is a good Hellenistic anta capital: also one or two fragments, e.g. a marble cyma, date from quite early times. The city walls too are reported to be of impressive solidity, but city walls are rather engineering than architecture. So too the great tombs, whether ancient as the Royal Barrow and others near Kerch, or of the Roman period like those at Olbia (inf. pp. 417—420, ff. 308, 309), are also rather engineering works, though some of them have architectural embellishments, e.g. the first tomb in the Great Bliznitsa near Taman had an elegant cornice, but painted only (v. p. 423, ff. 312, 313).

Chersonese stands on a different footing. As a Dorian city it has singularly little in common with the other Scythian colonies. Also the greater part of its site having rock just under the surface, buildings were more likely

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to be cleared away and their materials worked up into new ones. The first attempt at a city wall is well preserved because it was treated as a mere retaining wall to support a road across a piece of swampy ground, and accordingly earthed up in Roman times. Now that it is uncovered it produces quite an imposing effect. Of strictly architectural work we have but fragments, a few bits of cornice (one in painted terracotta) and architrave, an Ionic capital and some late poor pillars built into Uvarov's basilica. The Byzantine remains are another matter, and because of their definite interest will be treated briefly in their place (infra p. 508). The cave churches at Inkerman and other sites in the Crimea are beyond my scope.

From Panticapaeum we have a few pieces in the Hermitage, and some bits lying about Mount Mithridates or stored in Melek Chesme barrow. Ashik figures a few more, now lost. The temple of Artemis Agrotera has left no trace; the building in which the inscription was found at Akhtanizovka cannot have been a temple. So too with the other temples of whose existence we know. At Anapa a coffer with a Medusa-head from the ceiling of a large building has been dug up; baths have been excavated at Panticapaeum (infra p. 366, l. 445) and Chersonese (infra p. 506).

§ 3. Sculpture.

As with architecture so with sculpture. Not a single good life-size statue has ever been found in South Russia. No large bronzes are known at all, and the few marble statues are of very little value, so I have felt it my duty to enumerate fragments that would scarcely claim attention elsewhere. On the other hand, we have any quantity of funeral bas-reliefs varying in quality from bad to a badness such that there might be some doubt whether they represent the human form at all. Yet it is but just to say that comparatively few gravestones have survived from before the 1st century B.C., and hardly any of these bear figures.

We have evidence in a signature of Praxiteles that at any rate the Olbiopolitae tried to secure good work, but of the work itself we have not a fragment. We know from Pliny that an Eros by the same hand existed as near as Parium on the Propontis. We have in an inscription from Chersonese the name of another well-known artist, Polycrates, who may well be the Athenian famous for representing athletes. We can better spare the various statues of whose former existence we know by the whole series of inscriptions from Panticapaeum and Phanagoria, though portraits of the
Spartocid kings would have been interesting, especially as the heads are gone from the bas-relief above the Athenian decree in honour of the sons of Leucou.

Of the figure subjects actually preserved, the oldest is a little bit of back hair from Olbia, Milesian work like the Croesus columns at Ephesus; second seems to rank a piece of a sepulchral relief from Kerch with a youth's head and shoulders, Attic work of the early 6th century. Next come more fragments from Olbia, a bit of hair and brow in the style of the Parthenon, a mutilated head of the end of the century, and a larger piece now in the Historical Museum at Moscow, part of a 1st century grave-relief in Pentelic marble with a mistress like the seated figure of Demetria and Pamphile and a maid behind her chair, but the heads are gone and the stone split, after which the back was used for *IosPE*. t. 64, a dedication to Apollo Prostates, with a figure of extraordinary barbarity; so that of the good work hardly anything is left. Something similar happened to the stone of *IosPE*. iv. 36, also from Olbia, and bearing reliefs of young men.

To the 17th century belonged the monument of Comosary, with its statue of Astara, which is figured by Ashik, but has since been lost. We still have from Chersonese a girl's torso at Odessa, of which Zhebelévy says that after the manner in which the zone and dipteryon are arranged and the folds treated, it would seem to go back to a good 1st century original; he suggests as its nearest analogue a statue at Corfu, which recalls the middle period of Praxiteles. O. Waldauser publishes a torso of a draped woman from Theodosia, which he dates between 470 and 460 B.C. (he means 370—360). In the same collection we have a female head from Olbia in very poor preservation, but also of 17th century date, and to the same period seems to go back a sleeping Eros with a torch, similar but inferior to one at Vienna.

A bearded male head from Olbia in the Historical Museum at Moscow, is not unlike Asclepius, is referred to O. Waldauser to Scopas himself, but it looks later in his picture, and is in any case very fragmentary. To the end of the 17th century belongs the most interesting statue from South Russia, the replica of the Phidian Athena Parthenos in Pentelic marble dug up at Olbia in 1903. Pharmacovskij judges it Attic work, though rather careless and mechanical, placing it between the Somzée and Patras replicas. Another piece in Pentelic marble is a Hellenistic head from Kerch.

From Olbia, from the Hellenistic house at IX on the plan (p. 450, f. 331), come the most attractive of sculptures from these parts, the three heads, of

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3. ABC. Frontispiece, 15, Riemlich, p. 40. "KW."
4. Pl. xxxii.
5. BCA. xxxiv. p. 215, f. 45.
7. "KW." 150, pl. 3.
9. App. 30 = *IosPE*. ii. 44.
17. BCA. xxv. pp. 76—122, Pl. f. 1.
18. BCA. xiv. pp. 69—63, Pl. 1—111.
19. O. Waldauser in BCA. xvii. p. 99 wishes to refer it to the school of Phidias c. 450 B.C., but Pharmacovskij, ib. p. 169, successfully defends his own view.
about half life-size, dug up by Pharmacovskij in 1902. He has no difficulty in shewing the first to be that of Asclepius, and finally comes to the conclusion that it is Alexandrian work of the middle of the 3rd century, recalling as it does the style of Bryaxis, e.g. his Serapis, but shewing some influence of Lysippus. The expression is mild and compassionate, without the exaggerated passion of Pergamum or Rhodes. The wonderfully beautiful

female head (p. 292, f. 208) has less defined characteristics, but agrees with the first. The only reason for its being named Hygeia is that it was found with the Asclepius. The third head is that of a child, but shews only the beginning of that accurate study of infant forms which reached its perfection in Boethus; one hesitates to give it a name, but it may be an Eros.

To the 1nd century belongs a pair of Hermi from Kerch, one headless, representing Heracles, another with the Bearded Hermi (f. 209). Another such Hermi (f. 210) in marble, of a more archaistic character, was found at

\[\text{M.} \]
Chersonese in 1890, and is very closely related to the original from which the artificer whose moulds were found there that same year had taken his cast. It distinctly recalls the Hermes of Alcamenes from Pergamum.

To the class of the late Hellenistic genre subjects belongs a statuette from Akkerman, now at Odessa. It represents a hunter in a chlamys. The execution is rough, belonging to the last century B.C. To a model originating in the same sort of taste goes back a statue dedicated by the Olbian strategi to Apollo Prostates in the 11th century A.D.—a boy with a wine-skin, from which the water of a fountain is to gush.

Of the Odessa collection perhaps the most pleasing specimen is a bas-relief from Kerch, with Artemis, Apollo Daphnephoros, Hermes and Peitho or Aphrodite. Reinauch sees it in Attic-Ionian sculpture of about 470 B.C. But the figure of Peitho in its transparent dress seems to betray the taste of a later time, and the relief would more likely belong to the archaistic class; its poor preservation makes it hard to be quite sure. It recalls the lost Corinth puteal, which was almost certainly Neo-Attic. So Hauser says, and Kondakov would seem to agree.

Of whole statues perhaps the best are those of a man and a woman of the 1st century A.D., discovered at Glinischche, near Kerch. They are rather over life-size and of regular Roman work. The woman generally resembles the well-known woman from Herculaneum; the type also occurs in terra-cotta. At Odessa is a female head from Theodosia bearing some relation to this group, but earlier in execution. From Kerch comes an elaborate sarcophagus on which recline the mutilated figures of a man and a woman; the position is that so common on Etruscan sarcophagi; on the sides are interesting reliefs with scenes from the life of Achilles. There is also a statue of Cybele in poor preservation. Both these are also illustrated by Ashik, who gives some other fragments, but his drawings are so bad as to be almost worthless. A good Roman portrait head at Odessa comes from Olbia. It belongs to the 2nd century A.D., and Zhebeliev sees it in Mut, Paulina, and von Stern, in a note to Zhebeliev's article, Julia Maesa.

Animals have not fared better than men. There is a very stiff lifeless lion from Kerch in the Hermitage (f. 211), rather a better one from Chersonese, and a pair of rather worse ones from Olbia, chiefly interesting for the mysterious marks scratched upon them. A griffin's body at Odessa might have once adorned the palace of Scyles. In the little museum at Theodosia is an elegant bas-relief of a griffin, but it came from Kerch; a marble table-leg in the form of a lion from Chersonese is good as mere decoration. The British Museum has some specimens from Kerch, sent home by Colonel Westmacott in 1856; they include figures of a lion and lioness, a relief of Tritons and some typical grave stele.

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7. Stern, Od. Max. Guida, p. 102, makes it 11th cent.
9. ABC. Frontispiece 7, 8, Reinauch, p. 39.
11. ABC. Frontispiece 9, Reinauch, p. 38; t. lix. 12.
13. op. cit. p. 71, f. 3.
14. CR. 1895, p. 49, f. 43.
17. CR. 1890, p. 31, f. 16.
Later Work. Grave Stelae

These stelae have been comprehensively studied by Watzinger\(^1\). His first class\(^1\) consists of those without figures. Besides the plain stelae or those with a simple horizontal moulding along the top, referred to any century between \(\text{VI} \ B.C.\) and \(1 \ A.D.\) — these may have the further adornment of two rosettes or weapons — we have in the \(11\text{th century} \ B.C.\) a simplification of a cornice with eaves, and at all periods a pedimental top. A more interesting termination is the palmette in its varieties. Here belongs the oldest piece of carving from Kerch, not later than the \(9\text{th century} \ B.C.\), an arrangement of palmettes and volutes, recalling early Ionian pottery or even Cypriothrac-Pheenician work\(^2\). More ordinary forms were at first probably painted: the favourite variety is a palmette rising from a pair of \(\infty\) volutes commonly not lying horizontally as in most Attic work, but set vertically back to back, an East-Greek form\(^3\). Between the volutes there gradually grow up acanthus leaves and flowers until the palmettes are disintegrated into sprays of volutes\(^4\). About the middle of the \(4\text{th century} \ Attic fashion comes in again; e.g. an anthemion from Chersonese in Pentelic marble (f. 212), and imitations from Kerch. All these types are copied unintelligently in the \(1\text{st century} \ A.D.\) and caricatured in the next\(^5\).

The figured stelae Watzinger\(^1\) first classifies by their architecture: they offer curious examples of degradation. The actual relief is usually in a

\(^1\) *KW*. (v. p. 205, n. 6) is mostly his work though he has used Kieseritzky's materials. He describes over 800 reliefs and illustrates some 589, but often older cuts, e.g. some in *CR*, Latyshev's in *ESP*, iv. and *BA* x., and MacPherson's in *Kerick* are clearer.


\(^3\) *KW*. Pl. v.

\(^4\) *KW*. Pl. vi., vii.

\(^5\) *KW*. Pl. vi., vii.

\(^6\) *KW*. Pl. ix.

\(^7\) *KW.* pp. 22—26.
rectangular panel frequently flanked by pilasters; above is a kind of entablature, often with three rosettes on the frieze. Above this, again, the composition is in a few cases, in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., finished off with an anthemion; more usually by a pediment with acroteria, occasionally giving the top a gabled outline. Far more commonly above the pediment is another horizontal moulding. The acroteria are sometimes left flat as it were for painted palmettes (Figs. 214, 215), later they degenerate into shapeless lumps; more often an attempt at a palmette is carved upon them, usually without the base volutes (Fig. 215). Between the acroteria and in the pediment we generally have rosettes. The most elaborate composition (II century B.C.) has to flank the relief Ionic columns supporting an architrave with circles incised upon it; above this is an Ionic portico, with rails and large shields between the five columns, a bust of Demeter in the pediment and large rosettes above. Instead of the rectangular field we very often find a niche with an arched top, and the treatment of this arch in conjunction with the pilasters and architrave shews how early the Eastern Greeks began to try and reconcile the two principles, for these rude imitations follow more accomplished Hellenistic models; but we have all the combinations which elsewhere play a greater part, the arch rising from the pilasters themselves as on Fig. 213, or from an inner order or else from brackets; in the spandrels we have long-stemmed volutes or rosettes. Above the arch come the same upper members as above the rectangular fields.

The reliefs themselves—sometimes there are two on one stone—offer the ordinary types. The feminine figures, which occur singly or in all possible combinations, are all represented on Fig. 213, the lady sitting or standing.

1. KW: 407, pl. xxviii.
in an attitude of dejection and the basket-bearing maid often on a smaller scale. The man appears as taking leave of the woman, at other times he is standing alone, and then is usually armed. In Fig. 214 he is resting his elbow on a pillar against which his shield leans while his gorytus hangs behind him. At other times we see him riding out to war with his groom following on foot or on horseback (Fig. 215). Both these stelae have been set up by the society to whom the deceased belonged (v. Ch. xix.). The galloping type like Fig. 218 is rare; usually the horse is walking. When
there are two reliefs they may represent two different aspects of the dead man's life, e.g. on the stele of Gazurias (p. 507, l. 339), above the relief of arms typifying his warlike side, is a group shewing him with his wife, a boy
and a child. In the case of Fig. 216 the name of Dionysius and his relief have been added after that of Diophantus. The armed horseman is often combined on one stele with the so-called "Funeral Feast" (Totentafel),


\[ \text{Fig. 216. CR. 1890, p. 25, f. 14: PEP.} \]

\[ \text{iv. 308: KW. 624, f. 15.} \]

\[ \text{Stele of Diophantus.} \]

\[ \text{Kerch.} \]

a very common subject; we have a man reclining on a couch, a woman sitting at the end of it, a servant offering him a cup, a three-legged table before him, and other minor figures. The scene is universal throughout the Greek world. Besides Panticapaeum, where it also occurs painted on the walls of "catacombs" (pp. 312—321, ff. 223, 224, 229, 231), we meet it at Tyras

(3rd century B.C.), Olbia, and Chersonese (Fig. 217); this last in Christian times was let into the walls of a basilica, hence the crosses and inscriptions. Originally the type exhibited the dead man as a hero, as in the well-known Sparta reliefs; but the specimens on the Bosporus have become purely conventional; if they represent anything it is rather the dead man in his family circle. Soraceus, for instance (p. 321, f. 231), holds a lyre instead of the usual cup or the bunch of grapes that often takes its place. The idea of the deified dead man still survives on the tombstone with elaborate architecture, quite an aedicula, described above; on it the man is being crowned by Nike, and his wife appears as a goddess (Aphrodite?).

Unusual subjects are those on the stele of Glycerion and Polysthenes—two men in red in a blue and red boat upon a blue sea—and the memorial of a poet with a lyre and book-cabinet.

Rather like a grave relief is Tryphon's dedication from Tanaïs (Fig. 218). The type recalls the coins of Cotys II (Pl. viii, 4), terra-cottas from Kerch, and a clasp in the form of a horseman from Sympheropolis. From this latter site come reliefs of Tauri (?), one a trousered rider, early 17th century, the other with two fields, in one a horseman, in the other a spearman in a doublet with a small targe.

The ordinary steleae with reliefs date from the 11th century B.C. to the 11th century A.D. Two, clearly among the latest in style, bear the actual date 426 of the Bithynian, Pontic or Bosporan era (A.B.) = 130 A.D. Hardly one of them has any artistic merit; the great majority come from Panticapaeum,
a few from Olbia and Chersonese. I cannot detect any local distinction of style. The very last stage of degradation would seem to be reached in the stones set up by Roman soldiers at Chersonese, e.g. to Aurelius Victor and the son of Aurelius Victor; if it were not for rude plates in the shape of head and shoulders, something like Muhammadan tombstones but flat. There are a few attempts at sepulchral effigies, but they are very poor. The stele from Kerch not only crowed the Hermitage and the Kerch, Moscow and Odessa Museums, but are preserved, many of them, in the Royal and Melek Chesme Barrows; some twenty-five are in the British Museum.

MacPherson tells us how two statues, one of an orator, the other of a woman, both double life-size and of marble and so presumably imported work, were lost in the Volga on the way to Petersburg, and we may regret their loss, as that of Astara mentioned above, but they were probably of late date.

§ 4. Painting.

Of painting we have more remains than of sculpture. It is to this rather than to its carpentry that the coffin of the Kul Oba queen, the most elaborate early example, owes its interest. The top plank (Pl. lxxxiii. 1a) is much the most important for colour and composition; the ground colour is not clear, but beginning from the left we have a mass of green for the chariot, white-green horses with red straps, a man's figure with reddish-brown flesh in a red chiton, pursuing a girl in a green dress; a second girl (on 1b) has a yellow dress, then comes a man in a blue and white chiton with a red border running after a yellow and brown swan; the next figure, green and brown, is rather being attacked by a swan; there follow a figure in green and brown, and one in a red chiton with a blue border; finally, on the last division (1c) a grey female figure, pursued by a brown-fleshed man in a white and blue chiton, and beyond him another chariot, brown, with whitish horses. The hunting scene on the plank below (lxxxiv. 1d and 1f) has a primrose ground, the chariot is neutral tint, the driver green, the two horses grey; in front a red-fleshed man runs after a bird with a neck outlined in red and wings of white and green. The lowest plank (1e, 1f) has a red ground; upon it are yellow griffins with white wings, yellow lions and other yellow beasts. Below is a plain yellow band. The end fragment (1d, 1g) is brown, with a kind of red panel; upon it are a griffin and a lion, both yellow. I have given this colouring at length as the original ABC is very rare and Reinach's reprint accessible, so his plates are worth supplementing; for this is a richer and more subtle range of colour than we find elsewhere in 17th century work.
Simpler in every respect and therefore presumably earlier in date is the stele of Apphe, wife to Athenaeus (Fig. 219), found in January 1887 on the way from Kerch to the Quarantine. The lines are lightly incised on the stone, and the spaces were filled in with colour, since vanished. According to Gross's drawing, here reproduced, we have a life-sized picture of a woman looking down at an infant that she holds in her arms. Her cloak which covers her head is brown with a red border; the child wears a red cap and a white-sleeved shirt. In front of her stands a Herm with a wreath painted on it, but Kieseritzky saw therein a woman with a pine-cone and a box. Above is the inscription traced in red upon a brown band; the whole was surmounted by a wreath of bay leaves in white, now mostly broken away. The work cannot be later than the first half of the 11th century; even as interpreted by Gross it is a charming drawing; nothing else like it has survived on Scythian soil.

The architectural patterns on the stele of Apaturis, wife of Thynus, are painted, a cymation in green and blue upon red, and a bay wreath blue and green with a red stalk and dark berries; both go round to the sides of the stele. The inscription is in red. The stele of Xeno and Xenopeithes has at the top a red cymation (?), under it the inscription, incised but filled in with red, and below this a red fillet tied in a knot with its ends hanging right down. Both stelae are of the 11th century.

We have no good wall painting from houses: the Hellenistic house at Olbia, which had an interesting design in the pebble-mosaic of its peristyle, and the baths at Panticapaeum only yielded architectural patterns and marbled plaster.

1 *I.B.C. ii. 365; Mat. xvii. Coloured Plate.
3 *I.B.C. x. p. 437, B.C.A. xiii. p. 64, Fig. 34.

Fig. 219. Painted Stele of Apphe, Kerch. K.W. 284, T. 5; J.R.E. 11, 217. Height 1 m. 98 cm.
§ 4] Stelae. Tomb-chambers 307

But it was on the walls and roofs of grave chambers that the greater part of ancient paintings—hence loosely called frescoes—in South Russia have survived. The earliest seem to be in the Taman Peninsula. In the second chamber of the Great Bliznitsa there were elegantly painted cornices (v. p. 423, ff. 312, 313), and in the middle of the roof a woman's head on a dark blue ground. About her neck was a string of gold beads, and behind fell a light and dark red veil. Her hair, eyes and brows were dark brown, and about her head and in her right hand were leaves and flowers, red, yellow, and white. This is one of the very few examples of late 1st-century painting. The head is probably that of Persephone.

In the same district, about a mile and a half to the west, Tiesenhausen found in Vasjurin hill the next term in the series of S. Russian wall paintings. In the outer corridor (for the tomb was in two parts) a pattern representing blocks of masonry went almost to the top of the wall, and was crowned with a very realistic cornice showing a row of oves and dentils, with lions' heads for gargoyles, and above them the line was broken alternately by swallows and ornaments representing meagre conventionalized antefixes. Within the chamber the masonry courses only went up to a dado, above which there was a broad brown band below the cornice. Other colours used were red, grey, black, blue and green.

To this early class the traces of fresco at Karagodeumshkh (v. sup. p. 216) seem to have belonged.

"Catacombs" at Kerch.

The sepulchral chambers of Kerch itself offer curious specimens of the later stage of wall painting as practised far from the centres of Hellenistic art, but yet in accordance with its traditions. Something of the same kind was universal in the Graeco-Roman world and is most familiar to us from the wall paintings of Pompeii. Other well-known examples have been found in Rome, the discovery of some of them being of importance in the history of the Renaissance. The fashion has long been supposed to originate in Alexandria, and the earliest examples of the fully developed architectural style are two graves lately found there, in which the architectural motives being logically worked out produce a much more satisfactory decoration than the rather mechanical architectural style and later baroque extravagances of the Pompeian examples. It is, however, just as likely that the real birthplace of the style was one of the magnificent cities of Asia Minor. There is no doubt that in each case the tomb reflected as faithfully as convenient the local style of house decoration and even arrangement. We must, however, never forget that these paintings were hurriedly executed by artificial light under unfavourable conditions and that it is hardly fair to judge them as if they were the highest of which their makers were capable.

1 Coloured Frontispiece, CR. 1867, Text.
The closest parallel to the Kerch tombs is a great sepulchral cave at Palmyra, where the mixture of Greek and Oriental races offered some analogies to Bosporan conditions, but the whole being on a much larger scale than anything in Kerch gave much greater scope for the artist who distinctly foreshadowed some of the typical effects of the Byzantine style. Another very close parallel is offered by the decoration of a tomb in the northern necropolis of Cyrene; here the flat pattern on the walls resembled very much the carpet-like pattern of the later Kerch examples.

At Kerch the sepulchral chambers, generally called " catacombs," occur on the north side of the ridge running west from Mount Mithridates where a bed of calcareous rock overlies one of stiff clay. A perpendicular shaft was sunk through the rock and the chamber dug out in the clay. From the shaft a passage usually leads into a main room from the sides of which open out recesses with couches on which the dead were placed. In the walls there were generally one or two niches to hold lamps or vases. In most cases there was no attempt at decoration and the contents of the catacombs are not often very interesting, since all date from after the Christian era. Moreover nearly always they have been plundered, because it was so easy to violate a whole series of them by breaking through the partition walls. How they stand to one another may be well seen by the section given as MacPherson's frontispiece. In one or two examples of sepulchral vaults the walls which are adorned with paintings are of real masonry; the usual practice was to cover the natural clay with plaster to afford a satisfactory ground, only in a few late cases very simple decorations or crosses and inscriptions were traced directly upon the clay.

The decoration of the chambers may be classified into three styles according as the walls are treated mostly to represent masonry or marble linings or embroidered hangings respectively. The styles succeeded apparently in this order, though Rostovtsev in his last article asserts that the textile style came between the masonry and the marble lining and overlapped both. In all there persists a low bank of plain colour or uniform marble running along the base of the wall and representing a plinth.


3 This term was given them by the early explorers and has clung to them ever since, although they are not really like the Roman Catacombs; there is sometimes a formidable resemblance, owing to grave-robes having broken through from chamber to chamber, so making a kind of passage instead of sinking a fresh shaft.

4 A. Ashit, Antiquities of Kerch; a Panti-
capanian Catacomb adorned with Frescoes, Odessa, 1845; was the first to publish a Kerch catacomb. Stephan, an occasion often, described or illustrated in CR those found from year to year, but V. V. Stasov was the first to go into the subject in CR, 1872, pp. 211-324; his xvii plates are in the Text not the Atlas of CR; J. A. Kulakovskii after publishing "A Christian Catacomb of 4th A.D. at Kerch," in Mat, vi. (1891), made a fresh survey of the question in Mat. xii. (1896), "Two Kerch Catacombs with Frescoes; also a Christian Catacomb opened in 1895," upon this my account has been mainly based. M. I. Rostovtsev reviewed Kulakovskii in TRAS, IX. (1895), Pt. II. p. 291, and added much of his own; he has made a new classification and given fresh details in Journ. Min. Pub. Inst., St. P. 1906, May, pp. 211-321. Decorative Painting at Kerch, and it is this article that I have in mind when I refer to him. He is preparing a comprehensive work on the subject.
"Catacombs" First Class

Among the very earliest vaults are the two with a masonry lining. Of one we did know only by MacPherson's very untrustworthy sketch, but Rostovtsev describes a drawing preserved in the Hermitage. The stones below the dado were jointed in black with red rustication, one course was sham marble, another had birds on sprays, above were horsemen with red and blue cloaks: the figures outside the door, shewn by MacPherson as lion-headed, were probably Hermes and Calypso, typical of parting. The other frescoed masonry tomb was opened by Kareisha in 1832. The description is very vague and it is hard to trust the published pictures; the date seems to be the 1st century A.D.; the chief subject was the contest of Pygmies and Cranes.

In an ordinary plastered tomb of the first class, which corresponds in some degree to Mau's first style at Pompeii, we have above the dark plinth an imitation of four or five unequal courses of big blocks of stone treated a little decoratively. This reaches almost to the height of the lowest spring of the irregular roof and is finished off by a broad band representing a cornice and

1 Kertch, p. 76.
2 Dubois de Montpéreux, Sér. IV. Pl. xvii. 2.
leaves but little space above itself where the roof is low, but considerable lunettes or spandrels where the roof rises. This space above the cornice is at the free disposal of the artist. To this class belongs the tomb of Alcimus, son of Hegesippus, found in 1867. The free wall space opposite the entrance was adorned with the rape of Core. Four brown horses draw a red chariot with blue wheels; the driver above may be either Eros, who should have wings, or Hermes, who usually leads the horses. On the car stands Pluto in a short red chiton and flying chlamys holding the blue-draped figure of Persephone whom he has seized from among four women. Of these one with a blue veil falling back is probably Demeter, the others, Persephone's usual companions. The cornice is adorned with swags of foliage and birds. In the middle of the roof was a woman's head surrounded by green leaves and red, white and blue flowers (F. 221), recalling the head in the Great Bliznitsa (p. 307). Another catacomb (Zaitsev's) with the rape of Core was opened in 1895. Its frescoes have stood well and one can still see a head in the middle of the ceiling labelled ΔΗΜΗΘΗΡ, and a side scene of Hermes and Calypso.

Of much the same date as the catacomb of Alcimus is the vault opened in 1891; above a plinth treated as a perfunctory imitation of marble are four courses of large stones, the joints marked with blue lines and the outline followed in brown. The top course has the thickest stones and each of them is treated as a panel filled with a garland hanging from two hooks. The garlands are alternately simple brown fillets and swags of fruit with flowers, the remainder of the oblong being filled with fluttering ribbons, the whole having a very graceful effect. Above the broad brown cornice band, we have peacocks and other birds on the long walls, on the entrance wall Hermes and Fortune and a deer under a tree. The principal wall opposite the entrance is divided into two by a niche, above which is the familiar motive of two peacocks drinking from a standing cup. On the right of this, but not well preserved, are the frequent scenes of a horseman and his companions and a sacrifice with a man and woman (Rostovtsev calls them Serapis and Isis) wearing calathoi. On the left we have the familiar "funeral feast" with the unusual addition of a cradle with children, and beyond a picture of a tent. The whole is flanked by decorative trees and beasts. Something similar must be cited.
have been a catacomb opened in 1852, of which the only account is in an article by P. Becker on "Kerch and Taman in July 1852." He mentions two horsemen and birds above, and birds painted on the stones of the wall-pattern. Here seems to belong one opened in 1908; the walls were covered with broad stripes, yellow, dark red and yellow again with a narrow white band between and a white cornice; all round were painted alabastra, round vessels, garlands, olive crowns, Hercules clubs, and embroidered cloths represented as hanging from nails.

But much the most interesting of this class, though perhaps the latest, is that of Anthesterius; the son of Hegesippus, discovered in 1877. Whether this Hegesippus was the same as the father of Alcimus cannot be decided, but there is sufficient resemblance in style between the tombs to make it not unlikely. Rostovtzev makes this vault earlier than that of Alcimus. Above the plinth we have four courses of stones separated by black lines and outlined in brown, the whole suggesting rustication. The stones of the top course, which are far the largest, are treated as panels, two of them bear figures with leaves in their hair and caducei in their hands; one (Fig. 223, No. 3) wears brown, the other (No. 4) green and red. Above the black and brown cornice is the chief scene (No. 1): Anthesterius in a blue and white shirt (conceivably steel mail) and brown trousers on a black horse; with white patches is shown receiving a blue cup from a boy in a brown shirt and red hose. Behind this latter is a woman shrouded in red sitting upon a high wooden chair with a blue cushion at her back; on each side stands a girl, one with a long blue dress and white shirt over, the other with these colours reversed. Next we have the tent, brown with reddish people within and apparently a blue floor: against it leans an inordinately long spear, brown with a blue head. Beyond stands a conventional tree with a gorytus hanging on it, and round the corner on a side wall are a brown and a green horse flanking a similar tree (No. 2). With the exception of the green horse the objects seem coloured according to nature. Here we evidently have a contamination of the funeral feast and the scene of the horseman's departure, so the slave and the three-legged table with vessels on it have been supplied on one of the top stones beneath the cornice band. On the right-hand side of a niche we have a man clothed like Anthesterius, but with a blue (steel) cap and a long spear riding a light-brown horse and leading a black one. Behind follows another lightish-brown horse.

In the shaft of the catacomb found in 1891 was found a coin of Mithridates VIII; this goes towards dating this class any time in the second half of the first century A.D.

A transitional stage in which we miss the imitation of a wall built with solid stone blocks, but still have the high cornice, is exemplified by a fine specimen discovered in 1841 and published by Ashik. Unfortunately the drawings then made were anything but exact, and it is hard to see what we may take as authentic in them. Attempts to reopen the chamber have hitherto...
failed. In this case the wall surface below the cornice was divided up by Ionic pillars, between which were various scenes, while there were more scenes above the cornice. Accordingly more space was taken up with figure-work than in any catacomb known. There were also purely decorative panels with sprigs, peacocks, masks, and architectural adornments. The scenes represented included a specially full version of the funeral feast and a cavalry engagement wherein some combatants wear short scale-coats, sometimes partly hidden by a surcoat, others coats of mail so long that they have to ride saddle. The surface of these latter is not indicated with typical scale pattern, but with oblongs just like masonry, perhaps they were quilted and

not covered with scales at all. Which are Bosporans and which barbarians is not clear. Other scenes shew the funeral, the dead man carried high in a covered litter, also various scenes from daily life and even gladiatorial combats. All with a Roman touch which may be genuine or may be due to the training of the copyist.

Typical specimens of the second class were those discovered in 1872 and 1875. They are characterized by the disappearance of the plain wall of apparently solid blocks; in its place we find an imitation of as it were high wainscoting made with panels of many-coloured marbles rendered architectural with pilasters. A similar change of taste is observed at Pompeii. The favourite pattern for the wainscot panels seems to be a rayed circle within a larger circle inscribed in a lozenge in its turn inscribed in the oblong of the

![Diagram](image-url)
The wainscoting is not as high as the former wall pattern and leaves more space for free decoration above.

Judging from the description a good early example of this style was a tomb excavated in 1902 on the way to Katerles. It is interesting for the painting of Medusa’s head on the inner side of the door slab, and for a very pretty and natural design of a vine with grapes that adorned the long front of one sarcophagus. These give an idea much higher than usual of the skill of Bosporan painters. It is a pity that the decoration of the other original sarcophagus and of the vault itself has only left very small traces.

Another sarcophagus had interesting painting on its inside: upon one end was depicted a garland, upon the other a table with vessels and two comic dancers; each side was divided by Composite pilasters into three panels, bearing (1) a man with a horse and arms hanging behind him, (2) a painter at work in his studio, (3) the funeral feast, (4) a lady seated and two servants,

(5) two horsemen opposed to each other, (6) musicians; the lower face of the cover was adorned with roses. Thus the interior of this coffin presented all that a catacomb could do; it is referred to the 1st century A.D.

The richest specimen of a catacomb and the best illustrated was found in 1872 and published with very full treatment by V. V. Stasov. This author is too much inclined to see Oriental influence in every detail: the fact is that there is nothing but what can be paralleled from Hellenic sources, save the actual portraits of barbarians and the barbarous costume of the Bosporans themselves.

The greater part of the surface of the tomb above the panelling is taken up with trees, birds and beasts, among which the peacock, boar, dog, deer,

1 Stasov, Pl. XII.: a photograph of something like this pattern on an actual wall, CR. 1901, p. 58, T. 118.

4 BCA. IX. p. 154, Pl. IX.—XI., coloured.

5 CR. 1900, pp. 57, 28; Arch. Ant. 1901, p. 57.
lion and leopard can be distinguished, also two winged Genii or Erotes, one of whom has an orthodox Greek chlamys, but the other is arrayed in a brown coat and knickerbockers. The background of walls and ceiling (op. cit. Pl. xiii.) is semé of an ornament in the shape of a light and dark pink heart associated with pairs of green leaves (apparently a conventionalized rose), and has besides long yellow things like centipedes with ribbons at each end and sometimes leaves sticking out of them; these appear to be garlands of a kind or rather bags stuffed with flowers worn as garlands. These two motives occur in all the late Kerch catacombs and can be paralleled from Sicily and from textiles made in Egypt under Greek influence. For this habit of stewing a background certainly derived from textiles, and the whole scheme of decoration was influenced by the custom of hanging tapestries on the walls of rich rooms.

To us the chief interest of Stasov’s catacomb consists in the pictures of combats between what we may take to be Bosphorans and natives. In these the difficulty again arises that the Bosphorans had so far adopted barbarian arms that it is hard to say which side is which. First we have people with long coats of steel mail and buff jerkins under them, with loose brown trousers and conical caps on their heads. When on horseback these ride astride, with long spears and saddles with a kind of tail sweeping back on each side, and resemble Anthesterihs. Their footmen (f. 227) bear round shields and two spears apiece, but not all have the coats of mail. In front of them goes a standard-bearer with a standard which recalls both the labarum and the standard on Parthian coins. The principal personage, probably the owner of the vault, always has a red chlamys flying behind him. These people have round faces and no beards. Against them fight folk on horseback who do not wear the clumsy mail but coats and trousers. They use short nomad bows, but so did the Bosphorans to judge by Anthesterihs and the grave reliefs. Finally, we find the principal figure in all his glory fighting a bearded fellow in coat, knickerbockers and stockings, with a short sword and a lozenge-shaped shield; he would seem to be a rude mountaineer. That there was not much difference in armourment between Bosphorans and Sarmatians or whoever their enemies may have been is evident; probably they found that the best way to combat nomads was to adopt their ways, and so they suffered the same outer assimilation that has made the Terek Cossacks so like their hereditary enemies among the mountaineers.

In one place the surface layer of plaster with its painting had cracked off and disclosed signs scratched on the wall just like those on the Olbia lions and (occasionally upside-down) on certain gravestones, all idle scribbles, but thus proved to be ancient. Similar separate signs or modifications of these, occurring one or two at a time on coins, slabs, buckles and strap-ends.

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1. op. cit. Pl. v. vii. viii. xii., v. f. 227.
2. Rostovtzev, TRAS. ix. ii. pp. 296, 297, e.g. the embroidered sheet from Akhmim in the British Museum, 2nd Egyptian room, No. 50771.
4. ZMHG. xxii. 1897, p. 429, Pl. i. 2; Levy.
5. Beiträge zur Aramäischen Münzkunde Erans.
9. loc. cit. ii. 219, 232.
must have had some real meaning analogous to that of the tampa or brand of possession among Caucasian tribes. One particular device, that to the left on Fig. 227, almost seems to have been the Bosporan "broad arrow," as it heads

an official inscription and appears crowned by Nike upon bas-reliefs; other patterns sometimes used in conjunction with it look like the marks of individuals, kings or citizens.

Very similar to Stasov's is a catacomb entered in 1875 (f. 229); it has much the same sham wainscoting and the same rose background; the scenes include Apollo in green with a lyre riding upon a blue-grey griffin facing Artemis (?) also in green and sitting on a bull, the conventional funeral feast and the horseman's stirrup cup.

A vault (Feldstein's) opened in 1906 shewed both the first and second styles: the first chamber was poor and only had the masonry pattern, the second had sham marble incrustation, the top of the wall offering squares with garlands and flowers or circles and rhombs, and the roof, coffers with birds and rosettes; the third chamber was much spoilt, but its plinth bore columns with purple curtains between them. Rostovtzeff classes with this a vault that Lutsenkov found in 1860 but did not record very clearly. It was the burial place of the Ulpii who were well known in the Bosporan kingdom, being ἐπὶ τῆς νῆσου and ἐπὶ βασιλείας (v. Ch. xix.) about A.D. 107.

1 V. V. Škorpil, BCA. xxxvii. pp. 23-35, collects examples of this mark (which I denote by SKTOP): it is hard to tell more varieties from true species; so many, like medieaval merchants' marks, have the same top. Official incaut: with different marks, each except _AST personal to a king: IG. II. 433 (App. 52), Suraomate II (those on 428 seem private): 431, Rhescuporis: 433, 434 (App. 50), Inithima (cf. mirror, CR. 1904, p. 75, f. 117): IV. 447 _AST, Eupator n. f. 227. Reliefs on which Nike flanks the mark. BCA. Ch. No. 39, F. 114, _AST with another mark both defaced, and Škorpil, f. 1, _AST, alone; less careful carvings on stone slabs: f. 2, 3 shew _AST and another mark, the same two as f. 228; gravestones: TopPE. II. 84 (AST) (cf. KW. 626, f. 16), 219 (AST), 239 (AST), IV. 237, 238, 359, BCA. x. p. 36, No. 28 (AST); buckles etc.: f. 228, ib. xxv. p. 14, f. 5 AST, xxxvii. pp. 31, 32, f. 4-12 AST, ABC. xxi. 4 AST (f. 227), xxxix. 19 (AST), 20 AST; the four strap-ends have the same tip, it may be a mark: cf. TRAM. Slav. Sect. iv. (1887) p. 519, Orient. Sect. l. (1886) p. 304: KW. l.c. calls these marks "Gothic."


3 CR. 1866, p. 41.
In the 1902 catacomb were coins of Cotys II (123—131 A.D.), and in that of 1875 coins of Rhoemetalces and Eupator (131—153—170 A.D.), so as far as our evidence goes this class of tomb went right through the third century A.D.

The third class is represented by the tomb found in 1873 and that of Soracucus. In these the architecture is reduced to a mere plinth and all the wall space given up to fancy patterns. In the former (Fig. 230) the style of these patterns differs little from that of those in the second class. We have the same roses and peacocks and garlands as in Stasov's; new are figures of four women dancing and three people under a tree. There is the usual combat, but less well drawn than in Stasov's. The enemy is represented as

almost identical with the victor. On the roof is a Hermes head with blue wings set as a medallion within a flower-sack garland brought round to form a circle: near by is a brown dog with a green collar. There is a kind of cornice pattern, but that is the only concession to architectural feeling.

The tomb of Soracucus son of Soracucus (I. 231) published by Kulakovskij1 comes last in the series: a painted tableau ansata (op.cit.Pl.vii.) bore an inscription in lines alternately red and black, a curious specimen of Bosphoran Greek; both writing and language point to the third century A.D. and can tell us a good deal as to the pronunciation of that time and place; e.g., αι = ί and ίερων appears to be for ἱεροῦ, so that Soracucus regarded himself as joining the ranks of heroes and his sepulchral chamber as a shrine. Yet that did not prevent a

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1 C.R. 1874, pp. 112—113; KTR. pp. 34—36; M. xix. pp. 32—36.
2 Spelling unchanged, but accents etc. supplied.
3 Mat. xix. pp. 16—33, Pl. I—VII. references to these, but the details can be seen on Fig. 231. So Kulakovskij; Lutyshev, vest.P. iv. 342, S działalności.
justifiable fear that the shrine might be plundered and his heroic bones cast out, and the inscription contains the usual comprehensive curses to guard against this. He seems to have amassed some wealth as an exactor of legal fines.

As regards the decoration, except for the brown plinth which goes right round there is no architecture left (Pl. II.). The whole wall is covered irregularly with the heart-shaped rose, whose leaves are not quite so much conventionalized as usual: we also have the brown garlands sometimes pecked at by a pair of birds; a fresh pattern is one of crossed palms (Pl. IV.). On the left of the entrance stood Hermes (Pl. III.) on a pedestal with money-bag and caduceus painted on a kind of buttress or pier supporting the roof. To this corresponds on the right an actual square pier which bears on one side the inscription and below it two Erotes (Pl. VI. 6), on another a dancing Satyr with flutes (Pl. VII.). At the back of the Hermes buttress, looking towards the couch on which no doubt was placed the body of Socrates, we have the inevitable funeral feast with some apparent attempt at portraiture of the principal figure (Pl. VI. h).

This is the latest catacomb with frescoes, but that method of burial went on for another two hundred years. To this interval belong such as have rude drawings or patterns executed directly upon the clay. In unadorned catacombs have been found coins of a whole series of sovereigns from Saurómates I (92—124 A.D.) to Valentinian III (424—455) and later still a silver shield with a splendid figure of Justinian on horseback.

Sometimes in Christian tombs crosses and extracts from the Psalms and hymns covered the walls. Such a case was published by Kulakovskij in his first monograph (Mat. VI.) and was important for the definite date 788 A.D. The names of the dead pair Saúgas and Phaeisparta are clearly of the same Iranian or Ossetian type that we have said to be characteristic of the earlier Bosporan citizens. This and the continued use of the Bosporan era proves that there had not been such a break-up as had been hitherto supposed. The greater part of the walls is covered with Psalm xc., but the writing is so inaccurate that it is of no importance for the Greek text; the presence of ii is so much against that form being Egyptian.

In another Christian catacomb, discovered near by in 1895, we have the same Psalm xc. (but written much more correctly), the Trisagion and various crosses but no names; the writing again points to the 9th century A.D.

At Chersonese, with the exception of three Christian vaults, only one chamber with frescoes has been discovered, and that in such bad condition that it is hard to judge of date, style or subject. It was only possible to distinguish the figure of a woman, half nude, turned away from the spectator, and a group that suggests the winged figures bearing away a dead man, so common upon white lecythi. At Olbia practically no remains of painting have survived.

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1 The figures and inscription recall tomb paintings near Tripoli, Arch. Anz. 1904, p. 118.
2 Kulakovskij in an appendix to Mat. XIX. p. 61.
3 Mr. S. McLean kindly informs me that the text offers no points of interest.
4 Kulakovskij, in an appendix to Mat. XIX. p. 61.
6 E. S. McLean kindly informs me that the text offers no points of interest.
7 Kulakovskij, in an appendix to Mat. XIX. p. 61.
8 Two rude figures B.C.A. XIII. p. 26, f. 16.

The solidity with which the tombs were built about the Bosporus has preserved for us a large number of coffins which rank as among the best specimens of Greek woodwork extant⁴. They are mostly constructed in a manner suited to the material, with framing and panelling: the enrichments are like those used in stone architecture, which had itself borrowed some from wooden construction, but are applied with due regard to the material. Only rarely do we find an instance of a wooden coffin clearly imitating a stone sarcophagus in its turn designed after the pattern of a small temple. The Niobid coffin (pp. 332—334, pl. 241—244) is evidently put together on the pattern of such a stone sarcophagus as the well-known one from Sidon⁵ called Les Pleureuses, and both reproduce the columns round a temple or mausoleum.

Fig. 232. CR. 1900, p. 103, pl. 183. Wooden Coffin from Olbia in Odessa Museum.

The plain chest from Olbia (f. 232), probably made to hold clothes, is very like an old English hutch, except that the front has such broad framing that the single panel bordered with beading that runs along the middle of the side is not half the breadth of the enclosing frame, being in fact not an inserted

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⁴ C. Watzinger, "Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexander's des Grossen," Heft 6 der Wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1905, has treated the whole subject thoroughly in connexion with the coffins found in 1903—4 at Abu Sir in Lower Egypt. He enumerates over 60 coffins, of which nearly 20 come from S. Russia. I have only noticed those of which there are published drawings or considerable remains.

⁵ O. Baudy Bey et Th. Reinach, Une Necropole Royale à Sidon, Paris, 1892, Pl. IV—XI, p. 238 sqq.
panel but one with the frame. The lid had two slopes and there were bronze handles on it; the end view was very like Fig. 233.

Simple also, but very effective, is a coffin (Plate 233) found in a splendid stone chamber under one of the Jüz Oba barrows to the south of Kerch. The sarcophagus took the form of an immense chest crowned by a roof of two-slopes with a cornice along the sides and pediments at the ends. In each side and end of the chest was a panel of bright red set in the framework of dark brown and surrounded by a carved and gilded cymation: all the other mouldings were equally carved and gilded, and the whole produces an effect perhaps all the better for the loss of decorations stuck onto the panels. There was an inner coffin with simpler mouldings. Within this was found among other things the curious ring bearing on its bezel a serpent drawing a bow and vase fragments of the end of the 16th century.

Of similar general construction, with a long narrow panel down each side, was a coffin discovered by Ashik in the barrow of Mirza Kekuvatskij near Kerch in a chamber with an "Egyptian" vault. The framing of the panel was of cypress and the panel set in an egg-and-dart border of red and gold. On the ground of the red panel were girt wooden figures of griffins attacking various animals. These have mostly come off the one panel that has been preserved, and we have $\Delta \beta \Gamma \Delta \epsilon \theta$ incised on the places from which they came, as a guide to the workman in fixing them on. Stephanus suggests that the normal Ionic alphabet had not yet come into use, hence the absence of H. This would argue for an early date, but the style can hardly be much before the middle of the 16th century.

A more elaborate and better preserved example of somewhat the same design was found by Tiesenhausen in 1868 in the stone chamber of a barrow, about a mile and a half from Taman on the way to Tuza. The coffin was built with three long panels in the sides one above the other, each surrounded with beading, but only the centre one, the narrowest, was decorated with wooden groups of griffins and panthers attacking deer. As usual the ground was red and the animals coloured and gilt. The framing was further adorned with inlaid arabesques and the corner posts with rosettes representing pegs. The cover was of two slopes with cornice and at each end a pediment; one of the latter is preserved; it has a winged figure and arabesques in marquetry, and is surmounted by acroteria on the gable and at each angle.

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1. Watts, p. 35, No. 15, f. 67, 68, shows its relation to No. 1 coffin from Abu Sir, which appears actually to have been used as a chest; cf. Edgar, op. cit. Pl. 1, III.
4. ib. Pl. III.—V.
5. Watts, p. 37, No. 13, f. 65, 66.
6. Watts, p. 38, No. 14. For I perhaps we should read I.
In 1882 the same explorer found the best specimen of this type near Anapa towards Vitjažeo and Blahovešchenskaja. The lid is lost and nothing is known of it. The framing and panels, of which there are two one above the other, have been left uncoloured, but the architrave, the corner-posts and the broad horizontal band between the panels have as it were subsidiary panels with a dark red ground sunk into them (Fig. 235). On the corner-posts these are filled with beautiful arabesques of acanthus leaves, tendrils and palmettes of carved and gilt wood. Under the cornice the red band forms a kind of frieze and bore small figures of barbarians in combat (Fig. 236).

1. CR. 1882—1883, pp. xxi—xxxi, Pl. vi. 5, p. 71 sqq. Watzinger, p. 36, No. 12, f. 64.
Coffins, Anapa

Figs. 237, 238. CR. 1882-8, pp. 50 and 51. Wooden Nereids from Coffin found near Anapa.
The broad band half way up each side has a row of Nereids bearing the arms of Achilles and riding upon sea monsters. These were adjusted by letters of the alphabet. This band is enclosed by the usual cymatia and beadings, made separately. Among the lady's belongings found within was a coin of Lysimachus, dating the find as of the 1st century B.C. which just agrees with the style of the Nereids ultimately derived from Scopas.

![Image of Greek Art Woodwork]

Fig. 239 CR. 1882-8, pp. 74, 75, A, B, C. Mouldings from Anapa Coffin.

Of more complicated design, though scarcely more rich in execution, is a great coffin found by Ashik in the Serpent Barrow (Zmeinyj Kurgan) near Kerch in 1839 (Fig. 240): Stephani took the design to represent a house with a flat roof enclosed by a kind of railing and with many windows in the side walls. Accordingly the chief horizontal moulding, made up of a large bead moulding, then egg-and-dart, another bead and another smaller egg-and-dart, all enriched with red and gold, does not run along the extreme top, but some eight inches down; a smaller top moulding has alternate squares of red and brown and a cymation with reversed palmettes in red and white on a black ground. Between is a kind of chessboard, three rows deep, chequered red and green, all forming as it were an attic. The main order, so to speak, has panels filled with varied blind trellis patterns between grooved styles almost like triglyphs. Below is another row of egg-and-dart and a base moulding. At the ends the trellis gives place to three panels of brown ground colour, bearing gilt figures: Hera with a sceptre balanced by Apollo with a bay branch and between them a panel of acanthus arabesques with palmettes. Watzinger is probably
right in thinking this to be an ordinary box-coffin which has lost its end-posts (the feet shewn are not original), has a kind of triglyph frieze instead of its main long panel and an extra board framed above it. The main body of the sarcophagus is of cypress-wood, the carved parts are of yew.

Of perfectly plain construction was the outer coffin of the Kul Oba king, it was just a great box about nine feet square and eleven inches high (v. p. 202), with one side left open; the elaborate inner coffin belongs to the next class. The queen's coffin, which Dubrux calls a catafalque, had turned pillars at the angles, but otherwise seems to have been quite simply made. Its paintings have been noticed already (sup. p. 305).

Of unusual type was the ornament of a sarcophagus found in 1876 between Churubash and Eltegen (Nymphaeum). Instead of the architectural patterns derived from stone, the framing was ornamented with inlaid rosettes and stars at intervals in quite an original style. So in mediaeval times ornament applied to wood occasionally escaped from the tyranny of stone forms and suddenly showed a certain independence and designs adapted to the material. Watzinger regards the marquetry as preceding the application of figures in relief and this as the earliest coffin extant. He illustrates a very elegant example of inlay from Kerch with a simple olive-wreath pattern.

The coffins with more ambitious architecture being built up of a very large number of small pieces whose forms were not dictated by the simpler necessities of construction have on the whole suffered more than the artistically framed boxes. The application of strictly stone forms to the decoration of the coffins had to struggle against an important place that construction gave to the corner-posts, and this prominence was never quite got over. The simplest way to use stone forms was just to plaster them on to the frames and leave the wooden panels between. We have such an arrangement in the coffin found on Cape Pavlovskij as mentally reconstructed by Watzinger. Here the ends were left much as on the box coffins, they had a panel with particularly rich marquetry work. The long sides had at each

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2. v. p. 214, l. 115. CR. 1876, pp. xvii—xxx. 1877.
end and in the middle an elegant Ionic column with inlaid palmettes on the neck and glass centres to the curls of the capitals. These columns must have stood on some sort of base and had above them some sort of entablature to which belonged sundry pieces of moulding enriched with marquetry. In the wide intercolumniations were panels similar to those in the end walls. The roof has left very little but seems to have had acroteria and a sima-like ornament along the eaves.

Watzinger (p. 56, No. 41) has shewn with some ingenuity that the beautiful ivory veneers from Kül Oba would suit such a coffin very fairly well. The wood seems all to have perished and the ivories were not noticed until late in the process of collecting the finds. The unfortunate history of the exploration (v. p. 205) prevented the possibility of seeking any more fragments. The discoverers thought that they had found parts of a box or of a musical instrument, but the size of the capitals with their glass eyes shews that we have to do with a large composition, for corresponding pilasters must be more than a metre high. We may suppose that there were two pilasters at each corner. The subject of the Judgement of Paris (pp. 204 A, B, ff. 100, 101) would take the main panel on one side, and the corresponding panel would have the meeting of Paris and Helen. Or if there were a pilaster in the middle as on the Pavlovskij sarcophagus, the two incidents of the Paris story would be one on each side of it. The pieces with Hermes would do for the end- or back-panels. The narrow strips with the rump of the daughters of Leucippus and the preparations for the race of Pelops and Oenomaus (pp. 204 C, D, ff. 102, 103, lxxxix. 13, 14) may have run along the frame above a broader panel. The short thick pieces with a Scythian dragged by his horse and a hare pursued by a dog rather like a Russian borzoi would fit in across the breadth of the corner-posts (ib. lxxxix. 9, 10).

To the posts and frames rather than to panels would belong such decoratively treated pieces as the sitting women (ib. lxxxix. 7, 8), Hermes or a Boread (lxxx. 16), the lion and such mere decoration as the candelabrum (ibid. 14) with patterns like the egg-and-dart and the quatrefoil border.

The main pieces here regarded as panels are engraved with the point upon ivory hardly more than a millimetre thick. They are delicately tinted, the colouring which is chiefly noticeable at the outlines, being in very subtle greys and browns. It must have been brighter once but was probably always restrained, as the drawing is before the time of a varied palette.

The drawing is very like that of red-figured vases of the finest style save for one or two mannerisms (e.g. the treatment of the hands) which suggest the 7th century. Still more like these ivories because of a similarity in technique are the engraved silver cylices from the VII Brothers, but if we

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1 Thanks to the great kindness of Mr E. M. Prinsep I have reproduced on pp. 204 A—D, ff. 100—103 photographs of the most interesting of the fragments. They do better justice to the originals than even Picard's beautiful drawings in ABC to which all other pictures of them go back. References to pieces which I have not reproduced have been enclosed in square brackets.

2 [ABC. LXXXIX. 11, 12.]

3 [ABC. LXXX. 11, 12, 15.]

4 [ABC. LXXX. 17.]

5 [Ibid. 8, 13.]

6 This was pointed out to me by Professor Waldstein, who referred me for an example of early archaistic treatment, such as we get in the Hermes, to a relief at Epidaurus (Dufresne et Lecat, p. 87).

are to judge of these too, photographs are a necessity, for the drawings fall far short, as Stephani complains.

There is considerable difference of style between the fragments, but perhaps it is not more than is to be explained by the more ambitious rôle that the panels would play in the original composition. The presence of the Scythian looks as if the work was done either at Kerch or definitely for the Scythian market, but he is so spirited that we cannot regard him, though different, as inferior to the more finished panels. Watzinger (p. 91) thinks the work Milesian because of the Asiatic look of the capitals, the fame of Milesian furniture and the resemblance to a sarcophagus found at Gordium: but in the 11th century Miletus had lost its commercial predominance and it is at least as likely that we have Attic work. In any case these fragments are unsurpassed as specimens of Greek drawing.

The coffin of the Priestess of the Great Bliznitsa by Stebliëvka has left but fragments including the capitals of two pilasters once curiously adorned with inlaid work, one with a palmette, the other with a group of two griffins and a deer and also an Ionic fluted column, another shaft not fluted, thirteen greenish glass roundels from the eyes of Ionic capitals and a large number of pieces of ivory or bone for inlaying. Also various pieces of moulding, egg-and-dart, etc. with traces of red colour. These would make up into something not unlike the Pavlovskij coffin.

Also from the same Bliznitsa come the fragments of a man's coffin which was utterly destroyed by the falling in of the vault above it. They include a very large number of pieces of ivory for inlaying, having the forms of human figures, male and female, parts of Fauns, Erotes, birds, horses, deer and three figures of Sirens playing the drum, the cymbals and the flute, also a butterfly, leaves, grape bunches and palmettes, and purely architectural pieces with traces of colour, egg-and-dart mouldings, cymatia and Ionic capitals duly garnished with glass eyes to the volutes (v. p. 424, f. 314). In spite of the large number of fragments no attempt can be made to restore the general design. Very similar fragments were discovered by MacPherson.4

The next step towards a temple form is when there are large pilasters or piers at the corners and along the sides small pilasters, usually five, supporting a fully-developed entablature and resting on an imposing plinth. A good example of such a type is figured by Watzinger. It was found by Kareisha in 1843 and a drawing has been preserved, but the original has perished entirely. The pilasters were Corinthian with Attic bases. Along the eaves were triangles representing antefixes and on the gables strange acroteria. Under the projecting upper member of the plinth were turned balusters supporting the corners. Of the same type is a coffin from Kerch in the Antiquarium at Berlin. The capitals, this time Ionic (?), were moulded in stucco which has fallen away, the lid is lost.

1 Watzinger, p. 47, No. 28, ff. 87, 88.
2 CR. 1866, Pl. 1 and 2, pp. 55 and 56.
3 CR. 1865, Pl. vi. 4, 5 and p. 9.
4 Compare the solid flat corner acroteria of a marble sarcophagus found at Kerch, CR., 1905, p. 38, f. 66. Probably these were painted, cf. those of grave reliefs, supra, p. 211, f. 315.

Kerch, Pl. 1, p. 55.
Kerch, Pl. 1, p. 55.
op. cit. p. 40, No. 27, f. 30.
In these the corner-posts are still flat as natural construction demands, but the straining after stone effects led to the substitution of a round pillar at the corners. The simplest example had just a base moulding and a friezeless architrave and seven Ionic pillars along each side. In each of the panels between them hung a wreath of stucco, and two on each end-panel (compare the wreaths in the catacomb on p. 311, f. 222). The lid had two slopes. To this class belongs a sarcophagus found near the Kerch Almshouse of Zolotarev in 1883. It was in rather bad condition but was remarkable for the great variety of applied figures that it once bore. At the angles there seem to have been turned pilasters on a flat carved base, the usual cornice and slender colonnettes along the sides. Along the frieze seem to have been wooden figures of Centaurs, dolphins, hippocamps, pegasi, wolves attacking bulls, dogs, a horse, a lynx and a barbarian spearing a lion, and above at the corners wooden dolphins. In the panels were plaster appliques coloured white, blue and brown, including winged Naiads, Medusa-masks, bucra and dolphins. The Hermitage exhibits a model coffin set up to show off the plaster appliques; the coffin and arrangement are not to be regarded, but the photograph gives a good idea of the variety of the appliques found together. Somewhat similar was one found by Kulakovskij in 1890 at Glinishche near Kerch, but its preservation was not very good. The same kind of thing comes from near Cape Zjuk to the north of Kerch.

The most elaborate wooden sarcophagus that we possess has been already referred to as that of the Niobids. It was found in 1874 on Mount Mithridates. Were it not that it lacks its cover it would be a regular little temple of the Ionic order. Along the side (f. 241) are six intercolumniations with five complete columns and two half ones against the angle piers. At the ends

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1 Wattinger, p. 46, No. 36, f. 92, from a drawing in the Archaeological Commission. The coffin, found in 1864, has perished.
2 CR. 1882-8, p. 11: this seems to be Wattinger's p. 46, No. 37, f. 94—107, which show very rude work, but subjects agreeing with the above description.
3 CR. 1882-8, p. 74, Nos. 1 and 1890, p. 23.
(f. 242) we have two half columns and a single whole one; these end columns stand in front of pilasters with impost from which arches are turned across. Above the columns run a narrow frieze and a cornice with dentels. From column to column, about a third of the way up, go rods holding trellis work in place below them, answering to the railings put in this position in actual temples. The statues usual on the stylobate are represented by figures of coloured plaster stuck on to the surface of the panel immediately above the trellis. They belong to the series of the Niobids, and the Pedagogue (f. 243) was found actually in place. Most were rather broken, but their places could be traced on the panels. Within were found glass vessels and a gold wreath with an indication of a coin of Vespasian. On the whole the sarcophagus is a fine piece of work, although perhaps its design goes beyond what is legitimate in wood.

Joinery and Ivory-work.

It just happens that by far the greater part of Greek woodwork left to us consists of coffins. But the few fragments left of other pieces of furniture make us regret their rarity. In 1842 Kareisha discovered a three-legged table...
in a tomb by the Kerch Public Garden. On being touched it fell to pieces, but one leg was saved, and the whole can easily be restored from this and from the pictures. For this is just the type of table commonly represented in the funeral feast scene. The same technique as was applied to coffins was used in making boxes for daily use. To such a box belonged a piece of ivory inlay representing Eros and Aphrodite. The drawing is wonderfully free, especially considering the material (v. p. 424, f. 314).

![Statues](image)


Some interesting ivories come from Olbia, archaic engravings of Eros and the "Persian" Artemis, a statuette of a seated woman about 2 in. high.


2. Vogell, Sammlung (v. inf. p. 339 n. 6), Nos. 1145, 1147, f. 54, 55.

3. *BCA.* XXXIII. p. 165, f. 4 = CR. 1907, p. 37, f. 47.
and a box the bits of which bear Erotes playing the double flute and juggling with balls. Unexpected are the remains of another box made up of fourteen narrow panels apparently representing a Sassanian king and his court watching nautch girls and child acrobats dancing and tumbling to the music of winged boys. Pharmacovskij cites Alexandrian analogues for the work, but they are not convincing and it is as likely to have come from somewhere further east, almost outside the classical tradition. From Chersonese come some late bone fragments carved with animals, a barbarian soldier and a statuette:

We may also mention some sets of men for playing games, one with heads of nine gods, Augustus, L. Caesar, and a lady of their house, two wreaths and the Eleusiniun, numbered on the reverse i—xv in Greek and Latin, all found at Kerch in a box complete, another at Odessa, most of a set of eighteen, also from Kerch, and one from Chersonese consisting of fifteen black and fifteen white draughtsmen in glass.

Very neat joinery is shown in a toilet box found at Kerch with little compartments containing a round bronze mirror, a comb and spaces for putting jewelry. Still higher skill went to making the comb with the words in open work ΑΛΕΦΘΑΙΩΡΟΥ.

So much for the remains of Greek woodwork found in South Russia to which Blümmer rightly points as to perhaps the most important source for our knowledge of Greek carpentry.

It is curious to notice how much the Greek interpretation of stone forms in wood forestalled the ways of the Renaissance artists. For instance, the table-leg might well have been the work of a xvth-century Italian, and the same may be said of details such as those of the Niobid sarcophagus. Only the Italians could not remain so long at the stage of satisfying simplicity and degenerated much sooner into rococo. In the wall paintings resemblances are not always mere coincidences, for discoveries of ancient frescoes in Rome had an important effect in guiding Italian decoration: but the case of woodwork shews that without them the development would have been very similar.

§ 6. Textiles.

The special conditions that have preserved wooden objects for us in Bosporan graves have also allowed the survival of a few specimens of textiles: for the older time before our era little has been found elsewhere; later on Grecian Egypt has furnished us with some examples. Stephani has reproduced and discussed the best pieces. He prefaced his description with an account of the representation of textiles in art, especially vase-paintings.

The oldest piece (p. 212, l. 113, l.c. Pl. iv.) covered the sarcophagus in No. vi of the VII. Brothers, which dates from the 17th century. The stuff

1. CR. 1904, p. 39, f. 37.
5. BCA, iv, p. 109.
8. Technologie, ii, p. 329.
must be much older, as it has been darned in places. It is made of several strips sewn together and then covered with the design by means of some stain. There was a broad border of large palmettes, and six or more strips across filled with complicated figure-subjects separated by narrow patterned bands. The names ΝΙΚΗ, ΕΠΙΔΑ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗ, ΙΟΚΑΛΗΘ, ΙΟΛΕΝΗ, ΜΟΥΣΑ, ΙΠΠΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ, ΕΥΛΟΙΜΕΝΗ, ΑΚΤΑΙΗ and ΦΑΙΝΔΗ show both that many various tales were represented and that the dialect of the maker was Ionic. The stuff was yellow, but the ground of the design is black, and red is used also. The whole suggests some Ionian form of red-figured vase whereon the traditions of black-figured technique had survived more than they did at Athens (v. p. 210, n. 9).

From the same tomb comes a piece (Fig. 244, v. 2) with a pleasing pattern of ducks on a purple ground and a border of stags' heads; something of the same black-figured spirit survives in the manner in which the ducks are rendered. They are yellow with streaks of black and green, and green was used for the stags' eyes: the trimming was of fur.

The finest piece left from the Pavlovskij Fort Barrow, has a dark purple ground embroidered mostly with a pattern of spirals and palmettes, but also bearing the figure of an Amazon and edged with a green border of the texture of rep. The tendrils and stalks are pinkish-yellow, leaves are green, the Amazon has a green chiton with a red and yellow border. The drawing of it all is very free, considering that the design was to be carried out in satin stitch (Fig. 244, fl. 1, 2).

On the same plate, in CR, we have specimens of golden leaves sewn on to a bark foundation covered with stuff to make a crown, a cheaper form than the all-gold crowns illustrated on pp. 388, 389, fl. 285, 286. In one case the gold was itself covered with fine woollen crépe: one bore an indication of a coin marked ΒΣΕ common also on the gold crowns. Thus I would date them about the middle of the 1st century A.D., assigning them to Mithridates VII, but they are more usually put down to Mithridates Eupator (v. coin-plate vii. 14—18 and Ch. xix.).

Other interesting pieces not reproduced on Fig. 244 may be mentioned: v. 3 is silk found with the three-legged table (v. p. 333); v. 4 is embroidery in gold on slate colour, making an ivy pattern. Other pieces on this and the following plate are mostly stripes and mat-like patterns: vi. 2 is a conical cap with a tassel at one end and stripes round the other; vi. 5 (Fig. 244) has its stripes enriched with simple arabesques which look thoroughly in the Empire style. In several of these pieces remarkable skill is shown in making the red shade into the green by delicate gradations. The texture is mostly similar to what we call rep.

Byzantine textiles, some inwoven with figures of men and animals interesting when compared with Coptic work, have been found at Chersonese.

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1 vi. 5 and 6 shews an ancient shoe adorned with gold sequins and not more than 6 inches long. Other shoes have been found at Pavlovskij Barrow, CR. 1859, p. 35, No. 15, and in the Great Basilica in the tomb of the Princess of Demeter, CR. 1865, p. 11, No. 16. Wooden soles of Roman date are figured, CR. 1878-9, p. 143. All are very like our shoes; cf. Watzinger, op. cit. p. 14, fl. 23, 25. 2 CR. 1891, p. 31, fl. 27; 1904, p. 54, fl. 63, 64: BCA. xvi. p. 38, fl. 1, 2.
§ 7. Ceramics.

For the history of the Ceramics of the Greeks the finds in South Russia have no such superlative importance as for the study of their carpentry, textiles or goldwork. Yet they have yielded much material towards filling up outlines traced by investigators working in other regions, and they have no small historical interest as determining the relations between the coasts of Scythia and other parts of the Greek world at various periods.

In view of the endless number of specimens any attempt at an enumeration even of the most important is hopeless, and for finds made in Stephani’s lifetime the reader is referred to CR. from 1859 to 1881 and to his Catalogue of Vases in the Hermitage.

Early Vases.

One Geometric vase is said to have come from Berezan; with, as far as I know, this single exception the earliest kind of Greek vase that occurs in South Russia is that referred by Bochhau to Miletus. From the environs of Kerch such vases are very rare, first published was that from Temir Gori. A Corinthian aryballos was found at Kerch in 1902, and with it one of “Egyptian porcelain” with a kind of cartouche upon it, not, it seems, Egyptian work but after the Saite type as Mr. E. W. Green tells me; another Corinthian and a Milesian (?) aryballos were found there the next year.

But these early finds are few on the Bosporus: the rather desultory excavations carried out in that region in spite of their long continuance do not seem to have happened upon the oldest cemeteries. Perhaps there was no considerable Greek population before the 7th century, or it is just conceivable that the older diggers who were looking for productions of the “finest” periods took no notice of earlier and less elegant objects.

Be that as it may, the careful diggings of the last few years have produced plenty of early fragments from the Olbia district. They were first reported in any quantity from the island Berezan, from which were the collections of Father Levitskij, soon to be published in Materials, and of Mr. Voittine. Excavations were there carried on in 1900 and 1901 by G. L. Skadovskij and since 1902 by von Stern. The summaries of results published yearly mention Theran, Milesian and Samian, Naucratis, “Egyptian porcelain”, Clazomenian, Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian, Cyprian, Early Boeotian, Attic black-figured and a few severe red-figured vases: there is knowledge of S. Russian Ceramics has been due to von Stern and his pupil E. V. Pharmacovskij.

1 Professor E. R. von Stern summed up the whole results to 1899 in a paper read before the xth Russian Archaeological Congress at Kiev, Trans. O. Soc. xxii. pp. (— 21. “On the significance of Ceramic Finds in South Russia for elucidating the Cultural History of the Black Sea Colonization,” and this with additions to bring it up to date has been the basis of the following section but he has since remodelled it with much the same additions as mine and presented it to the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Berlin (1908), Kett. IX. (1909), pp. 139—152. “Die Griechische Kolonisation am Nordostende des Schwarzen Meeres im Lichte archäologischer Forschung.”

Since Stephani’s death nearly all advance in our knowledge of S. Russian Ceramics has been due to von Stern and his pupil E. V. Pharmacovskij.


3 CR. 1899, i. Pl. iv.; Mitt. Klio, Beihf. VII.

4 Funde aus Naucratis, p. 184.

5 CR. 1902, pp. 53, 58, f. 80, 180.


7 CR. 1901, p. 137; two late Milesian sherds, N. Radlov, B.C.A. XXXVII. p. 81, coloured Pl. iv.

8 CR. 1902, pp. 152, 153, f. 303, 304.

9 So J. Bochhau, Aus Jüdischen und Italienischen Neufolien, Leippsg, 1898, p. 52 sqq., renames Rhodian and Fikellura.
also a new ware most nearly allied to Naukratis and so probably Milesian, it consists of bowls, yellow or yellowish-gray outside, red, black, dark-brown or chocolate within; round the outside run three red or dark rings. Attic wares are confined to the top layers; among these were two signatures of Teseus.

Olbia itself yields a not less abundant harvest of much the same sorts; the best specimens seem at first to have fallen into the hands of the predatory diggers, as von Stern laments, but now Pharmacovskij has found very numerous fragments and some whole vases. He has grouped them temporarily and published some of the best pieces, recording the occurrence of Samian, Naukratis, Corinthian, Chalcidian and the unknown Ionian fabric with creamy ground and red decoration: such already existed in Mr Vogell's collection at Nicolaev. More recently specimens of Milesian, Clazomenae and Daphnæ were have turned up, and lastly vases in the shape of a man with a hedgehog in "Egyptian porcelain" probably made at Naukratis or Miletus.

Fragments of Milesian pots even penetrated into the interior as far as the government of Ekaterinoslav and the regions of Chigirin and Zvenigorodka in Kiev. A very early black-figured vase of curious shape like the weight on a steel-yard was found in a barrow near Uliskaja (Kuban) in 1893. It would appear to be of some Asiatic make, but is not quite like the Milesian.

**Black-and-Red-figured Vases.**

Ordinary black-figured vases come from all the sites in South Russia, Kerch, Theodosia, Berezan and Olbia, even Eupatoria (Cercinith) and Chersonese. These Attic vases show that the Athenian potters had conquered this market in the latter part of the 7th century. Von Stern correlates this with the foreign policy of the Pisistratids. With the expulsion of the tyrants this pre-eminence was apparently lost, for the severe red-figured vases of about the time of the Persian wars are very scarce. From

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2. For the first example, v. G. Lerschke, Arch. Anz. 1891, pi 11, 8.
3. Trans. Od. Soc. xxii. Minutes, p. 119: the collection of which he speaks was acquired by the Hermitage and published in CR. 1891, pp. 129–131, 142–142; it includes most of the kinds mentioned above, but it is not certain that they all really came from S. Russia.
6. This was mostly dispersed in May, 1898, but a fully illustrated record of it exists in J. Boelhan, Sammlung A. Voguell, Cassel, 1908; the early pots are Nos. 16–47, Pl. ii. Some now at Munich, J. Kuhn, 4, & Arch. Inst. 1910, p. 35, f. 10, 11.
7. Gladly take this opportunity of thanking Mr Vogell for his kindness to me at Nicolaev and for sending me the catalogue.
Leuce we have part of a cantharos made by Nicosthenes and painted by Epictetus with a symposium; from Olbia a pelice with a flute-player and Nike, an amphora a colonnette with Dionysus and Maenads, and one or two bits; from Kerch a shallow cup with Menelaus and Helen that von Stern puts down to Amasis II, an amphora a colonnette like that from Olbia, and the fragments figured on CR. 1873, iii., of which Fig. 245 is an example. A beautiful alabastron, made by Hllinus and painted by Psiax, with a warrior on one side and an Amazon on the other, though in the Odessa Museum was not certainly found in South Russia.

Among all the fragments of red-figured pottery found by General Bertier-de-La-Garde during the harbour works at Theodosia, not one belonged to the severe style. It seems likely that upon the interruption of the trade with Greece the colonies in Scythia were no longer in a position to indulge in such luxuries as the finest painted pottery. We have no hint as to their fate during this disturbed period which included the expedition of Darius, an event which must have excited anxiety among the men of Olbia. Athens did not regain the market at once, her attention was diverted to the West.

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2 Von Stern, ib. xxii. p. 23, Pl. iii. 2.
3 Vogell, Samml. No. 195, Pl. ii. 5.
4 RCAA. XXXIII. p. 122, ff. 54-33.
5 Le. p. 72. Pl. ill. 1.
7 CR. 1903. p. 159. E. 318.
to Italy and Sicily, and vases of the transitional style are also rare. But with the introduction of the free style, South Russia becomes one of the richest sources. The ware destined for it was singularly like that exported to Cyrene. From this time forth we can study the changes in fashion of Greek pottery by innumerable examples drawn from Olbia, and still more from Kerch and its environs. From Theodosia we get fragments; from Chersonese two or three late vases and some fragments, of importance in their way as the first proof that the site of the "New" Chersonese dated from at least the 7th century B.C.

Among the various classes of free-style vases found at Kerch the lecanae are quite a speciality. Half of those extant come from the Bosporus, and

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Fig. 247. Lecane from Kerch. I have much pleasure in thanking Miss J. E. Harrison for the loan of the block made from a drawing by Mrs. H. F. Stewart after Trans. Od. Soc. xviii. Pl. I.

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1 Olbia, B.C.A. xxxvii. pp. 122, 123, ff. 34, 35; cf. von Stern, Theodosia, Pl. II. Nos. 10, 11.
3 e.g. a fragment by Andron, Pharmacovskij, Trans. Od. Soc. xvi. p. 14, Pl. II. 1; a pelike, Hetacles crowned by Nike, von Stern, Arb. xix. p. 94, Pl. 1; CR. 1903, p. 47, f. 73, p. 157, f. 314.
4 Pharmacovskij classifies all vases of these styles known down to 150 B.C. in a wonderful appendix to his "Vase Painting and its relation to Monumental Art in the period directly after the Greek-Persian Wars," TR.A.S. xii. (1901, 2); all found in Russia are indexed a.v. Poccini.
5 Von Stern, Theodosia, Pl. III.-v.
6 CR. 1905, p. 37, f. 33; p. 39, f. 53.
7 CR. 1904, p. 66, f. 104; B.C.A. iv. p. 78, ff. 28, 39; Mat. vii. iv. 2, 3, 4.
they are almost always marked by singular elegance. Their use for washing face, hands and feet in perfumed water just suited the luxurious tastes of the Bosporan ladies.


In Panticapaeum as in South Italy the simple contrast of black and red at last ceased to satisfy customers, and vase-painters took to heightening the effect of their wares by adding white details and gilt accessories. This is almost universal upon a second type of lecane with high body and vertical handles. Lastly came the use of relief that was finally to oust the styles which relied on mere painting. A famous example of this relief-work, with the further addition of bright colour, is the vase that reproduces, as is supposed, not only the subject of the west pediment of the Parthenon, the contest of Athena and Poseidon, but also its composition.

1 e.g. those published by Pharmacovskij, *Times* 1865, p. 79, PL II, 2, and von Stern, ib. 1866, p. 79, f. 100. Also C.R. 1872, Pl. 1, *KTR.* p. 78, f. 108. 5. 7; also *C.R.* 1865, p. 9, f. 13; *B.C.A.* XIII, p. 137, f. 79; list in Pharmacovskij's "*Vasa Painting*" App. p. 75.


3 Pharmacovskij, *C.R.* 1865, p. 78, f. 108, and many books since.
§ 7] Lecane. Vases with colour and relief. Xenophonius 343

The same kind of work adorns the equally well-known vase signed round the neck just where it rises, below the palmettes which decorate it,

ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΑΘΝ.

The last word of the signature has been usually completed 'Ἀθηναῖος not 'Ἀθηνής, and it is supposed that Xenophonius was an Athenian artist working at Panticapaeum, but it is quite conceivable that he worked at Athens and exported his wares. Round the shoulders comes a narrow frieze in gilt relief—a biga with attendant figures thrice repeated, a gigantomachy and a centauroomachy in between. The main subject (f. 249) belongs to the world of pure phantasy: the dress and the names of the figures are more or less Persian, the date-palm and siphium in the background are Libyan—even in Libya tripods do not grow on siphium stems—only the griffins suggest Scythia, and one of these is of quite a strange type.

The less elaborate colour effects of white lecythi did not find much favour outside Attica, but we have one or two examples from Kerch, and one apparently from Olbia.

1 A B C, XIV, XLVI, Reinach, p. 98 = C.R. 1866, IV. Kayet et Collignon, Céramique Grecque, pp. 264, 265, ff. 100, 101, &c.
2 For another aryballos in much the same style, v. A B C, XLVII, 1, 2, 3; and one just slimmer enough to be called a lecythus, Arch. Anz. 1903, pp. 173, 174, ff. 10 a, b.
4 Vogell, Samml. No. 145; Pl. IV, 15.
Vases in the Shape of Statues, Animals and Heads.

Something of the same taste which rejoiced in the many-coloured vases decorated with reliefs also approved of vases actually made in the form of human figures and beasts or monsters, and these, also beautifully coloured, are rather a speciality of South Russia, although they do occur elsewhere. Particularly beautiful specimens are a Sphinx and an Aphrodite Anadyomene,
both found in a tomb near 'Phanagoria'. The former (f. 250) has preserved its colours specially well: the handle and mouth of the vessel are the ordinary black; the Sphinx herself wears a red diadem with gilt flowers, gilt also are her hair and necklaces with touches on wings and tail: these last are white with blue streaks: blue also are her eyes: her body is a warm white, shading up from her breast to the delicate flush of her face: the base is red and blue,

Fig. 251. Phanagoria. Tinted vase—Cr. 1870-71, f. 3. From a photograph kindly sent me by Mr. J. I. Smirnov.

and between the feet it is adorned with white palmettes on a red ground. It is a pity that this vase is not published in colours before it fades, as it must do in spite of the great care taken to shield it. The Aphrodite (Fig. 251) is in much the same style but not so well preserved. She is

1 Cr. 1870-1, f. 2 and 3, 4 = ATR, pp. 81, 82, ff. 110, 111; Bayer, et Collignon, pp. 273, 271, ff. 184, 185; G. Treu, XXXIV. Wiedemann’s fest-PROGRAMM. "Griechische Thongefasse in Statuetten- und Biaste-Form," Berlin, 1875, Pl. 1, 55; cf. W. Froehner, Collection Tyrokomies, Pl. XIII. I am indebted to the late Mr. Kieseritzky for showing me these figures. For the types of this class of vase, v. Die Antiken Terrakotten, bezw., v. R. Kekule von Stradonitz; Beit. III. 1, 3, "Die Typen der figurlichen Terrakotten," bearb. v. F. Winter, Berlin 1903, 1, p. 228, 6; 2, p. 158, 2, p. 203, 3, 4.
coming out between two valves of a shell, white without and red within.
The type is common in terra-cottas. The same idea of a figure made into
a vase is less well carried out in the Dancer Vase from the Pavlovskij
Barrow a little to the south of Kerch. Another such vase represents a Siren,
but the mixture of woman, bird and fish is clumsily managed.

A whole series of vases somewhat similar in conception and in colouring
was found in 1852, likewise by Phanagoria, but they differ in that they have
the form of upright human figures. One presents a winged dancer with
castanets standing by an altar: each of the next two, a girl without wings:
the last, a young man, perhaps Dionysus. The back in each case has the
black or brown of an ordinary vase, and the neck projects above the figure's
head. The colouring may have faded from these, the flesh tints have not
the delicacy of the former vases. Still less delicate in colour is a group of
goddess riding upon a goat, and a charming vase from Kerch at Odessa
relies entirely upon modelling for its effect.

In quite a different style are vases made in the form of a Silenus
reclining on a wineskin or leaning against it. Another vase from Olbia
takes the shape of a female bust and brings us to a whole class of vases in
the form of heads from the Quarantine road at Kerch, from Chersonese, and
from Olbia heads of a Maenad, Silenus, Pan, a negro, a child and women.
Another form of head-cup furnished with handles comes from Kerch.
Cups shaped like a horse's head occur at Kerch and Olbia, also a boar's head
at Olbia. Whole animals are specially common there—the earliest is a black-
figured askos in the shape of a bird—a bull, many rams, a dog, a lion
and a cock, made in fine red clay. Mr Vogell had replicas of pretty well
all these types and more, a crouching negro, swine, hedgehog, ape, etc.
They mostly belong to about the mid 4th century B.C. Similar examples from
Kerch are an eagle, a wolf, a nondescript animal with an old man's head,
and an elephant. Some also come in Scythic graves. (V. supra p. 232, n. 5).

Rhyta in the form of human or animal heads have in them something of
the same idea, and besides the well-known silver examples clay specimens
occur at Kerch.\[n\]

2 * K.T.K. p. 192, l. 182—CR. 1859, III, 1; for the costume see E. Potter and S. Renach, La Nécropole de Myrina, Pl. xxviii. 3, xxx, and
p. 393.
3 * CR. 1870-71, Pl. l. 6.
5 * ABC. lxxi. 4, 44; cf. Tren, op. cit. ii. 5; Kekulé-Winter III, 2, p. 157.
6 * Odessa Museum, Terra-cottas (v. p. 353 n. 1), l. xii. 4.
7 * ib. xii. 2.
8 * B.C.A. xxxvii. p. 132, l. 30.
9 * CR. 1900, p. 3, l. 9.
10 * The earliest example of this idea is from Beraun, a helmeted head of "Rhodian" ware, Arch. Anz. 1908, p. 189, l. 14.
11 * CR. 1900, p. 27, l. 64; 1905, p. 46, l. 86—Arch. Anz. 1927, p. 141, l. 11, 12; a fine head of
Heracles.
12 * CR. 1891, p. 149, l. 185.
13 Arch. Anz. 1908, p. 186, l. 19; 1910, p. 735, l. 35; CR. 1897, p. 203, l. 192; 1904, p. 49, l. 60; 61; Od. Mus. ii. xii. 1, 3. For glass heads v. p. 362, l. 3.
14 * ib. xii. 2.
15 * op. cit. l. xvi. 4.
16 * CR. 1902, p. 27, l. 45.
17 Arch. Anz. 1909, p. 175, l. 459; Tritons, ib. 1910, p. 214, l. 11.
18 * Od. Mus. i. xiii. 2.
19 * op. cit. ii. xvi. 3, 4; Arch. Anz. 1891, p. 19, l. 4; 1902, p. 11, l. 14.
20 * CR. 1902, p. 27, l. 14.
21 * ibid. l. 13.
23 * B.C.A. viii. p. 54, l. 55.
24 * Samnel, early, Nos. 45, 46, Pl. 1, 2, 6; later, Nos. 23-24, Pl. v, 17-18.
25 * Od. Mus. ii. xvi. 2.
26 * ABC. lxxi. 5, 34.
27 * CR. 1906, p. 86, l. 95; Arch. Anz. 1907, p. 130, l. 2.
29 * Od. Mus. ii. xiii. 1, 3.
Late Painted and Distempered Vases.

But the plastic feeling did not suddenly destroy the taste for painting. The red-figured technique survived longest in little aryballi with women's heads or palmettes hastily touched in (e.g. pl. 252), or else in various vases which seem to have been imported from South Italy. In one grave at Kerch we have one of the ordinary plates with fishes and a squid for decoration and a lecan of the same style, and from Chersonese a fish plate. Pieces of Italian ware have been sold as from Olbia, but their provenance is not certain; there were, however, many specimens in the Vogell collection, an Apulian "Pracht-amphora," pelicae, craters, jugs and fish plates.

To the latter part of the 11th century belong the Panathenaeic vases that have been found at Kerch: their technique is black-figured, but their style readily betrays their date; rather an earlier one was found at Nymphaeum and is in the possession of Mr A. V. Novikov. Another, from Olbia (?), was in the Vogell collection. It is interesting to think that Greeks from these distant towns won prizes at the Panathenaeic. Something similar is a prize vase with pictures of a horseman and of a quadriga in the old black-figured technique; it was found by Pharmacovskij at Olbia, and there are other such in the Odessa Museum. There is nothing so far to show at what contest they were awarded. The subsidiary decoration seems to be in the Hellenistic manner.

When moulded ware took the place of painted in most parts of the Greek world, the Pontic Greeks seem to have wished to continue the custom of depositing painted vases with their dead. Accordingly, since the supply of Attic vases had ceased, they endeavoured to provide a substitute, and produced a kind of vase which has never been found south of the Euxine. Such vases are of a badly prepared clay and have thick sides so that they weigh three times as much as good Greek vases, and their surface could never be brought to the smoothness of the old ware. This clay was sometimes coloured black.
sometimes left its natural dirty yellow. To this ground they applied their painting in something of the nature of tempera, but they did not know how to fix the colours, which accordingly brush off very easily, and it is rare to find a well-preserved specimen. The best according to von Stern is at Berlin; the examples at Odessa, one of which comes from Olbia (hitherto these have been found at Kerch only), have but single figures left, yet the Hermitage is not without fair pieces, reproduced by Stephani. Upon another (f. 253) we have a combat of a Greek with an Amazon. The Greek has reddish brown flesh with high lights, a red chiton, blue scarf, whites to his eyes and black pupils, a bluey white shield, a brown helmet and spear and a red plume: the Amazon is painted with a blue helmet, yellow flesh, brown chiton, red scarf and a bluey white shield with a gorgoneion in the centre. Another good vase of the kind is represented on the Frontispiece of CR. 1863. It is not the drawing or colouring that is so bad in this curious class of vase as the technical side, the knowledge how to prepare clay, make a pot and apply colours so that they shall stand properly. There can be no doubt that they were made on the north coast of the Euxine, probably at Kerch, in spite of one being found at Olbia, and this shows that the Panticapaesans had a fair share of skill in drawing, and raises the question whether we must really put down most of the artistic objects found in South Russia as foreign importations.

We have seen (p. 339) that even Milesian vases found their way up into the interior of the country. The Attic vases are naturally of far more frequent occurrence (p. 32, n. 4). Early examples are a black-figured kylix from Gorobinets and a white lecythus with black patterns from near Shpola; later a red-figured arybalus and crater from Bobritsa, a fine crater with Europa and the Bull from Galushchino, another crater from near Kanev in Kiev.

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1. CR. 1872, Pl. 14, 5, 6; black clay, a garland; 7 and 8, natural coloured clay, two Sirens and a tripod, v. Text. p. 128 sqq.
2. KTR. p. 72, f. 95.
5. Sam. III. xx. 5, 6.
University Museum, a careless cylix with a dedication from Zhurovka (pp. 175 and 361), and a number of pieces of mere black-glazed pottery, the care with which they are mended shows how much they were valued. All these places are in the Government of Kiev, but there are plenty of Greek pots from Poltava, Ekaterinoslavl, and the Kuban.

**Plastic Decoration.**

While the belated distemper-vases were being put in graves by those who regarded old customs, plastic decoration became more and more usual for vases used by the living. After becoming hasty in order to be cheap, and gaudy in order to be attractive, vase painting gave up the struggle and yielded to various wares which could receive rich ornament from a mould without the labour involved in hand-painting. A last survival of painting was a practice of putting a wreath round a vessel's neck or a kind of necklace in white paint, giving almost an effect of relief. This was often done in local work, which is betrayed by the poor quality of its glaze. There is a large amphora of such work in the Museum at Chersones. Better work, probably imported, recalls the style associated with Gnathia in Apulia. The main cause of the change of fashion was that the wealthy classes in the Hellenistic states had now within their reach great masses of gold and silver, some of which they applied to the making of plate, and Toreutic became a far more important art than it had been. The common people who could not afford these precious materials could at least copy the metal forms in clay, an imitation which at its best produced some undeniably elegant pots, but when coarsened to suit common clay and poor workmanship led to a loss of that adaptation of form to material which makes quite rude work satisfactory.

Vessels which shew this imitation of metal work specially clearly are similar to those which, when found in Italy, are called Cales ware. They are characterized by the use of medallions (emblemata) as ornaments whether

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let into the bottoms of cups or into the sides of larger vessels. Exactly similar medallions are used in the silver plate that has survived. In plate their use began in Hellenistic and went on into Roman times, so that the Bosco Reale and Hildesheim treasures offer perfect parallels. Such a medallion in silver has actually been found at Olbia⁷, and at Chersonese was found a whole series of moulds apparently made from such metallic originals⁸. That these Olbian clay pots were not imported from Cales is shown by the fact that they are closer to the metallic originals and finer in their workmanship than the Italian examples. The fashion probably spread from Asia Minor. A curious trace of the making of pottery at Chersonese is a kind of triangle with a pyramid on each point, itself made of clay, and used to keep apart the different shallow vessels in a pile while they were being baked in the kiln⁹.

![Fig. 255: CR. 1896, p. 208, f. 394. Pelice. Olbia.](image1)

![Fig. 256: CR. 1901, p. 13, f. 20. Cylix. Olbia.](image2)

The influence of metal work is further shown in a growing tendency to flute vessels, to make the handles very thin, often to imitate in clay the methods of riveting a metal handle to its body, and in general, to apply a style of ornament more suited to repoussé work. At the same time the varnish gets less and less beautiful; instead of the hard black smooth varnish of former times, it is brownish or greyish with metallic lights and unevenly put on. This kind of stuff is well represented and fully illustrated in Pharmacovskij's account of his excavations in Olbia in 1901⁷.

The question of Hellenistic pottery and the transition from the characteristic black varnish and painted style of classical Greek times to the red varnish and plastic style of typical Roman ware has received much illustration from excavations near the west end of the Athenian acropolis⁸. Evidently the

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⁷ Pharmacovskij, *BCA*, II, p. 75, l. 2.
⁸ v. p. 365, f. 265; W. K. Malmberg, *Mat. VII. Antiquities from Chersonese*, PL i, 1, 2, 3, II, 4, 5, 6, thinks that some were taken from mirror boxes, but Pharmacovskij's view seems more probable. For examples of such medallions from Egypt, rather later in date, v. *LVIII* [*Windenmann Manifestprogramm*, E. Pernice, *Hellenistische Silbergefäße im Antiquarium*,] Berlin, 1898, PL II, IV; and C. Wallstein, *JHS*, III. (1882), p. 96, PL XXII.
⁹ *BCA*, I, p. 44, l. 41.
⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI. (1901), pp. 50–102; C. Watzinger, *Vasenfunde aus Athen*.
new-fashioned vases were made even in Athens, and they correspond fairly closely to the various types from South Russia, but the change of fashion seems to have come from Asia Minor, which had led the way in the metallic originals.

Watzinger points out very clearly how a set of silver vessels such as the cantharos, erix, jug and standing saucer found in a tomb on the Quarantine Road at Kerch, or those in Artjukhov’s Barrow, can be paralleled in clay. Both these tombs contained a coin of Lysimachus, in the latter case one coined in Byzantium shortly after his death in B.C. 281, showing that the burials belong to about the middle of the century. So Watzinger gets dates for the potsherds, comparing ABC. xxxviii. 5 with the Caledian style, xxxviii. 1 with the inscribed cantharoi, CR. 1880, p. 19 with the cups upon which raised decoration is just beginning, and ABC. xxxvii. 5 or xxxviii. 3 with those wares upon which the plastic principle has triumphed. To this transitional period, or some half century later, belong vases with a light surface and decoration in red or brown rather carefully put on. In this style are jars with sketches of objects, e.g. one from Kerch with a jug like itself, an amphora, a basket, a lyre, a harp and pan-pipes. The most extraordinary example of a metal shape in clay is a kind of stand from Olbia. It is like a candlestick with a disproportionately large sconce, from the underside of which hang loose rings: the whole is supported by high claw feet. A fragment of a similar one was found at Chersonese. It is wonderful that pottery should have been strong enough to hold together in such a shape.

Megarian Bowls.

One class of ware with rather rich ornament in relief is that most commonly represented by the small hemispherical or shallow cups called Megarian bowls. The Russian dealers call them fomolki, skull-caps, which has the advantage of not begging the question of their origin. A cup of similar shape in silver occurred in Karagodeushk Barrow, but it may be of barbaric make and it lacks decoration. These cups are dark grey, brown or almost black, and have a dull surface. They were formed in moulds, themselves covered with patterns by means of stamps in relief, and the makers shewed much ingenuity in adapting the same moulds to the production of various-shaped vessels by adding bases, necks and handles to the fundamental

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2 CR. 1880, pp. 17, 22, Pl. II. 19, 20, 21, IV. 8, 9; v. p. 430, f. 321.


4 Roca. XX. p. 26, f. 9.


bowl. The conditions of extracting the moulded vessel determined the shapes that this process could produce. In any case, the manufacture seems to have been carried on somewhere in Central Greece, Dragendorff says Chalcis, whereas von Stern points out that the attribution to Megara, which is now universally discredited, rested for a while on much the same evidence as that which now points to Chalcis: nothing short of the discovery of an actual potter's workshop with broken moulds and pots of this make can really settle the question. In any case, the same firm sent identical bowls to Vulci and Panticapaeum. But undoubtedly there were imitators on the spot. Zahn makes out that only his Nos. 1 and 2 were made in Greece, but no doubt the moulds for others came from abroad, as his Nos. 4 and 5 are of native clay but identical with examples from Montefiascone and Megara.

Demetrius' and Menemachus' are well-known names in this trade, but they may have worked in Greece; Menemachus was more active in Italy. But the stamps for pots with the strange word KIP BEI must have been made on the Euxine, for only in this region do we find genitives in -es; according to some native declension, and in one of the Pontic colonies there must have been a potter with the barbarous name Kipses. These bowls and

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1. Peucæae thus made in Zahn, Nos. 28, 29: C.R. 1903, p. 137, f. 37, 4; a jug, Zahn, No. 32; handled cups, Nos. 30, 31; a deep vase on a foot with several bands of ornament, von Stern, B.C. A. III. pp. 93–115, Pl. XIV, XV.

2. B.C. A. I. p. 32, f. 2, Cheronesian.

3. Malanberg, Mat. VII, p. 27.

4. Dragendorf, XCVI, p. 27.

5. E.g. Æsop. gen. Æsopis in Jut. P. E. II. 267; 408 and many others: 4. B.C. A. IV. p. 144, B. H. Latschew, On the question of ancient pottery with the inscription KIP BEI: Zahn, p. 49, points out that the letters come round the head of a bust like that of Tyche (Demeter?) on Olbian coins (Pl. III, 3 and its degradation. III, 27), but his pictures, on pp. 55, 60, 61, 67 or Arch. Ant. 1910, 524, f. 34, do not establish an identity of type; for the grammatical form he compares Doric genitives in -es.
their like are placed in the 3rd and early 2nd century B.C. Von Stern (l.c.) suggests that they are the Vasa Samia, a name that has long been familiar and used to be applied to the bright red Arretine ware. He argues that there was an important class of what we should term Hellenistic ware called after Samos, and that the affinities of the compositions reproduced on "Megarian" ware are rather with Asia than Europe, so that Samos would suit as the place of its manufacture.

Closely connected in technique is this same Arretine ware. The chief difference is caused by the discovery that more intense burning produced a harder substance and a uniform bright red colour much more attractive than the dull surface of the "Megarian" ware. This discovery was probably made in some Greek country; but Arretium became a great centre of the industry, and imitations were made in France, Germany, and even Britain. That products of the Italian factories were exported as far as South Russia is proved by the stamps of Roman makers, both in Latin and Greek letters (e.g. CCELIVM and TAIOT), from Olbia, and I have myself a broken lamp from Chersonese with Latin letters upon it.

This ware is the first witness of the intercourse with Italy and Rome, which ended in the Roman protectorate over Olbia and Chersonese and suzerainty over the Bosporus.

**Alexandrian Vases, Painted and Glazed.**

Vases were imported not only from Greece and Italy, but also from Alexandria, whose artistic influence we have already seen in the frescoes of tombs. One class said to have come from there is that of vases on which the body has been covered all over with white to receive painting in red, pink, yellow and black. Ornament consisted e.g. in a bay garland of alternate red and black leaves about the neck, on the shoulders another of various coloured leaves upon a black ground, and on the body a panther and a round medallion which has lost its decoration. These vases seem mostly amphorae, sometimes put upon most curious stands.

The same white ground and bright-coloured decoration distinguishes a unique amphora found at Olbia in 1901. But in this case there is the addition of plastic decoration which marks the vase as belonging to the 2nd century. Body and base were of the ordinary late varnish, only marked by fluting and by as it were a whorl of sepals above the base. Shoulders and handles were covered with white, and the latter adorned with masks with gilt diadems and brown hair, and the former with elaborate patterns of acanthus and vine in relief, coloured pink and blue and gold. Upon the neck were figure subjects.

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1 The intermediate steps were well represented in the Vogell Coll. Nos. 438-418, f. 30, 31, and on p. 48, Pl. vii. 20-33; cf. Druegendorff, xcvi. p. 96, f. 2-12.
3 Cf. Zahn, op. cit. p. 74, a late cup with OTYAIE in the Villa; CR. 1895, p. 156, f. 502, a lamp with MAPKOR and one with two gladiators, CR. 1892, p. 25, f. 301; from Kerch a saucer with DIV VAT, Trans. Odd. Soc. xxiii. p. 20, and C. CORV, S. on a lamp.

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ABC. Inscr. lxvi. Reinach, p. 135.

*Very good specimens from Olbia, CR. 1906, p. 35, f. 27-29.
13 CR. 1900, pp. 11, 12 f. 22; Vogell, Nos. 395, 396, Pl. v. 8, 12.
7 f. 259-261, BCA. viii. p. 31 and pl. iii. The vase is to be published in colours in Materials.
From Alexandria too comes, at a still later date, a class of vases to which much attention has been drawn of late\(^1\). It is distinguished from all other ancient pottery by being covered with a metallic glaze somewhat similar in composition to modern lead glaze\(^2\). The best Russian specimen, published by Schwartz\(^3\), was found at Olbia in 1891. It is of red clay covered with green glaze, and is more or less the shape of an inverted bell or a brass mortar\(^4\), furnished with a handle made up of two snakes intertwined. Round

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\(^{2}\) Cf. Rayet et Collignon, op. cit. p. 372. 139, Berenice vase.

\(^{3}\) See also von Steen, loc. cit.; Pl. i. and ii.

\(^{4}\) Cf. a silver original from Bosco Reale, Monumenti Piat, V. Pl. vii. viii.
§ 7]  

Alexandrian Ware. Metallic Glaze

the base go three tori and a pattern of oves and lotuses very hastily indicated. Above this is the figure subject, also roughly but cleverly modelled—a caricature of the Judgement of Paris, in which Hermes and Paris are in the usual attitude, but treated in the comic style, and the three goddesses are represented by sketches of three low-class Alexandrians who are not distinguished by any particular attributes. Hera is giving Athena a slap in the face, and preparing the insulting gesture ἀδιαντοπα; Athena has started back from her and is making the usual sign to ward off the effect of bad language. Aphrodite is also giving way before Hera's fury, and holds what seems to be a flower before her face. The whole is a good instance of the boldness with which the Greeks caricatured their gods. In the same tomb was found another example of the same technique, now in the possession of Mr. Pierpont Morgan (Fig. 262), whom I heartily thank for allowing me to take the photograph. In form it is an oenochoe, about 7 inches high, with the usual trefoil lip; round the neck is the same adaptation of oves as on the last vase; at the setting on of the handle is a mask, with horns rather large for a Silenus and rather small for a Zeus Ammon. On the body of the jug are three skeletons wearing conical hats; the middle one has also a necklace; they seem to be dancing some obscene dance; between them are ravens; the whole is covered with a brownish green glaze. The skeletons recall the Bosco Reale cups, to which reference has been made. The imitation of metal originals is unusually clear in this ewer. Everything joins to put

It has been lent to S. Kensington since Dec. 1905 and I there recognised that it must be by the same hand. The investigations of Professor von Stein (*Fram. Od. Soc. xxvii. pp. 87—100) have shown that it is from the same tomb, for an account of which v. inf. p. 420.
the date of the tomb at about 100 A.D. Mr Vogell sent me a fragment which must have come from a replica of this oenochoe. Its glaze is cream coloured. Another example of the same ware comes from Kerch, and is in I. K. Suruchan's Museum at Kishinev. Its glaze is brown, but the heads of the figures are inserted in some white material. The subject is the flight of Iphigenia, twice repeated with slight variations. It is argued from this that the Alexandrian maker consciously designed this and all from the same mould for the Pontic market, hence that the trade between these distant points was really worth special consideration. This may have been so, but it is quite possible that the maker of the vase had no such idea, and that its being found upon the Euxine is due to chance or to the choice of the exporter.

In the Odessa Museum is another piece with figures; it comes from

fig. 262. Jug with Metallic Glaze. Olbia. 3. 5. pp. 335 420.

§ 7. Metallic Glaze. Byzantine Ware

Olbia. On it, repeated more than once, we have the battle of Cranes and Pygmies. The groups were formed in plaster in a mould and applied to the vessel after baking, but before it was covered with its yellow glaze. The vase is too much broken to judge of its exact form. A replica of it in the Vogell collection shows it to have been like a teacup with two handles. A porringer from Olbia, also at Odessa, has a kind of cornice and a row of oves, from which droop four swags, two encircling the handles and two enclosing with their arcs pairs of Erotes. All this was made in a mould, save that the Erotes were added in plaster. The work is very rough indeed, but the design good.

Other pots made after the same fashion (f. 263) have no figured adornment but simple patterns mostly made with dabs of slip of different colour applied before the glazing: they all have a curiously modern appearance and do not at all suggest ancient work, but their genuineness is universally acknowledged. Their technique seems to go back to some of the glazing processes of ancient Egypt, and such vases from Egypt are in S. Kensington Museum.

Fig. 263. CR. 1901, p. 16, f. 32. Olbia. Decoration en barbotine, Metallic Glaze. (

It leads on by such specimens as have been found in Chersonese and Theodosia to the Byzantine glazed vessels and ceramic ornament, and so to all the faïences of the nearer East and the Mediaeval West. A similar glaze applied to a different material is exemplified by the fragments of a vase of the so-called Egyptian porcelain, so far unique in South Russia, found by Pharmacovskij in the vault of Heuresibius at Olbia; it too comes from Alexandria.

1 von Stern, loc. cit., GL II. 1.
2 No. 520, Zahn, loc. cit. No. 37.
3 von Stern, loc. cit. p. 36, f. 3; for a similar design in silver, cf. ABC, XXVIII. 1.
4 von Stern, op. cit., Pl. II. 2 (Kerch), 3 and p. 53.
5 Pharmacovskij, Olbia, RCA VIII. 1895, pp. 50, 51; CR. 1903, p. 13, f. 12; Vogell, No. 541, PL VII. 14.
7 RCA, III. p. 12, f. 4.
Clay Lamps.

Besides the vases of innumerable shapes clay was used to make lamps in great variety. Illustrations of such are scattered through the pages of reports of the excavations at Olbia, Chersonese and on the Bosporus, but very little has been done towards examining the types prevalent at different times. Lamps with the old black glaze are comparatively infrequent. The oldest is that with a 7th century graffito from Berezan (v. p. 361); commonest are those in ware similar to the Areteian vases and their imitations. They are made also in a kind of dull black ware. Besides the familiar type like a double-bottomed saucer with a handle on one side and the projection for the wick on the other, we have them ingeniously arranged for three or four wicks. In general their forms are just alike over the whole of the ancient world, and the decoration impressed upon the round saucer part is the last stage in the vulgarization of familiar types.

A lamp that does call for notice is one from Olbia in the form of a negroid Silenus sitting doubled up and leaning against an amphora. The whole is cleverly adapted for a lamp, the neck of the amphora doing well for pouring in the oil and the wick coming out at its shoulder. Pharmacovskij compares a figure of an old woman from Scyros; she is hugging an amphora, and so forms a small vase; and likewise a little vase from Olbia with a Silenus on a wineskin. The style points to the 1st century B.C. and recalls the later Pergamene school with its love of barbarian types. Another unusual lamp from Olbia is in the form of a sandalled foot. But generally there is just a rosette with a hole in the middle, or a poor reproduction of the most commonplace ancient motives.

With lamps go lampstands. The most curious of these is one from Olbia in the British Museum. It has the shape of a four-pillared shrine upon a high base; in the front is a niche in which stands the figure of an actor in a woman's part. The stand supports a moveable bowl and the lamp was for warming food in this, not for giving light.

Amphorae.

Rather apart from other ceramic remains come the large amphorae in which wine was kept and exported. A small proportion of these bear stamps,
symbols, monograms and inscriptions with proper names in full. The interpretation of these stamps has not been successfully attained. Mr E. M. Pridik, in the forthcoming Volume iii. of *IoosPE*., is making a complete collection of them and of other inscriptions upon pottery, and we may expect that he will be able to offer some satisfactory explanation. Meanwhile it is not very hopeful to go into the subject at great length.

At first sight it might be supposed that the stamps have to do with the wine contained in the vessels, that they take the place of our labels, and that the name of a magistrate appearing upon the vessel was a guarantee of the authenticity of the commodity or of the vessel's containing full measure, and at the same time among those who knew would serve as a date mark. The amphorae without marks would either have contained vin ordinaire or had their distinguishing signs applied on the clay with which the opening was stopped, or written on some part of their surface. But the fact that similar stamps with the same names both of magistrate and of private persons occur upon tiles makes it apparent that it was a matter for the potter and the authorities who supervised him; and at the same time deprives us of any intelligible explanation. Is it conceivable that the same potter making amphorae and tiles, and putting the stamps on the amphorae for certain wine producers, stamps accordingly associated with his factory, should have transferred them also to tiles?

Whatever may have been their use, the stamps do allow us to learn something of the wine trade among the Pontic colonies. Quite clear are those of Rhodes and Thasos, which occur in large quantities on all the Greek sites. Clear too are those of Cnidos and Paros, which are very much less frequent. Plain amphorae may be referred to these cities by similarity of make or material. The difficulty arises in assigning those which bear two names or even three, the third the patronymic of one of the other people; in agreement or apposition to one of the names is the word ἀντικίτης or ἀντικίτιτος, very rarely ἄγορας, with or without ἔτι, and this comes either at the beginning or between the names, in such a way that it is hard to distinguish who is astynomus and who potter. One class of these with the inscription in a peculiar narrow depression may be referred to Chersonese because of its being found in greater proportion in the neighbourhood of that city and because of the occurrence of Doric forms in the names. It is usually
without any emblem. On this class names appear which also mark some coins of Chersonese. A kiln for baking amphorae was found there by Tower B on p. 305, f. 338.

By far the greater part present no special peculiarities of dialect or have sporadic Ionic forms, but are further distinguished by an emblem of a bird of prey attacking a dolphin or fish. Emblems may often be the devices of particular magistrates or potters, and particular ones go with certain names; but those which accompany various names and are common throughout a whole class of stamps evidently have to do with the city. Such are the balaustium of Rhodes and this eagle and dolphin. Unfortunately this very mark is common to the coins of several cities round the Euxine coast: it seems to have belonged to Sinope first and to have been adopted thence by Istrus and Olbia, and the question arises, to which it is to be referred in this case. P. Becker wished to call amphorae with this mark Olbian and it is certain that some of them must have come from Olbia: Jurgiewicz the other chief authority of the last generation put them down to Sinope: Kosciuszko-Waluzyniec follows him when treating of certain amphorae with "astynomus" found at Chersonese.

Though we have tiles with the stamps of the Archons of Panticapaeum and it is tempting to connect with some Spartocid Satyrus a handle found at Chersonese, whereon one stamp had ΕΠΙΣΑΤΥΡΟ, the other, a good example of the canting stamp, ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ and a Satyr's head like Pan's on the coins of Panticapaeum, yet there are no amphorae which we can certainly refer to that city. This makes it look as if it were a matter of wine-making rather than pottery. The districts devoted to vine culture in ancient times did not quite correspond to those now noted for it; some change of conditions has occurred. Strabo (II, i, 16) mentions the difficulty of cultivating the vine at Panticapaeum certainly as if it were not grown in sufficient quantities to make wine, though now there are considerable vineyards in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, we know from the Agasicles' inscription and from actual remains that the territory of Chersonese was covered with vineyards, whereas now they grow only in one or two favourable spots, and it seems possible that wine was an important factor in the prosperity of the colony, as it had too small and too dry a territory to grow corn with success. Whether the Greeks ever made use of the southern slopes of the Crimea where are now the best vineyards is not quite clear; it rather seems as if they never got firm possession till quite late times. Bessarabia produces good wine, and may have supplied the Olbian trade: the vine district may have extended further to the N. than it does now. In any case the wine of the country did not satisfy the inhabitants, and they did a large trade with Rhodes and Thasos. A curious use of amphorae, not uncommon in very early Greece, is that for roofing over grave-cists.

With the amphorae and tiles go the great store-jars found in all Greek towns; from Olbia some have been extracted whole, or at any rate completely pieced together.

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1 BCA. II. p. 18.
3 CR. pp. 33, 33. tile from Sinope.
4 MacPherson, pp. 72, 75, Pl. VII. xi.
7 Olbia, CR. 1903, p. 34, f. 31.
8 CR. 1903, p. 21, f. 30, 31.
Graffiti.

In Pridik’s third volume of [Ios]PE, we shall find besides the stamps all the “graffiti” scratched on pottery: this kind of material is well dealt with by Professor von Stern in treating a collection of such scratches in the museums of Odessa and Chersonese. They result from the excavations on Leuce made in the forties, from the works in connection with the harbour at Theodosia, from the present diggings in Chersonese, and from various sources, so that they give a satisfactory sample of what is to be found.

Von Stern divides those which can be more or less deciphered into inscriptions dedicatory, inscriptions of owners, and marks of dealers. The first class offers most interest, including dedications to Achilles at Leuce, e.g. ΠΛΑΥΚΟΣΕΩΝ ΜΕΝΝΑΙΟΝ ΧΩΝΑ ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥ ΚΗΠΕΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΑΙΕΙΣ ΠΟΙΟΙΟ ΠΟΙΟΙΟ, explained as “Glauco has dedicated me to Achilles Lord of Leuce: O boy into the Temenos of Poseidon.” It is conceivable that the writer, who combines exalted style with some carelessness (e.g. Δις ηκιστήρ after μεδούσ), cf. Λπ. 26 = IosPE, ii. 343, iv. 418, put in an extra E, meaning by the final words merely “the son of Poseidus”.

Γλαυκος εργαστικος αναλοις αναλοις, (στους) ημερας. I had rather supply ο δειμνα ανεβηκε και τοις σταυροις. Vases with dedications somehow fell into the possession of the natives. We have a cylix of the careless refigured style with Δελφωνιος έχων ηπειροις from Zhurovka (v. p. 176), and the silver vase from Zabov’s farm (v. p. 232) once belonging to Apollo in Phasis. From Theodosia we have fragments with ΛΑΝ, ΑΘ, ΑΠΙ, ΧΡ, ΑΡΗ, ΣΩ, ΗΔ, which may be taken as dedications and would then give us the names of gods worshipped in Theodosia, and ΗΡΑ, ΕΩΣ, ΔΙ, ΔΑΜΑ, ΔΑΙ, ΑΘΑ, ΑΠΙ, ΑΡΗ, in Chersonese, but since there are proper names of men as well as gods beginning with these letters we have no right to assume this. These may all belong to the class of owners’ inscriptions, which is represented by less doubtful examples, but does not give any very interesting results. Then we have the marks of the dealers in pottery, denoting the price and what numbers they had of any particular sort. Two abecedaria from Theodosia are not of much account, one is ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΚΛΜΝΩΡΣΤΥΦΨΩ, and the other ΑΓΒΔΕΖΗΘΚΛΜΝΩΡΣΤΥΦΨΩ. Very early graffiti interesting for an alphabet agreeing with that of Miletus in the viith century B.C. come from Berezan, ΖΜΙΗΣ ΕΙΜΙ, ΜΗΔΕΙΣΕΙΧΟΕΙΕ, and on a lamp ΩΑΝΕΙΝΟΣΙΝΙΚΑΦΙΝΟΙΝΘΕΟΙΝΚΑΝΘΡΟΠΟΙΟΙΝ. Another verse ΗΛΙΟΝΟΣΚΥΛΩΟΙΩΕΙΜΠΙΑΝΝΟΝΩΝΙΝΩΝ is pleasing with a Homeric word as befits Olbia. Lastly there are the suitable mottoes painted on by the maker such as ΦΙΛΙΑΣ etc. (v. p. 351 n. 1). Interesting palaeographically are the boldly dashed-in letters on two cups from Chersonese (ii—iii cent. a.d.), ΕΛΕΟΠΟΙΟΙΟΗΟΙ and ΙΩΠΑΙΟΙΟΙΟΗΟΙ.
§ 8. Glass.

Glass in a measure took the place of the finest pottery in later times. It did not come in till about the 1st century B.C., except in the form of beads (p. 65, f. 16) and of small glass vessels of many colours usually shaped like amphorae or alabastra, with the rods for extracting the unguents they held.

But in the early centuries of our era it was exported in enormous quantities from Egypt and Syria, and a great deal has been preserved in the Euxine colonies. There are some magnificent specimens of both plain and coloured glass in the Hermitage, mostly from Kerch, and a representative series from Olbia in the Odessa Museum. But the best collection was Mr Vogel's, which included some wonderful examples of the millefiori technique and an amphora two feet high made in two pieces and mounted in bronze engraved and gilt.

Coloured glass was worked into the most varied shapes, from the simple tube in which unguents were sold to pieces in the form of heads or decorated with frills and laces, like those on Venetian glass, or even elaborate vine-leaf patterns such as that signed by Ennion. The same maker's wares have been found in Italy. Though the capacities of the material were at length understood, many of the shapes are reproductions of forms already made in clay, stone (e.g. f. 264) or metal, such as the common cup or porringer which answers to the silver example from Artukhov's barrow.

Glass from the Euxine coast has no special features; probably it was all imported. From the colonies it found its way to the natives, and we have had many instances of its occurring in their graves (infra, pp. 224, 229—232), even the early kings, as at Kerdzhipi. The most interesting case is that of Siverskaja (v. p. 215) where an ordinary glass jar and a porringer of the silver type described above have been treated as if they were made of rare stone and elaborately mounted in gold and garnets, just as Chinese porcelain has been treated in Europe. A grave at Mskhet in the Caucasus furnished the piece of highest technical mastery though of late Roman date—a silver cantharus with a pierced frieze and decorative patterns had blown into it a lining of dark purple glass.

1 Richly illustrated in his Summing, Nos. 743—765, Pl. x.—xiii.
2 Polychrom glass is figured in colours in A.B.C. (orig. ed.) LXXVI, f. 5, 6; also the interesting medallions from Samos in the barrows in B.C. Pl. ii. and a fish-shaped bottle from Chersonese, b. XVI, f. 55; Pl. vi. Beaux, MacPherson, Pl. vii. VIII.; Smiela, iii. xii. Ordinary photographs of coloured glass, even with full descriptions annexed, as we have in Vogel, loc. cit., esp. Nos. 69, 907, f. 51 and 1003. From the piece, in CR. 1890, p. 12, f. 16, or KTR. n. 93, f. 127, are not of much use.
3 E.g. from Chersonese, Janus, 1887, p. 126, ff. 224—242; woman's head, CR. 1902, p. 24, f. 27.
4 A.B.C. LXXVII, f. 4—4; KTR. p. 94.

In spite of the spirited defences made by the Russian archaeologists it must be admitted that the terra-cottas of the Northern Euxine, if not worthy of the wholesale condemnation meted out to them by Pottier, and repeated by Mr Huish, do not come up to the level attained at Athens, Myrina or Tanagra. The few exceptions are either actual imports or copies or even imitations made by taking casts of imported figures. That quite good figures were produced in these northern parts, that not all the tolerable specimens were imported, we know from the discovery of a coroplast's workshop with moulds at Kerch close by the cemetery and at Chersonese. But the ease with which given types could be reproduced is shown by the success of modern forgers. This being so, it is natural to find that by far the greater part of South Russian terra-cottas though of native manufacture can be paralleled in other Greek districts, particularly at Myrina, the necropolis of which corresponds in date to that in which the best class of Kerch statuettes occurs.

In view of this agreement there is no need to consider the debated question of the reason why the Greeks put terra-cottas in their graves. The various views are well summed up by Derevitskij in his article, and again in his introduction to the Odessa Terra-cottas. This latter publication, with its text in German as well as Russian, makes a very representative collection accessible to Western archaeologists who wish illustrations on a larger scale than those in Kekulé-Winter. In view of the existence of these works and the generally second-rate character of Euxine terra-cottas, I have treated this section rather shortly.

As with other departments of Greek art, the early development of the art of moulding clay is not to be studied in the Euxine colonies. We cannot point to many undoubtedly early specimens. We have in plenty types which by their disposition and rudeness go back to the first attempts at modelling, but these we must regard as survivals preserved under the influence of hieratic tradition. Speaking broadly, we find but few instances of the severe style, and can merely witness a steady decline from the making of quite satisfactory imitations of the best products of Attica or Asia Minor to the rudest lumps in which any plastic intention can be traced.

The different towns have distinctly their several characteristics in terra-cottas. The highest average belongs to Theodosia, because nearly all its specimens belong to one early find, hence a superiority in material, a firm yellowish carefully washed clay, design, characteristic of the best period,

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2 Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'Antiquité, p. 147, quoted by Derevitskij, p. 211.

3 Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes, p. 164.

4 CR. 1878, p. xxi; KTR, p. 98.
and execution, careful and artistic. One head has even a decidedly archaic feel, and another is as severe as possible. So too the interesting acroterium. The other pieces belong to the 11th and 13th centuries, the best time of the art.

The Olbian figures are of a reddish, rather crumbly clay, with a smooth surface. A grotesque old woman from Berezan and a mask and fragments from Olbia are earlier than anything from Theodosia; a head of a youth is still almost archaic. Some of the figures found here are clearly brought from Athens, not being made of the local clay, and there is sometimes a certain doubt whether the importation was made in ancient or modern times. We have just a few specimens of the best period; perhaps the most interesting terra-cotta from Olbia is a Hellenistic model altar with groups on each face, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Nike before a trophy, and Dionysus, a Maenad and a Satyr. Somehow it seems as if there were less taste here for clay figures; perhaps their place was taken by vases shaped like figures or animals (v. p. 346). At any rate Pharmacovskij, while speaking (l.c.) of numerous Hellenistic terra-cottas, has published very few, though his excavations have yielded so rich a series of vessels of just those centuries when figures were most abundant. The Vogell collection offered examples of terra-cottas of every period, but many of them were from Kerch, some perhaps from abroad. Figures of the Roman period, including unmistakable Roman soldiers, are fairly common.

At Chersonese at the east end of the site (Z on Plan viii) was made a remarkable find throwing much light on the way the ancient potter worked: in one room was his kiln perfectly preserved, in another his stock of clay moulds, many broken but about forty more or less whole: from these casts have been made to let us judge better of his work. These moulds he seems to have made not by independent modelling but by taking impressions from metal, stone or clay. The general style points to the second half of the 2nd century b.c., when medallions in high relief were much in fashion for adorning the bottoms of silver vessels and were imitated in clay (v. pp. 350 and 385); several of these moulds, made from emblematia in silver vessels, were intended for producing such imitations.

The best of these (I 1 on l. 265) represents Omphale teaching Heracles to spin; it must have been taken from an earlier original than anything else in the collection. Other roundels with Nike and Eros, Heracles and Telephus, Satyrs' heads and a pair with young Satyrs—these last perhaps not immediately from metallic originals—are not equal to the first either in style or preservation. The Athena head (l. 265, I. 4) resembles closely Konelsky's emblema (p. 385); another piece seems to be an impression from a cheek-piece of a helmet.

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1 Kekulé-Winter, III, 1. 3, 26. 8a: Odessa Museum, t. 8, 6. 8b, t. ix. 1. 8c, t. vi, vii.
3 CR 1902, p. 16, t. 35.
4 Od. Mus. II, 1.
Casts from the Terracotta Moulds found at Chersonese. Malmberg, Mat. VII.
Another roundel with a male and female head (Fig. 266) is interesting because it shows metallic details specially clearly and because there comes from Olbia a very similar piece of silver work, which again has a still closer analogy with a more recently discovered pottery fragment from Chersonese. Other moulds have been taken from marble sculpture, especially a fragment of a Bacchic procession and a head of an archaic type of Hermes (Fig. 267) of which Kondakov and Malmberg believe that we possess the battered original in Fig. 210 on p. 297; they point especially to similar curls in the left moustache and beard and to the fact that, allowance being made for the double-shrinking of the clay, the sizes of the two pieces tally exactly. Most of the moulds reproduce terra-cotta originals, not only the pretty but senti-

Fig. 266. Mat. VII. p. 12. Emblemata from mould found at Chersonese. I.

mental heads on Fig. 265—III. 3 rather recalls the familiar Niobe—but various rough heads and figures, and purely decorative pieces, attachments of handles and lips, borders and the like. In view of such a method of working we can hardly credit this potter with a distinct style.

Other pieces of terra-cotta from Chersonese mostly have a bold free character, rough but not barbarous, just what we should expect in a town which, without any claims to artistic life, still kept itself much freer from barbarous admixture than any other on the north coast of the Euxine.

1 BCA. II. p. 75, I. 2; p. 19, I. 19.
2 Mat. VII. 11, 1.
3 ib. III. 4, 4. 5, pp. 17, 18.
4 ib. pp. 22, 23.
By far the greater part of the terra-cottas from South Russia are found in the environs of Kerch. Here they occur in the greatest numbers and in the greatest variety, but it is hard to characterize their style except when it becomes barbarous and produces some types unknown in purely Greek lands.

We have of course the usual Aphrodite Anadyomene\(^1\) with or without a Herm, a dolphin or an Eros, she often wears a disk-shaped head-dress peculiar to Kerch\(^2\); Eros alone or with Psyche\(^3\); Dionysus and his crew\(^4\) or their masks\(^5\);

Demeter and Core\(^6\); Muses\(^7\); actors\(^8\); theatrical masks\(^9\); gorgoneia\(^10\); Nereids and Tritons\(^11\); Heracles\(^12\); Pan\(^13\); Bes\(^14\); of everyday types, mother and child\(^15\);

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\(^1\) e.g. **AB C. LXIV**: **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^2\) **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^3\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^4\) **CR.** 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^5\) **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^6\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^7\) **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^8\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^9\) **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^10\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^11\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^12\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^13\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^14\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
\(^15\) **CR.** 1884, vi. 1; **CR.** 1873, i. 4; 1880, vi. 7; 1881, iv. 7.
cloaked ladies in sentimental poses walking or talking; veiled dancers; young men too walking or talking or out with their dogs; girls at their games (e.g. ἑδρήματος or κανήσιμον); scenes of children with animals and birds; in fact all the stock subjects familiar from the books on Greek terracottas (Kekulé-Winter, passim) and common to the whole Greek world, executed in styles varying from good to bad. But again we do have other compositions of more historical interest, though it is not among them that we get the best artistic execution.

Some of these recall us to Asia Minor and its religions, and may therefore be likewise spread over the Greek world, but there is reason to think that either there was an original community of ideas between the Bosporus and Asia or the latter exerted its influence there sooner than anywhere else.

Perhaps the general Nature goddess does not belong much more to Asia Minor than to any other region, but her worship was much celebrated there under various names. This seems to be the deity represented by a kind of triangle of clay which serves as a background to a figure of which one can but distinguish the face, the breasts and the knees; the arms are nearly always broken off, but in one specimen they hold out a fruit and a dish in just the attitude in which a goddess sits on the later Bosporan coins (e.g. Sauronites II, v. inf. PL VIII, No. 12). A similar ruder figure bears before itself a smaller nude female figure, and was explained as Meloh by a former writer. It seems to represent the Mother and Daughter that are one.

The same mother goddess, more definitely Asiatic, is represented with her hands upon her breasts. The execution is distinctly better, and in one case the brilliant colouring has been to some extent preserved. An Asiatic analogy is furnished by a terracotta bust that has found its way from Smyrna to Odessa, and is exactly the same in conception. Something similar is a very barbaric bust covered with a green glaze such as we have already met on some pottery and referred to Egypt, but this is unlike any definite school.

Incontestably Asiatic is the group of a man with a conical cap, a sleeved coat and tight hose kneeling on the back of a bull in the act of slaying it. This must be one of the earliest renderings of the Mithras group so common in late Roman times, for its style is good and with it there were found other well-modelled figures. It seems as if the first conquests of the Mithraic cult, which for a time seemed a serious rival to Christianity, were on the Bosporus.

Another Asiatic type represented in terracotta statuette and also in an anthropomorphic vase is that of the dancer in a similar costume. Reinach calls him Men Anys, Stephani had no good reason to make him a Scythian.

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1 AR. Ixxxvii. 1-2 = KTR. p. 101, l. 1-2; CR. 1859, vii. 4; 1863, l. 16, 17; 1874, ill. 3; 1876, vi. 5; 1880, vi. 9; vii. 8, 9; AR. lxix. 2; seated, CR. 1885, iv. 5.
2 CR. 1870-71, il. 2: 1876, vi. 2, 4.
3 AR. Ixxxvii. 4; CR. 1876, ill. 8, 9.
4; AR. Ixxxix. 6-7; CR. 1885, ill. 8, 9.
5 Od. Mus. II. vii. 2; CR. 1872, vii. 2: 1880, vii. 2.
6 AR. Ixxviii. CR. 1859, iv. 6: 1863, il. 4-6: 1868, ill. 2: 1873, ii. 21; 1876, vii. 4; 1878-9, vi. 2-4.
8 Od. Mus. I. ill. i, iii. 5: CR. 1876, vi. 10: hearing Hermes instead.
9 AR. Ixxxv. 4, lixxvi. 4.
11 Mus. Cat. of Terracottas, Pl. xxii.
12 Od. Mus. II. vi. 2.
13 CR. 1880, vi. 6: Od. Mus. II. vii. 4. The same more impressively rendered II. vi. 3.
14 Od. Mus. II. vii. 17-5.
15 A good example, a Nike slaying a bull, from which this type was taken, is on a gold ring, AR. XVIII. 4, 17; cf. JHS. vii. (1886), Cecil Smith, p. 273; and F. Cumont, Mystères de Mithra (Brussels, 1899), p. 175, ill. 191, r. 17, similar Mithra group from Kerch in the Hermitage.
Other subjects are harder to define. As has been remarked in dealing with representations of barbarians in other materials, it is very difficult to distinguish between studies from the life of real South Russian natives, vague barbarians with a general outlandish style of costume chosen according to the Greek conventional idea of barbarians, and finally faithful representations depicting the local Greeks who had partly adopted barbarian clothing. They had clearly taken to trousers and hoods (bashlyki), and the population being mixed the facial type does not go far much: the more that it is not readily distinguishable in small figures hastily executed. The figure standing at ease leaning on his oval shield, clothed in a hood, a chiton and trousers, has a shield just like that on the gravestone of Gazurius at Chersonese, who certainly counted himself a Greek to judge by his epitaph and office (inf. p. 507, f. 339, p. 541, τροπαρχοντευτον). A man with similar headgear and shield is represented nude, a convention a Greek would never apply to a barbarian warrior.

The same question arises with regard to a type of galloping horseman (cf. p. 304, f. 218) which occurs in stone, bronze and terra-cotta, and also on coins. The fact that a man with a Greek name put it on his dedication seems against its being barbarian. The terra-cotta versions are not clear enough to help. When the horse stands on four separate legs the whole becomes rather a toy than a work of art. The barbarian can, however, be recognised without any doubt when he is caricatured. Such caricatures we have in the figures of slaves looking after children. One, for instance, wears a moustache.

These caricatures were carried to very great lengths among the Bosporans, even further than among other Greeks. From some of the tombs have been taken the most extraordinary figures, notably that of the second lady in the Great Bliznitsa near Taman, explored in 1869; the lady was apparently a close relation of the priestess of Demeter, whose grave was found in the same barrow in 1864, and was herself initiated; she possessed also the most beautiful jewelry, but with all this was found a whole collection of terra-cottas representing comic actors in all the obscene extravagance of their costume, athletes and slaves and women likewise, all with every indecent detail. Stephani explains that everything θηραγον και γελοιον served to avert the evil eye, and that the object of these grotesques was to keep off evil influences: others think that this was just her taste, and she wished to have with her in the grave what she had found amusing in life, and that other caricatures were due to the same feeling in other people, though in no one was it so exaggerated.

In many tombs, especially in the later period, we find figures with movable limbs. Some are made like articulated dolls, that is, like an ordinary statuette with some of the limbs working on pieces of wire.

A more typical class is made so that the trunk, in the shape of a kind of hollow cone, ends about the hips, and the legs and phallus are hung separately.
on to wires and could be moved about by strings through a hole in the back. These almost certainly served as marionettes. Mostly they are very rudely modelled, but there is an excellent caricature of a conjuror from Kerch, and from Olbia, some models of Roman soldiers made on the same principle. Some of the coarsely made ones have as it were rays coming from their heads, and hence they have been called idols, but there is no reason to suppose that they represent anything but some strange head-dress (fig. 268). The model waggons were also toys (v. pp. 50, 51, ff. 5, 6).

It has been said that we have no clear idea what was the object of putting terra-cottas into graves, and we do not know of any definite arrangement according to which they were disposed. They were evidently thrown into a heap in no sort of order; sometimes broken on purpose and with the fragments at opposite ends of the grave; but in South Russia the object of a large class both of terra-cottas and of plaster figures is quite clear. They served to decorate coffins, and mention has been made of the traces left by them on the panels. The most usual series for this purpose was that of the Niobids, and in various Russian Museums several separate sets from Kerch are preserved in a more or less incomplete condition (ff. 269, 270, also pp. 332—334, ff. 241—243). Similar figures have been found at Gnathia in Apulia, and published for comparison by Mr Zhebeliev in his exhaustive treatment of the subject. The
Plaster Coffin Ornaments

Fig. 276. Plaster Ornament. Kerch. *CR.* 1891, p. 36, f. 35. 1.

Fig. 277. *CR.* 1901, p. 39, f. 119. Model of Coffin from Kerch with plaster ornaments.
different series vary considerably in their style, and these variations on a familiar type throw light on the methods which workmen practising a minor art applied in copying examples of fine statuary. Besides the Niobids there were used for the same purpose various masks, especially those of Medusa and models of theatrical masks; also flat figures of lions and griffins and conventional ornaments such as palmettes: these have often survived when all trace of the wooden coffin had long vanished or did vanish at the touch of fresh air (ff. 271—276; f. 277 shews what the whole looked like): but these modellings, whether in plaster or clay, though sometimes spirited and skilful, are too hasty to be of very great interest or beauty.

With these flat-backed figures may be mentioned flat lead castings from Olbia, the commonest are bucrania; double axes and a biga also occur, and the British Museum has the figure of a Scythian.

The only other objects of clay that remain to be mentioned are the little pyramids with holes in them which are picked up on the beach near Greek sites, and apparently served as weights for nets and for the threads of the warp in weaving. Sometimes they have stamps with emblems like those on coins or on amphorae.

§ 10. Bronzes.

On the whole, South Russia is not distinguished for Greek bronze work. No bronze statues have ever been found there, and but few statuettes: the reason seems to be that few bronze things have so close a personal relation to any individual that his relatives should wish to lay them with him in the grave, and it is from graves that the antiquities found in South Russia are taken. Remains of towns have yielded comparatively little, for bronze is too valuable a material to find its way to the rubbish heap, and has always been melted down to suit new needs. There is no reason to suppose that there was any lack of beautiful bronzes in Olbia or Panticapaeum, only when those towns ceased to flourish the bronzes were carefully taken away. At Chersonese, which was less rich in classical times, bronzes may well have been comparatively rare, and the conditions of the soil make it unlikely that any finds of bronzes will be made on that site.

The early Greek bronzes found in South Russia have all been found in Scythic graves, and have thus been mentioned already, but as products of pure Greek art, whose presence in barbarian hands was accidental, not designed by their makers, they must be treated here. We have, in fact, a specimen of the three most famous types of Greek 5th-century art. There is, for instance, the six-winged Gorgon in the posture of the Nike of Archermus, whether running or flying it is impossible to tell: we have seen that the Medusa head was very popular among the Scythians, but the whole monster is of rare occurrence: the two chief examples are a gem from Jüz Oba and the handle...
of a crater from Martonosha (f. 278). The whole must have been a fine piece of work: the rim, neck, and upper part of the body, adorned with spirals and *Staburnament*, are in the Odessa Museum, the handle in the Hermitage. The latter is very massive; where it rested on the vase's shoulder the junction is masked by the four-winged Gorgon in a characteristic 5th-century chiton. She is running along a kind of abacus as of an Ionic capital, which in its turn is connected with the vase by serpents. The angle between the lower part of the handle and the vase, on a level with the Gorgon figure, is filled up by another wing on each side so that the monster should appear winged from every point of view. The whole style points to Ionian work of the 5th century. It is very sad that this handsome piece should have been so broken at the time of its discovery, and that further the fragments should be separated by all the length of Russia.

Another familiar archaic type is that represented by a statuette found in secret diggings about two miles from the Government town, Kherson, in 1896 (Fig. 229). The fragment is 25 cm. high, and formed the handle of a mirror. We have a figure standing in the accustomed attitude of the Acropolis.

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Korai and agreeing with them in all details. Her left hand as usual holds a fold of her skirt, her right hand bears a human-headed bird. The manner of attachment to the circumference of the mirror is elaborate. The artist did not see his way to breaking with his model and lifting her arms to hold the arc above her head, but managed the transition by interposing a whole system of animals. Two jackals (?) with their forefeet on each side of the lady's head and their hind feet on her shoulders support with their heads and the lady's a strip of metal which is the ground for the familiar group of two lions tearing an ox as he lies on his back. These in turn support a strip of bronze adapted
to the arc of the mirror and curling round in volutes to touch the lions' backs. In this strip are holes for rivets; the palmette which supported the disk from the back has become detached. The figure clearly stood on some sort of base now lost. There is also a small antelope which was probably fixed to the circumference of the disk as in other examples.

The general type of mirror is fairly common\(^1\). The treatment of the figure, the **coiffure**, the beast group and the human-headed bird all point, according to Messrs. Malmberg and Zhebelev, to Ionian art of the latter part

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\(^1\) e.g. Reinach, *Rif. Stat. H. Aphrodite*, p. 327—330; some of these have animals on the rim but mostly Erates supporting the disk; cf. also H. B. Walters, *B.M. Bronzes*, Pl. III. 333, IV. 243, 244.

*Arch. Anz.* 1924, p. 23 f. 2; *Burlington Catalogue*, 1904, xli. a. 8, and one in the Hermitage, *Mat.* XXXII. pl. ii.
of the 19th century, being much earlier than a very similar piece occurring in Etruria, which has been ascribed to native artists and dated by de Ridder as late as the middle of the 19th century. Our figure was at first called Cybele, then Aphrodite, but it is better not to give it a name.

Much more simple in general disposition is a similar mirror found the following year at Annovka (Fig. 281). Here we have a nude female figure holding the disk with her hands raised on each side above her head, which

![Image of a bronze mirror](image)

itself bears the palmette that supported it behind. Unlike the Egyptian figure, handles this stands on a base, and so derives from a separate statuette. In spite of her sex, in type she resembles the so-called archaic Apollo. The proportions of the body and the whole treatment recall that type, made female because the object it adorned was designed for women's use. Zhebel'ev shews that while nude female statuettes of a hieratic type are general, such very early artistic presentations are exclusively Peloponnesian. For the figure,
the closest analogy he quotes and illustrates (likewise a mirror handle) is at Munich; for the general scheme, a mirror at Aegina.

An attempt at the same motive is found in a mirror from near Romny in the Government of Poltava. In this case we have a relief instead of a complete figure, and the arms seem clumsily put behind the head instead of being stretched outwards and upwards;—also the legs are much too long in proportion. The handle ends below in a medallion on which is a Sphinx. The mirror disk is perfect. This does not seem so old as the former mirrors, but it is hard to judge of its style because its surface is in an unsatisfactory state. It hardly seems quite barbarous work, yet it is a very poor reproduction of its prototypes. For other more or less Greek mirrors, v. p. 266.

A similar case of a traditional plastic type (Apollo) being used as a mere handle is the Hermes who served to hold a saucepan from the VII Brothers. The transition to the disk is made by two rams on each side of the god’s head, so he may be considered a kind of Criophoros.

Another early bronze is a candelabrum from Ust Labinskaja, found in a grave with plaques of the Siberian style such as it appears on the Kuban (e.g. Zubov’s barrows, p. 230, l. 132). At the top of the shaft which was lost was a human-headed bird, with long archaic locks of hair, its waves indicated by nicks: above rose the convolulus-shaped sconce for the lamp. The base was bell-shaped, with fluting and oves, and stood upon three bustard feet. The whole cannot be later than the 7th century.

These specimens of archaic bronzes have all occurred in native tombs. Those worthy of notice from Greek tombs are of much later, even Hellenistic, date. Most artistic are the examples of repoussé work, especially the mirror boxes. One of these boxes bears Bacchus and Ariadne, accompanied by Eros and a panther: the inside is decorated with engraving, but is in poor preservation. From each of the two women’s graves in the Great Bliznitsa came a mirror box with a group of Aphrodite and Eros. Perhaps the most decorative is one from Artjukhov’s barrow with a magnificent figure of Scylla. A later mirror with the familiar group of the three Graces was found on the slope of Mount Mithridates. From Olbia we have one with Demeter’s head.

In the first grave of the Great Bliznitsa were four sets of phalerae for horses, making up twenty roundels and four pointed ovals, all adorned with the battles of Amazons and Greeks. This kind of work was heightened with gilding.

In the same technique were made the adornments of a couch discovered at Phanagoria. The chief piece, in the shape of J, masked the end of the

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1 de Ritter, Epos., 1895, Pl. 7.
2 Khunenko, ii. 3, Pl. XXXII. 351, where compare a mirror figured in Arch. Anz., 1894, p. 22, l. 1, which has a sphinx above on a square plaque, then a human figure for the length of the handle, and a spread eagle below in the medallion. The work is much more archaic.
3 CR. 1897, p. 16, 19, and Arch. Anz., 1902, p. 79, f. 166–168. 4 CR. 1885, p. 43, f. 5, 1894, p. 4, f. 1, 22.
5 CR. 1892, p. 15, f. 20.
pillow-rest, and bore Aphrodite in the middle and little busts at each end; the other fragments were plain but sufficiently preserved to allow the wooden parts to be restored and the whole to stand in the Hermitage.

It is the repoussé work also which gives artistic interest to a helmet from the Quarantine road⁴, which bore a triangle upon the brow with a head of Athena, a gorgoneion of the later beautiful type on each side and a well-designed figure of Scylla with a torch and an oar filling the shape of the cheek pieces. The work is graceful, apparently of early Hellenistic time. Another fine helmet, a perfect specimen of its kind but quite plain, came from the Mirza Kekevatski barrow⁴, together with a plain pair of greaves⁴ and a Scythic sword, the one barbarian object⁴. A similar helmet of pure Greek work was found up country at Galushchino near Kiev⁷. Very like is another helmet from Nymphaeum⁴. Of quite an original type is one found in the man's tomb in the Great Bliznitsa, and shaped as a Phrygian cap, making permanent the soft felt bashlyks of the country⁴.

Fig. 282. Phanagoria Couch. Restored woodwork: ancient bronze mountings. CR. 1880, p. 88.

Besides the greaves mentioned above the Hermitage has a more ornamental pair adorned above with a gorgoneion⁶, not unlike a leg in the British Museum bronze room. The gorgoneion is of an archaic type, but as such appears rather to be a survival than a very early example. Mention has already been made of an elegant Greek cuirass and brassart of 7th-century work found near Nicopol⁶. The scale armour and arrow-heads, most of which were certainly of Greek work, are treated on pp. 68, 74, for they have no artistic interest and were as it were naturalized among the Scythians.

A certain number of bronze vessels has been found in various graves; comparatively few are extracted whole, but the rim above and the handles, on which the decoration is concentrated, have generally been preserved.

The commonest type is that of a hydria, which was a convenient vessel

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¹ ABC. xxviii. 1, 2, 3. Baumeister, p. 2036, f. 2214.
² ABC. xxviii. 4. Reinach, p. 21.
³ ib. xxviii. 9.
⁴ ib. xxviii. 9.
⁵ Khanevka, II. 2, Pl. IX. 214.
⁶ KTR. p. 48. f. 54 = CR. 1827, p. 234.
⁸ ABC. xxviii. 9.
⁹ V. p. 74. S. Pavlovskii, "Objects of ancient armour from the district of Ekaterinoslav," in Archæological Chronicle of S. Russia, 4 (1903), p. 37, and Ph. V.
for receiving the ashes of the dead. For instance, in the passage under the wall of Chersonese by the gate E stood six urns, Nos. 1—3 of clay entire, Nos. 4—6 of bronze broken. No. 4 as a prize from the Attic festival Anacia bore on its rim ΑΟΛΟΝΕΩΑΝΑΚΙΛΥΝ in dotted letters very like those of the Timotheus papyrus; it held the best jewelry, No. 1 the next best.

Sometimes these urns were secured most carefully against any sort of damage, for instance there is in the Kerch room at the Hermitage a kind of stone box arranged to receive such a hydria and protect it from injury, and it is still untouched (cf. f. 283). Fragments of a very artistic hydria, with decorated foot and side handles and a Siren at the base of the middle handle, were found in the Baby barrow near Mikhailovo-Apostolovo. A perfect specimen is well illustrated in MacPherson (Pl. III); this was gilt as many others were, for instance the hydria in Kul Oba; by it stood a great rarity, a bronze amphora of almost the same form as the earthen ones and also gilt.

Another form that often occurs in bronze is the ewer, oenochoe: a good specimen with a well-worked handle ending in an archaistic bearded head was found at the Khatetshukaeveskij Aul on one of the tributaries of the Kuban. Among other objects found with it was a polished stone axe, which points to a
strange mingling of different cultures. In the same year was found at Chersonese a ewer of rather unusual form, having a very high handle embellished with a dog above and a woman's face below. Jugs like an oenochoe but with lids survived till the 11th century A.D., occurring in the queen's tomb at Glinishche near Kerch; in the same tomb was a handsome dish or shallow bowl with handle formed of snakes curling out of a winged head. A similar shallow bowl 47 cm. (18 in.) across was found at Majkop; it also had snakes about the handles and below them repoussé plaques representing Pylades and Thoas (?). A basin of pale bronze 50 cm. across with a pretentious Hellenistic *enblema* in copper representing a warrior, his mourning wife and a goddess of death, comes from a plundered tomb at Nekrasovskaja Stanitsa on the Kuban. In one of the VII Brothers an oenochoe was found with a Satyr above the handle and a crouching figure below. Another from the same group had a handle ending in an elegant Siren. Of a similar type is a vessel from the Kuban district with Eros and a torch at the base of the handle. From the VII Brothers also comes one of the few good statuettes found in South Russia, a young Apollo crowning a tall columnar stand like a candelabrum.

Quite isolated are some statuettes from the land of the Don Cossacks, a pair of wrestlers, a Satyr and a young Dionysus. The latter is rendered rather curious by having a Byzantine inscription round his middle and Christian monograms engraved upon his chest. Very few of the common statuettes that fill museums in the West have been found even in the town excavations. We may mention Zeus with a thunderbolt and a bust of a woman from Chersonese; statuettes of Athena and Osiris from Eupatoria; a Hermes from Balaklava, but nothing of any merit.

It is curious that perhaps the most graceful small bronzes found in all the extent of the North Euxine coast came long ago from Tanais (Nedigovka), which has yielded no other works of art, the more so that the remains of the town then investigated date from the 11th century A.D. They include a pretty lamp, an imperfect candelabrum, and a kind of standing vase. Another fragment from the same site is the fluted handle of some vessel; at the end is a ram's head, and on the plate by which it was riveted to the body of the vessel are two figures affronted of Greek potters moulding pots: the style seems as early as the 11th century B.C. A good lamp was found in Artjukhov's barrow, another on a stand at Kerch. Worthy of mention as an evidence of trade with Italy is a saucepan found near Kagarlyk (Kiev Govt) with a Latin inscription *N GRANIPLOCAS*.

Of Roman date is an interesting vessel from Tytras cemetery in the form

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1. CR. 1899, p. 8, f. 9.
2. *ABC.* *LXV.* 8, 7, cf. *B.C.A.* *XVII.* p. 69; *XXXVII.* p. 34, *temp.* Rhescuporis IV (?).
3. CR. 1876, p. 150, f. 50a.
6. CR. 1877, III. 1-4.
7. Arch. *Ann.* 1903, p. 84, f. 3.
8. CR. 1877, III. 17-18.
10. CR. 1891, p. 12, f. 9.
11. CR. 1896, p. 169, f. 337.
12. CR. 1897, p. 74, f. 171; *B.C.A.* *XXV.* p. 179, f. 14.
14. *KTR.* pp. 91, 92, f. 120, 123, 124; *Report of Archeological explorations made in 1853,* Nos. 49, 42, 39.
15. *Archaeological Bulletin and Notes published by the Moscow Archeological Soc. VII.* 1900, p. 365, note by the Countess Uvarov.
18. CR. 1891, p. 91, f. 70.
of the head and bust of a negro girl; the handle above is a half circle with loops in the shape of chenici. The whole shews Alexandrian influence.

The poorer classes used bronze for their adornment: very common are simple bracelets from Kerch, just bronze wire twisted round the wrist and then round itself, and of no artistic interest. There is little more of this in the bronze rings with engraved bezels. None in mere instruments such as strigils, ear-picks and what not. Buckles give some field for fancy in the various pierced patterns with which they were decorated; one from Chersonese is a good example of the change of taste of which Riegl makes so much; the tamga is sometimes ingeniously worked into the design (v. supra, p. 318, f. 228).

§ 11. Silver.

Silver oxidizes with time so that comparatively little has been preserved in good condition. Small pieces have nearly always perished, with the exception of coins which the pressure of the die makes more resistant. Special circumstances have rendered possible the great finds of ancient plate made in Western Europe, and nothing comparable has been discovered in South Russia. As in the case of bronzes, the earliest specimens come from barbarian or semi-barbarian graves. From Majkop come pieces which are apparently pre-Greek; the curious cup (p. 144, f. 36) and its fellows, and a "Cypro-Phoenician" vase with lotus pattern round the top and birds on the base. Most of the older gold and silver plate in Kul Oba and the VII Brothers, rhyta, cups, phialae, torques, pectoral, planes for various weapons and clothes, having an Oriental or Scythic touch about it, as well as the later work from Chertomlyk, has been discussed in Chapter x. (pp. 262—269, 283—291). Perhaps the oldest Greek silver is the φίαλη μετομφανος found in Zubov's barrow (p. 231, f. 136, 137) and the similar one from No. 11 of the VII Brothers (p. 209, f. 107). These may be referred to the earlier part of the 7th century, although the inscription on the former may be later. A vessel of the same type but of later style occurred at Déev barrow, but this is simply fluted.

Early cylixes with the most beautiful engravings inside were found in the VII Brothers: one from No. 14 has Nike gilt; that from No. 11, Bellerophon, an early representation, for both cups belong to the 7th century; a scène de famille on that from No. 14, put by Stephanu early in the next century, is ranked by him as a drawing with the Kul Oba ivories, but he explains that the illustration in C.R. does it scant justice: it is one of the cases that cry aloud to be reproduced by photography, excellent as may be the drawings in C.R.; we see the objects in the earlier issues through the style of Piccard, the later drawings make us regret him. Another 7th century cylix from a barrow near

\[1\] Von Stern, Jahrhüftle d. öster. Archäol. Inst. vii. p. 107; again with corrections Trans. Odd. Soc. xxxvi. p. 185; an analogous piece of Mr Pierpont Morgan's, lent to S. Kensington, comes, as Mr R. Rackham kindly tells me, from Alexandria.

\[2\] C.F. Sm. vii. xii. p. 6, from Eynamovka.

\[3\] A.B.C. xviii. 1, 2, 13, both of Roman date.

\[4\] p. 307, f. 339; cf. Riegl, Die sphärische
by bears Dionysus and Maenads. The whole series is very interesting as furnishing examples in Greek engraving of the best time, and with the Kul Oba ivories shows how the methods familiar to us on vases were also used in other branches of art. Rather later is the Kul Oba cylix with the Ionic dedication EPMEL: the cover (or bottom plate) is engraved with palmettes.

The classification of later Greek plate is difficult, because not only did the old simple shapes live on or from time to time return into favour,—even in a rich tomb like the Great Bzitnica—we find nothing more elaborate—but actual pieces can be shown to have survived for hundreds of years, as indeed Pliny and Juvenal tell us.

For instance, the cylix was always a popular shape, and the plain specimens from Olbia and Ryzhanovka are on much the same lines as the older pieces. That from Karagodeuashkhh is distinguished by its high base; from the same tomb come late examples of thyta, a φιάλη μεσόφαλος and an elegant ladle and strainer, with chemisus handles, Chmyrva Mogila has furnished a whole set of plate, three such φιάλες, two with palmettes, one with a Bacchic frieze round the boss, a tall cylix with a Nereid inside, a fluted two-handled bowl with a frieze of birds and fishes, a globular fluted cup, two bottles, a ladle, a saucer and a barbaric jug with gold lid and handles.

We see reversion to type, Roman copies of good Attic models, in the two canthari and the strainer (f. 284) found at Olbia with the glazed jug (p. 356, f. 262) and now belonging to Mr Pierpont Morgan. The cup to the left

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1 ABC. XXXVII. 4.
2 CR. 1960, pp. 87, 117 = KT. 1, 120, 1, 18, 15, 19.
3 NH. XXXII. 157 (55). Not. VIII. 104 and Mayor in loc.
4 BCA. VIII. pl. X. 7.
6 Mat. XIII. pp. 140—152, fl. 16, 15—22, VI. 5—4.
7 Arch. 103. pp. 215—220, fl. 15—25 since my Ch. X. was printed off.
shews the more graceful shape and more enrichment about the top. The handles have come off and lie beside the cups. The other objects are a bronze fibula and a big silver hairpin1.

Of more richly wrought Greek plate, besides such triumphs as the Chertomlyk and Kul Oba vases which have already been discussed, the finest pieces are two great dishes. One found at Chertomlyk had elaborate handles supported by a female bust rising from a great palmette flanked by acanthus spirals, while the inner surface is entirely covered with a rich arabesque of acanthus. Underneath are bobbin-shaped feet2.

More simple and more elegant is a dish found at Glinishche near Kerch in the tomb of the queen with the golden mask (p. 434, f. 325). Its only adornments are in the centre a medallion with a monogram surrounded by a bay wreath and round the rim the same wreath with the same monogram. This latter seems made up of the letters ΑΝΤΩΒ standing for ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ or ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. The latter is the more probable. The Bosphorus was out of the way of Syria and more likely to have had friendly relations with Macedon. The Bosphoran kings put the B first in their monograms upon coins. The decoration is executed in niello and engraving. The historical interest of the dish is much enhanced by a pointille inscription on the back, which, in addition to some unintelligible marks probably denoting the weight, has the words ΒΟΥΛΕΨΕ ΦΡΟΚΟΥΠΠΟΡΕΛ, apparently a very late Rhescuporis, for the formation of the genitive is incorrect or incomplete as it is on the coins of the last king of the name3. The queen’s jewelry (v. p. 434, ff. 316, 327) with its barbarous use of garnets suggests the Novocherkassk treasure or the so-called Gothic jewels, and all points to the end of the 13th century A.D., that is to say that the great dish was in use for four or five hundred years before it found its final resting place. Other pieces of old plate that the same queen possessed are a flagon with a Medusa-head of late Hellenistic style below its handle and a covered vase with Erotes, garlands and masks of rather tasteless Roman work4. A rare object is a silver sceptre from the same grave5.

From Kerch too comes a good set of plate found in a woman’s tomb on the way to the Quarantine6. She had a gold wreath, earrings (No. 12 on p. 396, f. 290), necklaces, finger-rings, the two best with busts of Athena in gold with the faces cut in garnet7, a ladle, a spoon and a strigil, a hairpin and toilet instruments, and a stater of Lysimachus important as giving a terminus post quem, but his coins went on being struck after his death and remained in circulation not much less than a century.

Two pieces of the plate seem early Hellenistic, one, an elegant cylix with a gilt and engraved drawing of Helios and his four horses on a loose plate fitting in the bottom of it, is according to Watzinger the model for a class of Calessware8: the other, a cantharos with a necklace below its rim, is just like the clay

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2 ASH. XXIX. 5–7; KTR. pp. 263, 264, ff. 239, 240.
3 Cf. TRAS. VII, p. 328; perhaps this is a native genitive of the type Tetei Ribbel (v. p. 357, n. 5) with more right to exist than the usual Peresu- 
5 Ashik, Bosphor. Kingdom, P. III, p. 70, n. 2.
7 Ashik, ib. and f. 184, very like p. 36; supra, f. 265, f. 4.
Hellenistic. Glinische, Quarantine, Konstolo. 385
cylinx from Olbia (p. 350, f. 256) except that its base is adorned with a Lesbian cyma like the necklace gilt. Simple too is a saucer upon a square base and fluted stem: it has a cover but no handles. But two of the pieces are quite baroque, one a jug with a twisted handle ending in a mask, an oak wreath round the neck and a vine pattern on the shoulder; the other, even more overloaded, has the vine pattern, fantastic handles in the shape of Satyrs, a spout made like a comic mask, and altogether suggests bad Renaissance work. Though found in the same grave these pieces must represent two different periods of silver ware.

Between them come two porringer and a flask from Artjukhov's barrow, in which the engraving technique has not entirely given way to the relief work: indeed some pieces from there are quite plain, the saucer on a stand just like that mentioned above, and a porringer with thumb-piece handles whose form is so common in glass.

An Olbian find, containing a gold necklace with no special features, a ring and a silver-gilt *emblemata* offers certain analogies to the Quarantine-road tomb. The *emblemata*, 12 cm. (4.7 in.) across, a splendid bust of Athena set in a frame of egg-and-dart so deep as to resemble Stalbamentum, corresponds to the plate with Helios above-mentioned; the dish into which it fitted has vanished. The ring has a similar Athena-head in gold repoussé, and exactly recalls the two biggest rings from the Kerch tomb. Von Stern puts these things in the first half of the fifth century B.C.

To a late period belongs a rhyton in the shape of a calf's head which has upon its cylindrical cup extraordinarily bad figure subjects, whereas the animal's head is rendered excellently well, so that it is difficult to understand how the whole could have been made at one time. Really the figures almost equal the culminating horrors of Dorochoe.

Fragments of interesting work, remains of *emblemata* and other embellishments of Hellenistic silver vessels, have been mentioned in connection with the clay wares that copied them (p. 364), indeed, as there pointed out, the best of the moulds found at Chersonese have really more to do with silver work than with ceramics. Actual fragments of silver are two heart-shaped pieces with women's heads and a round one with two heads kissing, all from Chersonese, and two reliefs of Tritons from Jaroslavskaja on the Kuban.

The latest productions of antique silver work come from two curiously similar finds made in catacombs at Kerch in 1904: each included a silver dish inscribed DNCONSTANTIAVGUSTIPVOTISPSXX (i.e. his Vicennalia A.D. 343), a gold wreath with an indication from a coin of Sauronates II (A.D. 174—210)—also in one case others of Gordian and Valentinian—a dagger hilt set with red glass and many other specimens of garnet jewelry.

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1, 2 A.D. 343, f. 321, CR. 1880, II. 197, IV. 8, 9.
2 Aus der Sammlung Konstolo. Ein Athena-Medallion aus Olbia, Odessa, 1997, with a most beautiful coloured plate by M. Pharmacovski, the best dealer of antiques in Russia; cf. the Athena from Mahallas, A.R. 1016, B. 263, f. 3.
3 A.D. 343, f. 115, p. 87; f. 116: a similar rhyton from Sophia but not quite so atrocious is figured in C.R. 1880, Text, pp. 36. 73. It is in the form of a deer's head and bears a Bacchic scene. A still closer analogue is seen in another deer's head from Tarentum now in Trieste showing the same inferiority of figure-work, L. de Laigue, Rev. Archéologique, Sér. 3, XXXVIII (1901), p. 153.
4 PL XVI.—XVIII: such western analogues dispose of Reiner's Chinese companion, v. supra, p. 81.
5 A.D. XXXIX.—XLI.
7 CR. 1896, p. 57, f. 280.
and a silver-gilt shield boss: one tomb had two interesting silver spoons, the other two good ewers and a gilt bronze statuette of a priestess.

There should be mentioned also, although it occurred in the district of Baku far from the Hellenic colonies, a fine dish representing Amphitrite riding on a hippocamp attended by Tritons and Erotes; its style suggests the beginning of the decline. Similar dishes of late classical and Byzantine work also form part of the strange collection of silver plate that has found its way from all directions to the depths of the Parm forests, although they are mostly Oriental (v. p. 257, n. 4): the Klimova find includes a round dish with a goat-headed sitting in landscape recalling Theocritus and the "Hellenistic relief."

\section*{§ 12. Goldwork and Jewelry.}

It is to the magnificent examples of goldwork found in them that the excavations in South Russia owe their world-wide fame. The Hermitage possesses by far the richest collection of such work. It is therefore impossible to mention at all a large proportion of the specimens exhibited there or described in the various publications, and even such very indifferent completeness as has been reached in other departments in this unattainable.

Moreover, owing to the absence of any treatise dealing generally with Greek goldwork and jewelry, it is harder to determine exactly what relation the style of objects found in South Russia bears to that current in the rest of the Greek world. Eugene Fontenay's book, attractive from its style and many illustrations and important because of its author's technical knowledge gained by actual practice, covers too wide a field and in the ancient part loses by the author's want of familiarity with archaeology. If Dr Hadaczek will make such monographs upon other jewel-forms as he has upon earrings we may hope that he will finally write an all-embracing history of jewelry in the ancient world. Much material for comparison is furnished by the Nellidov Collection, which includes a small number of objects from South Russia but was mostly formed in Constantinople and Rome. Two works by Froehner have the same kind of interest, but none of these books give any view of the development of Greek jewelry or the geographical distribution of various types.

The classification of styles in goldwork is rendered particularly difficult by the transportability of the objects. Identical forms occur in South Russia, on the coasts of Asia Minor, in Cyprus, in Syria, in Egypt, in Athens, in South Italy and in Etruria, and there is very little means of judging where we

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1 Arch. Anz. 1908, p. 59, f. 5; CR. 1904, pp. 71-74, ff. 105-113. BCA. XXV. p. 32 sqq.
2 CR. 1905, pp. 78-80, ff. 123-133.
3 CR. 1906, p. 31, f. 410.
4 e.g. Nilometer, CR. 1867, II, 1-3; Meleager, TB. 4, 5=KTR, p. 412, f. 371; Saly and Maetan, CR. 1878, VII, 1.
5 Arch. Anz. 1908, p. 156, f. 3: the back, p. 157, f. 4 has VI-VII century Byzantine punches.
6 This want has at last been admirably met by Mr. F. H. Marshall's Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum, 1911: but though he very kindly let me see an advance copy, I could not put in a few references to it, as this section was already in type; there is not much from S. Russia; M. Rosenberg's Gleich. u. Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage, Frankfurt a/M., 1910, also came too late for me.
8 Karl Hadaczek, "Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker," Wien, 1903 in Abhandlungen des Archäologisch-Epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien, Hefte XIV.
10 Collection du Château Coteau. D'orfèvres décries par W. Froehner, Paris, 1897; and La Collection Tyszkiewicz, München, 1892.
are to seek the centres of distribution. The provenance of a given object is no evidence as to its origin unless in one place we find many specimens of some type which occurs nowhere else: the material gives no such clue as can be derived from marble or clay: there are no inscriptions such as we find on statues and pots and gems: finally we seem to know least about the jewels of those very districts in which we may suppose that the best were made. For, speaking broadly, it is from the edges of the Greek world, where the Greek met the barbarian, that the jewels come—from Cyprus, from Etruria and from South Russia; few from Asia Minor, fewer still from historic Greece. Of Myceenaean jewels there is here no question.

In spite of their richness in this department the South Russian colonies only yield good work of a comparatively late period: as with other arts (save pottery) we must go elsewhere for early specimens, our first examples already belong to the time of highest mastery. No early gold has been found at Berezan, from Olbia we have one find of the viiith century B.C. (v. p. 400) and one or two rings from the next. From Greek graves on the Bosporus there does not seem to be any goldwork of the archaic period: there ought to be some, for the coins of Panticaeum begin fairly early and the pieces found in native graves like Vettersfeld, Melgunov's barrow, Kul Oba, Kelermes and the VIIth Brothers must have come in through the Greek ports (v. Chap. x).

We have already discussed the reason for the richness of the finds in South Russia. The Scythians carried out to its farthest logical conclusion the principle of surrounding the dead with all they loved and needed during life, even more so than the Etruscans, whose graves are the other great source of Greek jewelry; and from contact with the natives there seems to have been a strengthening of this feeling in the Greeks among whom it already existed. The example of Kul Oba was, as it were, felt at the Great Bliznitsa.

In attempting therefore to characterize the jewels of South Russia in general we must beware of regarding them too much as one whole and indivisible. Some were probably made in Athens, many in Asia Minor, others shew Egyptian influence, most were very likely made upon the spot. Also they nearly all belong to a time when the early severity was out of fashion. Nevertheless, taking them all round, especially the jewels found about the Bosporus and those in the possession of native, we are justified in seeing in them a prevalent taste for colour and florid workmanship as against the general Greek feeling for form and restraint. It cannot be mere chance that in this region, with its close and friendly connexion with the Orient, we get the best specimens of Greek enamel (used merely as a filling in patterns of soldered wire which occur equally well without it), the first examples of true cloisonné and the first cameo, as well as an early warm welcome given to the Oriental love for many-coloured precious stones as opposed to plain gold be it never so cunningly worked.

This taste went on flourishing, and all later jewels depend upon colouristic effects, so that to the jewellers of Panticaeum has been put down the not quite unwilling elaboration of the "Migration" style with its reminiscences of Persian, Scythic and Greek and the production of the Treasures of Petroasa and Nagy Szent Miklós and the models imitated by the Goths and other Teutonic conquerors of Europe (v. supra p. 282 n. 2).
Crows.

Crows or wreaths, usually found in place upon the brows of the dead, both men and women, form the most continuous series of gold objects yielded by South Russia. They are surpassed in number by the earrings, but they form a series in that so many of them bear their own approximate date in the shape of an “indication” or impress of a coin which often formed the centrepiece. There must be nearly fifty known, for many have been discovered since Stephani gave a list of nineteen in the Hermitage. The earlier crowns are sometimes of quite artistic workmanship, studies of olive, bay and oak treated both conventionally and naturalistically. Good specimens of conventional treatment are the crowns worn by both man and woman in the second tomb in Arjukhov’s barrow. Here we have intertwined oak and bay with what appear to be acorn-cups forming the centre. More naturalistic is a crown of the same date—11th century (both graves had coins of

Lysimachus)—with bay leaves. In front the stems were joined in a reef-knot adorned with enamel. The leaf-stalks were inserted into the hollow stems and soldered. In a rather similar but even more naturalistic example they were twisted round the stems. Most beautiful, only surpassed by a wonderful example from South Italy in the Louvre, is a gold crown consisting of two olive sprays tied together at the back; the rendering of sprays, leaves and berries is well-nigh perfect. Equally beautiful, and to be referred to about the same date, is a kind of aigrette made of barley ears. Perhaps it was such crowns as these that were granted as rewards to those who had deserved well of the state, Diophantus at Chersonese, Protogenes and later Theocles and many others; and Olibia with Cocceius at Tyras.

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1 CR. 1875, p. 19 sqq.
2 CR. 1880, II. 1 and III. 1; cf. B.M. Jewellery, XXVII. 1613, 1628.
4 ABC. v. i on f. 286; Fontenay, p. 396.
5 App. 18 = loco. p. 183; cf. ib. IV. 68; and the curved crowns of Agasides App. 17 = ib. 1. 105.
6 App. 7, 10 = ib. 1. 16, 22.
7 App. 3 = ib. 1. 2.
Gold
Aigrette
and Wreaths
Kerch. A.B.C.
Most of the series belongs to Roman times and is the merest funeral furniture. The crown then consists of a strip of gold leaf, wider in the centre than at the sides, mounted on a foundation of bark or leather, with parsley leaves pointing towards the centre, which is decorated with an indication or a gem or sometimes a repoussé plaque. Often the only remains of the crown lie in scattered parsley leaves once sewn on to a stuff ground. For instance, in one case the band was of some dark red material and over the whole there was a kind of veil of the finest crêpe. In the centre was an indication of a coin with the monogram ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and a Herm. This indication is particularly common on crowns (Fig. 285), and is sometimes imitated in freck hand drawing. Another king whose coins make indications was Sauromatides II. Sometimes coins of distant cities, e.g. Heraclea Pontica, very often of Roman emperors, served the same purpose. Other wreaths of late date have a square plaque with a gem at each corner, or a gorgoneion, a head of Helios, an engraved gem, or a plain one. Some crowns have not even the parsley leaves but only the προμετατηρίων or centre-piece.

Mask and Cap.

With the funeral crowns may be mentioned the repoussé funeral mask of the queen whose tomb was found at Glinishe near Kerch (v. int. p. 433). It is evidently a portrait executed with the least possible departure from the original, probably from a plaster model. Its use seems to have been to let the dead face appear at the funeral ceremony in a case where that would have been otherwise impossible. The same device has been resorted to independently among many nations, and the parallels of Mycenae and others do not shed any light on the question why this almost unique mask was made in this case. We have seen that the queen also wore a funeral wreath. Another golden mask more elaborate but not so well made has been found at Olbia, but its date does not seem defined in the slightest.

Another piece quite unlike anything else is the gold cap found near Cape Ak-burun in 1875 (Fig. 287). It is in the shape of half an egg lined with leather and felt and made of pierced work; above a narrow acanthus-leaf, stem and tendril border, the design, which is thrice repeated, consists of a pair of broad nautilus spirals curling outwards from an acanthus bract; from between them grows the flower which is usually associated with the

1 CR. 1878-79, III. 4-7, Mount Mithridates.
2 One from Olbia, BM, Jewellery, no. 3072.
3 CR. 1904, p. 517, l. 86.
4 CR. 1904, p. 517, l. 86.
5 Agrippina and Nero, BM, Jewellery, lXX, no. 3081; Vespasian in the Nimbaid coin, v. p. 333; M. Aurelius. ABC, III. 7; Commodus. ABC, IV. 1; Philippus. CR. 1875, p. 47; KTR, p. 48; Gallicius, CR. 1875, II. 27; the same with Valerian as on Pl. VIII, 22, l. II. 7; Salome, BM, Jewellery, no. 3082, no. 3083; Maximian. CR. 1875, II. 51; Gallierius. Trans. Of. Soc., XX, l. 1; Gordian and Valentinian in one grave with Sauromatides II, showing how little evidence of date they furnish, CR. 1875, p. 121, l. 107.
6 CR. 1878, p. 30 = ABC, III. 4.
7 ABC, 1, KTR, p. 70, l. 94. See Benoist.
9 Published by Comte Uvarow, Recherches sur les Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale, Paris, 1851, Pl. XIX, and Benoist, op. cit., p. 9, No. 8, and Pl. XV, l.; cf. Neidig, VII, 40. Some Siberian tribes masked the faces of their dead.
acanthus flanked by curved stems. All the elements are Greek, but the whole is most unusual. But that its owner was a Greek we may judge from his having a Panathenaic amphora buried with him, and a coin of Alexander gives us some idea of the date.

Calathi and Frontlets.

More normal and very magnificent are the golden calathi found in both the tombs of the Great Bliznitsa. The better of them, in the first tomb, was covered with thirteen plates of gold nailed on to a light foundation. Along the top was nailed a strip with oves, along the bottom one with a maceandar and blue enamelled rosettes. The main space, slightly curved outwards, was decorated with Arimaspian and griffins each made in repoussé, cut out and nailed on separately. The whole is effective but rather mechanical. The technique did not encourage any real unity in the pairs of combatants; for instance, in the centre group, in which there are two griffins to one Arimaspian, each of the griffins is symmetrically looking away.

1 CR. 1865, t. 1, xi. p. 427, f. 315.
from their opponent whose stroke will obviously go near neither of them. His clothing is just that of the conventional barbarian—short cloak, chiton and trousers; he is no Scythian.

The decoration of the other lady's calathos is if anything still less original. The wooden or leather foundation was covered with stuff on which was nailed a row of Bacchic figures, Maenads, griffins and such like. These figures are merely stumpy versions of the usual Neo-Attic types.

The calathos, though mostly associated with deities, was evidently commonly worn by real women. These actual specimens are perhaps unique, but we see models of it on such figures as the dancing statuette from the Great Bliznitsa and of the nearly allied stephane on the elegant pendants or earrings in the shape of women's heads. Both forms have survived in the Russian kokoshnik which is derived from Byzance.

The calathos was certainly kept for high days and holidays. For less important occasions was reserved the στεγέσις or τιμπίς. Both the ladies in the Great Bliznitsa had such imitating the texture of the hair either with close archaic-looking curls, these latter were prolonged downwards over the temple, or with more artistic wavy lines. Quite common were strips of thin gold which must have been mounted on something and served as frontlets. Usually their only decoration is some ornament stamped in the gold, for instance two from Olbia, one with pairs of affronted Sphinxes (f. 288), the other (f. 289) rising gracefully to a point in the middle, with a pattern of berried ivy and palmettes. In the Nelidov Collection are several of this type from the Crimea. One of early 1st-century work has a representation of the Lampadedromia, Nike and a youth on horseback, and is ascribed to an Attic master; others have a composition of Aphrodite between two Erotes.

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1 CR. 1839, I, 9–10 = KTR, p. 54, f. 67.
3 ABC, VII, 10, 11, 11 a on p. 370, f. 290; Fontenay, p. 111; MacPherson, Körte, Pl. 1 and on the Sphinx, ABC, XII, 2 on p. 401, f. 294.
5 CR. 1865, I, 4, 5, p. 39 with a Nike at each end; cf. 1839, III, 2, Pavlovskij Barrow; 1882–8, f. 1, p. 31, Anapa, with lion-masks at the ends and pendants all along in front.
6 CR. RM, Jewellery, XXVIII, 1612, and several from Crimea, p. 172, Nos. 1612–1614, ff. 32–34.
7 Nelidov, V, 12, 15–19.
§ 12. *Calathii, Stephanai, Temple-plaques*

Sometimes the simple repousée strip is embellished with rosettes in enamel, as on the elaborate arabesque of the Kul Oba queen, or a figure and rosettes riveted on. Such a strip may also be set off with a knot of filigree or stones and even tassels in the middle; the pattern (e.g., Demeter looking for Kore, and the rape of Core—or a commonplace arrangement of Maenads, tripods and dolphins or of mere arabesques) is often made by being engraved upon a cylinder. In one case we can see where the cylinder had a flaw in it.

A last type of frontlet is one with little pendants dangling whether from the lower edge or from little stalks like davits adorned with rosettes.

The diadem from Artjukhov’s barrow (p. 432, l. 322), the most elaborate of all with its big carnelians and tassels, belongs to the later style (v. p. 404).

**Temple-Medallions.**

To the end of calathoi or heavy frontlets were hung medallions covering the temples—these did not take the place of earrings but were worn in addition to them; the lady of the first tomb of the Great Bliznitsa was wearing both. Their great size and weight must have made these temple plaques inconvenient, and they are comparatively rare. Far the finest are the famous specimens from Kul Oba so often reproduced for their importance in determining the details of the head of Athena Parthenos as made by Phidias. Dubrun says they were found on the queen’s breast, but they must be the same as those of the Bliznitsa which were found on the pillow. The two heads are identical save that on one Athena is seen in three-quarter face to the right, on the other she is looking to the left. She wears a decorated stephane and above it a helmet surmounted by three crests, the centre one Scylla, the side ones pegasi; it is flanked by ear-pieces bearing griffins, and these are not drawn symmetrically. Above the rim of the stephane is a row of griffins’ heads. Her hair falls on each side in corkscrew curls. Her earrings are of the type with a disk and inverted pyramid such as was found at Karagodevashkh. She wears a necklace with pendants. She is attended by her owl and snake.

The close similarity to the head of the Varvakion statuette and other known reproductions of the great Parthenos make the identity of the type beyond cavil: the only question is who is responsible for the precise interpretation of the type. Kieseritzky saw in it the work of Attic masters, of representatives of the school which had actually worked at the chryselephantine original. But the proportions of the face are not those of Attic work, being much rounder and plumper. This might perhaps be explained as an accommodation to the shape of the medallion; and the same explanation

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1. *ABC.* II. 3.
2. *Olbia.* Cr. 1903, p. 151, l. 301.
5. *ABC.* VI. 1.
6. *ABR.* IV. 2. 7. Ryshmanovka, Swt. II. XVII. 1, both types.
9. p. 195, l. 88 *=* *ABC.* XIX. 1, the heads alone reproduced in the text of Reinach, p. 63 from Kieseritzky, *Ath.* 1889. VIII. 1 (1893), Pl. xv and pp. 291—315; see Reinach for other reproductions.
10. Cf. one figured on p. 427, l. 318 *=* *CR.* 1889, l. 28, from the third lady’s tomb of the Great Bliznitsa.
11. *V.* p. 217, l. 119, III. 6, 7; Hadaczek, p. 28.
might be applied to the proportions of faces upon the Cyzicene staters whose small area gave less freedom than the broad flat silver coins of other states. In fact most full faces on coins are rather round except the curious topsyturvy types of Istrus, where a long narrow face was equally necessitated by the design. The fashionable account is that we have an imitation of Attic types in Ionian proportions, that it is in Asia Minor that we are to seek for the centre of export of gold-work into South Russia. So much more attention has been given to the study of style in sculpture than to that of mere decorative jewelry, that it is to the specimen with reliefs that we must look for light on the question of the origin of all.

In this case the frame is worthy of the picture. About the medallion is a border with a wavy pattern of leaves and spirals of twisted wire soldered on, enriched with blue and green enamel. Along the lower edge of the border are enamelled rosettes and leaves disguising loops from which hangs a whole network of fine chains, with other rosettes at the knots serving as points of attachment for pear-shaped vases in the meshes. Each vase has its neck and a little knob at its pointed lower end, and is covered with patterns of gold threads and grains soldered on.

In the first tomb of the Great Bliznitsa (p. 426, f. 316) were found similar temple ornaments, slightly smaller but of coarser workmanship. The medallions have Thetis or Nereids riding on sea-horses and bearing arms to Achilles. The composition is again a craftsman's version of great sculpture, perhaps going back to an original by Scopas; but there is no Scopaeic character about the execution. The palmette border again has blue enamel. The arrangement of the network below is very like the Kul Oba work but a little inferior.

Unworthy to be mentioned with these are the rough roundels with rough pendants found at Darievka near Shpolo, but they must have served the same purpose. They seem to be rude Greek work rather than a native imitation, but it is hard to say. They each consist simply of a large rosette surrounded by a guilloche border to which are hung vase pendants.

Earrings.

No jewels offer so many varieties as earrings, and they have been well classed by Hadaczek. Examples of most classes occur in the Graeco-Scythian area. The oldest piece of pure Greek goldwork, put by him about 600 B.C., is an earring from Vettersfelde, for Vettersfelde must be considered as an outlier of Scythia. Another archaic type well represented is a kind of double twist such as would just go round two fingers. Each end is adorned with spirals and patterns of gold wire soldered on and finished off with a pyramid of grains. These occur in bronze and silver, but the greater part are in gold. The Hermitage has seven pairs, and Stephani was never sure whether they were earrings, or served to keep thick plaits of hair or possibly

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1 Brit. Mus. Coins, Thrace, etc., p. 25; No. 8.
2 A. N. Schwartz in Drevnosti (Trans. of Moscow Arch. Soc.), xv. i. p. 17.
3 Sm. ii. x. 5.
5 p. 239, f. 148; Hadaczek, p. 20, f. 36.
folds of drapery in place; but Hadaczek proves by coins that they hung from the ear. MacPherson’s plate shows green enamel adorning his specimens.

Another early type that Hadaczek derives from Ionia, was the “wool sack” or “leech,” a kind of crescent not flat but thick and hollow; from one end rose a wire which went through the ear and caught on the other end. This seems to have existed in the East from time immemorial and to survive still; in the Middle Ages it developed into the Russian kolt with its enamel decorations. In Greek hands it was chiefly adorned with patterns of grains soldered on to it, or wire spirals and plaits. More ingenious was the device of a goldsmith who saw in it the likeness of a bird and put a head on to the hook end. Allied in technique is the cone-earring from Romny.

A great many ancient earrings have the hook fixed to a disk. This is usually adorned with a rosette and a border. Commonly it has something hung to it in turn. One of the simplest motives is a kind of inverted pyramid. Such an earring is worn by Athena on the Kul Oba plaque. An actual pair comes from Karagodevaskh and another without the disk from the same grave. Such a one Aphrodite wears as engraved on the inlaid box (p. 424, f. 314). Hadaczek (p. 28) quotes similar specimens from Cyprus, which have very often produced duplicates of South Russian jewelry. In the first Karagodevaskh specimen little chains hang down on each side of the pyramid.

Very common indeed is the type in which the pendant below the disk takes the shape of a vase with little handles of wire and grain decoration soldered on to the body. One in the Athens Museum is just like one from Kerch (f. 290. 19). Modifications arise by which the vase is flattened into a mere setting for a stone (f. 290. 20) or the handles are absent (ib. 17). More ambitious forms of the disk and pendant type have the half-moon hanging from the disk and from it again a network of chains and vases and rosettes such as hangs from the temple ornaments but very much smaller. This development gave room for decorative figures though on the most extraordinarily small scale. The Kul Oba queen had two pair of this type: one has a comparatively simple rosette above and grains upon the crescent.

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2. Such from Cyprus, JHS. XI. p. b, Pl. V. 3; Myres-Olafssch-Richter, Cat. Cyprus Museum, Nos. 4068 sqq.; Olafssch-Richter, Kypros, the Bible and Homer, Pl. LVII. 5; and here statues have shown them used as earrings twisted into the ears but the coils seem closer: ib. XLVII. 2, IV. 7. They are always found near the head of the dead, e.g. at Prassias, BSA. XII, p. 68.
3. Cat. Cyprus Museum, Nos. 4068 sqq.; Kypros, etc., Pl. CXXXII. 5; Munro, JHS. XII. (1891), p. 315, Pl. XV. I am indebted to Professor J. L. Myres for the Cyprian comparisons.
4. Many examples in N. P. Konstakov’s Russian Hoards, i. (St P. 496), and his Zwunegorodskij Emaux, v. supra, p. 282, n. 2.
8. p. 191, f. 83 = Sm. III. vi. 6.
11. Mat. XIII. ii, 10.
13. Hadaczek, p. 34, f. 56; CR. 476, p. 34, 34.
15. lb. XXX. 1653, Eretria.
FIG. 395. ABC VII. Gold Earrings from the Bospurus: from various tombs on the Quarantine Road, 1, 7, 9, 12, 13; Hadzhi Mushkai, 6, 8, 11, 15, 16, 23; Podgornyj Post, 2, 10, 20; Kherkevich's works, 17, 24; near Kerch, 4, 5, 18, 19; Phanagoria, 3, 21, 22; Olbia, 14; 11 has blue enamel, 17 a cameo, 19 and 23 garnets, 20 an emerald, 24 a turquoise. [pp. 305-308, 406, 409]
with palmettes at its ends, from which spring winged Nike-figures\(^1\). The other\(^2\) has richer decoration throughout and hidden in the leaves of the upper rosette are figures of Thetis and the Nereids with the arms of Achilles. It seems to have lost similar side figures, there remain but the stalks to bear them. The lesser rosettes are alternately dull gold and blue enamel; the egg-and-dart moldings and some details of the pendants, dark and light blue.

Even more wonderful examples of the same kind of work were found at Theodosia. With a similar general design the tiny space above the crescent gives room for a chariot and four horses driven by a winged Nike and containing another figure and flanked by Erotes\(^3\); with the earrings was a necklace (Fig. 294. 3, 4) to match. Almost identical earrings, still unpublished, were found under Chersonese wall in urn 4; at the side of the quadriga a Muse with a lyre sat in a high spray of foliage\(^4\). Earrings of this same type also occurred in the two women’s graves of the Great Bliznitsa\(^5\). In the first they were found in situ worn along with temple-plaques shewing an extraordinary accumulation of jewelry upon one head: in the other tomb only one earring has survived.

In these cases the figures are merely a decorative detail not an independent element in the design, but often the pendant which hangs from the disk takes the form of a human or animal figure. Commonest of these are winged human figures, especially Nike\(^6\) or Eros. The Erotes are innumerable in all kinds of attitudes, dancing (f. 290. 18), playing the lyre (f. 294. 13), with a mask\(^7\), with a butterfly\(^8\), riding on a bird\(^9\), as cupbearers (f. 290. 9, 13), with a caduceus (ib. 12), or a shepherd’s crook\(^10\), gesticulating or just quiet\(^11\). Less common figures are Sirens (f. 290. 14, 15, 16), Pegasus (ib. 2), Maenads\(^12\) and Artemis-Selene\(^13\).

Another favourite form shews a bird instead of the human figure suspended from the disk. The figure of the bird is generally enamelled white or blue, we have for instance a swan from Taman\(^14\) and from Kerch (f. 291), and a dove from Artjukhov’s barrow\(^15\).

Besides the comparatively light earring-figures hanging from a disk we have whole figures or heads attached to a single hook. Among these it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between a pendant that formed the centre-piece of a necklace and an earring. When they occur in pairs it is clear that they are earrings, e.g. the Ryazanovka earrings (p. 178, f. 73) which Hadaczek\(^16\) calls Graeco-Scythian of the 11th century B.C.: but they would seem to be earlier. Their closest analogues are the Sphinxes from

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1. ABC. xix. 4 on p. 195, f. 38, Hadaczek, p. 36.
2. ABC. xix. 5 = KTR. p. 234, f. 208; Fontenay, p. 112.
3. p. 201, f. 294. 5 = Fontenay, p. 112.
4. BCA. p. 7; inf. inset of Plan xvii. and p. 437; for all such cf. BM. Jewellery, xxx. 1855, Crete; Berlin Antiquarium, No. 64, Cyrene.
5. CR. 1855, ii. 3. 1899, i. 12.
6. Arch. Ant. 1906, p. 150, f. 10 to Taman; Hadaczek, p. 38, f. 66 (CR. 1899, iii. 3); cf. p. 39, f. 68; Darenberg-Saglio, s. v. lutesii, f. 2013; Neidlov, xix. 103; Tyszkievicz, f. 2: BM. Jewellery, xxx. 1855—[1899].

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1. CR. 1878-79, Text p. 35, 2.
2. CR. 1880, p. 8, f. 1.
3. p. 427, f. 318 = CR. 1868, i. [8], 9.
5. 1876—1912.
6. f. 318 = CR. 1860, iv. 4, Hadaczek, p. 40, f. 73.
8. CR. 1870, vi. 12 = Hadaczek, p. 45, f. 84.
10. p. 41, f. 76: Sm. ii. xvii. 4, 5.
Déev barrow\textsuperscript{1} and lions from the Vogell collection\textsuperscript{2}. Something similar but purely Greek is a Sphinx found at Theodosia (f. 294. 2) which seems to be a necklace pendant, another similar pendant comes from Olbia (f. 292) representing a boy. In all these cases the figure is sitting on some kind of base. A free standing figure is an Eros with a mask and a butterfly\textsuperscript{3} larger than most earrings and alone, but found upon the dead woman's pillow.

With these go the many women's heads in stephaneae\textsuperscript{4} which certainly served as earrings: yet they cannot but recall the equally common bulls' heads\textsuperscript{5} which still remain hanging to their necklaces.

Perhaps the simplest type of all is the earring that is literally a ring\textsuperscript{6}. Such we find perfectly plain and also decorated, whether by a twist or plait\textsuperscript{7} or by one end of the ring being enlarged into the head of an animal: a lion\textsuperscript{8}, a bull\textsuperscript{9} or a lynx (f. 290. 3). Also we get this thickening formed into a human figure, Eros\textsuperscript{10} or Priapus (f. 290. 22).

From these rings we get various charms suspended; a favourite one is the club of Hercules or a bunch of grapes, but these rather coarse additions mostly belong to the later style when stones had come into fashion (v. p. 409)\textsuperscript{11}.

Rather like some earrings are pin-heads decorated with heads or busts of animals. Such are the half-griffin from Theodosia\textsuperscript{12} or the negro heads from Phanagoria (f. 294. 14) and Kerch\textsuperscript{13}. To a later period belong some found at Chersonese crowned with a bird, a hand and a vase\textsuperscript{14}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item BCA. XIX. xiii. 18, cf. p. 170.
\item Samml. No. 1229, p. 922, f. 61 b.
\item CR. 1897, p. 118, f. 223. Chersonese, grave 895, found with a coin like iv. 73.
\item f. 290. 10, 11; MacPherson, Pl. 1.; Fontenay, p. 111 cf. BM. Jewellery, XXXII. 1855.
\item f. 294. 91; CR. 1863, i. 7, 8; 1873, iii. 15; Kangodeoushi, p. 217, f. 119, iv. 1.; Olbia, BM Jewellery, T.XVII. 2071.
\item Cf. ib. pp. xxxiv. 184, f. 60, Pl. XXXIII. XXXII. 1864–1824: Hadaceak, p. 46.
\item f. 293. 4; Vogell, Samml. p. 90, f. 39.
\item Kerch, f. 290. 1; CR. 1877, i. 14; Olbia, f. 293 (horned); BM. Jewellery, XXXII. 2444, with onyx vase; Vogell, Samml. p. 91, f. 66; Chersonese, CR. 1900, p. 17, f. 31; BCA. l. p. 7, urn 1 in the wall; cf. Ohnefalsch, Richter, Kypros, etc., Pl. CXXII. b, CXXV. 13–17, p. 492 sqq.
\item f. 290. 5; CR. 1865, ii. 38; from Olbia, CR. 1899, p. 124, ff. 236, 237, cf. Néelidov, IX. 139.
\item f. 290. 7, 8; CR. 1876, iii. 40; 1886, iv. 5, 6.
\item Other pendants from Olbia; a bird, CR. 1903, p. 148, f. 285; a stone wedige, ib. p. 151, f. 297; a negro's head, ib. p. 151, f. 290; ib. BM. Jewellery, LXXVII. 2564; from Kerch, CR. 1866, ii. 34, iii. 11; cf. Néelidov, XX. 531.
\item f. 294. 12, cf. Néelidov, vi. 33.
\item Report of Arch. Investigations for 1853, No. 74. KTR. p. 66, f. 86.
\item CR. 1892, p. 21, ff. 12–14.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}

Necklets.

As wonderful as the work of the temple-ornaments and earrings is that of the necklets, and the variety of patterns is very great. The chief classes are the torque, the necklace of beads, the necklace of plates, the chain necklace, the necklace with simple pendants, and that with a whole network of chains and pendants hanging from the main string. The first hardly occurs in Greek graves, those from native graves have been dealt with above (p. 289). There is one in the Artjukhov barrow, an imitation of the form we meet in Kul Oba, but hollow and inferior (p. 431, f. 321 below). Of the necklace of beads a good example is one from Kerch. The beads are alternately plain and covered with little spirals, while others imitate the shape of a gourd: the work is like that of f. 294, 3. Similar in principle is the necklace from the third lady's tomb in Great Bliznitsa with a wonderful variety of beads, some of which are artistically worked amulets, in the shape of flies, rams' heads, negroes' heads, frogs, bunches of grapes, bearded heads and others. Of simple chains the simplest is such a one as was found at Bulganak, just a chain with a lion's head at each end. More artistic are round plait chains like those from Melgunov's barrow—the earliest, perhaps a diadem (p. 172)—Karagodeuashkhl (p. 217, f. 119, iv. 4), Theodosia (f. 294, 1) or Chersonese wall, urn 4. In urn 1 the necklace was made up of two flat plaits ending in lion-heads hooking on to a centre-piece, a filigree reef-knot containing an Eros holding a lyre: the design foreshadows the Artjukhov crown (p. 432, f. 322).

Of simple pendants the best usually hang from a string of beads such as one from Theodosia (f. 294, 3) with vase-like drops, or one from Kerch with various charms, lions, combs, birds, shells or amulets against the evil eye: such also hang from plain chains. When we have beautiful plaited ribbons, e.g. the Kul Oba queen's and its twin from Kerch, and those from Karagodeuashkhl (p. 217, f. 119, iv. 3) and Chersonese wall, urn 4, we generally find the place of the vase-shaped drop taken by a tiny pendant whose outline is the same but whose section is like a three-rayed star, thus giving six surfaces to catch the light at various angles and being more effective than the much more elaborate hollow vase.

Necklets in which the chain is more important than the pendants we find in the second best of the third lady in the Great Bliznitsa which has a row of beads of three chief types and two sizes, the larger alternately plain and adorned with rosettes about the string hole, the smaller plain towards the end and adorned with spirals in the middle beads—from every larger bead hangs a rosette and from it alternately a plain and a decorated vase.

The ingenious arrangement of the best necklace at Karagodeuashkhl (p. 217, f. 119, iv. 1, 2) forms a transition to the necklace of plates. The greater part of the beads are small and plain: from certain larger ribbed ones hang large vase pendants, to the front of intermediate ones are fixed X-shaped.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}} A B C, \text{xil. } 4 = \text{ktr. p. 320, f. 289.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}} v. p. 427, f. 318. \text{cr. 1869, f. 15.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}} A B C, \text{xii. 7, Obitia. CR. 1909, p. 159, f. 296.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}} \text{Unpublished, cf. BCA. i. pp. 6-9.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}} A B C, \text{xii. 3; xl. 1.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{6}} A B C, \text{ix. 1: the two varieties were called \textit{diaphragmata} and \textit{kalloroi}. V. BM. Jewellery, p. xxxvi, cf. ih. xxxiv. 1923-1928, two from Cyme.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{7}} v. p. 427, f. 318. \text{cr. 1869, f. 14.} \]
(or "double-axe") plates each with a rosette in the middle and a palmette above and below, from the lower edge of these plates hang lesser vases.

This device of masking the actual string with plates is carried further in the well designed but rudely-executed necklace from Ryzhanovka which is made up alternately of round rosette-plates and X-shaped pieces fitting into them (p. 179, f. 74). A like arrangement occurs in the necklace from Kerkh in the Ashmolean, Oxford; this has acorns hanging from the rosettes. As usual Dééev barrow supplies an analogue to Ryzhanovka, its necklace is as it were double; instead of the rosettes it has fourteen twin half-beads and the plates between them an inch high are cut out on each side to fit into them, so θήκη. These plates are of two varieties, in each at the top is a large rosette and at the lower angles two such, but in six the middle space has a whorl of large leaves supporting a rosette, in seven a duck with niello eyes as it were swimming on it. From each pair of beads and from each plate hangs a vase- pendant; two strings half an inch apart ran through beads and plates alike. The same double effect is seen in a necklace from Kerkh: the plates are of much the same shape with forget-me-nots at each end and a woman's mask in the middle but two separate rows of beads fitted into them, each bead of dull gold representing a knot tied in a textile. The ducks and rosettes reappear at Chmyrevka Mogila but on rectangular plates.

A necklace from Olbia, apparently Ionian work of the viith century B.C. and so perhaps the oldest piece of goldwork found in a Greek grave in South Russia, has no beads or chain, but consists of eleven plates, two terminal triangles decorated with palmettes, five squares with rosettes in wire soldered on, and four tall narrow plates with stamped Sphinxes: to each of these hang two barleycorn pendants and to each square three. With this were found two pendants in the shape of lion-heads.

Finally instead of a row of vase pendants, varied though they may be in shape, we may have continued along the whole length of the chain a rich network of chains and vases like that below the more elaborate temple-plaques and earrings. A simple example is the second-best necklace from the first tomb of the Great Bliznitsa. Here we have the plaited ribbon and two rows of the vase-like pendants (cf. Karagodeuashkh), the points of attachment being covered with the usual forget-me-nots. More elaborate is the same lady's best necklace with three rows of real vases, each vase being covered with ornament of wire soldered on. The most perfect specimen of this style was found at Theodosia with the wonderful earrings (f. 294, 4, 4a): in this case the upper row of vases of smallest vases gives place to a row of tiny images of the Ephesian Artemis each hanging from a demi-horse put between the enamelled forget-me-nots that mask the attachments of the network chains.

Quite unique as a necklace is that found in the third lady's tomb of the Great Bliznitsa serving her for best (p. 429, f. 320). Its affinities are perhaps rather with the torque than with the necklace. It is in shape a

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2 P. 179. BCRA. XIX. p. 171. PL XIII. 14—17; CR. 1897, p. 31, f. 94: duck from Kerkh, Sabatier, IV. 7
3 ABC. XII. 4, 2.
4 Arch. Anz. 1910, p. 216.
§ 12] Necklaces, Plate- and Complex. Theodosia

Fig. 394. ABC. XIII. Gold Objects from Theodosia, 6. electrum, 7. silver spiral, gold ends, 8. chalcedony, 14. 15. from Phanagoria. 3. v. pp. 387-402. 409. 410. 414.
crescent formed by two twists of gold that make the inner and outer circumferences. In the space between them framed by a kind of egg-and-dart we have figures of rams and goats ajouré with poppy plants and rosettes in the background. At each end a dog is pursuing some rodent. The ends of the crescent die into a flat collar, linked by a plait pattern to the lion-heads which hold the fastening rings. These lion-heads are also exceptional, for in general a string of beads, or a necklace whose section is round, has lion-heads, whereas the flat necklaces or ribbon chains end in U-shaped pieces each decorated with a palmette. In spite of its strange form there is no doubt that this was a necklace; it recalls most closely the metal neck ornaments (Isata) put on to icons.

Armlets. Various Goldwork.

Armlets do not shew so much variety as necklets. The general form is either a smaller torque, a twist encircling the wrist once with animals' heads at each end, or else a spiral of two or three turns with either a flat section and palmette as finials or a general representation of a snake.

To the first type belongs the magnificent bracelet from Kul Oba worn by the king (p. 199, f. 92. 1). The bold twist wormed with small strands ends in palmette collars which form the transition to the foreparts of Sphinxes whose paws hold a knot between them. Their style is so restrained that they must surely go back to originals of the 5th century, although the actual work may belong to the 17th. Somewhat similar are the bracelets from the Great Bliznitsa ending in lionesses (p. 426, f. 317) and silver ones with gold lions' and rams' heads from Kerch and Chersonese wall, urn 4, respectively.

Among the flat-sectioned spiral bracelets a similar mixture of material is found in a pair from theodosia (f. 294. 7); each has three turns and ends in flattened lion-heads. Examples of the same type with antelopes' heads we have from Kerch and with a whole lion from the Great Bliznitsa. At Karagadieushk similar armlets end in sea horses with curled tails (p. 217, f. 119, ill. 7, 8). Whole serpents appear at Artjukhov's barrow, tombs 1 and 11.

Rather special are the armlet of the queen from Kul Oba, a broad thin plate of gold with two bands of repeated groups—griffins attacking deer, finishing off at each end with four lion-heads in low relief, and a second worn by the king, also a flat band but narrower with a little moulded edge and archaic groups of Eos and Memnon alternating with Peleus and Thetis; the whole studded with blue forget-me-nots (p. 149, f. 92. 2, 3).

Among other pieces of Greek goldwork may be mentioned the sheath from Tomakovka and its replica from Vettesfeld (p. 148, f. 45, cf. p. 236). The belt clasp from Kurdzhips seems so far unique (p. 224, f. 127). It is made up of two strips of gold adorned with enamelled rosettes and circles, hooking on to each other, and two side-pieces with an elaborate decoration of intertwined spirals, palmettes and rosettes; one side-piece was firmly united to one strip, the other hooked on to the free strip.

1 ABC Text, Reinach, p. 138 = KTR, p. 65, ill. 85. Unpublished, BCA, i. p. 9, perhaps with more than one turn.

2 ABC X. 1 = KTR, p. 317, ill. 285.

3 CR. 1869, i. 16.

4 CR. 1869, i. 4, ill. 14: 187, ill. 7. Kerch.
Mention must also be made of the gold repoussé and engraved work, the phalerae\(^1\) for adorning horses, mostly of Hellenistic date, found in native graves such as Chmyreva barrow (pp. 168, 169, ff. 58—61), Akhtanizovka and Siverskaia (p. 215), Fedulovo, Taganrog and Starobélsk (p. 173, n. 3), and latest, Jančekrak (p. 174), and of the smaller plates of greater range in time used for sewing on to clothes\(^2\), and of the innumerable buttons, studs and other small pieces of gold found in some of the richer Greek graves as well. This is particularly the case in the Great Bliznitsa and is one of several points of resemblance which link it on to the Scythic graves in spite of the pure Greek character of everything found in it except one plate from the pyre of the second lady with a combat between a griffin and a lioness represented quite in the Scythic manner. How this piece found itself in such company it is impossible to say\(^3\).

Transition from Goldwork to Stone Jewelry.

The goldwork considered hitherto has been goldwork that relied for its effect upon the gold; contrasts of colour were only introduced by the use of enamel which though more general than in other Greek districts was applied in the same primitive way, being run into the spaces it was desired to colour and allowed to keep its natural surface instead of being ground flat. The colours used were also primitive, limited to a light and dark blue and green. This use of gold by itself is characteristic of the Greeks in the best age: Stones only appear in rings (v. p. 410) and occasionally separately as beads. The difficulty of guessing the chief export centre among old Greek lands which supplied the Euxine market with goldwork has been already mentioned. No doubt there is great resemblance between some of the little Attic jewelry known to us and some of the simpler specimens from South Russia. But Athens had no special reputation for ordinary goldwork nor any natural advantages such as she had in silver. The great chryselephantine statues stood quite apart. There is on the other hand a remarkable identity between the elaborate goldwork from South Russia and that found at Cyme in Aeolis\(^4\). The excessive complication of detail, the insertion of figures on a scale which did not allow of their being satisfactorily executed, the luxuriant curls of the vegetable ornament, the actual material (electrum) of one or two of the older pieces (e.g. i. 294, 6), such details as the Ephesian Artemis on the Theodosian necklace, all suggest Asia Minor. The undoubted supremacy of Athens in its own speciality—pottery—does not preclude the retention by Ionia of its natural importance in other departments. In works which can be judged by the canons applying to sculpture the subjects which are of Attic origin have been reinterpreted in the Ionian manner (v. pp. 284 and 394), and we may well believe that the greater part of the goldwork found north of the Euxine was either imported from Asia Minor or made on the spot by artists under the predominant influence of Asia. But this must not be taken to be

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\(^1\) BCA. xxxix. pp. 18—55.  
\(^3\) v. p. 427, l. 318, CR. 1865, iii. 1—32.  
\(^4\) v. pp. 392, n. 6; 395, n. 12; 397, n. 4; 399, p. 6; 400, n. 3; RM. Jewellery, p. xxxiv, the great find contained an Alexander coin.
without exceptions. Athens had special relations with the Bosporus and there is no need to put everything down to Ionia. As time went on provincialisms tended to disappear in the Greek world, and just as the kouroi dialect spread everywhere so a common acceptance of artistic and industrial fashions spread the patterns which arose in one town throughout the rest. Hence we find in the British Museum and the Louvre jewelry from Etruria and South Italy identical with that from South Russia preserved in the Hermitage.

But as the Greeks came into closer contact with the Eastern barbarians after the conquests of Alexander they suffered to some extent the influence of the people they were ruling. From them they learned to rate much higher the beauty of precious stones. At the same time, perhaps from the same cause, they were learning to appreciate colour as well as form, at least their love of colour took a new direction, gratified itself in new ways. They came to prefer sharp contrasts to delicate gradations; as Riegl puts it the colouristic principle with its instant appeal to the senses replaced the tectonic with its appeal to the understanding. It is curious that in ceramics they abandoned painting and took to plastic decoration just at this very period.

The question arises as to what part of the barbarian world had most part in this revolution. No doubt the accumulations of the Persian realm in Iran and nearer Asia supplied material for it: for instance, the garnet, the most characteristic jewel of the new movement, is usually referred to Syria: but it is a question whether the impulse was not equally due to Egypt whose artistic influence has been so ably championed by Professor Schreiber.

In South Russia the new fashion may be said to make its appearance in the splendid contents of Artjukhov’s barrow (v. p. 430). In that barrow we have for the first time a general use of precious stones, both set and pierced for use as beads, the first cameo, the first example of Greek cloisonné enamel. Such a use of precious stones was common in Egypt from time immemorial: the cloisonné process closely resembles effects produced in Egypt from an early period, the decoration of one of the earrings though in general design quite Greek has among its ornaments the feather and cow-horn crown of Isis-Hathor. Also there were beads of Egyptian manufacture with Egyptian emblems such as the god Bes. At this moment too the reef-knot came into fashion and occurs on very many objects of the second and third centuries B.C. This very pattern occurs in Egypt and on Greek soil seems accompanied by a fashion for tassels very characteristic of the Artjukhov finds.

At first the introduction of the new element of precious stones did not make much difference in the jewelry into which it entered. The gold-work of the Artjukhov crown and earring is nearly as fine as that of the pure gold technique of the Bliznitsa. But as time went on, less attention was paid to the gold, and it became coarse and clumsy, and the forms of objects were also changed to receive the stones better. On the whole, however, the same forms went on.

1 Die Spätbronze, p. 172 sqq.
2 In many works, e.g. Alexandriaische Toreid: see however the protest against the exaggeration of this point of view, in A. J. B. Wace’s Apollo on the Omphalos, B.S.A. 18, (1902-3).
4 Cf. a necklace (?) from Ithaca, Fontenay, p. 430; a reef-knot with a figure in it from Syria, BM, Jewellery, XXXIV, 1891, 1, XXVII, 1607–1609; for the whole change of taste, ib. p. xlii sqq.
We have only one crown of the new style: those described above belong to the late period, but except the one or two which have a square centrepiece with stones at the corners, they show its distinguishing features only by their progressive decadence. This Artjukhov crown (p. 321, f. 322) consists of a hoop formed of three parts joined by hinges, two fluted side-pieces adorned with a wave ornament and finishing in collars with enamel, and a centrepiece in the shape of a reef-knot made of large garnets joined by gold bands. The middle of the knot is taken up by a group of an eagle lifting an Eros: the eagle's outspread wings are enamelled. From the lower margin of the crown hang six characteristic tassels each consisting of a round or heart-shaped garnet, from which depends a round bead set in gold; the immediate head of the tassel which is made up of six garnets hung on gold chains and wire stalks. It has been doubted whether this can be a diadem because the tassels would get so much in the way of the wearer's eyes, but it would not be worse than some of the pearl fringes on old Russian headdresses.

For neckgear in this Tomb I, we have, beside a simple neck-ring (p. 321, f. 321, l. 2), a chain, a row of small amulets, and three necklaces, one of carnelians and gold beads, one of garnets held in gold rosettes (ib. i. 5) and one of which the main part is gold chain, but each end has a garnet heart and the centrepiece an emerald between two garnets flanked by lion-busts with bodies of banded stone (ib. i. 6). The same lady had an armlet of chalcedony balls quite in the barbaric manner. She also had a pin (f. 321, l. 17) with a head in the form of a disk decorated with a rosette in red cloisonné enamel offering a smooth surface: from the disk hangs down even such a tassel as hangs from the crown. Her left hand bore a ring with the bezel embellished by a rosette like that on the disk of the pin (ib. l. 13) and her right a ring with garnets. This same taste runs through all the graves of the barrow: each lady had such a pin, the lady in the second grave had the earrings with the Egyptian motive (f. 321, III. 5), the well-known ring with a bezel in the form of a shoe-sole bearing the inscription ΕΞΤΙΑΟΝ ΜΑΜΜΑΙ and the cameo of Eros and the butterfly. The Artjukhov barrow is dated at about halfway through the third century by the coins of Lysimachus and Paerisades found in it. This gives just the date for the change of style, for in it not everything has yet conformed to the new fashion. For instance, the ordinary Kul Oba type of neck-ring with lions' heads at the ends is here but hollow and poor, suggesting that though the form still existed it was no longer held in its old esteem (f. 321 below). Quite in the old manner are the snake bracelets, the Erotes earrings and the necklaces of the lady in the second tomb. The work and general type of the earring with the Isis headdress (f. 321, II. 4, 5) is just that of the former period but for the introduction of that one detail.

An ornament common to all the Artjukhov ladies, and occurring in other contemporary graves, seems to have come in rather late although it does not show any distinct trace of the new style. It is a round plaque usually with a border of enamel and bearing some subject such as Aphrodite and Eros.

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1. p. 324, f. 325, AEC, II. 3-5.
2. CR. 1880, I. 3.
3. CR. 1880, II. 7.
5. CR. 1880, I. 9.
7. ib. III. 9 on f. 321; Furtwängler, Ant. Gem.
9. ib. II. 9, 10, 11.
It appears to have been worn at the intersection of the cross-bands\(^1\) over the breast, just where the terra-cottas often indicate a large ornament\(^2\).

Two examples come from Egypt, and this would seem to be one more indication of a connexion between that country and the new fashions. Still we have in two plaques from Kerch (p. 195, l. 88)\(^3\) roundels executed in the old manner with wonderful filigree and quite suitable for the same purpose as the Aphrodite reliefs. One rather similar roundel from a man's grave in Artjukhov's barrow (f. 321, l. 3)\(^4\) is an unmistakable example of the new style, having paste as well as patterns in gold soldered on.

It has been noticed that a love of reef-knots is characteristic of the things found in Artjukhov's barrow. This same love is exemplified by other jewels which, whether adorned with stones or not, appear to belong to about the same time. The knot became a favourite motive for the middle of diadems\(^5\) and necklaces\(^6\). In some of these the tassels also occur, and these continue in favour in a simplified form until the barbarous ages when we cannot tell if the dangling chains and stones derive from Greek originals or from the general Finnish love of all kinds of jingles.

**Necklaces with coloured stones.**

The Artjukhov necklace (f. 321, l. 6) is the first of an interesting series. The distinguishing feature is that the middle or front of the necklace consists of several large oval or lozenge-shaped stones of different colours set in gold box-settings and joined by hinges: the two ends are the ordinary plaited chains. This fashion went on for three hundred years, for a later phase of it is seen in three necklaces which may be dated in the 1st century A.D. The first was found at Olbia in 1891 in the tomb with the glazed pottery (p. 420).\(^7\) It is the most developed of the series and shows the love of bright-coloured stones and pastes pushed very far. A necklace precisely similar I saw recently in the possession of Messrs Spink in Piccadilly, London.

The chains on each side end in lynxes with crystal bodies and golden heads. Between them are five blue pastes, three oval and two square, set in broad bands of gold with lesser pastes and granular patterns. From the middle oval pastes hang a butterfly\(^8\) of gold with a paste body, an emerald head, and wings each set with three blue and green pastes. On each side from the square pastes of the main row hang first a round emerald and then a pear-shaped drop of pink paste, each duly set in gold. From the lynx-heads to the square pastes, and from these to the butterfly's wings, hang light chains of gold. In the same grave was found a pair of earrings consisting each of a garnet body set in gold, from which hangs a crystal amphora and several light gold chains (p. 408). The distinguishing

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\(^1\) Cf. B.M. Jewellery, xxxiv. 1984.

\(^2\) CR. 1884, l. 16; l. 13. Karagodeushkk, the first and best, p. 317; l. 105; l. 12; Chersiouse, associated with a polychrome necklace, f. 253; Perkmans, CR. 1895, p. 52; l. 13; cf. Schreiber, op. cit. p. 311, l. 51; B.M. Jewellery, lxxvii. 289.

\(^3\) Egypt.

\(^4\) Cf. ib. xxxvii. 2039, Cyne; A.B. xix. 2; 3.

\(^5\) Cf. B.M. Jewellery, i. x. 3044.

\(^6\) Cf. B.M. Jewellery, i. x. 3045.

\(^7\) E.g. ib. xxxvii. 1607-9; A.B. xi. 3; 4.

\(^8\) A.B. ix. 2; 3, this latter had two knots and is better illustrated in Fontenay, p. 174, where one knot is shewn with the Medusa face that fills it, and the tassels that hang from it; A.B. x. 1; 2, cf. Nellis, xiii. 391; Gurchchov, vii. 3q.

\(^9\) Cf. B.M. Jewellery, lxxvii. 289; lxxvii. 2749.

\(^10\) Oróskimov, Dresvinni, xv. 1 (1894) Pl. 1.

§ 12

Coloured Stone Necklaces

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Fig. 205. C.F. 1806, p. 76, f. 323. Chersonese, Tomb No. 630. a, Gold ring with engraved Amethyst. 6, Gold ring with Garnet. B, Gold plates. T, Gold roundel with Aphrodite and Eros. A, Gold Necklace with coloured stones.
feature of this chain is the elaboration of the settings of each great paste.

In the next butterfly necklace, found at Chersonese in 1896 (f. 295), the stones are smaller, all oval and put in simple settings. The variety is even greater. With this necklace were found two roundels with Aphrodite to wear upon the breast and a restrick made of gold tubes soldered to each other side by side and so building up hexagons and strips which could be threaded together. In 1898 a very similar necklace was found in a leaden urn at Chersonese. It consisted of seven garnets and two green pastes, with two pendants with green pastes and a light blue paste in the head of the butterfly which had a garnet on its wing. There had been other pendants, now lost, and more stones in the butterfly, but the whole shewed signs of having been long used and roughly mended. With it was found other jewelry of much the same character as accompanied the other necklaces and also a coin of Domitian and one of Chersonese, so that the objects may be referred to the 1st century A.D. confirming the conclusions independently arrived at on the evidence of the other similar finds. Another necklace in the same taste was found at Hadzhi Mushkai near Kerch. This has chain all the way round save for a medallion with an engraved garnet and a fastening disguised by the figure of a ram with its wool curiously rendered by small circles of gold wire soldered on. From the chain hang emeralds, aquamarines and turquoises in box-settings. The ram has been compared to a little lion found at Kurdzhips and recalls another ram on a bracelet from Armavir on the Laba a tributary of the Kuban: but this last is frankly barbarous.

Jewelled Earrings.

Whereas these many-coloured necklaces are the most extreme examples of the new taste in jewelry, the earrings are the commonest. Inasmuch as every grave yields a pair it is useless to multiply references. The interesting point is to observe how the necessity for accommodating the stones led to modifications in design and the weeding out of types unsuited to the new decoration.

In the earrings and other minor pieces we meet almost exclusively with garnets. There remained a desire for some contrasting colour, but it could not often be gratified. The disk and amphora earring lent itself well to garnets: one would make the centre of the disk, another perhaps adorn the vase flattened to receive it: more often, however, it was of gold merely and rather degraded. In a more ambitious type the disk tends to become a triangle (cf. f. 290, 20), from the base of which hangs a row of chains with an amphora of onyx or crystal in the middle. The skill to make good figures became rare, and the Erotes had to give way. But the ring-shaped

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1 CR. 1896, p. 180, f. 536.
2 CR. 1888, p. 211, No. 1009 between F and E on p. 595, f. 332.
3 Laureated head right. XEP in wreath. Burachkow, XXVI. 94.
4 CR. 1906, p. 67, f. 296.
6 ABC. XXIV. 19.
7 E.G. CR. 1892, p. 109, f. 67; 1894, p. 63, f. 89, both from Chersonese.
8 Olbia, same tomb, Drevenost, xv. ii. Pl. 11; Kerch, CR. 1903, p. 45, f. 62.
9 cf. Nellidov, XIV. 396, from Ismid.
type with a lion’s head continues, a setting for the stone being put below the lion’s mouth as at Chersonese, a double lion’s head (p. 507, f. 339), but in general the thick end of the ring is turned merely into a setting for a round or pear-shaped stone.

To this shape a pendant is often hung; the old amphora (f. 290, 19; 296) or a bunch of grapes (f. 290, 24, cf. f. 294, 11), a club of Hercules, and most characteristically a bunch of chains whether forming a tassel (f. 290, 17) or all in a line (ib. 20; f. 297)

Garnet Style.

This garnet style becomes more and more barbaric. It is applied to harness and to buckles. Some buckles are interesting for the tanga they bear such as has been already mentioned on bronze examples. Other buckles lead on to absolutely barbaric types. The harness mentioned, which also had the same tanga, was found in the famous tomb at Glinishche (v. p. 433) in which, alongside of the Hellenistic plate already described, was found an armlet which retains some traces of Greek technique, but is directly related to the little bottle found in the same grave (p. 434, ff. 326, 327), and so all such bottles are classed as Greek by Smirnov though—with the exception of one from Olbia with a rude lion stopper—found in most barbarian company, e.g. in the Novocherkassk treasure (p. 234, ff. 141, 142) and the late Ust Labinskaia barrows. This is in fact the end of Greek jewelry unless, as von Stern thinks, it was the Greeks of Kerch that began to make the jewelry of the barbarians.

\[\text{Figs. 296, 297. CR. 1891, pp. 37, 54, ff. 17, 11. Kerch, Earrings in Gold and Garnet.} \]

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\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} KTR. p. 66, f. 86x. CR. 1894, p. 64, f. 93. Hadaczev, p. 52, f. 56.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2} CR. 1891, p. 91, f. 60.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3} BM. Jewellery, II. 2412, 2420, Olbia; cf. 2417; armlets, ABC. XXIV, 3, 4; CR. 1892, p. 119, f. 74.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4} Also CR. 1892, p. 111, f. 169.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5} p. 435, f. 288; ABC. XXIX, f. 3, 5.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{6} ABC. XXXII, 46 = KTR, p. 315, f. 286. It is an ox head.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{7} ABC. XXXII, 19, 20, cf. supra p. 318, ff. 1, 2.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{8} Argenterie Orientale, p. 3, Pl. 81, 32.} \]

\[\text{CR. 1898, f. 10 = Smirnov, XII. 31.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{9} Smirnov, XI, 29, gives better photographs of this, also of the box, XI, 30, the cup, X, 25, and the Uvarov cup, X, 27, supra pp. 34, 35, ff. 140, 144.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10} CR. 1902, p. 83, f. 184 = Smirnov, CX, 280; others from Siberia, XII and CX, 33; Mozara, Kamyschin (CR. 1898, p. 28, f. 167), XII, 34; Starozitnaya, Kuban, CXIII, 24; Novoletaevka, Kherson (CR. 1900, p. 152, f. 305), CXIII, 279; unknown place, Coll. Botkin, St P., CX, 281.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{11} Trans. Ox. Soc. XX, p. 41.} \]
Finger-rings.

One more jewel must be mentioned, the finger-ring. In this the occurrence of stones is, of course, no criterion of date. There are rings of the ordinary shape with a bezel set with a stone whether plain or engraved. Others have a gold bezel likewise engraved. Sometimes these engravings afford by their rubbed condition interesting evidence of the continued use of the ring, and warn us afresh that a stone too may have been worn a very long time before being buried with some possessor. Besides ordinary rings there should be noted the rings with a stirrup-like outline. They are usually early, before the ring and the stone had adapted themselves to each other. Interesting are those which have instead of a flat bezel an animal or insect formed in the round. Then there are double rings like that of the masked queen (p. 434, f. 325) and one with four lions upon it. Many of the later ones have dotted inscriptions especially ΥΛΑΙ: A special form is that of the serpent-ring sometimes forming a pendant to a serpent-bracelet. Some rings such as that with Aphrodite and a trophy and that with a large head of Athena both found with silver vessels on the way to Kerch Quarantine are too big to wear and were probably votive.


The gems found on the north coast of the Euxine are not on the whole of very great importance; but the two specimens of work by Dexamenes are sufficient to redeem the whole class from insignificance.

Of special local interest are the oriental gems. In many of them strong Greek influence is traceable, and Furtwängler in his discussion attributes almost all of them to Greek artists. Perhaps the earliest of them is a cylinder from Kerch upon which a priest is worshipping a sacred dragon that rises from the symbolic "sea" Apsu; behind are the symbols of Marduk: the elements of the name inscribed are "Marduk" or "Šamaš" and "iddin" or "šum...": Menant assigns this to the Neo-Chaldaean Empire. Other specimens are Achaemenian. Perhaps the most interesting is explained by Menant as a forerunner of the scene represented at Bisutun: Darius is slaying Gaumata the Mage and behind him four figures with ropes round their necks represent four rebels subdued; behind them is a palm tree with fruit. Another notable example comes from Anapa out of the Nereid coffin and bears

2 e.g. B.C.A. XVIII. 33.  
3 e.g. p. 208, f. 106; B.C.A. XVI. 1, 1, 4, 7; 14, 15, v. f. 398; p. 427, f. 318, p. 431, f. 321; Vogel, Samml. No. 1242, p. 32, f. 64, gold bezel with double palmette.  
5 B.C.A. XVIII. 6.  
6 Ibid. 20—25.  
7 Kerch, B.C.A. XVIII. 60, 114. Illimitin, CR. 1889, f. 19. on f. 318, Artjakhov's barrow, CR. 1894, II. 14, 16; Theodosia, in electrum, f. 394. 6.  
8 B.C.A. XX. 9, 13; also Konst. and p. 384, 385.  
9 The largest publication, T. de Kibertitch,  
10 Gemmes de la Russie Méridionale, 1916.  
11 B.C.A. X. 30; cf. Stephan's list in CR. 1881, f. 318—319; also 1882—88, pp. 62—66 seqq.; Furtwängler,  
12 Die Antiken Gemmen, III. i. 116 sqq.  
13 CR. 1881, v. 6, 7 on f. 298.  


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a king with crenelated crown adorning. Anaitis who walks upon a lion and is surrounded with rays. The worship of Anaitis was first allowed by Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the same tomb was a very curious gem, not a cylinder, but a four-sided prism. One face bears a Persian distinguished as such by the shape of his hood, flat on top with its tip hanging backwards; the next has a man with a dog jumping up at him, closely recalling the composition of an Attic grave relief, upon the next is represented a cock fight much as it occurs upon the clylices of the lesser Attic masters, and the last shews a nude woman dancing. The style of the latter cannot be much before the end of the fourth

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1 Cf. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus, p. 75.
2 Menant, op. cit. Vol. ii. p. 173:
3 CR. 1882-8, v. 1, on f. 298.
4 Cf. Dalton, op. cit. p. 48 sqq.
century. The whole prism has been at some time shortened so that the feet of the figures and the tail of one cock have been cut off.

Of other cylinders one from Kerch\(^1\) seems purely Persian, shewing a king struggling with two crowned human-headed winged bulls under the overshadowing of the Deity; beyond is an ibex and a palm tree. Of purely Greek workmanship but clearly made for a Persian is a cylinder bearing a Persian King, his shoulders somewhat damaged by the fire through which the stone has passed, fighting for the body of a slain Greek against another Greek over whom his victory is assured by the protection of the Deity\(^2\). Stephani gives several plain cylinders in his list. The Greek settings in which these gems are found consist of little gold mouldings round each end of the cylinder and a half hoop ring of twisted gold. The poor cylinder from Khôldînya Jar (p. 193, f. 85) is interesting mainly for its provenance.

Beside the cylinders we have scarabeoids with oriental compositions. Very typical is a longshaped octagon bearing the traditional combat of a king and a lion found in the third lady’s tomb of the Great Bliznitsa\(^3\). Very typical too is an oval of engraved glass from Nymphaeum out of the tomb which offers such analogies with the VII Brothers. Upon one side of this is a cow, upon the other the emblem of the Deity\(^4\). To this class also belong two specimens—one with a winged and crowned Sphinx, another with two such affronted with an uninterpreted inscription in what is said to be Lycian\(^5\). Hence they may both be referred to Asia Minor. With them may be mentioned the chalcedony with a winged monster now at Oxford\(^6\) and one with a winged human-headed ox\(^7\). The occurrence of these Persian gems does not really seem an evidence of any love of Persian forms due to a community of origin between the natives of these parts and the Iranians, but is merely due to Iran’s having exerted upon Asia Minor and its dependency the Bosporus a general influence, which is most clearly shown in the distribution of pure Persian proper names. Figures of barbarians occur upon gems of undoubted Greek workmanship made apparently for Greeks, but as has been remarked they are merely generalized barbarians of the Phrygian type\(^8\) or definitely Persian as the Athenades gold bezelled ring which is nearly connected with the coins of the Persian Satrap Datames\(^9\). A head with a Phrygian cap has the artist’s name \(\text{περγαμός}\)\(^{10}\). It is said to be too early to have anything to do with the city Pergamum.

The work of a broken scarabeoid\(^11\) bearing a cow seen from behind is so rude, shewing clearly the use of a coarse drill, that it is hard to say whether it is very early or very late. The meaningless combination of Egyptian elements seen upon a broken carnelian—above, the winged disk, on each side, a hawk wearing the double crown, in the midst, a lotus bud instead of a scarab, and below a boat, all within a twisted border—betrays an Asiatic workman\(^12\).

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1. ABC. xvi. 3, 6, on f. 298.
2. ibid. 2, 3; Perrot-Chipiez, Persia, p. 457, f. 226.
4. CR. 1877, iii. 8 on p. 208, f. 100.
5. ABC. xvi. 14. 10, on f. 298.
6. JHS. v. (1884), xi. v. 8.
8. e.g. ABC. xvii. 9 on f. 298, cf. p. 56.
10. ABC. Reinhart, p. 137; CR. 1861, vi. 11; KTR. p. 65, f. 88, p. 88, ff. 178, 179; Furtwängler, Jahrb. d. deutschen Archäol. Inst. 1888, p. 198, and Pl. viii. 3; Ant. Gem. xi. 27.
12. ABC. xvi. 15.
13. ibid. 13, my authority is Mr F. W. Green; more Egyptian is CR. 1872, iii. 16.
Greek Gems.

The oldest undoubted example of absolutely Greek work is a large chalcedony[1] found in the same grave, in Jiz Oba, as the beautiful lecan(e) (p. 342, f. 248); it bears Medusa in the archaic pose of the Nike of Archermus and the Medusa from Martonosha; she has snakes in her hands and four wings. The dry careful manner is typical of the archaic style, yet it is already shewing signs of coming freedom and has been assigned to the beginning of the 5th century. Most of the things in the same grave seem to be of the end of the century and a pair of Maenad earrings still later (f. 318); so the gem must have been worn for a hundred years before burial.

Another gem shewing archaic feeling is a crystal with a sow from No. iv of the VII Brothers[2], noticeable is a nick in its mane seen also on the Vettersfeldi boars, this Furtwängler[3] says is a characteristic of Ionian art.

Of the severe style we know no better master than Dexamenus of Chios: there are four known specimens of his signed work and two of them are from South Russia: a heron flying[4], and a heron standing with a cicada before him[5]. This latter has been damaged in the funeral fire, but the former is the best study of a bird in Greek art; in some ways it rather recalls Japanese work.

Of the other Dexamenus gems one at Cambridge shews a lady Mica and her servant, just such a group as served as a model to put on a gravestone, the other has the portrait of an unknown Greek[6], one of the first portraits known. Sir A. J. Evans (loc. cit.) calls it Cimon without obtaining Furtwängler's agreement. The four gems are placed by Furtwängler (p. 137) in the following chronological order, Mica, the standing heron, the portrait head and the flying heron: he assigns 430 to 420 B.C. as the time when Dexamenus flourished[7]. This gives a definite point of the utmost use in determining the development of gem-engraving, and the two herons are

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2 CR. 1870, III. 33 on p. 208, f. 106.
3 CR. 1870, III. 33 on p. 208, f. 106.
4 Vettersfeldi, pp. 24, 26, pp. 237, 239, 245, 147.
5 f. 299; CR. 1861, VI. 10 = KTR, p. 60, f. 87.
6 Ant. Gem. XIV, 4: a smaller replica that may perhaps be by the same hand, ib. XIV, 2.
7 f. 300; CR. 1864, III. 10; Ant. Gem. III. p. 137, f. 94. I am much obliged to Sir A. J. Evans for leave to reproduce his enlarged photographs, Revue Archéologique, XXXII. 1898, p. 337, Pl. VIII.
8 CR. 1868, L. 12; Ant. Gem. XIV, 1, larger, LI. 3.
among the most important ancient gems in existence because of the undoubted
genuineness of their inscriptions, seeing that they have never been bought or
sold. Another standing heron or stork on chalcedony from Theodosia does
not come up to that by Dexamenes (p. 401, f. 294. 8).

A very interesting early ring already mentioned as from Juez Oba bears
engraved upon the gold bezel the curious device of a snake twined round
a bow so as to draw an arrow. Another gold bezel with Nike before a
trophy adorns the only good ring from Kerch in the British Museum.

Rather later in style come the Asiatic gems spoken of above, that shewing
a Phrygian supposed to be Paris, and those with the names Athenades
and Pergammos. The latter was found in the same grave as a Lysimachus
stater and a large burnt chalcedony bearing Apollo Citharoeus (or perhaps a
Muse). Other specimens of Hellenistic work are a Venus accroupie mounted
on a beautiful chain and the two votive rings before noticed (p. 410).
Aphrodite crowning a trophy and the ambitious Athena head in garnet which
recalls the ring and emblem in the Konelsky collection, and to a less degree two
Athena heads from Chersonese, the mould for terra-cottas (p. 365, f. 265, f. 4)
and another garnet. To this period belong two archaic gems; one with
Artemis, the other a blue chalcedony with a remarkable attempt to reproduce
the ancient Apollo type ascribed to Canachus; but all the archaic points are
ridiculously exaggerated; on the arm is a bird in place of the usual stag.

A cameo from Artukhov's barrow—the earliest known—Eros with a
butterfly, is dated by coins of Lysimachus and Paerisades and the style of the
silver vessels (v. p. 351) to about the middle of the third century. A fine piece
of work from Chersonese is a Medusa head of the beautiful suffering type cut
in onyx. The same site has produced a pair of ordinary cameo portrait busts.
In this connexion we may mention a brooch with a magnificent portrait of
L. Verus in rock crystal though it was found at Batum : the head was sunk
from behind and then gilt and so from in front appears as it were in relief.

A very large number of poor gems with commonplace heads, animals
or even whole figures, have been found about Kerch, but of recent years few
that seemed worth figuring in CR.; the best in ABC. have been noticed.

To stones of Roman date there is no end, but it is curious to find one with
a Roman warrior offering a wreath to Hecate, at Novgorod
Seversk north of Chernigov in Central Russia (Fig. 301).

Cutting coin-dies is an art nearly allied to gem-engraving; what measure of success it attained north of the Euxine, Plates
1.—ix. shew: the gold staters of Panticapaeum are good, some
of the rare early types of Chersonese, especially the full-faced
ones, and one or two issues of Olbia and Phanagoria are
passable, but on the whole the interest that can be claimed
for these coins is historical and not artistic.

1 CR. 1802, vi. 8 on p. 427, f. 318.
2 F. H. Marshall, Catalogue of Finger-rings, 
Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the B. M., 1903,
No. 51. Pl. ii., inscribed προμοντιανα.
3 ABC. vi. 10.
4 CR. 1902, p. 81, f. 81.
5 ABC. xvii. 8.

7 CR. 1882-8, ii. 13; 14 and p. 41. Furtwängler,
8 v. p. 431, f. 321: CR. 1886, iii. 9 and p. 78:
Furtwängler, op. cit. Vol. i. p. 152, f. 106.
9 CR. 1892, p. 102, f. 39.
10 CR. 1904, p. 40, f. 87, 88; 1906, p. 81, f. 84.
11 Arch. Anz. 1908, p. 163, f. 7.
CHAPTER XII.

REPRESENTATIVE GREEK TOMBS.

Almost all the objects of Greek art from South Russia occur in tombs, so it seems worth while for that alone to give some account of them and their disposition; on the whole we cannot say that we gain therefrom any knowledge of the special peculiarities among the Greeks of the Scythian coast. About Kerch graves are noticeably rich in their contents, which may point to a specially lively sense of the duty of providing all necessary for the departed in the next world; also the number of conspicuous barrows seems greater: but speaking broadly such a necropolis as that excavated by Pharmacovskij outside Olbia, or by Duhmberg near Kerch, is similar e.g. to the well-known necropolis of Myrina.

Berezan.

Everywhere, though cremation was practised, burial was the more usual rite. The only exception is the very early cemetery on the island Berezan. Here were found large hollows with smaller ones about them. These latter proved to be grave-pits about 1.40 m. (4 ft. 6 in.) deep and divided by stone walls: in them were urns with ashes, fragments of vases and Olbian asces or fish-coins. The larger proved to be crematoria: one such pit 3.55 m. (11 ft.) deep having its chimney still preserved. In it were found successive layers of cinders and sherds of Ionian and black-figured Attic vases dating the finds as from the 8th to the early 6th centuries B.C. (v. supra, p. 338). In some cases the sherds belong to vases of which other fragments were found by the cinerary urns. Each body was burnt at the crematorium, and upon the fire were cast pots, weights, fish-hooks, even a charred semi-circular cake has been preserved; afterwards all was gathered up and laid in a small pit together with arrow-heads, bits of rouge, coins, lamps and terra-cotta figures, one of which is usually a pot-bellied grotesque: in large low barrows were several funeral pits together, each containing a number of urns with ashes and similar offerings. Yet even at Berezan burials are not unexampled. One was covered by a deposit datable c. 600 B.C., but it was without any offering save the skeleton of a bird: in general the burials are rather poor and belong to the last period of the island's being inhabited, as with them the vases are of

1 B.C.A. viii. p. 1 sqq., et J.H.S. xvi. (1896), pp. 245, 346; and CR. 1904, p. 34 sqq. where ff. 48, 49. plan and section of a late barrow showed very well how the different types of grave are intermixed.
2 CR. 1899, p. 27; B.C.A. 1, p. 80.
3 E. Potter et S. Reinach, La Nécropole de Myrina, Paris, 1888.
4 Arch. Anz. 1905, p. 51.
Attic rather than Ionian make: they are set at the feet of the dead and in his hand is put an Olbian fish-coin. Burials are found in small flat barrows and in the large barrow to the east of the island. The transition to burning is exemplified by partly cremated bodies\(^1\), as when only a single vertebra was charred\(^2\). An interesting point about Berezian is that the interments were often made not in the necropolis but close to or in the houses, in pits similar in form to the rubbish pits but distinguished from them by the absence of kitchen refuse, the completeness of the pots they contain and the presence of terracotta statuettes and other offerings\(^1\).

At Olbia Pharmacovskij (l.c.) describes three main types of grave; the simplest is that of graves sunk perpendicularly into the earth, the coffin lying at the bottom and having the earth heaped directly upon it (ff. 302, 303): by a development of this to avoid direct contact with the earth, the pit is lined with stones and planks laid across to make a kind of chamber (ff. 304, 305); the place of such planks has been taken by five amphorae likewise laid

\(^1\) Trans. Oad. Soc. XXIX. Minutes, p. 45.
\(^2\) ib. XXVIII. Minutes, p. 141.
across, or more usually above the lining slabs was a double row of carefully fitted slabs forming a two-pitched roof: such tombs vary in length from 2'70 metres (8 ft. 10 in.) to 5'22 metres (17 ft. 3 in.).

A different constructional principle is applied by undercutting one of the long sides of the grave-pit and making a recess for the coffin: this was then walled up and the shaft or pit filled in with earth (ff. 366, 367).

Under special geological conditions at Kerch this form developed into the roomy funeral chamber or catacomb approached by a shaft piercing the particular limestone layer which conveniently held up the roof (v. p. 368). At Olbia, where there was no special advantage in going so deep, the undercut grave did not in its development get beyond a simple δρόμος leading down by earthen steps to the entrance of a bare grave chamber which never approached the size and decoration possible at Kerch; the body was put within, the entrance blocked with a rough wall, the dromos filled up with rammed earth and a monument placed alongside

When a more splendid resting place was desired at Olbia a stone vault was built: a late Roman example (c. 200 A.D.) is that of Heuresibius and Arete, which is identical in plan with the common earthen chamber, save for the addition of a vestibule. Here, as may be seen by the plan and section annexed (ff. 368, 369), the approach with steps cut out of the earth led down to an elaborate erection entirely below the original surface of the ground. A corridor, with its outer door tightly closed by a stone, led through a door flanked by architectural pilasters into the main chamber. Both corridor and inner chamber were covered with true barrel-vaults and adorned with simply

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1 CR. 1905, p. 34, f. 31; Arch. Anz. 1906, p. 170, f. 30.
3 JHS. XVI, p. 346; BCA. VIII, p. 14, f. 10.
4 At XI on the Plan of Olbia, p. 456, f. 338; v.
5 M.
Greek Tombs
moulded cornices. The tomb had been opened both by ancient and modern robbers: the last only found fragments of a bench and a marble table inscribed:

ΕΥΡΗΣΙΟΣΚΑΛΙΣΘΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΑΡΕΌΠΑΙΟΥ
ΤΟΜΝΗΜΑΖΩΝΤΕΣΒΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΙΩ
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝ ΕΝΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ

Von Stern, who first published the inscription, took the ημέρας ΙΩ to be the addition of modern forgers, and in spite of Latyshev's defence of them they seem to be the work of the Brothers Hochmann through whose hands the stones had passed. Pharmacovskij, when he carried out his scientific exploration only found one or two bits of a glazed vase (v. supra, p. 357) and of millefiori glass, also a coin of the end of the 11th century A.D. The approach was filled in with earth as could be seen from the unbroken edges of the earthen steps, and the whole structure covered by a barrow enclosed by such a solid stone plinth that some took it for the foundation of a defensive tower.

In the case of another barrow much the same in type just enough of the plinth was preserved to make its restoration possible. It consisted of a rough foundation in the form of two steps, a course of long plain stones laid on their sides, another course of broad rusticated stones laid alternately as headers and stretchers and a simple cornice, making a total height of 1.88 m. (6 ft. 2 in.): the stones came from the ruins of the town-wall. The diameter of the circle was 37 m. (120 ft.) and the original height of the heap some 15 m. or 50 ft. The chamber consisted of an outer and inner room of the same breadth roofed with a barrel-vault. It was absolutely empty, but the resemblance to the masonry of the former barrow argues that it belongs to the same time; in spite of its imminent fall Olbia must have been flourishing to allow of its citizens having such expensive monuments. The two barrows can be distinctly seen on my view of Olbia from the river (p. 450), but since that was taken they have necessarily been almost destroyed. In the necropolis of Olbia burials are almost universal and cremation occurs only in isolated instances. Except in the very simplest interments the body was put into a shell which was enclosed in a monumental wooden coffin: but Olbia has not yielded any fine coffins in good preservation.

One grave discovered at Olbia in 1891 deserves mention because of its exceptional character and the interesting fate of its contents: unluckily it was ransacked by peasants, so we cannot be sure of its exact arrangement. In a chamber lined with stone lay two skeletons with gold leaves upon eyes, mouths and ears (cf. p. 507, f. 339). Of the man we know no more: the woman, laid on a wooden couch with bronze feet, wore also a funeral wreath, a necklace with many-coloured stones and pastes and a butterfly pendant (cf. p. 406), another of transparent beads, gold and garnet earrings, a silver rounded with Aphrodite and Erotes, and two gold rings with engraved garnets: on her dress were sewn repoussé gold plates; in her mouth was a silver coin rather like Pl. iii, No. 6 with a countermark dated 1st century A.D. There were also found a plain bronze mirror, a bone spoon, a clay lamp, a small black vase;
a pot shaped like a seated lion (v. p. 346) and a glazed mug with the Judgement of Paris (v. p. 354). In 1905 I saw certain objects professing to come from Olbia, which had been lent to S. Kensington Museum by Mr Pierpont Morgan and obtained by him from Messrs Spink. I was at once struck by their resemblance to the above and had photographs sent to Professor von Stern who proved that they came from this same grave. They include two silver cantharides, a bronze hairpin with a silver head (v. p. 353, f. 284) and a glazed oenochoe with dancing skeletons (p. 356, f. 262). The couch, mouthplates and butterfly necklace recall Chersonesian customs so nearly that we may believe that here we have the tomb of a Chersonesite living in Olbia.

At Chersonese K. K. Kosciuszko-Waluzyńcz has given full descriptions of over two thousand graves; they include simple pit-graves, undercut graves and sepulchral chambers, of which the most usual type is square with a pillar in the middle and loculi in the walls. Figs. 310, 311 which explain

1 CR: 1892—1906; BCA: U. 3091. V. p. 552, bibliography to Ch. XVII; AKT, p. 31, ff. 28, 29.
themselves shew a more elaborate example adapted to accommodate a large number of persons. Owing to the thinness of the soil most of the excavations had to be hewn in the rock, and were often shallow so that they have usually been plundered or at any rate their contents are in poor preservation. Where the bedrock is not reached the cist of the grave is often formed of tiles. At Chersonese cremation is more general than at Olbia although far less frequent than burial, e.g. the passage under the 11th century town-wall contained six urns with ashes and the beautiful jewelry already mentioned (v. pp. 386, 397—399, 402, 410 n. 1, 499 and inset of Plan vii. p. 493). Near by were two columbaria of Roman date with niches for urns. Reference has been made to the practice at Chersonese of laying gold leaves upon the eyes and mouth of the dead (v. p. 507, f. 339); the nearest analogues are in Seleucid graves dug by Loftus at Warka in Mesopotamia and Mycenaean plates from Cyprus; like the funeral masks they seem to have served to make it less painful to look upon the face of the dead at the time of the funeral ceremony, or to prevent the entrance of demons.

Bosporus.

It is in the graves about Kerch that most interest may be felt, since these have yielded the most precious spoil. Duhmberg enumerates sundry varieties: simple graves sunk in the earth or hewn out of the rock, covered with boards or tiles or slabs of stone (often enough old gravestones with inscriptions). Sometimes there are cists made of stone slabs. Beside these are the undercut graves and subterranean chambers in which the dead were laid either directly upon the floor as at Olbia or upon a ledge or bench as at Chersonese. Out of 81 graves opened in 1899 only two showed cremaion. Coffins in these lesser graves seem either to have been absent or to have left no traces. These various classes of simple graves are well described in the introduction to ABC, and diagrams are added giving the arrangement of the stock sizes of tile to make a cist (Plan B) with plans and sections of stone cists and chambers (Plan C) and accounts of their contents.

The catacombs have been already discussed (v. supra, p. 307), they seem to have exact analogues in other Greek sites. Most characteristic of the environs of Kerch are the more ambitious tombs with barrows. Such occur in other Greek lands and references to their heaping up are common enough in the literature, but I do not know of any Greek site surrounded by the rows and groups of barrows that occur in the neighbourhood of Panticapaeum and Phanagoria (v. p. 435, n. 1). It seems as if native influence had some part in producing this result. It was these conspicuous barrows that first attracted the notice of the various grave robbers of old times and also of the archaeologists of the last century, so that very few are still untouched. Accounts of their contents are to be sought in ABC, and in the older series of the CR.

1 F. H. Marshall, B.M. Jewellery, iii. 196.
2 Cf. 1899, p. 27; B.A. i. p. 80, see bibliography to Chap. xix. for excavations in Bosporous cemeteries.
3 Reinach's ed.: p. 17 sqq.
and a hasty description of many may be found in KTR. Here it will be sufficient to give some account of the contents of three important tombs; the Great Bliznitsa and Artjukhov's barrow, both in the Taman peninsula, and the grave of the Queen in the golden mask at Glimishche north of Kerch.

**Great Bliznitsa.**

The richest Greek barrow opened near the Bosporus is that called the Great Bliznitsa or Twin near Vyshe-stebieevka north of Lake Tsukur upon the Taman Peninsula. Its circumference was about 350 metres and its height 15. Operations were begun on the west side and first there was found an empty masonry chamber with painted architectural adornments (ff. 312, 313). Near was a plain chamber in which was the tomb of a lady whom Stephani has called a Priestess of Demeter, as the decorations of her elaborate jewelry all have reference to the cult of Eleusinian Goddesses. By this was the place upon which a second lady had been burnt, and at a lower level a bricked platform with the traces of the funeral feast. Here an interesting feature was a funnel-shaped hole defined by a limestone plate 1.24 m. x 52 m., in which was an opening 27 m. square shut by a stone fitting it exactly. This

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1 pp. 32-69 and 111 sqq.
2 It is a little difficult to obtain a clear idea of the disposition of the Great Bliznitsa as its exploration was not conducted continuously but fell in the years 1864, 1865 and 1868. Accordingly we have accounts of the finding of various interments and objects in them in the formal Report for each of these years, and in the Supplement to the Report for the year following each of these we have Stephani's elaborated account of the objects themselves. Cf. *CA* 1864, p. iv sqq., 1865, p. iii and p. 5, Pl. L—vii; 1866, p. 5 sqq., Pl. L—iii; 1868, p. v; 1869, p. 6, Pl. i—iii. No plan has been given.
Fig. 314. Inlay, mostly from the Great Blienisza. \textit{v.} pp. 331, 334.
hole went down into the earth and must have been a βόθρος for offering liquids to the dead. Twenty feet to the s.w. were fragments of a dish.

On the south side of the hill were the traces of another funeral feast, and at a higher level a number of amphorae buried, not far from the empty tomb. In this part also were the traces of a great pyre and another βόθρος. Here belonged a late red-figured vase with Europa. Near by was a stone tomb with a prismatic vault. This had collapsed and crushed the coffin of the man buried beneath it: but precious fragments of its ivory inlay remain (v. l. 314) and some other objects. Finally in 1868 there was discovered the tomb of a third lady yielding only to that of the first lady in richness.

The accounts of the exploration give such uncertain particulars as to the relative positions and levels of these various finds that it is impossible to say exactly in what order the different people were laid to rest in the barrow: but it is clear that they all belonged to one family in spite of the differences of ritual, and they must have lived at about the same time, for gold plates struck from the same dies occur in different tombs, although they are so delicate that they could not have stood much wear. The date is approximately indicated by the stater of Alexander found on the burning place of the second lady, and the style of all the objects confirms this. The most important of the works of art have been discussed under the categories to which they belong, but the inventories of the different tombs have an interest of their own.

The Priestess of Demeter was most completely furnished with all adornments, comprising a best and second-best set. There were in her coffin, itself enriched with inlay, a gold calathos for state occasions (l. 315) and a simple

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1 Perhaps after all δείχν would be the right word, cf. Pausanias, X. iv. 10 where we have a very similar case on pure Greek soil (Daulis) (v. Frazer, ad loc. for parallels from all parts of the world.

2 CR. 1865, p. iii.

3 CR. 1860, iii.

4 CR. 1865, VI. 4. 5 on l. 315.
stlengis, a pair of temple-ornaments (f. 316), and two pairs of earrings, a rich necklace and a simpler one, a pair of gold bracelets (f. 317), four gold rings\(^1\), twenty-two varieties of gold plates making up 1875 in all\(^1\), gold beads, a pair of boots and a mirror handle. Of other objects found near the most important were the remains of the harness of four horses with bronze bits and highly decorated phalerae\(^8\).

The tomb of the third lady, found in 1863, offered remarkable analogies to the Priestess's in the selection of adornments. Again we have a calathos, this time the figures only were of gold not the ground, they comprised a row of Bacchanals going

\(^{1}\) One with a lion, CR. 1865. III. 23 on f. 318.

\(^{8}\) ib. v. vii, cf. supra p. 155 n. 1.
Fig. 318. Jewelry mostly from Jiiz Oba and the Great Bliznitsa. [1 p. pp. 66, n. 7, 374, 392–393, 399, 418–424, 479–489]
back to the types fixed by Scopas, a stlengis (f. 319), earrings, an even fuller set of necklets—the remarkable collar (f. 320) and two necklaces, bracelets, rings, one (chalcédon) with an oriental subject, and another in the shape of a serpent, two hundred gold plates in eight varieties some of them identical with the Priestess's. So far the correspondence is almost complete; but the differences are very curious. Some may be a matter of date; for of the two the third lady would appear the later, a glass bottle, an Egyptian Bes and the Persian stone might point to the orientalizing work whose influence becomes stronger a very little later. Original are the golden griffin-heads which probably adorned the coffin unless they went along the rim of a stephane.

FIG. 319. Gold Stelengis. Great Bliznitsa, II1rd Lady's Tomb. KTR. p. 34.
L 68 = CR. 1869, t. 11. 4. v. p. 392.

To a kind of childishness we may put down a whole series of miniature vessels in bronze and clay, a doll and tiny cymbals. But only a most perverted taste can have had pleasure in the extraordinary series of terra-cottas. Some are merely Bacchic, some mere genre figures, others caricatures, but several are most obscene. They do not stand alone, but in no other Greek tomb have so many disgusting grotesques been found. Stephani calls them ἀπορροήναι, "lucky," but they go too far in the direction of ἀποτυπω καὶ γέλωτον. The lady (No. 11) who was burnt has naturally left us less on the site of her pyre than her relatives in their graves, still she had her rings and her gold plates; of these there were 322 in eight varieties, some are interesting as being identical with those of the Priestess, others for their technique as being cast not stamped, and one for being unique in this whole barrow as showing traces of Scythic influence. It is clearly the barbarous imitation of a Greek group of a sea-griffin devouring a lioness. This touch of the native is interesting, as it strengthens the idea that the great richness of these graves was partly due

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1 KTR. p. 34, L 67 = CR. 1869, t. 7. 8. 9.
2 CR. 1869, t. 14, 15, 18, 19 on f. 318.
3 CR. 1869, t. 28 on f. 318, v. sup. p. 393, n. 8.
4 CR. 1869, t. 111.
5 Cf. A. J. B. Wace in BSA. x. p. 103 sqq., who asserts the sovereign power of grotesques and obscenities against the evil eye and instances these examples among others, v. supra p. 309, n. 7.
6 CR. 1865, t. 27, 31, 32 on f. 318.
to barbarian views of the next world, although the people's artistic tastes were purely Hellenic. Finally it is in this tomb that we find the stater of Alexander which fixes the earliest date for the whole barrow. The βόθρας associated has always claimed the attention of students of funeral beliefs. It too may be a reflexion of native usage: at any rate the Volga Finns still leave a channel by which nourishment can be poured into the tomb (v. p. 106).

The decoration of the masonry tomb has been discussed elsewhere. The chamber was quite empty, so on what evidence it is said to have been a man's tomb, is not clear. The other man's tomb was chiefly interesting for its vault which had fallen in, and for its coffin with ivory inlay (f. 314). Besides there was a most remarkable helmet, being a translation into bronze of a soft Phrygian cap, two gold rings, one of which had been long in use, and the usual gold plates, over 60 in five varieties, one like that figured from the Priestess's tomb, and others which find their analogues in other Kerch tombs.

The vase with Europa found by the place of the funeral feast belonged to the last red-figured style.

The whole barrow is very remarkable, and it is a pity that a more intelligible account of its contents has never been compiled nor a plan supplied.

1 *KTR.* p. 48, f. 55 = *Cr.* 1866, frontispiece.
2 *Cr.* 1865, III. 5 on f. 318.
Aristokhoi’s Barrow.

Belonging to the following century, dated by coins of Lysimachus, we have the rich Barrow of Aristokhoi whose importance in the history of jewelry has been pointed out above (p. 404). But having regard to this importance it seems worth while to give a more systematic account of its contents. The tumulus was to the north of Sennaja, the ancient Phanagoria on the Taman peninsula, not far from the site assigned to Cepi. It was opened by Tiesenhausen and Lutsenko. In it were three important tombs.

In the east part of the barrow in Tomb I, which was in two compartments, a woman was buried alone; she possessed a gold diadem (f. 322), six necklets, four on f. 321, a chain with lion ends and a row of amulets, 3 bracelets, 3 gold ear-rings; on her left hand she wore a ring with glass mosaic (ib. i. 15), on the right one with garnet and filigree and a plain carnelian; she had also a medallion with a bust of Aphrodite and a gold pin with a tassel (ib. i. 17), also four round gold plaques; in silver she had by her a cyathus and two other vessels, a spindle and a saucer on a stand, also a bronze mirror. In the outer compartment were a pot, four saucers, three small bottles, two flutes and part of a lock.

In Tomb II (plan and section, ff. 323, 324) lay a man and a woman. In the vestibule was little but some vessels whose importance has already been discussed (p. 351).

On the man’s body were a golden wreath, a gold ring, a medallion with garnets (ii. 3 on f. 321), four silver rings and a gold stater of Paerisades. The woman by him also had a bay wreath, a necklace or frontlet, a neck-ring, a neck-chain ending in omen’s heads, two necklaces, a gold medallion, a gold pin, a pair of gold ear-rings (f. 322, iii. 5), a chalcedony ring (ib. iii. 5), and a ring with a shoe-shaped bezel in enamel; from the inscription on the ring we may call this pair Hestiaeus and Mammia (ib. iii. 7, 8), a cameo of Cupid and a butterfly (ib. iii. 9), four other rings one with an engraved garnet, three round gold plates, a coin of Lysimachus, eight silver vases including cyathi, a saucer on a stand, a box, a silver spindle, a bronze a mirror-box, a lamp and another box; also a pepale like the one from Olbia (p. 350, f. 255).

In Tomb III again there lay a man and a woman. The man wore a golden wreath with convolvulus and an iron ring, by him were a stiglas and a few clay pots. The woman also wore a convolvulus wreath, likewise a gold neck-chain, a necklace and bracelet of rock crystal, garnet, chalcedony and smalt, ear-rings with Erotes, a gold ring with Heracles, an iron finger-ring, four gold roundels, and a wrap of felt or fur. By her there were two engraved silver vessels (f. 321, iv. 8, 9), a plain round mirror box, a shell with rouge and white, and several clay vessels.

As has been remarked already, in all there is a love of garnets and stones, of vessels, of reel-knots. Specimens also of certain objects occur in more than

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1 For accounts of its excavation v. CR. 1879, p. xxiv sqq., for discussion of the contents, CR. 1880, p. 6, cf. KTR. p. 54 sqq.
2 CR. 1880, t. 2—7.
3 A good lock with two hasps, von Stern, Trans. B. Soc. xxi. p. 74, Pl. 4.
4 KTR. p. 55, f. 60 = CR. 1880, p. 19.
5 For one v. KTR. p. 56, f. 70 = CR. 1880, p. 21.
Fig. 323. Diadems from Amphipolis. Earrow, Tomb I. Gold, enameled, and cornelian. *KTB.* p. 57. f. 71 = CR. 1880, t. t.
one grave, the gold roundels in I, II and III, the plaques with Aphrodite and Eros (similar to that on p. 407, f. 295 I) in I and II, in the same two the silver boxes, spindles, and saucers on stands; plain saucers and two-handled silver vessels in II and III. The coins of Lysimachus and Paerisades point to the same time, the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 2nd. A tomb opened by Ashik on the way to the old Quarantine in 1839 must have been very similar in its contents to any tomb of this barrow.

Figs. 323, 324. CR. 1880, p. 12. Artjukhov's Barrow. Tomb II. Plan and Section.

Glinische.

As a specimen of a rich tomb of the latest period we may take that opened by Ashik at Glinische near Kerch in 1837. It is usually known as the tomb of the Queen with the Gold Mask. In a barrow he discovered a great marble sarcophagus with a cover ending in pediments. The skeleton within was that of a woman, wearing the golden mask, and wrapped in a woollen robe with a gold pattern sprinkled with gold plates (f. 325). Her gold wreath was of an ordinary late type with a centre piece of a horseman drinking from a rhyton (ib.). Her belongings shewed a strange mixture of Greek and barbarian work; the latter would appear to be her own, the other objects heirlooms. Personal to her must have been her bracelets (f. 327) in gold and garnets, her scent bottle recalling that of Novocherkassk (f. 326, v. p. 409) and the harness adorned with the Bosporan tamga & (f. 328). She wore three rings, one plain, one double and one bearing an Eros rudely engraved upon a garnet (f. 325); unluckily it does not seem possible to identify a coin found with her; it is in poor preservation. In strong contrast to this rude contemporary work are the various vessels handed down from Hellenistic times. Chief of these is the great dish in silver and niello which must have been made for one of the Diadochi, an Antigonus or an Antiochus; it can hardly have been less than four hundred years old when it was buried. On the back is an inscription with the name of King Rhescuporis, and it is usually referred.

3. ABC. 327. 3 = KTR. p. 230. f. 204.
4. ABC. LXXIV. 8.
to Rhescuporis II (III) who reigned from 211–228 A.D., but the silver cups, ewers and vase and the bronze basin and jug, also perhaps the sceptre and some of the small things, spoons, rouge pot, bronze pilaster and others must also go back long before the time of the "Gothic" jewels.

In finishing this survey of the Greek objects found in South Russia I must ask my readers' indulgence for not being sufficiently acquainted with the finds in pure Greek lands to institute instructive comparisons. I have endeavoured to put within their reach material that is not very accessible to them, and it is for the student of Greece and the Hellenized East to throw light on this material from the observation of other parts of the Hellenic world. Especially I should like to know whether there appears any substantive

1 This because in the tomb at Hadji Mushkai, v. ABC. Reinach, p. 45, containing almost identical diadems (v. p. 390. n. 7), jewelry (v. p. 408) and harness, BCA. XXXVII. p. 35. l. 15; together with old Greek heirlooms, among others apparently a 17th century aryballos, ABC. I. 8. 6, 7, were found "indications" of a coin of that king, but the form of the genitive in -o recalls later coins, v. p. 364.
difference in the ordering of the tombs in South Russia and in Hellas, whether what appears to me quite a singular richness of the former is merely due to the opulence of a commercial community or to the influence of barbarian ideas making people more anxious that the dead should have the richest and fullest provision for the future life: a minor point would be the question whether the immense number of barrows about Olbia, Panticapaeum and Phanagoria can be paralleled in Greece or Asia Minor, and if not, whether it is merely a question of soil or of influence exercised by the barrow-heaping tribes of the country. It is not for me who have never been in Greece to answer such questions, but I have supplied one term of comparison, may some one who can supply the other bring his knowledge to bear upon the matter.

1 Mr Wace tells me of such in Thessaly e.g. Larissa, and Pheneae, 'Qu. Asp. 1909, p. 27; Leake, Northern Greece, III. p. 365; Pausanias, 1907, p. 153 sqq.; JHS, XX. (1900), p. 20; Macedonia, Phthias and Pella, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool, ii. (1909), p. 159; Pergamum, Alc. Mitt. 1907, p. 231; 1908, p. 365; and then Sardis which again is not Greek.
CHAPTER XIII.

COLONIZATION AND TRADE.

The Euxine coast was the first El Dorado, the first mysterious land to draw adventurers across broad seas in search of fame and treasure. Heroes of old had won glory enough by voyages across the Aegean, but they would not have lived upon the lips of men whose wonderland had broadened with their knowledge; had not the poets set their feats ever beyond the bounds of new discoveries. Thus Jason, who but crossed from Iolcos to Lemnos, must later have sought the golden fleece by sailing εἰς Ψάους ἐνθα χαιρου ἐχάρας δρόμος; and Odysseus on his way from Troy to Ithaca must pass through the dangers recounted by sailors returned from the Euxine. Later when the Greeks had dared Italian and Sicilian seas a yet wider scene for adventure was displayed. Even Jason must return by the West, faring up the Ister and down by its other branch into the Adriatic, yet for him the great field of his achievements remained Colchis, the city Cytai—Aea with its king Aeetes and his daughter, Medea the sorceress, skilled in herbs. Now, by the nature of things, Odysseus could not be brought through the Pontus to Ithaca. The winds that blow him into the Western sea have nothing impossible about them. But in the Western sea there was room for all the marvels of the world; if the hero could not sail the Euxine, the wonders of the Euxine could be put in his course through the West. Cities of Italy or Sicily became proud that at their straits, or bays, or headlands, the hero had met adventures which nevertheless still bore every mark of Pontic scene.

A clear case is that of the Cimmerians. Their place was on the Cimmerian Bosporus, a land weird enough with its mud volcanoes and marshes to supply the groundwork for a picture of the Lower World. Yet the perpetual night in which they live, just like the long days of the Laestrygonians, points to the far North; and the general build of the poem makes us think of them as far in the West upon Ocean stream. Clearly the poet combines the details of his picture without caring that he takes them from three different quarters of the compass. Poseidonius wished to identify the Cimmerii with the Cimbri of Jutland, so would Professor Ridgeway1 and Professor Bury2, but I fear that I cannot do so (v, supra p. 40); for me the Black Sea remains the one historic place for the Cimmerii, and if they appear anywhere else they have come from the Black Sea. Dubois de Montpéreux

1 Demetrius of Scepsis ap. Strab. I. ii. 38.
2 Early Age, I. p. 396.
3 Klio VIII (1900), p. 79, adducing the splendid story in Procopius B.G. IV. 20 (II, p. 567, Bone) about the fishermen ferrying souls over to Britain, but the fishermen are not called Cimmerian and I do not see how they came in.
and K. E. von Baer\(^1\) actually make the Black Sea coast the scene of the Odyssey. The latter not only sees the harbour of the Laestrygonians in Balaklava Bay, but recognizes in a grove of poplars on the Sea of Azov, near the mouth of the Protoka, the very grove of poplars and willows by which Odysseus lands. But mere descriptions of scenery have no bearing on the question. The Laestrygonian harbour, shut in by overlapping headlands, is just the port a poet would describe as ideal without any need of Balaklava for a model. It might just as well be Dartmouth or Boscastle which lays claim to a resemblance: such a port is difficult for a sailing ship—we lost a frigate off Balaklava—and its white calm throws into relief the wildness of the inhabitants.

The attempts to set the Nekyia in Campania are very much more forced: there is nothing to play the part of Ocean stream and the etymologies proposed do not help at all. Euphorus, to whom they go back, was kind to the patriotism of Circe and other towns about, and moderns have developed his hypothesis with a perverse ingenuity.\(^6\)

Another link with the Pontus is Circe with her island Aeaea, own sister to Aeetes with his city Aea, the account of the island sounds like a stray piece of Colchis, and the lady is skilled in herbs like her niece Medea. Strabo (i. ii. 10) thinks not unreasonably that this is the ground of their relationship.

The view that Odysseus once sailed the Euxine is well stated by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf,\(^2\) who however puts the Laestrygonians on the south coast of Asia Minor, but it is clear that the further north they are the better.\(^7\)

When the Odyssey was coming into shape the Asiatic Greeks clearly knew a good deal about the Euxine, and the poet could use that knowledge to provide scenery for his poem. Even in the Iliad (xiii. 5—7) we have the Mare-milkers mentioned, that is he had some idea of the Nomad's life, but their acquaintance was not full and its mysteries were not yet fathomed.

When the mariners of the Aegean first sailed the Euxine and what men they were we cannot say: with our new knowledge of ancient sea powers we must put much further back the time of first exploration. If the pots of the Tripolje culture really point to Aegean influence, this may have been exerted by sea.

Certain spots are said to have once belonged to the Carians: Gios\(^8\), Caria and the Carians' Harbour to the south of Callatis\(^9\), Amastries\(^8\), even the country about the mouth of the Tanais\(^10\), and this may be evidence of ancient settlements of Aegean peoples or may be due to mere coincidence of names. Of the presence of Phoenicians there is no real trace (pace M. Bérand): if they did penetrate into the Euxine they were not the first to sail it. Indeed it is not quite certain that the sailing all came from the south: in the Middle Ages of Greece immigrants from Central Europe may, on striking the Euxine, have

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1. Ueber die Homerischen Lokalitaten in der Odyssee, Brunswick, 1878, the final form of an article in Rilenden und Aufsätze, Vol. III.
5. Arrian, Perisii, 24, 3, also in Mela ii. 2 and Perisii: Anonym., 102 (75).
7. Pliny, NH, vi. 29 (7). For all these see Neumann, Hellenen, p. 340; Büchner, p. 33.
taken as kindly to sea raiding as did the Goths in the third century A.D. The old familiarity with the Euxine may have almost faded away when Troy rose to power and the way thither, or when new and savage tribes occupied the dangerous coasts on each side of the strait. Certainly the beginning of the last millennium B.C. was a period of groping for more knowledge of the Euxine coast. The Asiatic Greeks knew something of it but not enough to light up every corner, and leave no room for marvels. The hero could always escape into Ocean stream which would bear him to all the wonders of the world.

As we have seen the ordinary man in Greece never advanced much beyond this stage. He always had a vague feeling that the Euxine, even though no longer called "Ageas, was dark and strange, he could never disabuse himself of the idea that the Sea of Azov joined the Caspian and the Caspian opened into the outer Ocean.

With the Milesian sailors it was otherwise. Navigation of the Euxine continued to be dangerous, but the dangers were known and the risks reckoned; sudden storms, rocky coasts, hostile tribes and pirates were to be set against the chance of carrying off valuable slaves or making a practical seizure oneself. With time enterprise became more regular, instead of carrying off slaves men bought them from those who had taken them in war, and peaceful gains became worth winning, the gold of Phasis, the fish of the great northern rivers, in time the hides of the steppes, the corn of the lowlands by the river mouths, the gold of the far interior, Transylvania or perhaps the Altai. But this commerce depended on regular relations being established, such as could only be secured by the founding of factories. Such gradually sprang up round the whole coast wherever it was convenient for Milesian ships to put in for the night, wherever a defensible rock or island commanded a safe cove or a beach upon which the ships could be easily drawn up. Between these settlements a struggle for existence would be inevitable: where suitable topographical conditions occurred in a favourable geographical situation, some spot at which land and sea roads converged, the factory would attract the produce of a wide area and flourish; when communications with the Hinterland were difficult the spot remained a mere refuge for the night, and as skill in navigation increased perhaps it faded away. It was by such a process of natural selection that the famous Greek colonies arose at the right points, and have mostly survived to the present day where physical or ethnological conditions have not been utterly changed, whereas when the later Greek statesmen did more than give a town a new name and some splendid buildings, that is when they used their wide knowledge of geography to choose a new site which should enjoy all possible advantages, the cities mostly decayed with the short-lived states of their founders.

We need not then credit the Milesians with a profound knowledge of the Hinterland of the Black Sea because the sites they chose have remained the commercial cities of the coast. The permanent settlements if not haphazard were dictated by the Comparative success of the factories, and we have clear cases of their missing points of world importance because of local disadvantages. It seems to us a strange oversight that they should have allowed the Megarians to forestall them at Chalcedon and Byzantium, and
no one has refrained from jeering at the blindness of the Chalcedonians themselves: yet the disadvantages of Byzantium on the land side, where until Roman times its fields were open to Thracian inroads, went far to excise those who preferred sites less suitable for the capital of the Eastern Mediterranean, but more favourable for an agricultural colony. Byzantium, in fact, had no value until the Milesians had called into existence a great Euxine trade: their mistake was in not appreciating what they themselves had done.

It is hard to know what meaning we can attach to the traditional dates given by Eusebius and Jerome for the foundation of the Pontic colonies. The case of Cyzicus which is given three times, B.C. 1267 (Anno Abrahæ 747), B.C. 757 and B.C. 679 is perhaps instructive: the first figure representing the mythical foundation by the Argonauts, the second the real occupation, the last some important accession of population or break with the mother city7; whereas Sinope is only put down under 631 B.C. although the Armenian version tells us that Trapezus, its daughter, was settled in 757 B.C.: Chalcedon 685 B.C., Byzantium 653 B.C., Istrus 657 B.C. and Borysthenes 647 B.C. are quite reasonable. The movement seems to have gone on about the same time as that which settled Magna Graecia and Sicily; the early date assigned to Cumae is due to confusion with Cyme in Aeolis8.

There is no reason to doubt that during the viith century the north coast of Asia Minor was studded with Milesian factories, and that during the viith century they were spread more thinly along the Scythian coast. At the same time the circumstances of the mother city, want of land, pressure from Lydia and internal quarrels encouraged citizens to settle permanently in what had been mere trading stations. Inasmuch as a considerable number of citizens was necessary to establish a community that could stand by itself, the Milesians sometimes allowed men of other states to join in the enterprise. From the viith century the finds made upon the coast and in the interior prove the existence of a great trade between the settlers and the natives, but when hard times for the Ionians set in, the market which Miletus had made passed to the Athenians, at any rate as regards pottery (v. supra, p. 339). On the other hand the Milesians seem to have set the taste of the natives in gold work so that their imitations went on recalling rather the Asia Minor style of the viith century than the more developed products of later times.

Accounts vary as to the relations between the settlers and the natives. Ephorus9 says that until they fell into luxury the Milesians were victorious over the Scythians and settled the Euxine with famous cities; but it looks as if he were merely pointing a moral. On the whole relations after the end of the piratical stage seem to have been friendly. The new comers are generally represented as renting the site of their settlement from the natives: Of course unfair dealing was always apt to bring armed reprisals and ill-defended wealth would always be a temptation, but the choice of a site and speedy fortification made the Greeks fairly safe from mere raids, and both parties gained by intercourse being on a peaceful footing: the natives valued the wares brought by the strangers, and the latter recognized that it was not wise to provoke too far customers who were the masters of the land.

1 v. Polibius, iv. xxxvii. 4-5. 2 Beloch, Gr. Gesch. i. p. 180, n. 1.
Trade then was the origin of the Greek settlements on the north coast of the Euxine and each flourished and attracted population according to the commercial advantages of its position. Chersonese is a possible exception but it was trade that kept even Chersonese alive in later times. No doubt some of the colonists carried on agriculture and had their farms near by, but the main part of them exploited commercially the broad lands of which they had seized the gates.

In his accounts of the advantages and drawbacks of the site of Byzantium Polybius (l.c.) gives us a summary of the Euxine trade. The chief exports were cattle and slaves, less important were honey, wax and dried fish, of corn he says that according to the harvests it was imported and exported: to this list we must add hides (δέρματα, v.l. θέρματα), also salt, timber, some precious stones including amber\(^1\), drugs\(^2\) and perhaps gold.

Of the slaves the greater part came from Asia Minor whose natives were peculiarly fitted for servitude; the Getae also furnished a large supply. Scythian slaves are not specially common; less adaptable than the Asiatics they would be more suitable for outdoor labour than for personal service. The best known instance of their employment is as policemen at Athens.

On the fish trade Koehler has written a whole disquisition called ΤΑΠΙΧΩΣ. He comes to the conclusion that preserved fish of every quality from jars of precious pickle, which corresponded to our caviar or anchovy, to dried lumps answering to our stockfish: sturgeon, beluga, mackerel, tunny, mullet were all sent to Greece, and later to Rome, from the mouths of the Dnephr, the straits of Kerch, the fisheries of the Sea of Azov and the mouths of the Don. Of the cattle trade we do not hear so much, but it is not surprising in view of the Nomads living all about. Herodotus (v. 10) tells of the bees beyond the Ister; honey and wax were among the chief products of mediaeval Russia.

The men of Olbia made salt at the mouth of the Dnephr and the Chersonites later gained it from the same region; near Perekop too were great salterns. This salt was marketable both among barbarians and Greeks. Sadowski has described the old salt-way\(^3\), leading up towards the Amber coast, but as the salt has left no traces the way is purely hypothetical, the coins found at Schulin may just as well have come up from the head of the Adriatic, and Herodotus tells us of no NW. trade route though he describes so fully that leading NE. Constantine Porphyrogenitus\(^4\) and Pope Martin\(^5\) tell of the exchange of salt in Cherson against the corn of Asia\(^6\). The process of salt-extraction as practised in the xvith century is described by Peyssonel\(^7\). The Crimean timber was not reckoned as good as that of the opposite coast, and of course in the steppes there was none to spare\(^8\).

These same raw materials meet us in any account of the trade at a Scythian port, e.g. Tanais exports slaves and hides, and nomadic products\(^9\).

As to gold there were many stories to attract enterprise, the gold worn by the Agathyrsi (this seems the most tangible, the Romans dug gold in

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1. Piny, N.M. XXXII. 101 (57), XXXVII. 33, 40 (11), 64 (16), 65 (17), 119 (38).
2. B. xxvii. 2 (1), 45 (28), 128 (105); Amin. Marc. xcvii. viii. 28.
4. De Adm. Imp. c. 42 (p. 185, Bonn).
8. Theophrasut, de Plantis, iv. v. 3.
Transylvania, Constantine, i.e., speaks of a "Gold Coast" between the Dniestr and Dnephr, the sacred gold of the Scythians, the gold trappings of the Massagetae and later of the Aorsi, the gold of the griffins and Arimaspis. These added to the rich finds made in tombs—no proof that the gold was abundant, or only that the royal families hoarded it for generations—had made us all believe too easily in a naturally auriferous Scythian area. Now Bértier-de-La-Garde has shown that there is no real evidence for this, but that gold flowed into Scythia from overseas to pay for exports (v. inf. p. 631).

As to the imports Polybius (I.c.) mentions wine and oil as the chief, but Strabo gives a better account when he says that Tanais received clothing and wine, and everything that belongs to civilized life. That this was just so is shown abundantly in our earlier chapters.

Products of early Greek industry penetrated the interior (Ionian pots to the Middle Dnephr, p. 339), wine, work even to Vettersfelds in Lusatia, p. 236), how far the Greeks themselves voyaged is another matter. I feel less and less inclined to doubt that there was some foundation for the circumstantial story that the Geloni were of Greek blood, and quite believe that Aristeas had wandered up into Asia to the land of the Issedones (v. p. 105 sqq.). He no doubt had heard of the gold in the Altai, and they had probably made themselves intermediaries in the fur trade between Permia and Iran, which brought into the far north so many Sassanian dishes. I can find no authority for the use of furs among the Greeks except perhaps those on the coast of the Euxine. Speck (I. p. 117) seems to think that the furs were the object of the NE. caravan route.

We have already seen (supra, p. 359) that the wine trade has left evidence of itself in the amphorae found all along the coast and even in the interior. Besides those of local manufacture we have the stamps of Rhodes and Thasos that occur in large numbers and those of Cnidos and Paros, which are comparatively rare. It is clear that the custom of affixing stamps was not universal, for we know that other wines came into the Pontus. The speech of Demosthenes against Locritus gives us an idea of the ways of Greek wine trade, especially as it preserves the agreement made between Arthemion of Phaselis, who wished to speculate in the Pontic trade, and Androcles of Athens who advanced him three thousand drachmae for the purpose. Arthemion was to sail in the twenty-oared ship commanded by Hylleus his fellow-citizen, and to take in three thousand jars of Mende wine at Mende or Scione, dispose of it on the Bosporus, or if he liked go on to Borysthenes, take in cargo from the Euxine and bring it all back to Athens on the same ship. Androcles could claim his money twenty days after the return of the ship. He was to have 22½ per cent interest if the ship left the Pontus by midsummer, 30 if she were later. This high rate gives some idea of the profits Arthemion might reasonably make, and incidentally of the risk run. As a matter of fact Arthemion did not propose to run any risks. He raised a further loan on the same security, only took in 450 jars of Mende wine, carried it over to Bosporus and there sold it and

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\[ 1 \text{ Cf. Arch. Aes.} 1911, \text{p. 236, Fassennoe Gudiniche} (Kiev); \text{p. 235, i.e. 42, Nenirs, Podolia.} \]

\[ 2 \text{ Stele of Greek yoneques (furrier), Kereb, viii cent. A.D., Trans. Od. Soc. xxxix.} \]

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\[ 3 \text{ Misailov, St. P., 1911, pp. 155—158.} \]

\[ 4 \text{ Spitsyn, "Scythian and Hallstatt," Bobinskoj} \]

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\[ 5 \text{ M.} \]
took on board eighty casks of sour Coan wine, ten or eleven pots of salt fish, a little wool, and two or three bales of goatskins: the wine and fish were for a farmer at Theodosia to give to his labourers. Lacitus, the defendant, who took the place of Artemon deceased in the meanwhile, represented that this consignment was destined for Athens, but that the ship had been wrecked between Panticapaeum and Theodosia, and all the goods lost. "As if," said the speaker, "any one ever heard of wine being brought from Pontus to Athens, whereas it is sent there from these parts, from Peparethus and Cos and Thasos and Mende." As a matter of fact the captain had met a Chian in Pontus, and had borrowed money from him under promise to bring the ship and everything it contained to Chios, strictly against the Athenian Navigation law—it was not even lawful to lend money for a voyage which should not bring corn to Athens. So now the ship was hidden in a thieves' harbour, waiting to get safely to Chios, and Lacitus was trying to avoid paying his debts because she had been wrecked off Theodosia. Whether this complicated story be true or not it cannot have been contrary to possibility and gives us a vivid idea of what the Pontus trade was like. We have the same tale of rascality in the speech against Phormion, but the documents are not supplied so it is not so instructive. Here the defendant contends that he paid certain monies to the agent of the prosecutor, but that they were lost in a shipwreck. An interesting point is that the goods exported from Athens did not always find an instant sale on the Bosporus. It is a pity that we are not told what they were. The shipwreck was caused by an extra consignment of hides on the deck.

Yet in spite of the high rate of interest charged by the moneylenders we must not imagine that the risk was as great as would appear from these private orations. Cases naturally arose out of shady transactions or unfortunate ventures and we do not hear of the normal and successful voyages. In the preliminaries there is no difficulty found in obtaining money for the Pontic trade and nobody thought much of its dangers until something went wrong.

Most interesting was the trade in corn which Polybius says that the Pontus exported or imported according to the yield of each harvest. Another important factor which varied more gradually was the degree of civilization in which at any given time the coast tribes might happen to be. When a fresh tribe had lately come to the front with a fresh reinforcement of savagery or when intertribal wars were specially disastrous, the coast strip from which the corn supply was drawn was rendered unavailable, and the limited area of land in the actual possession of the Greek states might be insufficient to supply their needs in a bad year. For a hundred years before the time of Herodotus the tribes of Scythia seem to have been in fairly stable equilibrium, and the Aroteres to the north of Olbia had, as he says (iv, 17), taken to growing wheat for export, and no doubt the same sort of thing arose in the Eastern Crimea. So the Euxine for the first time had surplus corn, and the Pissistratids found it worth while to secure this trade by their establishment at Sigeum. It was this corn which paid for the black-figured vases and archaic gold and bronze work imported into Scythia. As far as Athens was concerned the Persian wars put a stop to this exchange, but the conditions in Scythia remained the same, and when Athens again obtained access to the
Scythian markets her population was increased and her demand still more. The coming of the Sarmatians seems to have upset the equilibrium. New tribes succeeded to the half-civilized ones, and the state of things shewn by the Protogynes decree (App. 7) would not encourage agriculture in the interior of the country; so too in the Crimea the relations of Greeks and natives were interrupted; even the cornlands of the Bosporan kingdom can hardly have given so full a return as before. Accordingly the time just before Polybius was unfavourable to corn production in Scythia, whereas in other parts of the Greek world it had spread and flourished. Hence the necessity of importing corn into what used to be the granary of Greece. Mithridates again secured peace: his opponents, Scilurus and Palacus, were also almost civilized, and the area under corn in the Crimea no doubt spread. About Olbia the Genue probably prevented much progress unless Scilurus was strong enough to give efficient protection. But Crimean agriculture, although burdened with heavy taxation, could provide in kind 180,000 medium of corn as tribute and 300 talents in silver, the result of prosperous trading.

The Greek tombs dating from the early centuries of our era shew a fair prosperity all along the Scythian coast; even in a little town like Gorgippia the guild of shipowners could, under royal patronage, set up a temple and statues to Poseidon; but with the approach of fresh tribes things again changed for the worse. We know most of Chersonese, once an agricultural state, self-sufficient but not apparently exporting much; with the loss of territory on the main peninsula and the impoverishment of its own stony soil it became absolutely dependent for all the necessities of life upon supplies drawn from the opposite coast; for these it paid with salt and the products of trade with the interior—a state of things just the reverse of what had been.

Little evidence is left that the Euxine coast traded with the far interior; amber mostly came to the Adriatic; Greek and Roman things may have reached Siberia through Iran; perhaps some of the China trade, interrupted in south-western Asia and travelling by the Oxus from which even if there were no direct water communication it could easily get to the Caspian, debouched at Tamais, though the more usual way was across the Transcaucasian isthmus to Dioscurias or Phasis. This was the trade on which Genoese Caffa and Venetian Tana flourished in the Middle Ages: they relied on very precious goods which could stand the very expensive land transit, not on the bulky raw materials that Bosporus and Olbia had exported: the slave trade was common to both periods; but the Genoese had sometimes to send provisions to Caffa because the Tartars were not yet agricultural, or at any rate were not disposed to sell their corn to strangers with whom they were not on the best of terms. In the xviiith century the Crimea exported some sixty shiploads of barley a year to Constantinople. Though on a smaller scale, the trade described by Peyssonel is essentially similar to that of ancient times. The same would be true of modern times but for the influence of protected

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1 For details of the Bosporan corn trade, v. infra, p. 374. L. Gernet, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Lettres de Paris, XXV. (1909), p. 269, esp. 315—316. "L’Approvisionnement d’Athènes en Blé au V et IVe siècles," minimizes the importance of the Pontic corn trade, but Dr Grundy, Thucydides and the History of his Age, London, 1911, pp. 74 sqq., 159 sqq., shows that it was vital not only to Athens but to almost all states of Hellas: Pericles tried to make a corner in it and thereby exercise influence over cities Athens could not reach by arms, this was what they found most intolerable, p. 187.

* App. 31 = B.C.L. XXXVII. p. 38, No. 2.


56—2
Colonization and Trade

industries which lessen the import of manufactured articles. Also the export of wheat is drawn from a larger area instead of a narrow fringe along the Dniepr and Buh, upon which Olbia had to draw; in 1903 Odessa sent out 2,200,000 tons of grain (in 1908 only 655,000), coming from the governments of Bessarabia, Kherson and Ekaternoslav besides what went from Nicolaev and Kherson; the central provinces feed Russia itself, the south-eastern use Taganrog—this had no counterpart in ancient times, as there was no agriculture so far east and Strabo does not give corn as an export of Tanais.

Intercourse with other Mediterranean countries besides Greece and Asia Minor does not seem to have been frequent. In early days we have engraved gems from Western Asia; from the 1st century B.C. we find Italian pots and bronzes with glazed pots, beads and charms from Egypt and Phoenician glass. The epitaphs of foreigners dying in Scythia and the foreign coins which have strayed there all tend to show that the opposite coast was the land with which the people had most to do; other communications were merely fortuitous. Coins of the Scythian coast hardly occur outside their own region: men of the Euxine, though they did travel for business or pleasure or instruction, and in particular journeyed to Rome on state affairs, have not left many traces of their presence in foreign lands; one or two epitaphs, some dedications made by Bosporan kings and some names in lists of Delphic proclamations, make up the number. The dislocated grammar of the later inscriptions at Olbia and on the Bosporus, the pedantic adherence to Dorism of the Chersonesites, suggest that there was not much going to and fro. It was their place in the scheme of things to stay at home and export corn to feed the great centres of civilization or later to defend them against roving barbarians.

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Trade.

CHAPTER XIV.

TYRAS.

North of the Danube the first Greek colony was Tyras. It has already been shown (p. 14) that Tyras was at Akkerman, on the right side of the Dniestr liman, about ten miles from its mouth, and that the statements of Strabo (vii. iii. 16) agree thereto. Ptolemy (iii. x. 8) is troubled by conflicting data, the other authorities are perfectly vague. Some confusion was caused by the existence of a second name for the city: Ophiussa. This was probably the real name superseded by that derived from the river and current in the mouths of strangers. Herodotus (iv. 51) mentions the Tyrtae, but not the city, yet it was probably founded about the same time as Istris and Olbia, in the middle of the viith century B.C. Its position at the mouth of a great river corresponds to that of the other Milesian colonies. But it never seems to have attained any distinction. It is mentioned rather as a geographical point than as a political entity. It must have had a certain amount of trade; what inscriptions we have deal with trade rather than politics, but that is all. Under certain conditions its position might have strategical importance, but those conditions were not present in ancient or in modern times; formerly it was overshadowed by Olbia, now by Odessa. The Romans may have had some regard for it during the period when it was under their sway, while Olbia still maintained a precarious independence. For that interval it was the last outpost of the power holding the upper Balkan peninsula. This was again its position in its time of greatness in the later Middle Ages, when there

1. Ps.-Scylax, 68; Ps.-Scymnus, 1. 803; Steph. Byz. s.v.; Anon. Peripl.; § 68 (62); Mela. ii. 1. 7; Pliny, NH. iv. 82 (26); Amm. Marc. XXII, viii. 41 derives Tyras from Tyros and talks of Phoenicians.
was no Olbia, and it was on the north-eastern frontier of Moldavia, fortified to resist Russians and nomads alike. At that time it was the great port and fortress of the north-western Euxine, and its buildings were worthy of its greatness. It is still one of the most complete of mediaeval fortresses with its keep, inner and outer bailey standing deserted but intact, and now transferred to the care of the Odessa Archaeological Society. It remains a monument to Genoese, Wallachs and Turks, who strengthened it in turn. The present name due to the latter means White Fortress, in old Russian Belgorod; the Genoese called it Moncastro. General Bertier-de-La-Garde says that it never was Genoese, that the inner and outer baileys were built by Moldavians under Greek direction, and the keep constructed by the Turks when they took the place in 1484.

This great fortress has been the destruction of the Greek town, most of whose site it must cover. In von Stern's excavations Greek potsherds were found mixed up with Chinese porcelain and Venetian glass in a way which showed that the area had been dug over again and again. Hence the two most important Tyras inscriptions were found far from the town at Korotnae and Chobruchi, sixty and seventy miles up the river; and this led to doubt as to the true site of the city.

The earlier of these is the end of a decree conferring public honours on one Coccelus, who had approached the Emperor on behalf of the town. It is "sealed" by the Chief Archon (πρῶτος ἀρχόν), four others, the proposer (εἰσηγητής) and the leading citizens, passed by the Senate and People, executed and enrolled by the Secretary in the third consulship of Commodus and that of Antistius Burrus (181 A.D.), year 125 by the Era of Tyras, giving 56 A.D. as the starting-point for the latter. The later inscription gives a letter from Ovinus Tertullus, legate of Lower Moesia, covering a letter to him from the Emperors Severus and Caracalla and another to Heraclitus, probably the procurator of the province. The tenor of the correspondence is that the citizens of Tyras have confirmed to them an immunity from customs of which they could not prove the origin, but which was supported by letters of M. Aurelius and Antonius Hiberus, a predecessor of Tertullus. But before future citizens whom they may elect can enjoy the privilege their names must be submitted to the legate; that is a distinct encroachment on the freedom of the city. The inscription is dated in the consulship of Mucianus and Fabianus (A.D. 201), in the 145th year of the Era of Tyras, in the archonship of P. Aelius Calpurnius. A very fragmentary inscription mentions freights, and stamps, and bankers (?), so it also deals with trade. Fragments of dedications we have, one in Latin for the preservation of Septimus Severus, Caracalla and Geta (his name erased as usual), and one giving the name of Priscus the archon. Another, ...ς Κρατίνου Σαράπιδος, Μενίδη, ... θεώς σωρ(ν)δος χαρίστηρων, find or 1st century B.C., is the only inscription

1 My sketch is very unsatisfactory but it is all that I had space to make, and I have never been able to obtain a photograph of the fortress as seen from the river. There are some poor views in Utarov, "Recherches," Pl. XXXII. to XXXV.
2 App. 3 = "Isth.E. IV. 2.
3 App. 4 = "Isth.E. IV. 3.
that witnesses to the cults of Tyras. If only we had a faithful copy of it, another fragment, ΜΕΣΥΤΗΕΩΣ ΗΙΑΩΗΙΣ, might be of interest as it apparently belongs to an early stage in the development of the alphabet almost unrepresented to the north of the Euxine.

Such with the coins is the sum of our materials for the history of Tyras: the lost work of Poseidonius the Olbiopolite (v. p. 465) would have been welcome. Founded presumably in the sixth century B.C., it was a colony of Miletus, as Scyllus (l. 803) tells us, and the names of the months Artemision and Leneon agree. It has been suggested that Pericles on his expedition to the Pontus in 444 B.C. made Tyras a member of the confederacy of Delos. Some town beginning with Τ paid a talent after 424 B.C., but there is not evidence enough to justify a restoration (cf. p. 561).

The city probably flourished until the coming of the Sarmatians, when it must have shared the harassments to which Olbia was exposed, falling under the power of native kings (v. p. 119). With Olbia on one side and the towns to the south on the other, it probably submitted to Mithridates (cf. the coin, pl. i, 5), whose commander Neoptolemus may have founded Turris Neoptolemi at the mouth of the river. Like Olbia, no doubt it suffered from the Getae about 50 B.C., for Dio Chrysostom says they took all the Greek cities on the left of the Pontus as far as Apollonia. During all this period it owed its existence to fishing in the liman, to corn growing on the lowlands by the river and to cattle raising on the steppes; perhaps also to viticulture such as now produces the excellent Bessarabian wine. Accordingly the most common head upon the autonomous coins is that of Demeter (Pl. i. 1—4), crowned with ears of corn, with a bull or a horse on the reverse. Other deities are Apollo (8—10) with a lyre, Athena (11) helmed with the bull, a river god with a fish (13, 14), Dionysus with cornucopia and a bunch of grapes (5—7), Asclepius with the snake upon an altar (12), and Hermes with his petasus and caduceus (Burachikov x. 25).

After the destruction by the Getae we cannot say what came to Tyras. It is tempting to think that it lay waste until 56 A.D., the year of its new era, and that then Ti. Plautius Silvanus, legate of Moesia, who later (about 62) extended his province and made Roman influence reach beyond the Borysthenes, raised the city from its ashes as a frontier defence to Moesia.

The retention of its old kalendari argues autonomy. Mommsen quotes many examples of town eras dating back to the year in which a city came definitely under the Roman suzerainty and was at once granted autonomy. But there is a coin ascribed to Augustus (No. 15), and if the ascription be right the town must have been under Roman sway long before. Yet the account of Tomi given by Ovid would make us think that Tyras must have been untenable during the first decades of our era.

In any case we find the town under Roman protection, governed by its

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1. J. P. E. 1, 71; after L. Waxel, Recueil d'Antiquités, No. 6.
2. L. A. T. 1, 2, 3 and "Kalendare" in Burachikov, p. 37.
4. Or. xxxvi. p. 49.
6. R. Siederscheid, "z. 1. p. 207."
five archons, a senate and a popular assembly. Probably its constitution was much like that of Olbia. From the time of Domitian we have a regular series of Roman coins (Pl. i. 16—27) as far as Alexander Severus (d. 235). It can hardly be a coincidence that in his reign the Goths drew near to the Danube, which they crossed in 238 A.D., and began to cut short the coasts of the Roman Empire. The Tyrani enjoyed the confirmation of their free port not much more than thirty years. Zosimus (i. xlix. 1) expressly names their river as the base of a Gothic raid under Gallienus.

COINS. PLATE I.

Tyras did not begin to coin until the latter part of the 11th century B.C., the earliest coin known seems to be No. 1 (86 grm. = 5₃₇ grm. Aeginetic drachma. H.N.² p. 273), later silver coins are lighter, No. 2 weighs 80 grm. = 5₃₂ grm., and the didrachm, always rudely restruck, 144 grm. = 9’3 grm.

A. Head of Demeter r., wreath in hair. | Horse-protome r. TYPE.
   Gdrb, K.I.B., No. 3. B. x. 27; Orshinkov, Cat. Uvarov, No. 1.

Later it even essayed a gold issue, a stater on the Lysimachean pattern.

N. 1753 grm. = 8’4 grm. Head of deified Alexander, somewhat degraded r.

Pallas Nixe of Throned l. with spear and shield.

Fig. 326 No. 2. British Museum, unpublished, cf. H.N.² p. 275. My special thanks are due to Mr G. F. Hill who showed me the coin, discussed its date and gave me leave to publish it.

The southern neighbours of Tyras did the same and their issues fall into two groups according as the head on the obverse still remains that of Alexander, idealized or degraded, or has been assimilated to the features of Mithridates or Pharnaces¹; this coin belongs to the ideal group; it may be put down to the late 11th or the 12th century B.C.

Most Tyras types are here represented as the series at Odessa is specially rich, but it lacks two coins recalling types of native princes

A. Head of Hermes in petasus r. | Caduceus. TYPE.
   B. x. 25. H.N.¹ p. 234. cf. Pl. ili. 23. KAY, 24

Schulz, Pick xiii. 11 Saria, and inf. p. 487.

A. Head of Demeter under kerchief r. | Fish (?) vertical between two wheat-stalks making a square with ground line. TYPE.

Hermitage, B. x. 23 (after von Grimm No. 2); Pick, xii. 16, cf. Pl. ili. 20, Canites.

The general question of native kings and their coins touches Olbia more nearly than Tyras (v. p. 487, Pl. iii. 20—27). Dionysus and the spread eagle (No. 6) looks Mithridatic (cf. Pl. vi. 8, 9, ix. 16, 17, 23). Of the imperial copper specimens enough are given to represent each Emperor

¹ Pick, op. cit. pp. 64 n. 2, 91, 154, 179, Revling, ib. pp. 591, 606; to the first group belong No. 255, Callatis; Nos. 247—2473. Pl. vi. 6; Tomi; to the latter, Nos. 256—266; Callatis; No. 482, Pl. ii. 27. Istria; Nos. 2474—2486, Pl. xxxi. 6; Tomi; cf. Pantellapaean stater on this model int. p. 383, Pl. vi. 19–21. The coins are distinguished by letters under the throne: KAL, 1Σ, TO.
whose coins are known, the series extending from Domitian to Alexander Severus, and to show that the types are thoroughly imperial. The coin assigned to Augustus (No. 15) might very well belong to some other town; Pick does not seem to recognize it. Of the coins put down to Trajan by Jurgiewicz, J. 39 seems to be a poor specimen of No. 17, Hadrian; J. 40 one of the later ones with Heracles reverse.

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— "Tura (Tyras)—Belgorod-Akkerman and its stone Inscription of 1454." ib. XXIII. p. 79.

— "On the State of the Fortress of Akkerman." ib. XXl. Minutes, p. 3.


Also short articles on various details in Trans. Od. Soc.

Plan of OLBIA

AB. Hare's Ravine.
BC. DE. Cross Ravines.
ABC. Extent of earlier town.
ADE. Extent of Acropolis and of Roman town.

VIII, BC. Line dividing Ct. Musin-Pushkin's land from the common of Parusino.

D. Here six layers of remains going back to VI—VII cent. B.C.

E. Quay, Spring and Prytaneum (?); north of it River-wall and Tower, (Arch. Anc. 1910, p. 227; 1911, p. 212.)

I—VI, VII, VIII, XI, XVIII. Hellenistic and Roman Cemeteries.

VIII. Most ancient graves of VII—VI cent. B.C.

IX. Great Barrow with vault (v. p. 420); beneath it (1922–3), Hellenistic House; below all Polygonal wall (B.C. A. XIII.)

X. Corner of Roman City Wall; CR. 1902, p. 25

XI. Barrow of Heureusibos (1900), v. p. 417 sqq., ff. 308, 309.

XII, XIII. Hellenistic Buildings: between them ancient gate and paved way (1907–8); B.C. A. XXXIII. p. 105, f. 2.

XIV. Ancient Town-walls and Roman Tower; CR. 1904, Pl. 1.

XV, XVI. Town-walls and place of gate; CR. 1905, Pl. 1.

XVII. Traces of Town-walls; CR. 1904, p. 3.

XIX, XX. Graves of vih and rvyth cent. B.C. More such north of the boundary.

XXI. Large building on the Acropolis, perhaps a Temple.
CHAPTER XV.

OLBIA.

In the following sketch of Olbia its history and constitution I have been well content to follow Latyshev's "Olbia," of which von Stern says that it is the best of modern books dealing with our region. Therefore I have not given references every time I am indebted to him, but have rather indicated the few cases in which I have presumed to differ. I have accordingly paid less attention to older writers whose views were strangely fanciful, founded upon few inscriptions and very subjective judgements of coins. These vagaries have led our author to undervalue the style of coins as an evidence of date, and in the question of Scythian kings I have preferred to be guided by an experienced numismatist, A. V. Oréshnikov. New inscriptions found since the publication of Latyshev's work have thrown comparatively little fresh light on the history and constitution of Olbia, epigraphic material has been more important on the other sites, but it has added to our knowledge of the cults of Olbia even since the appearance of Miss G. M. Hirst's excellent papers. It is especially upon the purely archaeological side that most progress has been made, and our ideas of the first stages of the city's existence are decidedly more definite.

Olbia is the clearest example of a Milesian colony which seems to have come into being gradually, having developed out of a trading factory.

Berezan.

At least there is a presumption that the early Greek settlement on the island Berezan was the factory surviving on its original site down to the 4th century. Not that anything has been found there that can be definitely placed before the earliest finds on the mainland, for on both sites Ionian pottery (v. supra, p. 338), archaic terra-cottas and examples of the early Olbian aes grave have occurred. Nor indeed are we quite justified in calling Berezan an island, there is every probability that when first settled by the Greeks it was

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1 "Olbio or Olbia was the name the inhabitants gave to their city. They called themselves Obiopolitae (Latyshev, Olbia, p. 33). Foreigners spoke of them as Borysthenes, a name that they themselves kept for the natives dwelling along the river Borysthenes. This river-name was applied to the whole region and by strangers to the city, which is called by Herodotus Οβιοπολιται, Ιστορίες p. 10. They themselves in a decree (App. 5, Inst. P.E. 1. 14, early 4th cent. B.C.) apparently erected at the entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus and directly concerning strangers and foreign currency in Olbia begin. "These are the conditions of safe entrance [Eis Βασιλείαν] which Latyshev says must mean the town, but it might well apply to the whole region—to the port of Borysthenes in the wider sense.

Pliny, NH. IV. 82 (26) gives the forms Obiopolis and Miletopolis which occur nowhere else (for the real Miletopolis near Cyzicus v. Hasluck, Cyzicus, p. 74), the former must have existed to account for Obiopolitae; of the latter we can say nothing. In Anon. Periplux (86 (60)) we find 'Olbia Radiia' but this is mere dittography, OABIA CABIAn.

2 Except perhaps a Geometric pot, Arch. Amer. 1916, p. 237, L. 27.
joined to the mainland: geologically it is a piece of the South Russian steppe with cliffs all round and only one or two inconvenient landing places: it is about 1000 yards by 350 (900 x 320 m.), and some mile and a half (2 1/2 km.) from the land: the sea in between is mostly only three feet deep and nowhere more than six: the island lost 25 yards (25 m.) in breadth in the last century and antiquities have been dredged up from the sea between it and the land, so the question merely seems one of the time when the separation took place. Strabo is the first to mention it as an island but says it had a harbour, which is certainly not the case now: he clearly distinguishes it from Leuce and so does Ptolemy, who calls it Boryshenens though he gives it a wrong position: but later writers hopelessly confuse the two. The suggestion of Papadimitriu that the settlement upon it was the ἐντορίου τῶν Βοροθεσίων of Herodotus (iv. 17), which ought to be right on the coast, would be attractive if it could be reconciled with the archaeological evidence, but von Stern will have it that continuous occupation ceased in the first decades of the 8th century B.C., and the natural inference is that shortly before this the site had become detached from the mainland and consequently was no longer a convenient place for trading or living, so that it was finally deserted even by the fishing population.—perhaps the name survived for Herodotus as the traditional centre of the Scythian coast.

The early remains on Berezan fall into two classes, the necropolis and burial pits (supra, p. 415) and the houses: in both we can distinguish two periods, the first comprising the end of the 8th and the first half of the 7th centuries B.C., the second the latter part of the 8th and the first decade or so of the 7th. We have many house walls of both periods, the former distinguished by being set upon virgin soil or upon a specially prepared foundation of clay and ashes in layers, such as we also find at Olbia, the latter being built upon made ground, even over older refuse pits, but naturally more perfect; we have for instance the plan of a one-roomed dwelling with a verandah, and another with two rooms, has walls standing 9 ft. 6 in. high, with door and window complete. The earlier houses are built of larger stones than the later, and in connection with them we have the round foundations or θόλοι (?). One or two pits von Stern puts at the beginning of the early period as being pit-houses such as the first settlers occupied temporarily, robbing them with sails. In both settlements we find rubbish-pits about 5 ft. deep widening as they go down, store-pits with wider entrances and steps down to them and burial-pits close to or in the houses, as well as in the necropolis, and wells, round in the older, square in the newer


3 ib. p. 89, Plan B.

4 CR. 1906, p. 54, l. 64.
period. Further points of distinction are that arrow-heads are mostly flat (four-sided, v. p. 190, f. 82) in the older, triangular in the newer stratum, and most important of all the presence of Milesian and other Ionian pottery in the older layer and of Attic down to the “severe” style in the later (v. p. 338). These enable the various strata to be dated so confidently. There is a period before fish-coins or triangular arrow-heads and with very few black-figured Attic sherds\(^1\). The occurrence of the coins when they appear is interesting: the fish, scattered, in lumps or held in the hand of the dead, among them two of a new flat-fish type, begin in what is still the first period; the ac sc grave, archaic Medusa and Pallas, only comes in the later and with it occasionally smaller pieces of the same type (v. Pl. ii.).

From early in the 5th century Berezan has ceased to be a place of permanent habitation. In spite of considerable excavations hardly anything of later date has been found upon it, a few amphora necks, a few Roman lamps, a piece of glass of the 11th century B.C. and several inscriptions to Achilles Pontarches (e.g. App. 13), but other such were found at Bejkush on the coast opposite, as well as at Olbia: there can hardly have been three temples to him, though if there were one on Berezan it would help the confusion with Leuce in the later authors and might be regarded as the oldest shrine of the community, unless indeed it was a mere substitute for the temple on Leuce of which the Olbiopolitans may have lost the patronage after the 11th century B.C. In more recent times we have to note but a Swedish Runic inscription to the memory of a Variag\(^2\), a few Cossack pipes, the Turkish fortifications and the monument to a French lieutenant dating from the Crimean War.

But the island or peninsula is a priori the point on which foreign traders who were not sure of their ground would fix: whereas the inconvenience of the site once they had established satisfactory relations with the natives would soon lead them to open an agency on the mainland and this would gradually supersede the first site, especially if its harbour was spoilt and its communication with the land cut off.

**Olbia. Site and Excavations.**

The site of Olbia itself is perfectly clear. The city stood on the right bank of the Bugh liman, there about three miles broad, at a point about a mile south of the village of Parutino. About four miles below the city the liman opens into that of the Dnêpr or rather into a common estuary some nine miles across. If we follow this common estuary eastwards about nine miles from the mouth of the Bugh it is narrowed by a sharp promontory Cape Stanislav, and beyond begins the Dnêpr liman proper. This Cape Stanislav must be the Cape of Hippolous mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 33) and Dio as running out between the Hypanis and Borysthenes rivers. From the mouth of the Bugh to the narrow entrance by Ochakov is about twenty miles (32 km.), but as was said before the wide estuaries with shifting channels make it hard to give exact distances from point to point in any less summary way than measuring them upon the map (v. supra, p. 15).

Upon the Cape of Hippolous Herodotus says there was a temple of

\(^1\) *Trans. Od. Soc. XXIX. Minutes*, p. 88.

\(^2\) *BCA. XXIII*. p. 66.
Demeter, V.I. Mpyroc, and Bruun thought that he had found its site a mile to the north of the actual headland, but no certain remains have been investigated. At other points in the environs (e.g. Hadzhi Gole, Kislyakovka and Kotseruba and at Bekkush on the Berezan Liman) coins and traces of habitation have been reported but no such site has been thoroughly explored; at Nicolaevka a little below Berislav on the Dnepr was a town of Roman date.

The ground covered by the city itself is triangular in shape, the apex pointing to the south. On the west side is a considerable ravine (Hare's Dell, Zajachia Balka, BDA, on the plan). To the east was the Bugh Liman. The northern boundary varied according to the prosperity of the city.

The triangle $ADE$ always remained populated. In Greek times it may have formed an acropolis, but only one of its surrounding walls (at XIV on f. 331) can be certainly referred to an early date; in Roman times it contained the whole city and was duly fortified with massive walls (XIV, XV, XVII), in places reaching the enormous thickness of 13 ft. 3 in. (4.70 m.); at XIV they were strengthened by a great tower, 82 x 33 ft. (25 x 10 m.), in the 19th or 20th century A.D.; near XVI was a gate of which nothing is left. The work of the three periods: good masonry with a face of massive headers and stretchers having been repaired with poorer work and again patched up very roughly.

In Greek times the city stretched as far as the line $BC$. Along the Hare's Dell north of $D$ so far no walls have been found, but to the north of $E$ are foundations of a piece of river-wall with a tower and along the south side of the ravine $BC$ the early settlers seem to have dug a trench which no doubt had a palisade on its inside. Later on a splendid wall was built on the very edge of the ravine north of the trench and the latter was filled up and its site built over. This wall has lost all its facing and almost all its material but has been traced by its foundations 16 ft. (5 m.) thick, built in layers of clay and charcoal with headers alternately, a combination which hardens into rock-like consistency. Such foundations were found in the oldest deposits of Berezan and continued in use in Hellenistic Olbia, inasmuch as its natural soil the loess is very friable. For this technique Pharmacovskij quotes the accounts of charcoal under the foundations of the temple at Ephesus. Between XII and XIII were the traces of an early tower and the remains of another with great facing stones: between them was the site of the main gates and a patch of pavement. Cut into the foundations of one tower was a tomb with Attic pots of the 11th century B.C. showing that the tower must be yet older. In its position the tomb is just comparable to that in the wall at Chersonese (v. infra, p. 499). Another interesting thing about it is that it is covered with a true vault. Here then were the walls and towers that Protogenes repaired (v. infra, p. 461) and of which Dio Chrysostom saw the remains far out in the country. The upper part of the walls was of sun-dried brick and nearly all the solid material went to build the Roman Olbia, and so they lay hid till quite lately.

2 BCA. XXXIV. Suppl. p. 123.
3 Cr. 1904, pp. 11, 12, 67, 7, 9, Pl. 1 (plan of Tower XIV); Arch. Ann. 1905, p. 63; 1926, p. 118; 1907, p. 146; Hermes (Russians), 1905, p. 194.
5 Diog. Laer. 11. ix. 19; Pliny, NH. xxxvi. 95(21).
6 Pharmacovskij has only given a general account of the trench and walls found in 1907 in Hermes, 1907, pp. 45-49, 68-70; Cr. 1907, p. 7 591; Arch. Ann. 1908, p. 181; 1909, p. 102; plan, BCA. XXXIII, p. 195. In the trench was a terra-cotta mould for a woman's face perhaps taken from a work of Calamis, BCA. xli, pp. 121-129.
Near E is a spring and a considerable space of low ground suitable for beaching ancient ships: under water are the remains of a mole: round about most of the coins are picked up and this was presumably the site of the commercial district. Here two streets met, one along the back of the river-wall, the other running inland. Six layers of debris have been distinguished: the sixth or lowest only goes back to the 17th century B.C. and stands in marshy soil. To the fifth layer belong buildings round a peristyle court (p. 457): on the analogy of the Prytaneum at Priene Pharmacovskij has suggested that they served the same purpose, but he prefers to speak of them as a house: the big supporting wall to the south might be the boundary of the Ecclesiasterion.

The city was thickly inhabited right up to the Greek wall. Excavations on the spots marked ix, xii and xiii shewed foundations of Hellenistic buildings and under those at ix (p. 456) Pharmacovskij unearthed a wall of polygonal masonry that he refers to the archaic period. In Roman times on this very spot was reared a great barrow (v. p. 426), proof positive that by then this area was without the city boundary. At that time it seems to have been waste land.

Some idea of the changes the city's area underwent may be gleaned from the positions of the burying places of different ages. It is remarkable that the older the graves the farther they are from the town. This points to the greatest period of the town having been in the viith and viith centuries B.C. when people went as far afield as viii to bury and even across to the next ravine parallel to Hare's Dell. Less remote are the graves of the viith and viith centuries about xix and xx and to the north on the site of Parutilo. Still closer in were the Hellenistic graves i—vi, vii, and xviii, whereas Roman interments trespassed on the Hellenistic city. The time of greatest expansion in Olbia would accordingly coincide with the time of close and often very friendly relations with the Scythic power to which Herodotus and the spoils of Scythic graves with their strong Ionian influence alike bear witness. This supposes an extremely rapid growth at the very first, which is just what we do see in successful colonies. Uvarov was not wrong in the main, B.C. really was the line of the old walls although the towers that he found along it have proved to be but barrows ix and xi with retaining walls of masonry. The many other barrows all about have given the place its name of the Hundred Barrows.

The advantages of the site do not seem very obvious; the chief attraction seems to have been the low-lying space of shore upon which ships could be drawn up, commanded as it was by higher ground itself defended by the ravine on the further side. Probably too the channel of the Bugh was in ancient times favourable to Olbia: of the alternative sites which suggest themselves, Nikolaev was too far up country, Kherson channel has never been good and there must have been some special reason against Ochakov, which when in hostile hands was undoubtedly a thorn in the side of Olbia. Dio Chrysostom says that in his time it belonged to the queen of the Sauromatae. Be this as it may it was Olbia that the Milesians chose as the point which could control the trade routes of the Hypanis and Borysthenes and become the chief emporium of the North Western Euxine.
Until this century the site of Olbia, though ascertained in the time of Pallas, has not been fortunate archaeologically. The northern necropolis was part of the communal property of the village of Parutino, and was exposed to every kind of predatory digging. To the south of the line viii BC the main area belongs to Count Musin-Pushkin whose predecessors refused to allow scientific digging while taking insufficient steps to prevent the raids of the Parutino peasants. Hence the bulk of the inscriptions and objects discovered have lost half their value through their exact place of finding not being known. Even the occasional attempts of archaeologists were unsystematic and ill recorded. But a new era opened with the advent of Mr Pharmacovskij in 1901 and the conclusion of an agreement between the Archaeological Commission and the owners of the soil. The opening up of the walls described above gives us the position of the acropolis and the limits of the Roman town. In the middle of the triangle have been found the remains of a considerable building apparently a temple, and further work may tell us where were the temples of Zeus Olbios and the chapel of Achilles Pontarchel. Several inscriptions found to the north of the inner walls indicate the probable position of the temple of Apollo Prostates.

The point whose exploration has been of most interest is that marked ix. This was rendered conspicuous by the great barrow with its chamber and plinth of masonry described above. Below three layers which had to do with the barrow and so were dated in the 11th century A.D., Pharmacovskij found four others. The lowest is only represented by a fragment of polygonal masonry referred to the archaic period. The two layers above this were Hellenistic but the buildings in them were too fragmentary to tell us much except that they were dwelling houses.

From the fourth layer, though much disturbed by the heaping up of the barrow, still could be made out the plan of a Hellenistic house. A comparison of its arrangements with those of other Greek houses shows that it comes between the earlier houses at Priene of the 11th century B.C. and that described by Vitruvius which seems to lead on to the Delian type of the 1st century B.C. It is specially close to that called by Vitruvius (vii. 7 (10)) Rhodian. This as well as the details of style point to the middle of the 11th century B.C.

The house consisted of two systems of chambers each surrounding its court. Of one not very much is left but of the other a most attractive restoration has been made. It is just the moment in evolution of the Greek house before the peristyle becomes the same on all four sides. In our example whereas three sides of the square have each four ordinary Ionic columns, making five spaces, the west has a façade of two stories; the upper is Corinthian having antae with two columns between, while below are two Ionic columns flanked by antae forming what Vitruvius calls the prostatas, and again antae at the corners of the court. The court was paved with cobbles, the centre having a square panel of primitive mosaic made of unshaped pebbles. The design consisted of a circle whose content has perished inscribed in a square, the spandrels being filled with palmettes, the frame outside has a frieze

1 BCA. XIII. Pl. IV. and pp. 98-110.
of animals arranged in pairs each looking towards a palmette, on each side two winged lions, a lion and a boar and two panthers. The outermost member of the frame is a wave-pattern, broken in the middle of the north and south sides by paths leading out of the centre across the plain pavement to the colonnade. East of the court was a long chamber with a fine view over the Bugh, perhaps a spring and autumn dining room. To the south were large spaces which have not been fully explored owing to the desirability of leaving some part of the barrow untouched. One of them, however, yielded the three precious heads of Asclepius, Hygieia (p. 292, l. 208) and Eros (?). Beyond the north wall of the court was apparently a blank wall.

The entrance was from the N. An alley ended in a vestibule which led by a narrow passage into the north walk of the peristyle. The narrowing of the passage gave space for a porter's niche between the corner pier and the north anta of the proestas or east face of the house which made the west side of the court. This proestas led into two considerable rooms which with those above them made the chief part of this division of the house. These reception rooms were plastered and painted in the first Pompeian style to imitate marble panelling. To the south were three rooms of one story only; one of them, which came at the NW. corner of the court, had a great cistern beneath it, fed from the converging roofs of the whole complex of buildings. Further to the west was a store room with seven great pithoi.

The orientation of the house is interesting. In Greece the proestas would have looked south as Vitruvius recommends. But in Olbia that would have made it unbearably hot in summer without there being much gain of warmth in winter. A western aspect is exposed to bad winds off the steppe whereas the breezes from the Bugh are pleasant. Hence the eastern aspect of the proestas. Vitruvius mentions that special arrangements were necessary in the Pontus. What appliances they had for artificial heat does not appear. The winter snow determined the steep pitch of the roof, about 20°, as we know from a ridge tile.1

This house was built upon banded foundations of clay and ashes carried right down to virgin earth; hence its erection meant great disturbance of all lower layers. The duration of its existence, about a century, is marked by the lettering of the astynomous stamps on its tiles. It perished by fire towards 50 B.C.; evidently it succumbed to the Getic storm.

The heap-up of the barrow again disturbed the soil, hence in its mass and in the layers below it are found pottery fragments of all possible periods, beginning with Ionian, through black- and red-figured Attic of various styles to Hellenistic and Roman products, also terra-cottas of corresponding dates. This confusion makes it hard to place particular strata but gives us the right to infer that the site was continuously inhabited from the viith century B.C.2

The house at Z, the prytaneum (?), is a little later in date, the peristyle, an irregular oblong with five and four columns a side, being without a proestas; in the middle was an altar once surmounted by a tripod. The entrance was through a vestibule from the street behind the river-wall and into this the peristyle drained. Between the street and the court was a handsome room

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partly paved with pebble-mosaic like the former in technique, but with simpler patterns—wave, maeander and guilloche; on it was another little altar and terra-cottas of Cybele and a priestess. Destroyed in the Getan sack this house was patched up immediately and again burnt.

**History.**

The date assigned by Eusebius to the foundation of Olbia (Ol. 33. 2, B.C. 647–6) thus quite agrees with the archaeological evidence. But regard being had to what has been said above about the gradual growth of the factory definite dates are clearly out of place (v. supra, p. 453).

The history of Olbia is divided into two parts at the destruction of the city by the Getae in the middle of the 1st century B.C. During the first part it is that of a typical Greek town, at first prosperous, later on hard pressed by the surrounding tribes, probably more or less tributary to barbarian chieftains, but essentially Greek. During the later period its population had accepted a strong barbarian element and the town existed at first on sufferance, later by the support of Rome, but there was some connexion with the former inhabitants, it was not an entirely new community upon the old site, for the old personal names lived on though mixed with foreign ones, the Greek language survived in some form, and the institutions (e.g. the names of the months) still shew a resemblance to those of Miletus and her colonies.

During the 4th and 5th centuries B.C. we cannot say that we know any definite events of Olbian history. Herodotus gives us stories of the relations between the Scythian kings and the Olbiopolites from which we may gather that the princes were attracted by the higher civilization, its conveniences and its pleasures, and established friendly and even intimate relations with the Greeks, whereas the mass of the nation having less chance of enjoying all this was less well-disposed. But to make the most of every detail of these stories and argue as to the state of architecture in Olbia because the house of Scyles was adorned with spinaxes and griffins, as to its fortifications and sallyports because from a tower a citizen shewed the Scythians their king making one of a Bacchic thiasus, or judge of the size of the town because Scyles could leave his "army" in the προοδευκαί, is to take too literally the stories of Tymnes. But we can conclude that the Boryshenites had friendly dealings with a fairly powerful nation which proved a very good customer for all their Greek wares.

How the expedition of Darius affected Olbia we do not hear. Presumably it was a source of anxiety and nothing more. More serious was the expedition of Pericles into the Pontus. Its main effects were probably to strengthen Athenian commerce in this region, from the middle of the 5th century the Attic pots come in again (v. p. 339), whether Olbia were enrolled in the Delian confederation we cannot say. In the new list set out in 424 B.C. there is a town beginning with O (App. 2, cf. pp. 447, 561) but it only paid a talent which is no more than Nymphaeum and perhaps Tyrsus paid. From this period we have three epitaphs, the earliest was found beyond the Hares' Dell, and also the coins ΕΜΥΝΑΚΟ (v. p. 487) who may have been a foreign ruler.

2 Schoene following B gives Ol. 33. 4 but the Oxford MS. seems with A and P to turn the scale against it; perhaps 33. 3 of F is right: Stallman gave Ol. 31. 3, B.C. 634; cf. Latyshev, Olbia, p. 38, n. 2.
3 App. 44 = Ιστ. ΦΕ. I. 120 (naca. IV. p. 275 = Roehl, f. Gr. Antiquissimae 6, No. 48, perhaps the oldest
From the 11th century a few inscriptions have survived, mostly epitaphs and grants of procseny to foreigners, Chaerigerus of Mesembria, Hellanicus of Rhodes (?), Nautinus of Callatis and a Dionysius whose city cannot be read. This last stone was found at Chersonese. All this points to lively intercourse with other trading cities.

A decree found at the temple of Zeus Uranus at the entrance of the Thracian Bosporus gives regulations for the treatment of foreign money at Olbia, directing that all copper and silver and gold other than that of Cyzicicus should be exchanged against Olbian currency according to the market and that such transactions should take place "upon the stone in the ecclesiasterium" upon pain of confiscation of the amount in question: but Cyzicenic gold (or rather electrum) staters were fixed at 10½ staters (Olbian silver like Pl. III. 2). 12

Cyzicenic staters have been found in Olbia and in later times their place was taken by those of the Macedonian kings. So far only one autonomous Olbian gold stater (just like Pl. III. 2) has been discovered. 13 It seems clear that the Olbiopolites mostly used foreign gold such as the Alexanders and Lysimachi, at least a thousand of which were found at Anadol in Bessarabia, 14 and that this is meant by the gold pieces mentioned in the decrees thanking Callinicus and later Protogenes (v. infra, pp. 460—462 and 485).

This decree, in honour of Callinicus son of Euxenus 15 in the 11th century records the bestowal by the grateful people of praise and a wreath worth a thousand gold pieces to be presented in the theatre at the Dionysia and the setting up of a statue: But what Callinicus had done to deserve this is lost.

The one event in this century for which we have a literary source is a siege of Olbia by Zopyrion recorded by Macrobius, 16 for the sake of the extreme measures taken by the citizens to rally to themselves all possible defenders. They set slaves free, gave foreigners the citizenship and cancelled all debts. This means that they must have been reduced to great straits, either that the city was not in a position to resist an attack or that the forces of the invader were overwhelming: in any case the shock to the city's prosperity must have been serious. Almost certainly this Zopyrion was the governor left by Alexander in Thrace after his reduction of that country and his demonstration against the Getae across the Danube. Zopyrion wishing to distinguish himself went farther whether against Getae or Scythians (v. p. 123) and was destroyed with 30,000 men. 17 But what the mutual relations of Olbia, the Getae, and Zopyrion may have been we cannot make clear. Also the date of the occurrence is doubtful, Justin says Alexander heard the news just after Arbela, Q. Curtius, when he had returned from India to Persia, and Curtius says that Zopyrion perished in a storm, presumably on shipboard.

1 JosPE. t. 8—10, 14, 15. BCA. x. p. 1, No. 1.
2 App. 5 = JosPE. t. 11. 13
3 Larayher, Olbia, p. 38 n. quotes Dittenberger, Hermes. XVI. p. 189; cf. Sylloge, II. 346. Bertier-de-La-Garde, Comparative Values, p. 54 seqq. after considering the amount of gold in a Cyzicenic, and of silver in an Olbian stater declares that this decree put a premium of about 75 per cent on Cyzicenic gold, in order to attract gold in its then most general form to the Olbian market.
4 Burakhov, p. 64, No. 167, Pl. VIII. 201, Pick, CX. i. now at Brussels, a denum 1 stater is known. v. p. 485, Pl. III. 1.
5 BCA. III. p. 58.
6 JosPE. I. 12.
7 Saturnalia, 1. xi. 32. Borysathene, obpungnante Zopyrioneo, servis liberatis dateaque civitate peregrius et factis tabulis novis hostem sustinere posuerunt.

58—2
but a governor of Thrace would not want ships to attack the Getae, whereas they would be invaluable against Olbia of which the river side was not fully defended until the time of Protagenes. Bertrier-de-La-Garde\(^1\) refuses to believe in the siege of Zopyrion saying that you cannot besiege an unwalled town, but part of the circuit had been completed in stone and the rest was no doubt defended by walls of crude brick or a palisade and ditch for which very likely Protagenes substituted stone. Grote (xii. p. 299) regards Zopyrion as an unknown person and declines to fix any date for his attack upon Olbia.

To the end of the 11th century belongs a tantalizing inscription\(^2\), in praise of a man who appears to have brought the citizens to one mind by arranging an impartial compromise. Presumably there had been a faction fight. Perhaps when the danger from Zopyrion had passed there were difficulties between the old and the newly enfranchised citizens. But this discord may have to do with the subsequent decadence.

**Protogenes.**

After the attack by Zopyrion, Olbia appears to have begun to decay. Circumstances were no longer favourable. Her customers in European and Asiatic Greece had mostly fallen on evil times, mixed up in the rivalries of various dynasts, or had diverted their attention to the richer regions of Asia laid open to them by the conquests of Alexander. For instance the steady corn production of Egypt must have competed fatally with the fluctuating exports of South Russia. Worse than this, changes in the population of the interior interrupted the trade routes, ruined the Scyth power with which Olbia had established tolerable relations, so that the remnants were driven to encroach upon Olbian territory, and brought new foes from East and West.

This decadence is fully illustrated by the decree in honour of Protagenes to which reference has already been made. It is perhaps the most important epigraphic document from the Scythian region\(^3\).

Its interest may be grouped under two heads, the information it affords as to the tribes surrounding Olbia and her relations with them and the internal economic questions of providing money to buy off these tribes, to fortify the town against them, and to relieve the distress of the citizens due to these exactions and to bad harvests.

The tribes mentioned in the inscription have been already dealt with (p. 118 sqq.). Towards them Olbia stands in no pleasant relation. We hear most of a King Saitapharnaces to whom one year the Olbiopolites give four hundred gold pieces (for the question as to what coins are meant, v. p. 439), provided by Protagenes, another year he paid other four hundred pieces to the Sai, perhaps the tribe of which Saitapharnaces was king, soon after some part of 1500 gold pieces was spent on "doucours" (διαφανεμένος) to lesser chiefs (σπαντός) and the advantageous preparation of gifts for the king.

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\(^1\) *Comparative Values*, p. 86, n. 2.

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\(^4\) *Braun, Investigations*, i. pp. 89, 102 sqq., 117, 129, v. supra, pp. 125, 126, puts the inscription in the 11th cent. to suit his theory that the Galatae were the Celts afterwards known as the Britolae on the Danube, but originally from further north. Niederle, *Slav. Ant.* i. pp. 363—311, after stating all views comes to no conclusion.
This phrase suggests that the gifts were not merely money (as was said by some in discussing the famous tiara) but money's worth which could be got cheap or dear according to circumstances. Saitapharnes would have been much pleased with Rachumowski's work had it been executed in time. Fitting out an embassy to the king cost 300 gold pieces and could hardly be done for that. Later Protogenes himself went on an embassy to the king and offered him 900 gold pieces—Latyshev suggests that this was two years' tribute with an extra hundred to make up—but he was not satisfied, found fault with the gifts and prepared for war; here the narrative breaks off; but Protogenes had spent 2000 gold pieces on embassies and gifts, besides the 1500 for general purposes most of which went the same way.

On the other side of the stone we find that worse foes have appeared, Galatae and Sciri, and that in fear of them the Thisamatae, Scythae and Saudarae try to take shelter in the city walls, driving its inhabitants to despair and to the desertion of the city. Also the allies of the Meselethenses to the number of 1500 and all their slaves turn against them. We do not quite see where Saitapharnes and the Saal come in. It is likely that they were on the eastern side of the Hypanis and even of the Borysthenes and so more or less safe. We have no means of saying where Cancyrus may have been and ἰδὼν might conceivably be the Hylaea and the parts beyond, where Herodotus puts the Scythae Nomades, whereas the other tribes were probably to the west and north exposed to the new comers. In any case the danger seems to have passed away after rousing the town to complete its fortifications along the river bank.

The most pressing need was the want of two stretches of wall along the river, that by the harbour and that by the old fish-market. All this Protogenes had to undertake at a cost of 1500 gold pieces; next we are told of five towers restored by him, two by the great gate (v. p. 434), Catheteron Tower, Waggon-way Tower and Epidaurus Tower, he also built on the three curtain walls (σχοιναῖα) between them and he completed another piece of wall from the Tower of Posis to the upper place (this cost a hundred gold pieces), besides building the grain store and the bazaar gateway. All this in the face of difficulties with the contractors so that he had to take the work over himself and repair at a cost of 200 gold pieces the barges kept by the city for the transport of stone. That makes a total of 1800 gold pieces spent upon buildings.

Still larger amounts went to the meeting of other calls on the treasury mostly in times of famine. To begin with Protogenes redeemed for 100 gold pieces the sacred plate of the city which the foreign creditor was just taking to be melted down; next year he paid 300 for a cheap lot of wine bought by the archons under Democoon; the following year he sacrificed 200 by selling 2000 medimni of corn at half price. When elected one of the Nine he offered 1500, much of which went in gifts to chiefs. The following harvest was again bad, Protogenes advanced 1000, 300 without interest for a year; he was repaid at the rate of 400 coppers evidently at a loss (v. p. 483). The same year he sold 2500 medimni of corn making an abatement of about

1 See Bertier-de-La-Garde on these walls, Comparative Values, p. 86, n. 2.
2270 gold pieces. That amounts to about 4400 making no allowance for loss of interest or on copper repayments. In some of these transactions it is not clear whether the town intended repayment or took as a gift the sum provided. But this does not make much difference as the inscription represents Protogenes as cancelling the debts due to himself from the city by the singular process of crediting it with non-existent surpluses and applying these to the extinction of its debts to himself. All this he did during three years as financial director of the city's affairs, in the course of which time he used no harsh measures against the tax-farmers, but let them pay at their own convenience, while he submitted to the people at due seasons accounts falsified for the city's benefit. Yet the city proceeds to ask him to sacrifice private debts due to him and to his father amounting to 6000 gold pieces and to remit interest due upon them. In all, then, he spent about 9200 gold pieces on the town of which we seem to hear of 2500 being paid back, though with loss of interest and at a lower rate of exchange: that makes 6700 in public benefactions and the 6000 of private debts brings the total up to 12,700 gold pieces, a colossal sum. The question that rouses most wonder is how Protogenes and his forbears amassed a fortune from which they could make such sacrifices, whereas no one else in the town is represented as ready or able to help at all. Yet we have another inscription of about the same date, the peculiar lettering is almost identical, saying: "Cleombrotus son of Pantaces saw to the building of the Gate and Curtain wall," and the same Cleombrotus dedicates a tower to Heracles with six bombastic eulogistic couplets. This man, his converse Pantaces son of Cleombrotus dedicated to the hero of the great inscriptions, two Aristocrats (the name of Protogenes's colleague as envoy to Saitapharnes) and several sons of Aristocrates, several sons of Herodorus, the name of an eponymous priest, and a priest of Dionysius, who with his brother Posideus set up a statue to their father Dionysius priest of Apollo Delphi, and are all mentioned on a list of citizens. Further. Posideus son of Dionysius an Olbiopolite receives proxeny in an inscription at Delos dated about 180 A.D.

This means that unless we have been misled by the custom of repeating ancestral names all these men belong to the first half of the 4th century B.C. Latyshev, who believes that the Galatae mentioned are the forces of the

1 The first deUth runs up the price of corn to 1 of a gold piece for a medimnus; P. sells for 1/6. Next time it goes up to 1 and even to 1/6. P. sells for 1/6 and 1/4. If we take the gold piece to be an Attic-stater of Lysimachus or Alexander, it would be about 136 shillings a quarter. Bertrier-de-Lagarde (Comparative Values, 26, p. 65) says this is an impossible price and supports the gold pieces to be such as PL III. 1 or rather electrum hela of Cyzicus reducing the sums to a fifth of the above, but failure of crops can be absolute in S. Russia and if the exchange of which Polybius speaks (IV, 38, v. p. 440) were prevented siege prices would naturally rise, much higher than anything at Athens, to which all corn of the Greek world gravitated. If I were inclined to wild hypotheses I should suggest that Protogenes was really a tyrant who had come into power on the shoulders of the democracy after a rising against another oligarchy devoted to Heracles, dedications to whom by Cleombrotus and Niconomus, IOSPE. IV. 459, had been defaced by the people: if not a political tyrant P. must have been a commercial monopolist for he had evidently concentrated into his hands all the money in the town. No doubt he ruled through democratic forms.

2 IOSPE. 1. 100.

3 IOSPE. 1. 106.

4 BCA, XXXIII. p. 41, No. 1.

5 IOSPE. 1. 106.


7 Latyshev in Journal of Min. Publiclnstr. 1890, 1900, 1905, p. 55; also IOSPE. IV. p. 264 quoting Fougères, BCA. XIII. 1889, p. 236.
kingdom of Tyle which fell in 213 B.C., prefers to see grandsons where it is just as possible to see grandfathers. Thereby he puts back Protogenes into the third century. Protogenes himself is represented in the decree as comparatively young, at least the debts due to his father are remembered apart from those due to him: that is in the list he is maybe a survival from the third century and Cleombrotus too; but the lettering of the decree is placed by Mommsen at the end of the third century, by Boeckh in the 1st or 2nd, by Dittenberger in the third century, Latyshev shows that it might be third, but he is driven thereto by the date of the fall of Tyle. The list of citizens looks if anything later still. Braun's arguments in favour of bringing the Galatae from the Carpathians rather than from Thrace agree with the prima facie date of the writing and a fair view of its relation to the document at Delos as dated by Fougeres. Altogether I should put the decree in the first half of the third century B.C. Some other points in it will be touched on in the review of the institutions of Olbia (p. 474).

A further illustration of financial affairs in the third century B.C. is afforded by an inscription giving the fees for sacrificing various beasts. They are fixed by the Seven, apparently the commission that managed the finances of the Gods, twelve hundred coppers, that would be three gold pieces, for a bull, three hundred for a sheep or goat, sixty for some other animal or according to Jernstedt's conjecture for the skin. The fees went to the sacred treasury but that was no doubt used as a reserve for the public needs.

Soon after this we would put the period of vassalage to Scythian kings (v. p. 119); the danger from that quarter had become more and more threatening and it is conceivable that the suzerainty of a strong ruler like Scilurus was rather a relief, if he protected the city against other barbarians and allowed her merchants to trade in his extensive territories. That this was probably so we judge from the occurrence in his capital Kermenchik (Neapolis ?), besides a stone bearing the king's name, of three inscriptions recording dedications made by Posideus the son of Posideus to Zeus Atabyrius, Athena Lindia and Achilles, lord of the island (of Leuce)4, the last in celebration of a victory over the Satarchaei pirates. The same name occurs on a dedication to Aphrodite Euploea found at Olbia, and there is good reason to supply it in No. 49, a decree of the men of Cos, and perhaps in No. 48, a decree of the men of Tenedos in honour of an Olbiopolite. There is no call to make Posideus a Rhodian as is usually done because of his dedications to Rhodian deities; he was evidently a seaman by the victory over the pirates, with close connexions with the islands of Asia Minor, and there was special reason for his having to do with Rhodes, just then the chief commercial state of the Aegean and carrying on a great wine trade with Olbia, as we know by the amphora stamps.

Whether the Olbiopolites liked their connexion with Scilurus or not, it came to an end at the defeat of his son Palacus by Diophantus with the forces of Mithridates and Chersonese. That Olbia submitted to Mithridates seems

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1 See the forms of Σ, Π, Κ, Θ on facsimile τοιτς.  
2 App. 8 = loc. P. 1. 82.  
3 App. 18 = loc. P. 1. 185, IV. 67, Strabo, VII. iv.  
5 ητολ. P. 1. 242-244.  
6 ητολ. P. 1. 94.  
7 See the forms of Σ, Π, Κ, Θ on facsimile τοιτς.
implied in the fragmentary decree\(^1\) in honour of ... son of Philocrates a master mariner of Amisos thanking him for services in transporting supplies to certain Armenians in Sinope, also in facing a storm to bring home an embassy of the city's and reinforcements granted to it by the king. Rostovtsev\(^4\) refers the former service to a running of the blockade of Sinope in 70 B.C., when Machares had deserted his father; the Armenians being the Cilician troops borrowed from Tigranes, who were holding the city for Mithridates. The second transaction he assigns to the king's last moment of power in 64 B.C. when Olbia wanted support against the threatening Getae and he himself would be glad to secure a pied-a-terre with a view to his intended Western campaign. After his death it again became a prey to the indiscriminate attacks of the surrounding tribes. Of this time we have a glimpse in the decree in honour of Niceratus son of Papias\(^4\). He is praised as a peacemaker among the citizens and a defender of the city against the attacks of outside foes, whose name is not given, but they were probably not the Getae as the scene of his death is laid in the Hylaea. The honours he receives are interesting, a public funeral, on the day of which the workshops were to be closed and the citizens to wear black and attend in order, a gold wreath, an equestrian statue, a yearly rehearsing of his merits at the ecleia for electing magistrates and at the horse-races in honour of Achilles established by oracle, and the setting forth of the complimentary decree upon a fair white stone to rouse the emulation of others.

**Sack by the Getae.**

The next event in the history of Olbia is its sack by the Getae. Our authority for it is Dio Chrysostom, who says that the Getae took this and the other Greek cities on the west of the Pontus as far as Apollonia, which happened a hundred and fifty years before. The speech was delivered about 100 A.D.; but we may have to reckon back from the time of Dio's stay at Olbia, which may have been about 83 A.D. So the sack must be put between 67 and 50 B.C.

This corresponds exactly with the time when Byrbista had raised the Getae or Daci to greater power (v. p. 123) and no doubt the destruction may be laid at his door. It is borne out by the burnt layer found by Pharmacovskij (v. p. 457), by such expressions as that of the decree in honour of Callisthenes\(^4\) c. 200 A.D. which speaks of his descent from the founders of the city, hardly the first founders of eight hundred years before, and by hints from the other towns affected. Indeed the inscriptions of such towns as Istropolis and Odessus, and the description, maybe exaggerated, of Ovid's life at Tomi present close parallels to the state of things we have found at Olbia.

Dio speaks of this sack as the last and greatest capture, and says that the city had often been taken before: that it had been on the verge we know from several inscriptions, after a capture there would be no decree set up, so we cannot say whether it were actually taken: but there is so far no trace of any such break; when he says "often" Dio is almost certainly exaggerating. Scilurus may well have entered the city and done comparatively little harm.

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1. App. 9 = BCA. XVIII. p. 97, No. 2.
2. "Mithridates of Pontus and Olbia." BCA.
4. Latyshev, Olbia, p. 139.
5. Latyshev, Olbia, p. 147, quotes an article of his own in Ath. Mitt. XI. (1886), p. 109, citing inscriptions from Odessa and Istropolis.
Olbian Life.

Reviewing the history of Olbia as far as we have gone we must confess that it is a sufficiently depressing record. The citizens’ main occupation was commerce with the natives, a commerce in which the civilized man usually makes unrighteous profits, and one branch of which was no doubt the slave trade; this was varied by internal disputes of which we have hints from time to time, constant petty wars with ever fresh tribes of barbarians, struggles against bad harvests once exhaustion came to the lands which had at first been so fertile, and ever growing financial difficulties. Yet in spite of these disadvantages, in spite of their severe winter, the Olbiopolites strove to live the life of Hellenes. They must have concentrated into the summer the activities of the whole year, for they endeavoured to keep up the due festivals and games. We read of Dionysia held in the theatre1 and horse races in honour of Achilles. Dionysius son of Nicodromus the gymnasiarch seems to have gained some prize abroad perhaps in Athens2 from which Panathenaic vases were brought back in triumph (supra, p. 347). A special point is the archery contest in which Anaxagoras son of Demagoras made the record shot of 282 fathoms3, a contest most natural in Scythia. To anticipate, the very archons and strategi in the later period record their victories in running, leaping and throwing the lance and discus (v., p. 473).

Of special interest is an inscription recording a statue by Praxiteles4, so that the statues of which we hear so often were not all specimens of mere municipal art, and the Hellenistic houses are better than we might expect. Some of the earlier coins also attest a fairly high standard of taste and execution though degeneracy soon sets in.

As regards literature Olbia gave birth to a well-known philosopher Bion5, but the stories we hear of him suggest not so much a serious thinker as a sophist with keen mother-wit and unstable intellectual interests—he first attended the Academy, then joined the Cynics, passed on to the Cyrenaic school and finally became a pupil of the Peripatetic Theophrastus before setting up for himself at Rhodes. When rivals hinted at his lowly origin, he turned on them and said that his father was a freedman dealing in salt fish and was sold up for cheating the customs, his mother no better than she should be, and he himself, having been the favourite slave of a rhetor who left him all his possessions, began his free life by burning his old master’s writings: this was merely inverted boasting; we cannot learn from it anything about life in Olbia: Bion flourished in the 3rd century B.C. Sphaerus, his younger contemporary, though called a Borysthenite by Plutarch, is more usually stated to have been a Bosporan6. Lastly Suidas7 speaks of a historian Poseidonius the Olbiopolite who wrote about the phenomena of the ocean and the land of Tyras, also, if it be the same man, Attic and Libyan histories, and a Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 660) says that Dionysius Olbianus (v.l. Ἀλβιανός) ἤστορις τὰς εὔρεις ἴματας λέγεισθαι Ἀχιλλίως ἁρδόμοι7.

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1 *IatPE.* i. 12.
2 ib. iv. 459.
3 p. 66, n. 10 and App. 6 = *IatPE.* iv. 460.
4 v. p. 295, n. 10, 11.
8 This is not a confusion with Dionysius Perigetes as he emphasizes the narrowness of the Tendra.
We have one relic of private life at Olbia, an early 17th century letter.

A. Ἀρτικὼν [ἐς] εἰς οἶκου. Χαίρειν ἦν ἐγαθαλεὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁικῆς μυλλιῶν παρὰ Λάτακους [ἐς] τὸ οἴκημα

B. Ἰν [πῇ] αρδίδων εἰ δὲ μοῦ, παρὰ Λαγάθαρκου εἰς τὰ...

So Latyshev reads: Articon to the housefolk greeting; if Myllion from Ataces turn you out of the house (go) into the chamber if he offer it; if not to Agatharcus into the [other ?]; let him take the share of the wool from Cerdon.

V. V. Škorpil has published three more lead tablets from Olbia, two are merely defixiones, lists of names of people cursed, one of about the same date as Articon’s letter, the other of about the 17th century B.C., the date also of the third, apparently an anonymous letter to a judge (?) offering him a bribe (σὲ τεμήσω καὶ σοι ἄριστων δώρων παρασκευάσω) if he will deny access to his court to certain dangerous persons enumerated.

Olbia restored.

Poor as was the life of Olbia in the last centuries B.C., it was magnificent compared to that of the resurrected Olbia. Dio tells us about it and his picture is probably true in outline though no doubt the light and shade are exaggerated. We must not forget that we are dealing with a professional rhetorician who wishes to lay stress on the desolation of Olbia, the calamities it had suffered in the past, the hourly dangers from foes outside, the meagerness of the intellectual fare within the citizens’ reach, in order to throw up the survival among them of the true Hellenic spirit, of martial courage, proud independence, love of the old national poet and eagerness for any chance of culture.

1 Cfr. G. Schmidt, BCA: XIV. p. 138; Artikon sagt denen im Hause χαίρειν. Wenn auch Myllion aus der Wohnung hinausweist, so soll er (der Sklave) zu Atakes’ (Sohn) in die Vorratskammer—denn gibt er sie hier (gut): wo nicht, soll er ei

2 BCA: XXVII. p. 68.
His account is that after the capture by the Getae the survivors came together again by the consent of the Scythians themselves, who missed the convenience of Greek trade which had ceased with the disappearance of Greek speakers. It is to this period we would assign the coins of Pharzoeus (one a gold stater Pl. iii. 26) and Ininsimeus (Inismeus) which witness to settled relations between Olbia and the natives (v. p. 119). At the time of his visit Dio describes quite another state of things, as one of his main points is the perpetual danger from hostile natives, the greater because the town had not been able to fortify itself properly. He gives a graphic picture of the poor buildings huddled up against a few towers that remained of the old circuit, whereas other towers stood out in the country not looking as if they belonged to the city at all; the sun-baked brick walls had naturally collapsed as soon as they were breached and neglected. He next pours out the eighteen year old Callistatus as he rides back from the war gift with a great cavalry sword and dressed after the Scythian fashion in trousers and all, with a little black cloak over his shoulders. The general wearing of black is a curious point as it cannot have been universal in the older Olbia for it is decreed as a sign of mourning (p. 464). Dio derives it from the Melanchlaeni who were never anywhere near Olbia. Yet this barbarous figure (very much like the Bosphorans on the walls of catacombs, p. 313 sqq.) is well known for his good looks as well as for his courage, and his features recall the Ionian type, moreover he takes an interest in philosophy and even wishes to follow Dio for the sake of opportunities of study.

Dio then enters into a conversation in which he banter them for their excessive devotion to Homer (even now they only had blind poets to encourage them Tyrtaeus-like) and quotes a couplet of Phocylides:

καὶ τὸν Φωκυλίδον πόλις εἰκαπέλοι κατὰ κόσμον
οἰκεῖσα σμικρῷ κρίσισι γύνων ἄφραντοις

suggesting that there is more sense in it than in the shoutings and leapings of Achilles. For this he is interrupted by a bystander who asks him not to speak against Homer and Achilles, and goes on to explain that the day before the natives had made an attack and killed some sentries and they did not know when they would have peace to listen. And indeed, says Dio, the gates were shut and a flag flying as a signal that hostilities were going on. In spite of this trouble Dio is pleased to find them so anxious to hear and so truly Greek that nearly all had collected round him. So they adjourn to the temple of Zeus where was their place of council and plenty of space and there they range themselves in order about him. Dio is delighted at their old-fashioned look with their long hair and beards. Two citizens had shaved but this was regarded as disgraceful imitation of the Romans. Yet these old-time Greeks could no longer speak Greek clearly (παράγοντες). Dio goes on with his speech about the well-administered city, but is interrupted by one Hieroson (one would like to read Hieroson a name so typical of earlier Olbia) and asked to speak in the Platonic style about the government of the universe, inasmuch as Plato is the favourite author next to Homer: and so with great applause he discourses of the government of the universe.
The whole picture is quite unique, it reminds one of a French littérateur giving his experiences of Canadian habitants, but actually underlies its idyllic surface and much is borne out by the inscriptions: Ovid supplies the other side of the picture.

The truth lies among the three. The stage and main situation are the same in all, but Ovid insists on the barbarism and discomfort, whereas Dio makes us have a kindly feeling for the Borystenites, he shews them simple, brave, independent yet courteous, keeping in all their barbarism touches of true Hellenism that had died out elsewhere, and feeling in all their ignorance and narrowness aspirations after higher things. But this is not borne out by the inscriptions, a whole series of which consists of complimentary decrees couched in a turgid style equally full of showy bombast and inextricable anacolouthes. We might yet think that they represented the inarticulate strivings of real gratitude had not chance preserved us one precious document, telling us that the Senate and People crown Datus the son of Tumbagus in recognition of the services he might have rendered had he lived, seeing that he was a well-educated young man of great promise. That the people should sympathize with a bereaved father is all very well, but such an example shows what a farce the complimentary decrees had become. It was only necessary to belong to the inner ring of the leading families and you might have any number of lines of ungrammatical rhetoric dedicated to your memory.

From the restored Olbia we have a very considerable number of inscriptions, naturally far more than from the ancient time. They tell us much of the organization of the city and give us the names of many magistrates and citizens, but very few refer to anything which can be called an event: and very few can be dated. The chief criterion of date is the assumption of Roman praenomina and nomina in accordance with a fashion which changed with each change of Emperor.

It would seem that for some two hundred and fifty years there was no alteration in the internal economy of Olbia. All that happened was that the magistrates succeeded each other duly, performed their duties, made some dedication or restoration in their own honour and handed on their offices to other members of the aristocratic families.

Magistrates and citizens alike strove to adorn their city, but rather in a spirit of ostentatious emulation than of civic virtue, and the place must have been full of bad statues and fulsome eulogies. Dio says the good statues of former times had all been mutilated by the Getae. Now we read of the building of a gymnasium, a portico in the time of Tiberius and another in the time of Severus Alexander, a tower, an exedra and baths under Septimius Severus; also of restorations, of the theatre, a praetorium (στρατηγικὸν), the temple of Apollo Prostates and the chapel (προσευχής) of Achilles Pontarches; evidently the look of the city was improved during the hundred years following Dio's visit,

1 InsP. 1. 26.
2 App. 10 = InsP. 1. 22.
3 InsP. 1. 102.
4 ib. 1. add. 97.
5 ib. 1. 101.
6 ib. 1. 103.
7 InsP. 1. 97.
8 ib. 1. 104.
10 ib. 1. 58, 61.
11 ib. 1. 98, at least it was voted by the archons, who mostly made their offerings to him.
and it is hard to believe that in the preceding century the statues had been left without any attempt to make good the damage. 

Externally the restored Olbia had dealings with the natives, with the other Pontic cities and with Rome. Refounded by the permission of the Scythians after the Getean power had collapsed, her relations with the natives soon became uncertain. We may believe that Rome helped her to throw off the yoke of Pharzoeus and Inismeus, for in the early years of Tiberius Ababus the son of Callisthenes had already dedicated a portico to Augustus, Tiberius and the People. Such a dedication means gratitude or expectation on the part of Olbia. He is very likely the father of Orontes, son of an Ababus described by the Byzantines as having attained the honour of being presented at the Imperial court. Again in 62 A.D. Tit. Plautius Silvanus, legate of Moesia, boasts of having made a Scythian king raise the siege of Cheroneus which is beyond the Borustenes.” To this display of Roman activity is usually ascribed the annexation of Ty ras, but this was probably in 56 A.D. However, it must have meant something for Olbia. When Dio says that two citizens were held in contempt for having shaved in imitation of the Romans, we must remember that he had been exiled by the Roman government. The steady attraction of Rome is shown by the increasing frequency of Roman names, such as Ulpianus and Agellus: it must have been much increased by the conquests of Trajan. Antinous Pius granted help against the Tauroscytae and made them give hostages to the Olbiopolites, so from his time there can have been left but the shadow of independence.

However the Olbiopolites themselves did their best in their own way, we hear of generals gaining triumphal victories and making dedications accordingly, and of citizens thanked for going out to meet barbarian chiefs, and we may be sure they did not meet them empty handed.

Finally the inevitable happened. We find Olbian coins with the image and superscription of Septimius Severus, baths dedicated to Severus and Caracalla while Cosconius Gentianus was legate of Moesia; statues of Caracalla and Geta set up by Senate and People and all signs of full Roman sovereignty. Possibly the difficulty experienced in the reduction of Byzantium moved Septimius Severus to get all the Pontic towns more in hand. We have coins of Severus, Caracalla and Geta, then an interval and then again those of Severus Alexander.

Meanwhile the Olbiopolites kept up a lively intercourse with other Greek cities, especially those on the Pontus and Propontis. Reference has already been made to a decree of the Byzantines in honour of Orontes son of Ababus. It is written in elaborate Doric and praises Orontes for hospitality to strangers at Olbia and dignity when himself staying at Byzantium.

1 Cf. the decree in honour of Theocles son of Sartius App. 10. 21, ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ ἀποστόλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκφυαντο ἄπιον παρεκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ ὀβεστρατότερω καὶ ἐνθεωρητήτῳ τῷ πόλει Ἴταν γενέσθαι. It seems hard that after this Dio should have spoken of the city as ἀχίλλει τῶν πόλεων ἰδίοις, and of ὑποτειέναι τὸν ἀνθρωπότητας. 
1 1 AuPE. i. 100 (cf. iv. p. 271); Ababus Callisthenis, and AuPE. i. 47, Ὀρισθεία Αἶδος μέρος τῶν Σεβαντίων γραμμών προσώπων; cf. Deissmann, Lichth von Osiris, p. 377, n. 5; so Carausius son of Attalus in the 4th century καθάπερ μεγάλη συμμετοχή παρεκκλησίου whatever that may mean, AuPE. i. 21: Deissmann, p. 55, n. 7 renders “exposing himself to dangers by the help he gave in the struggle”—comparing Philippians, ii. 30. παρεκκλησίου (SABD) 75 ψεύδω.
2 App. 1 =Uhl. xiv. 3068.
3 Julius Capitoilinus, Antonius Pius, 5. 9.
4 AuPE. i. 58.
5 AuPE. i. 21, 22, 23.
6 AuPE. i. 97, v. TRAS. vii. p. 74.
More general was the praise offered to Theocles son of Satyrus who died in his year of office as chief archon. Not only did Olbia give him the usual honours decreeing that he should wear a gold wreath at his funeral, his virtues be rehearsed by a herald and a medallion with his bust put upon the gymnasion in whose building he had been concerned, but the foreigners resident in the town had the names of their cities added as joining in the honour paid him. Regular hospitality to foreigners is one of the virtues credited in complimentary decrees. On the other hand one of Dio's hosts draws a most unfavourable picture of the Greeks that came to Olbia, saying that they are mere merchants and bagmen bringing poor rags and bad wine, more barbarous than the Olbiopolites themselves. Let us hope that the architect from Nicomedea and Tomi who built their baths was a little better than this. Further evidence of such intercourse may be seen in the foreign coins that found their way to Olbia, from Amisos, Callatis, Odessus, Tomi, Istrus, Tyrras, Cercinitis, Chersonese, Panticapaeum, Phaselis, Thasos, Athens, Locri, Panormus and others, besides the states of Cyzicus and later of various dynasts, which supplied the lack of local gold; and the Imperial currency. Three gravestones' witness to Bosphorus living and dying at Olbia and the grave described on p. 420 seems to be that of a woman of Chersonese.

Finally to these citizens of many states was added an entirely fresh element in the Roman soldier and his Thracian auxiliaries. Perhaps from the time of Antoninus Pius there must have been a cohort or a cohort of such regularly stationed for the defence of Olbia and of Bosphorus and Chersonese: from the time of Trajan or Hadrian a detachment was supplied by Legio XI Claudia, part of the garrison of Lower Moesia. This continued till at any rate 248 A.D. when two of the soldiers dedicated an altar to Mercury in honour of the consulship of Philip Augustus and Philip the Emperor.

Coins give the latest dates, one of Oesilia Philip's wife was found long ago, more recently one of Valerian and even one of Constantius. After this date we can say no more. Only Ammianus Marcellinus (xxxi. vii. 40) speaks of Olbia as existing in his time; but that is little to go by. Subsequently someone must have lived on the site, for this very altar was found built into a wall and a few Byzantine coins have been picked up. But of this which may be called the third Olbia we know nothing. Presumably the Goths destroyed the second but it may have been the Carpi or some Sarmatian tribe. The date must have been about the year in which Decius was defeated, rather later than Mommsen puts it. No author found the event worth mentioning, not even Jordanes, who knew of the city's existence and even speaks of Borysthenes and Olbia separately, he might well have attributed this exploit to the Goths had they performed it, but they were not very successful against walled cities such as Tomi, Marcianopolis and Cyzicus, and the end may not have been an instantaneous catastrophe.

1 For the list see App. 10 = IosP. 22, cf. a similar list in 23 with IV. p. 257.
2 IosP. 27, Nicomédée Roux et Trémaux.
3 IosP. 37, 34, 35; BCA. X. pp. 5, 13; Nos. 4, 3, xxvii. p. 64, No. 4 and Professor Rostovtsev's observations thereon.
4 App. 14 = BCA. X. p. 5, No. 4.
5 BCA. xxvii. p. 65; CR. 1927; p. 24.
6 Arch. Anz. 1911, p. 221.
7 Ibid.; Usanov, Recherches, 1. p. 103, Justin 11.
9 Géograph. 1, 32.
10 Zosimus, 1. xiii. sliii. 1.
Institutions.

In the following review of Olbian institutions no attempt is made to trace any development. For the earlier Olbia hints in the Protegenes decree borne out by one or two other inscriptions are all we have to go upon. Probably the forms of the old order survived into the new city though impregnated with an aristocratic spirit. The Nine and Seven do not occur in the later Olbia.

The population of Olbia consisted of citizens, free aliens, and slaves. We hear nothing of metoeci. Only the citizens formed the body politic.

Apparently the constitution was at any rate in theory a pure democracy: we do not know of any class of citizens having any special rights, nor of any division into tribes or ἀρχοις. But at any rate in the restored Olbia this democracy had become something very like an oligarchy. For one reason or another the responsible offices of the state are concentrated in the hands of a small number of families and the same names occur again and again shewing that these families held their own for generations. This was in a manner recognized in the formula for complimentary decrees. The rehearsal of a man’s merits usually begins by mentioning that his ancestors had benefited the city and held high office. It is interesting that barbarian names are as common as Greek among these Olbian nobles. Olbia never adopted election by lot, the Attic remedy against undue influence, also unlimited reelection was apparently allowed, so the inner ring had the means to maintain its supremacy.

The legislative bodies were the Boule and the Ecclesia or Demos. The former seems merely to have had probouleutic functions, propositions being first considered by it and then brought before the ecclesia. The formula for decrees generally mentions both. This formula when fully expressed gives the name of the proposer (ὁ εἰσινευτός) and says that the proposal was stated (ἐθέτω) by the archons or in some cases by the archons and the Seven, this was probably because finance, the province of the Seven, was nearly touched by the activity of the citizens honoured.

In one complimentary decree the proposal comes from the Synhedri, whom Latysheff regards as a permanent committee of the boule like the prytaneis in many cities.

Latysheff analyses the full preambles of the later decrees to extract therefrom some account of the procedure. Apparently the proposer laid his scheme before the boule, and if the boule approved it it was brought before the ecclesia by the archons who probably presided over it. If the proposal is made by several men, e.g. by the synhedri, the statement stands in one name alone unqualified by any magistrate’s title. Occasionally instead of the archons we only find the chief or eponymous archon.

Quite exceptional is a preamble in which it appears that a resolution...
(γρώμη) voted by the demos on the proposal of the archons was the following year ratified by demos and boule.

The preamble sometimes\(^1\) adds that the ecclesia was crowded or universal (ἐκκλησίας συνήθρου συμμέτον πανεμού). This gave its decisions no more legal force but added lustre to a complimentary decree.

A decree was then inscribed upon a fair white stone and set up in a conspicuous place. This was probably done under the direction of a secretary, such a γραμματεὺς as is mentioned at Tynyas, but there is no direct evidence for this. There was further a town-crier or herald who proclaimed the virtues of deceased benefactors or contracts for which the city asked tenders.

The boule met in Dio's time at the temple of Zeus (Olbios?), the demos had its ἐκκλησιαστήριον which also served as an exchange\(^1\).

The Ecclesia seems to have had the ultimate decision in all possible matters, foreign affairs, the despatching of envoys and gifts to foreign potentates, war and preparations for it, elections of magistrates (at a special meeting, ἡ ἀρχαιοτέρι ἐκκλησία), finance including the regulation of the price of corn, of the currency and of customs, the requisition of necessary sums from rich men and the invitation of tenders for various contracts, and finally that which has left most trace to our day the voting of complimentary decrees, privileges and rewards to magistrates, citizens and foreigners. The latter were given citizenship, proxeny, and immunity from import duties. To citizens were given such a title as father of the city\(^2\), wreaths of gold, the setting up of a medallion or a statue, plain or gilded, afoot or equestrian, and lastly the honour of a funeral at the public expense, the shops being closed and the citizens clothed in black.

In case of sudden necessity the archons had the power to summon the ecclesia\(^3\), but in the face of such miscellaneous responsibilities it must have had regular days for meeting, but we know nothing of them.

The dates are sometimes given in the preambles of decrees, but we can deduce nothing from them except that the names of the months, Panaemos, [Metageit]ion, Boeodomion, Caneoion, [Apæ]uron, Leneion, Anthesteion, Thalargelion, Calameion, were such as we meet at Cyzicus and other Milesian colonies\(^4\). Olbia seems never to have had an era and a simple manner of reckoning dates such as we find in Roman times at Tynyas, Chersonese and in the Bosporan kingdom. Years were denoted in earlier times by the name of a temple, probably that of Achilles, in later times by that of the chief archon.

Magistrates.

Executive power in Olbia belonged to colleges of magistrates. The only solitary officials were the king and the director of finances, which office Protogenes, probably appointed for the special need of the time, held for three years:

\(^1\) App. 7 = InsPE. 1. 15.

\(^3\) InsPE. 1. 22 (= App. 10), 24, 27, 28; BCA. xiv. p. 94, No. 1.

\(^4\) App. 5 = InsPE. 1. 11.

\(^5\) Maybe not a mere title but the expression of that power concentrated in one magistrate's hands which had become common in the third century. Rostovtsev, BCA. xxiii. p. 18.
"πάντα διώκετε" in an uncontrolled fashion not like a regular magistrate, but he may correspond to the normal Athenian official ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν δικαστήν as Latyshev supposes. There were five archons, six strategi, five agoranomoi, a college of Nine and a college of Seven; we do not know the number of the astynomoi. Each college had a head as it were eponymous, for in official documents the others are grouped round him as ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δήμων. Each college had its patron deity to which it made a dedication after its year of office—the archons to Achilles Pontarches, the strategi to Apollo Prostates and sometimes to Achilles Pontarches; the agoranomoi to Hermes Agoraeus. The dedication took the form of a Nike, a vase or other ornament, or of an improvement or restoration of a sacred fabric. These dedications are recorded in inscriptions of which many have come down to us especially those of the strategi. The college makes them on behalf of the city, or the prosperity or the full water supply (εἰσπορεία) of the city, and of the health and in the case of strategi the valour of its members.

As the same man could hold an office more than once we find the same name occurring in different positions in the lists. This was governed either as Latyshev says by seniority or by the number of votes obtained by each in the election which was open by χειροτονία.

Archons and Strategi.

The Archons, a college of five devoted to Achilles Pontarches, were the principal magistrates. Their chief, the πρῶτος ἄρχων, in later times gave his name to the year. They seem mostly to have acted as a college and not to have specialized as at Athens. But as a college they seem to have had general supervision over the business of the state. They were the main executors of the will of the ecclesia which they summoned and before which they laid proposals. There is reason to think that they became something in the way of masters of the ecclesia when the government took an aristocratic turn. They certainly had some part in the finances, both as making provision for extraordinary expenditure on presents for Saithaphernes or bargains in wine for the poorer citizens and also as having some responsibility for the coinage.

The later coins often bear names and a monogram χο which probably stands for ἄρχων (archon). Latyshev would also explain another monogram common along the whole North Euxine coast as Πρῶτος ἄρχων. In two cases we have names and patronymics on coins which we can match on inscriptions. Compare ΑΙΔΟΥ ΔΕΛΦΟΥ on Pl. iii. 15 with ΑΔΟΝΣ ΔΕΛΦΟΥ and ΤΑΙΤΕΡΟΥ on Pl. iii. 16 with ΤΑΙΤΕΡΩΝ, i.e. of ὁ πρῶτος Σατύρου ἄρχων or στρατηγάων on a fragment of a stone disk, but Niceratus on the coin of Inisimeus (v. p. 487) is too common a name to identify and the coin ΠΙΣΙΤΡΑΤΟΥ ἄρχων has so far no corresponding stone.

Mention has been made of archons competing in games and winning prizes, e.g. this Adoes in wrestling and jumping, his (?) son Heuresibius

1 Int.E. 1. 77 (= App. 13), 78, v. 17; BCA. x. p. 2, No. 2; XVIII. p. 109, No. 14.
3 Int.E. 1. 134.
4 Archons, Int.E. 1. 78, 81, cf. 21, 101, 122.
5 Pec. xi. 7, Burchakov, v. 177.
6 App. 13 = Int.E. 1. 77.
in jumping and running, and a colleague in spear and discus throwing; others in other years in running alone, or in throwing the spear and discus. It suggests that their family ties enabled men to attain to be archons comparatively young. So too the strategi (v. ii. 4).

Of the Strategi we can only say that they formed a college of six (in one inscription five are mentioned but that may be an accident) with a ὑπήρτης whose good service is often recorded, were the military leaders for they had victorious triumphs, and made dedications to Apollo Prostates, offering Nikai in gold or silver, gold torques, a gold and jewelled belt, silver vases, a tripod, a gold wreath, a statue, a little couch, also χαριστήρια to Achilles Pontarches: they generally set up their inscriptions upon very second-hand stones. Of the organization of the Olbian forces we know nothing; a signal was run up on the walls in case of attack from the natives.

Finance Magistrates.

The college of Nine had something to do with the finances of Olbia, at least so we gather from a passage in the Protagenes decree: Protagenes on being elected into their body immediately supplies 1500 gold pieces for current expenses, which looks as if his election brought him into direct contact with the financial needs of the state.

We hardly know more of the college of Seven. They support the archons in speaking for the decrees in honour of Protagenes and of two other benefactors whose names are imperfect, and they are responsible for the tariff of taxes on sacrifices. Probably they administered the sacred treasury and its interests were advanced by Protagenes and the other two men, so the Seven lent their support to their being honoured. A few coins bear the legend ΟΙΕΠΤΑ but we cannot tell why they should have taken part in the issue of this money. Neither the Nine nor the Seven are mentioned in the later Olbia.

Latory takes Protagenes to have been occupying a normal post when he was restoring the public finances for three years, and sees in ἄσπερῳ a hint that he was made an ἄτομος or special monthly magistrate to help the citizens' private money matters and straighten the relations of debtor and creditor chiefly by sacrificing 6000 gold pieces due to himself. But in such work monthliness does not come in, and ἄτομος does not seem to be used anywhere in this sense. It is better to keep to Boeckh's dilatum per menses dare debitoribus by in some way pacifying the creditors.

Before we leave the question of finances we may remark that our authorities give us the usual sources for the revenue, duties on imports, direct taxes on places of business, fines and confiscations and contributions from rich men, whether forced or voluntary; the only other unusual source is
the tax on sacrifices, but this did not go strictly speaking to the state. The expenses too were the usual ones, the cost of war, or presents and embassies to stave off war, the keeping up of the fortifications and public buildings and ships, the helping of poor citizens in time of scarcity and the support of dramatic representations, athletic contests and religious ceremony in general. These objects were mostly undertaken by contractors unless, as we have seen, some patriotic citizen came forward, the taxes and even judicial fines were collected by companies of contractors.

Minor Magistrates.

The internal order and decency of the town and the conduct of trades and manufactures were the care of a college of five Agoranomi: they suitably made dedications to Hermae Agoranoni2; but their choice of a Nike was rather bombastic unless they had very serious disorders to contend with. Their names sometimes occur on amphorae and we have a bronze label off a vessel marked ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΟ ΚΑΛΟΥΣ ΨΕ ΛΕΙΤΡΑ4.

The Astynomoi cannot be shown to belong to Olbia but certain amphorae and tiles marked with the name of the maker and of an astynomus designated as such have been generally referred to Olbia (v. supra, p. 360).

Of the Gymnasarch1 we know no more than his existence which implies that of Ephaei: it is curious to notice that it was his son that won the race.

The survival of the title King, a rex sacrificabilis, is interesting, but so common in various Greek states that we might expect it. Certain sacrifices could not be offered but by a man clothed in the dignity and name if not the power of the ancient king whose duties as priest were hardly less important to his people than his duties as ruler.

Cults.

The Cults of Olbia have been very fully treated by Miss Hirst and her articles are easily accessible to English readers. There will be therefore no need for me to quote parallels from the other cities of the Euxine coast; perhaps their mutual resemblance has been exaggerated by investigators who have approached them from the standpoint of Greece. I should certainly agree with the conclusion that at Olbia no native deity such as the Tauros Virgin at Chersonese has penetrated into the Greek city.

In making the following summary, though I am much indebted to Miss Hirst by whom the material has been so clearly marshalled, I have been compelled to differ from her conclusions in details. Also I have been enabled to add one or two facts from the latest excavations.

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1 App. 3 = I. P. E. I, 46.
3 I. P. E. I, 73 (= App. 12), 76.
4 Arch. Anz. 1909, p. 172, f. 35.

Leipzig, 1909, p. 538, 92, A.
8 I. P. E. I, 53. Its bearer is one of the strategi, so it can hardly have been a real office.

V. H. S. XXII. (1902), p. 241; XXIII. (1903), p. 24; Russian translation by V. V. Latyshev, brought up to date by V. V. Latyshev in B.C.A. XXVII. (1908), p. 75.
Evidence as to cults of Olbia is derived from the statements of Herodotus and Dio Chrysostom, inscriptions, one or two works of art and coins. These last must be used with caution as often other than religious considerations dictated the choice of types even when these are actually heads or emblems of gods. Achilles Pontarches had perhaps the most interesting and important cult but as in duty bound let us begin with Zeus.

Zeus and Poseidon.

Zeus is mentioned in the inscriptions with various epithets. As Soter he receives the dedication of the decree in honour of Callinicus son of Eluences and another made by some private citizen on behalf of the peace and safety of the city. With the name Zeus Eleutherius there is a 4th century fragment. In the next century we have Zeus Baseleus. As was fitting to Zeus Poliarches was dedicated a tower built by Anaximenes and his brethren, sons of Poseidus in the 12th century A.D. Most interesting is the title Zeus Olbios. Callisthenes son of Callisthenes is praised for "having been priest of the god who defends our city. Zeus Olbios and having [vac.] the god in holy fashion and making petition for good blending of the airs and so obtaining a favourable season."

Evidently Zeus Olbios was the god of Olbia and the giver of Olbos, especially in the form of a good harvest. The two ideas were inextricable. Surely it was in the temple of this Zeus that the council met and before it the open space into which Dio's hearers crowded. A priest of his in Roman times made a dedication to Achilles Pontarches. There is a certain number of coins with a head of Zeus and a sceptre or an eagle on the reverse.

The Rhodian Zeus Atabyrius like Athena Lindia has nothing but the personal reverence of Poseidon an Olbiopolite living at Neapolis.

Considering that it was an Ionian town depending upon maritime commerce it seems strange that there should be no trace of Poseidon, but his office was taken by Achilles Pontarches and he had no jurisdiction in the Western Euxine. Some writers call the well known head of the River god on the coins (Pl. II. 4, 5) Poseidon without sufficient reason. The only doubt could be when the head looks right instead of left or the reverse bears a dolphin, but this is a usual type on the smaller coins of Olbia (B. III. 24) and not a special symbol of the god on the obverse.

Apollo and Helios.

If Zeus appears with most names, by the number of inscriptions Apollo received most honour. As Apollo Prostates the defender he was as we have seen the object of special devotion on the part of the strategi. Their dedications

1 IosPE, I. 11.
2 IosPE, I. 91, 106.
3 IosPE, I. 106.
4 IosPE, I. 101.
5 IosPE, I. 24.
6 IosPE, I. 24. Σέβεσθαι και χορηγεῖν ζήτει (τοῦ προστάτου της θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ζεὺς Δωσ. Ολβίων [καὶ...]) ποιεῖν τον θεον ἄγνως, της των ἄνω κατορθίας δεόμενος
7 ἑπόρνησις εὐνοίας κ.τ.λ. Could the missing verb be a compound of λοιπός, a natural rain charm?
8 Trans. Od. Soc. XXVII. Minutes, p. 11.
9 Pl. III. 12, 13; Burckhart, p. 61, Nos. 147—
10 Pl. VI. 105—115.
11 IosPE, I. 242.
12 B. III. 23; Pick, IX. 32 inscribed ΟΛΕΡΤΑ (?).
have been found just to the north of the Roman walls and this probably was the site of the temple. Miss Hirst would see on a coin (Pl. iii. 16) a late copy of his cult image apparently wearing a calathos as town deity and thinks that this image, archaic as it is, was preceded by a mere pillar which survives as an accessory on another coin (Pl. iii. 17) but was originally the representation of Apollo Hiatros. But for this latter epithet actually at Olbia the only authority is a conjecture. However the epithet occurs at Panticapaeum and Phanaugorus and at Apollonia and Istropolis; moreover there is the cylix of the careless red-figured style that Count Bobrinskoy found at Zhubrovka near Chigirin, inscribed Δελφος(υ) Ἠμηρο(υ), and this may have come from Olbia. This is rendered probable by the occurrence of the epithet Delphinus which spread from Athens and Miletus to most Ionian cities. In a fuller discussion of the cylix Tolstoi maintains that the Healer and Delphinus are originally independent deities merged in Apollo. Delphinus he derives from δέλφις matrix. Granted that the myth in the Homeric hymn is aetiological should not the explanation be sought in the resemblance of Δελφος and δέλφις?

Apollo's head occurs on a great number of coins both early and late. The ΑΙ monogram might conceivably stand for Παρθενον or perhaps Παρθενος just as at Chersonese it is for Παρθενος (v. p. 549).

On the ground of certain coins it has been suggested that Helios was worshipped at Olbia; one might say that it would be the last place in the Greek world where he would be worshipped: a big double countermark with a rayed head on one side and a with two horses' heads on the other stamps them as a temporary issue referred to about the 1st century B.C. The rayed head recalls some Asiatic types, Rhodes, Sinoe or Amisus. Pick (p. 150, n. 1) thinks the horses emblems of a wind-god (Pl. iii. 11).

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Hermes, Dionysus, Ares and Asclepius.

Hermes Agoraeus was patron of the agoranomoi. To Hermes too in conjunction with Heracles did Nicodromus the gymnasiarch dedicate a statue of his son Dionysus. To Hermes Αρκτις, "the reliable" Apaturius inscribed a Panathenian scyphus, the addition Ανδριτής suggests the Attic rite.


Dioscuri, Cabiri, Rider God, Good Genius, River God.

The Dioscuri were mentioned in an inscription which has lost their names but the stone shews their caps and stars on a bas-relief above. Also these appear on coins in a way usual throughout the Northern Euxine (e.g. Pl. vii. 1, rx. 28) but differentiated by a dolphin; the other side with a tripod also much resembles Panticapaeum coins (Pl. vii. 3, 4). It looks as if the dolphin were the only Olbian element; the issue may be Mithridatic.

For the worship of the Cabiri we have only one piece of evidence: Epicrates son of Niceratus dedicates a statue of his uncle Eubiotus son of Ariston who had served as priest to "the gods in Samothrace." 2

To Αὐακόσ Δαίμων is inscribed a black-glazed cylix of the early 19th century B.C. and what may be a boundary-stone of the 3rd.

Votive reliefs to their own "Rider-god" were set up by Thracian auxiliaries in Roman service.

The commonest coins of Olbia, coins which were issued for many generations to judge by the varieties of style, bore on their obverse a horned head with long rough hair and sometimes ox ears (Pl. iii. 4, 5). There has been some doubt whom this might represent: the Russian peasants recognise the
Devil and call the place where they are mostly picked up the Devil's Dell; others find him, as they put it, like a Scythian or a Russian peasant; to others he is Poseidon. But no doubt he is really a river god Hypanis or Borysthenes. It is a less crude version of such an idea as the god Gelas on the coins of that city. We can assume some cult of the bountiful river.

Goddesses.

Demeter ranks almost as the city-goddess, wearing as she does on some coins (Pl. iii. 2) a mural crown adorned with ears of wheat and on others (Pl. iii. 2, 8) wheat-ears alone and so more directly reminding us of the corn trade. Curiously enough her name has not yet appeared upon inscriptions, and unluckily an uncertainty of reading in Herodotus (iv. 53, v. p. 454) makes us unable to determine whether she or Cybele had the temple by Cape Hippalus. It is a question whether she do not appear on the latest As from Olbia as Burachkov supposes (v. p. 484).

For Cybele and her cult we have the evidence of an inscription of Roman date recording the erection of a statue to her priestess. Her head appears on a rare coin (Pl. iii. 14). Terra-cottas of goddessless and priestess were found on the mosaic in the Prytaneum (?).

Aphrodite does not occur on the coins, and the inscription which names her was set up by the Posideus whose taste for exotic deities has been mentioned already (v. p. 463); in any case the epithet Ἕδεια is interesting: but there is a graffito Ἐδείας Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα. On Berezn G. L. Skadovskij dug up a clyx with the word ΑΓΑΤΟΡΗΣ.

Artemis occurs on several coins and on one inscription, also round the neck of a vase in the shape of a woman’s head stands ἌΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΟΤΙ. There was probably some cult of Hecate at her grove on Kinburn Spit (v. p. 16), though the only inscription from by there is a dedication to Achilles.

A statue of Athena Parthenos was found in 1903. The dedication to Athena Lindia at Neapolis was made by Posideus an Olbiopolite, but that does not prove that this Rhodian cult was established in his own city. It is on the coins that we have most evidence of Athena. Even here it is a question whether Pallas were a native type or had some Athenian connexion. However the Aes grave at Olbia seems thoroughly native and some of the earliest examples of it bear Athena helmeted and a fish. Other coppers have a gorgoneion, perhaps still keeping some connexion with Athena, others a beautiful head in which Burachkov may not be wrong in seeing Demeter, though the type also recalls nymphs like Arethusa. Athena may also occur on ordinary coins and is quite common as a countermark (Pl. iii. 6, 10).
Heraclès and Achilles.

Among heroes Heraclès who had left a footprint on the Tyrs and sons in the Hyllaea, undoubtedly received honour at Olbia. A statue of Pantaclès son of Cleombrotus was dedicated to him by the people, and his son Cleombrotus, a contemporary of Protogenes, dedicated to him a tower glorifying himself in an epigram set out on what seems to have been a ready-shaped Attic grave stele. He is coupled with Hermes on another inscription also poetical, that beneath the statue set up by Nicodromus the gymnasarch after his son's victory.

Latshev has drawn attention to the curious fact that these last two inscriptions have been purposely effaced: this may be a coincidence or may point to a definite destruction of monuments dedicated to Heraclès, which could best be explained by his being regarded as the symbol of some party, presumably aristocratic, and that party and all its works having been overturned by opponents. The coins with the head of Heraclès are rather rude but are assigned to the same period, the 11th century B.C. They look however like poor imitations of Asiatic types rather than the independent expression of Olbiopolis worship.

The case of Achilles Pontarches allows us to judge for how little in the matter of worship the coin-types go. Dio says expressly that the Olbiopolites honour him extraordinarily, and shew them very jealous of his honour when he ventured to speak lightly of him. Further he says that they had built him a temple in the city and another in the island called Achilles' Isle. And yet we cannot point to any coin with his image. On the other hand the inscriptions bear Dio out fully and are just enough to shew that this was not merely a matter of the later Olbia.

Mention has already been made of his cult at Leuce and we know that in the 11th century B.C. Olbiopolites took part in it. But the complimentary decree expressing thanks for benefits conferred upon citizens visiting the island suggests that at some time early in the 11th century B.C. someone was living there, presumably a priest, and that he was not under the direct control of the Olbiopolites: that would not prevent their setting up a decree in honour of a man who had driven pirates from the island and afterwards came to Olbia and was useful to the city. That other Greeks made dedications we know from the graffiti: καὶ τοῖς σωτῆρισι are surely not Ionic. In later times the authors all agree that the island was really deserted.

Although Leuce is the most famous Isle of Achilles it is not quite clear that Dio means it, as in his time the Olbian power could hardly have gone so far afield. It has therefore been suggested that by this time Berezan had taken its place, in as much as two dedications have lately been found upon it and from the reign of Caracalla.

1 Herodotus IV, 82, 8—16.
2 ΒΑ. ι. 111, p. 41, No. 4.
4 Ισ. Π. Ι., 149.
5 Pl. ΙΙΙ., 9, 10; B. p. 47, Nos. 31—67, Pl. ΙΙ., 32—44; Pick, Ι., 18—23.
6 Of these ascribed by Köchlin MA. 1, pp. 84, 85, 88, only the first is possible; and even that dates

7 Ισ. Π. Ι., 171, 172.
8 ib. t., 13.
9 See supra, p. 361 and Trans. Αθ. Soc. XX., p. 169, Pl. 1, for that and two other dedications to Achilles.
10 ΒΑ. ι. 119, No. 14, Π. XXV., p. 35, No. 32.
two of the first discovered are said to have come thence. But it is clear that these dedications have nothing to do with any temple, for they are scattered along the coast from Koblevka and the Tiligul\footnote{App. 7, p. 79.} past Bejkush\footnote{App. 10, p. 10, \textit{I. Tolstoi, Journ. Mitt. Publ. Inst. St. P.}, June, 1906, pp. 445–259, "The Myth of the Marriage of Achilles on Leuce," thinks Helen the original mate supplanted by the local heroines.} to Ochakov\footnote{IstP. L. 7, 17, 1st century B.C.} and again several upon the Tendr or Cursus Achillii\footnote{IstP. L. 7, 17, 1st century B.C.} one set up by a sailor from Bosporus. Achilles seems even to have invaded the "Grove of Hecate," for an altar to him was dredged up off Kinburn Spit.\footnote{Proc. B.C. x. p. 14, No. 8.} It is not unlikely that with the changes of these uncertain sandbanks islands may be formed, and afterwards washed away by a new set of the currents or extended to join some existing spit.\footnote{Proc. B.C. x. p. 14, No. 8.} Such an island in these parts would naturally be sacred to Achilles; but the only permanent ones are Berezan and Leuce, being of such stuff as the mainland is made of.

But though most of the dedications to Achilles are scattered, enough fragments have been found at Olbia to bear out Dio's statement that he had a sanctuary there.\footnote{IstP. L. 7, 72, v. inf. p. 524, b. 7.} We cannot locate the actual site of the temple or as it seems to have been called the chapel (\textit{πορευτής})\footnote{IstP. L. 7, 72, v. inf. p. 524, b. 7.}: of course it may have been near the shore and handy for people to take the stones away as ballast or building material, but except in the case of a stone found at Odessa\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.} this is not a likely explanation of their dispersion in spite of the analogies of the two Tyras inscriptions and the wonderful case at Chersonese.\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.} The dedications wherever set up were mostly made by the archons\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.}, some by the strategi\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.}, several; as was natural, by priests of Achilles\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.}, one strangely enough by a priest of Zeus Olbios\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.}. It is curious that we do not have Helen, Medea or Iphigenia mentioned though literature always gives Achilles a companion on Leuce.\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.} The oldest mention of Achilles\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.} except that from Kinburn Spit tells us that there were horse-races in his honour apparently instituted by order of the Python prophetess. Achilles is a very common name at Olbia and we also get Brisai\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.} from the same associations.

Of the hero Sosias we know but that his place was by the old fish-market.\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.} 

\textbf{Priests.}

Such being the cults of Olbia a word must be said as to the Priests that served them. A priesthood seems to have been an honourable possession involving expense and accepted as one of the services to the state expected of an Olbiopolite politician. In the praises of Theocles the son of Satyrus\footnote{IstP. L. 77 (App. 13), 78, 98 (2); \textit{I.,} 17, 19 (2); B.C.A. x. p. 2, No. 2; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 14, \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13; \textit{xxvii.} p. 19, No. 13.} it is mentioned that besides being strategus and archon he had served as priest. So too...
Callisthenes son of Callisthenes had been priest of Zeus Olbios. Tryphon son of Tryphon the strategus may not be the same person as the priest of Zeus Olbios. In the time of Protogenes some priest was enymous but whether that of Apollo Prostates, Achilles Pontarches or possibly Zeus Olbios we cannot say.

We have the names of six priests of Achilles Pontarches of whom one served four times and two twice. Hence the office was probably annual. Four of the names are barbarous. This suggests that the priesthood was open to all; not, as might be, closed to the descendants of some priestly house surviving from the old city. Besides these priesthoods of the great patrons of the city we have mention of less important priesthoods probably held for some time. These afford a good excuse for ostentatious folk to set up statues to their relations and glorify themselves. A clear case of this kind of thing is seen in the three statues set up by Epigrates son of Niceratus, one to his uncle Eubius son of Ariston priest of the Cabiri, one to his wife Timo daughter of Hysipus priestess of Artemis and one to his daughter whose name is lost and who does not seem to have held any sacred position. Something the same is the setting up by Agrotas and Posideus of a statue to their father Dionysius priest of Apollo Deiphilus and by Socratides son of Phileus to his wife, the priestess of Cybele.

Of the cult of the Roman Emperors we can only say that it is hard to distinguish evidence for it from the expression of extravagant loyalty. No doubt it existed for the last half century of the city's being.

Although religious societies similar to those in the Bosporan kingdom (v. p. 620) existed at Odessus, they have not left any memorials at Olbia.

COINS. PLATE II.

The most original Olbian pieces are those of cast bronze: Plate II gives nearly all the types and its letterpress the varieties. Coins they were no doubt, at any rate the round ones, but quite unlike any others in the Greek world: the large pieces must have had intrinsic value like the early Italian aes grave, taking the place of silver which was probably too scarce for coinage. Coins with intrinsic value ought to shew their mutual relations by their weights, but their extraordinary variability prevents our arriving at an evident conclusion. General Bertier-de-La-Garde (Comparative Values, p. 72) gives the weights of 186 specimens and I use his figures founded upon the rejection of pieces in really bad condition. Clearly Nos. 3 and 4, the most modern in style, are on a reduced standard. Taking the Δ which sometimes occurs on No. 4, average weight 11.2 grm., to mean that it contains 10 units, I have been inclined to take No. 3, average weight 22 grm., to contain 2 units. If we divide the biggest of the old issues into 10, the smaller denominations fall fairly into place.

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1. JosP. 1, 24.
2. ib. 1, 57.
4. App. 4 = JosP. 1, 16.
5. ib. 1, 57, 61, 83; iv. 18, 39; Trans. Od. Soc. xxix. Minutes, p. 39; other fragments mentioning priests, JosP. 1, 83, 86, 91, iv. 40.
7. BCA. x. p. 7, No. 5; v. supra, p. 479 n. 8.
8. JosP. 1, 106.
10. JosP. 1, 97, 97', 102, 109; BCA. x. p. 6, No. 4 (= App. 14).
Bertier-de-La-Garde takes the Δ to be a magistrate's name; and thinks that the big coins were bronze obols and the units chalci, eight to the obol Attic fashion in place of Aeginetic twelve. His table would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Issue</th>
<th>Late Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Types, Nos.</td>
<td>1b 1a 2 3 (4) 3 (6) (8) 6 (9) 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight, Average</td>
<td>12 28 36 43 76 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in grams, Maximum</td>
<td>10 34 43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absence from this of 4, the half-obol is remarkable, though of course it can be made up with two dichalci. He regards the big dolphins as weights not coins, but did not know of No. 6 here published for the first time by the kindness of the British Museum authorities.

Any number of different tables could be drawn up according to different ways of looking at these variable coins but none yet carry conviction. However Bertier-de-La-Garde's further hypotheses deserve stating. He supposes his chalci to have weighed 2½ Aeginetic drachmae of 60064 grams, and the obol 20 drachmae, so that silver was worth 120 times bronze. Next, just as in the Italian copper we find the as reduced to ½ in the 11th century B.C., he takes the “Devil” coins (iii. 4, 5) to be a token currency of ½ the old weight; transitional is one stamped APIX in a wheel like the reverse of No. 161. Olbia asses circulated in the 11th century, for 108 of them were found in piles upon a dish of that date. Copper being then 120 of silver and silver from Alexander's time 1/12 of gold, gold would be worth 1200 times as much as copper or 400 times as much as the new copper at par. This is just the value at which Protogenes (v. p. 461) accepted the latter, and we can scarcely doubt that it had fallen below par especially if he belonged to the 11th century when the “Devils” are inferior, that is where his service to the city came in, διότι χρυσόν πάν, χαλκόν ἑκορσάτο ἐκ τετρακοσίων. It seems however simpler to believe that by his time copper was counted not weighed and that four hundred copper pieces were taken by him for one of gold; this may have been an Attic stater which would be equal to 480 dichalci; the whole drift of the decree is that he was taking less than his due.

The smaller dolphins, mostly so much perished that we cannot establish their true weight, may very likely have been mere tokens: Bertier-de-La-Garde will not see in them coins at all, but from the way that they are held in the hands of the dead on Berezan they seem to correspond to the coins for Charon found elsewhere. On this site two were found shaped like flat-fish instead of dolphins. According to von Saller the middle sized dolphins with APIXO such as Nos. 7 and 8 betokened ἀρρυσα a basket of fish, a single fish being reckoned

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2 Zt. f. Numismatik X. p. 144; accepted by Prof. Ridgway, Origin of Currency, p. 312.
equal to a smaller dolphin marked ΘΥ[νός] No. 9. But against this it must be urged that the letters ΠΛ与众 which alternate with ΑΠΙΧ on the coins are almost certainly short for Pausies or Pausanias; that is that we here have magistrates' names. Considering the large number of Iranian names beginning with API and the known fact that Scylax had a commanding position in the city the question arises whether even at this early period we have not to do with a native name. But this does not explain the : which divides up the word on No. 8. With its ΘΥ No. 9 tempts us to see in it a tunny, but why is it in the shape of a dolphin, which is a natural improvement of a δεκάριος ingot, as if one should put eyes and a snout to a pig of lead? Further the fishy wealth of Olbia was not in tunnies but in sturgeon. Lastly how should Nos. 1 and 7 bear the same word for a basket? Mr J. R. McClean has given ten large coppers Nos. 1 and 4 and four smaller Nos. 2 and 3 to the Fitzwilliam Museum. The ΑΠΙΧΟ fish make his reading ΧΑΠΙΣ impossible—besides four ounces of bronze make a weighty symbol for a favour. So APIХ on the round coins disposes of Koehler's ΤΑΠΙΧΟΣ; he vainly seeks to distinguish between tunnies and dolphins, but the back fin of the latter is always characteristic.

As to the types, the Pallas is copied from the early coins of Athens. The Medusa is a current archaic motive, the sea-eagle and dolphin present the first example of a type which rings the Euxine and is better represented at Istrus and Sinope than at Olbia. Nos. 1 and 2 must belong to the 6th century B.C. The full face Medusa has nothing to do with the fashion for full faces that prevailed in the 7th century following the wonderful models from Sicily. Coins of these types are found not only at Olbia especially on the edge of the Liman but also on the island Berezian which ceased to be inhabited soon after the beginning of the 7th century, and are associated with 7th century potsherds. The full face on No. 4 with the more artistic presentation of the eagle and dolphin would appear to belong to the 7th century. It has a reminiscence of Arethusa, but the way was prepared by the Medusa, and it has been doubted whether we have not the beautiful Medusa, on the way to the Rondanini type, others have seen in her a local nymph, but she is certainly the same head as is seen in profile on the large silver coins Pl. III. 2 and there the evident ears of corn point to Demeter. No. 3 presents a less archaic Medusa and the sea-eagle shows that it is not much older than No. 4.

The little coins with ΣΤΔ are a puzzle—the casting technique and place of finding point to Olbia—v. Sallet (L.c. thought ΣΤΔ meant ΣΙΣΙΟΝ, Pick (p. 130) takes it to be ΣΙΣΙΠΗΝΩΝ comparing a coin found by Murzakiewicz on Leuce, bearing a wheel and ΣΙΣΙΠ but struck not cast. He would refer them to Istranorum Portus. No satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested. Pharmacovski puts them down to Istrus itself: Bertier-de-La-Garde (p. 77) thinks them Olbian small-change tokens.

It is hard to distinguish coins of such strange size and shape from the weights for use in scales. Bertier-de-La-Garde (p. 78) thinks the large dolphins

1 Cf. Buruckov, Text, p. 37, No. 3, a large copper, obverse as No. 1; reverse, wheel with pellets between four spokes, on the rim ΣΕΗΚ.
2 ΤΑΠΙΧΟΣ, p. 424.
3 BMC. Thrace p. 25; Pontus, XXI—XXII.
4 ΤΑΝΙΟΣ. ΟΙ. ΣΟΙ. Π. 238, No. 4.
5 ΖΑΗ. XII. p. 238, n. 4.
6 The Schabin coins (Sadowski, op. cit. p. 72, Pl. III. 1, 2, Wheel; 3, Gorgonesion; Incuse square), though rather like some of these, are probably not Olbian, v. supra, p. 449.
like No. 6 and also square blocks with dolphins in relief and magistrates' names (Burachkov 111. 16 ΚΡΙΤΟΒΟΥ, VI. 136 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ) all equally weights, deducing therefrom the use at Olbia of a light Phoenician mina of 360 grn. = 5550 grns. divided into 60 Aeginetic drachmae.

**PLATE III. 1—19.**

As for its *aes grave* so for its silver, but not for gold, Olbia at first used the Aeginetic standard; later on it took to the Attic. Aeginetic are the EMINAKO coins (v. p. 487), and the fairly common silver staters, No. 2 weighing about 190 grn. = 12'3 grn. Gold is very rare, the Olbiopolitans having evidently used the Cyzicene stater = 10½ local drachmae (v. p. 459); but there are some small gold pieces, No. 1 weighing 52'8 grn. = 2'13 grn., taken as Attic hemidrachms by G. F. Hill (Num. Chron. iv. xiii. (1912) Pl. vi. 3) and by Bertier-de-La-Garde, who thinks these the gold pieces so freely spoken of in the inscriptions in honour of Callinicus and of Protagoras (v. pp. 459—462), but these are more likely to have been Attic staters, e.g. those of Lysimachus and the unique Olbian gold staters at Brussels (Pick, i. 1), in type exactly like No. 2; this weighs 132 grn. = 8'51 grn.

The 11th and 12th century silver coins mostly bear the head of Demeter, with flowing locks and ears of corn above her forehead; the reverse has on the larger coins the group of the sea-eagle and dolphin, on smaller ones the dolphin with a wheat ear or a leaf or alone, like the gold No. 1; these types are not uncommon also upon copper. An interesting type among the earlier coins is No. 3, on which Demeter, still wearing her wheat ears, appears in a mural crown as Tyche of the city; the reverse has a magistrate's name and a Scythic archer. On the other coins Demeter is veiled (Pick, x. 9, B. vi. 134).

The commonest type of copper bears a horned river-god with shaggy locks, called by the Russian peasants "Devils"; reverse, a Scythic gyrtus, and a strange-shaped axe. The series went on for many years; the extremes of style are shown in Nos. 4 and 5. Each coin bears a monogram or a few letters of a magistrate's name. This series was contemporaneous with the former, as e.g. the EK monogram of No. 2 appears on a "Devil" figured by Pick, ix. 27; a specimen countermarked APIX has been noted above. The magistrates' names are tabulated in MK. t. p. 42, B. p. 45, Berlin Beschreib. L. p. 24, BMC. Thrace, p. 11. We sometimes find the Demeter head with the bowcase and axe on the reverse; such was No. 11 before being countermarked.

A curious class of coppers is marked by great concavity of the reverse, the edges being bevelled. Hence the small surface of the obverse was more than usually exposed to wear; the head upon it is variously regarded as Demeter or Apollo, but No. 9 is very like No. 10, which is certainly Heracles, cf. Pick, x. 16, 20. The reverse has the eagle and dolphin and the letters BΣI. Of similar make are coins with ΕΠΗΒΑ (or ΒΛΕΙΦ, Pick, x. 26), which look like ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΤ, presumably the merely eponymous king. They mostly have Heracles types, and, just as the Heracles inscriptions have been erased (v. supra p. 462), his coins have been stamped with a head of Pallas, cf.

*Æ.* Head of Pallas helmeted rt.  
*Owl, ΣΒΕ, oABio.*

Pick, x. 15; B. vii. 119.
The only remaining important type is that of Apollo. With the eagle and dolphin reverse he is somewhat uncertain (cf. Pick, IX. 9, but X. 13); on No. 6, the lyre makes him quite clear; two coins with his head are inscribed ΟΙΕΠΤΑ (cf. p. 474, 476), No. 7 with the archer and

\[ \text{Æ. Head of Apollo lamin.} \]

Bowcase as No. 8 (perhaps the same coin).

Pick, X. 6; B. v. 88.

Miscellaneous types of interest are,

\[ \text{R. 235}^{±} \text{mm. = 17}^{±} \text{mm. Medusa (prob. Demeter) as Pl. II. 4 full face.} \]

As No. 2.


\[ \text{Æ. Head of Hermes in petasus} \]

Winged caduceus, ΩΑΒΙΟ.

Pick, X. 32; B. VII. 150.

This is like coins of Tyras (v. p. 448), KAY- and Scilurus, Nos. 23, 34; a similar coin (Pick, X. 33) substitutes ΩΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ as on No. 14 and

\[ \text{R. 245}^{±} \text{mm. = 6}^{±} \text{mm. Head of Pallas in helmet r. cf. p. 485.} \]

Spear and shield, ΩΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.


All these coins have the same countermark, a leaf, as on Nos. 15, 14; on No. 12 this has been surcharged with a caduceus suggesting the Hermes coins. Very Mithridatic (cf. Panticapaeum, Pl. VI. 1—4) is

\[ \text{Æ. Winged tripod, above ΩΑ.} \]

Dolphin, star and cap of Dionysus.

Pick, X. 31; B. VII. 101.

The reverse of No. 13 and the eagle of No. 12 recall coins of Mithridates, and may be traces of his power in Olbia. But the reverse of No. 12 is in the BM. specimen practically identical with that of Pharzoeus's gold coin No. 26; on the Odessa specimen the eagle looks the other way.

The various types seem to have succeeded more or less in the order named from the 19th to the 1st century B.C. In the 1st century A.D. we have more coins of Olbia, all of them with the heads or types of Apollo Prostates, to whom so many inscriptions were set up. Probably the Α monogram stands here for his name just as at Chersonese it stands for Πατριεως. As Miss Hirst says, No. 16 preserves for us the pose of one cult statue and No. 17 another. But the barbarism of the execution prevents our taking any pleasure in the composition. These coins have the further interest of bearing the names of two archons whom we find mentioned in inscriptions, Aedes Delphi and Dados Satyri (v. supra p. 473). Χ clearly = Αρχιοντός.

Pick figures some very rude coins with the name of Olbia and types derived from provincial Roman models, but we will hope that they were the productions of the surrounding savages. One type is interesting, as it shews an ox (Pick, X. 23), which appears also upon Olbian coins of Severus Alexander. I have reproduced only two in the series of imperial coins of Olbia—they are generally very similar to those of Tyras and other neighbouring cities; they extend from the reign of Septimius Severus to that of Severus Alexander. The coin of Geta, No. 18, has for its reverse a curious representation of Mars, rather a copy of some Roman type than the town statue of Ares; No. 19, Severus Alexander, is presumably the last Olbian coin, though some of later date (v. p. 470), struck elsewhere, have been found on the site.
Plate III. 20—27.

The historical conclusions that can be drawn from the coins of native kings found about the N.W. Euxine have already been stated (supra p. 119).

In a class by themselves are the silver coins with the name ΕΜΙΝΑΚΩ: three finds of them have been made at Olbia, in one case sixteen together in one pot, and they have occurred nowhere else.

R. 181 grm. = 1173 grm. Heracles nude but for the lion-scap, shouting, within a border of dots. ΕΜΙΝΑΚΩ. A four-spoked wheel as Pl. II. 2, 3 within an incuse square, dolphins in the spandrels.

The finding place, the reverse and the weight, apparently an Aeginetic stater, suggest Olbia, but the make, with a shallow square, and the obverse (cf. Thasos, Head, Hist. Num.1, p. 265), recall Thrace; the name looks as likely to be Irano-Scythic as Thracian: the style is late 4th century.

Pick divided the later coins, from the 5th century on, according as the rulers whose names they bear may have been lords of Tyras and Olbia respectively. The type, obverse Hermes, reverse caduceus, is common to Odessus (Pick, iv. 19.), Tomi (ib. v. 19.), which shews other resemblances to native types, Tyras (B. x. 25, cf. Hist. Num.1 p. 234) and Olbia (Pick, x. 32, 33), also to Canites (ib. xii. 7, perhaps 8), Sarias (ib. xiii. 11), Mostis, KAY, No. 23 and Scullurus, No. 24; cf. the caduceus countermark on No. 12; special links are those joining No. 20 to Pick, xii. 16 at Tyras, the monogram which seems to read TOMI on No. 22, whereupon is a head such as appears on the countermark of No. 11, which has the cross-link of Tomitan horse-protomes as though Aelis had spread these over the whole of his dominions. Sarias has divinities on his other coins. Demeter and Apollo, but the head on No. 21 may yet be a portrait; I cannot see the suggested resemblance to No. 5. Tattichella puts down Canites and Sarias as Getan; others of the dynasty would be Adrastus and Acrosandrus (or rather Charaspes and Acrosas).

Two kings named Scostoces would seem to have dwelt in Thrace proper. Besides Nos. 24 and 25 Scullurus has Pick, xii. 5, which I give on p. 56, f. 4, after Kochne's drawing, so as to show the chariot: on Pick, xii. 4 (reverse like No. 25) he wears a flat headdress, but both that and No. 25 may be portraits.

The coin of Pharzoeus shown, No. 26, is of fair workmanship, but Pick gives two others thoroughly barbarous and of baser gold, which makes Oréshnikov's dating in the 1st century A.D. the more probable. The royal sign on which the eagle stands recurs on the coin of Inismius, No. 27, and is like the Tami on Bosporan coins, it just might be conventionalized lightning (supra p. 317 and Pl. viii. 26). Since my plate was prepared Mr Oréshnikov writes that the Hermitage has acquired a tetradrachm with the magistrate's name Niceratus and the king's spelt Inismius, so it must equal that of the Bosporan Inithimius, cf. the two forms Spargapises and Spargapities in Herodotus: in style the coin is clearly of the 1st century A.D.

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1 Hist. Num.1 p. 283; Zt. f. Numismatik, iii. Pl. xii. 4; Oréshnikov, Cat. Moscow University Coins, p. 15, Pl. i. 6; Bertier-de-La-Garde, op. cit. p. 58, n. 21; Trans. Od. Soc. xxvi. Minutes, p. 34.
3 For both Nos. 21 and 22, cf. W. Wrotz, Num. Chron. 1899, p. 23; he kindly sent me the casts.
4 Rev. Num. 1900, p. 397; Pl. xii. 1904, p. 31, Pl. v.
5 So Reglin in Head's Corolla Numismatiae, p. 259; Pick, p. 520, cf. 601 n. 2; HN3 p. 289.
6 I cannot agree in assigning to Olbia the coins with KOΣΙΝ, HN3; cf. Berlin Burcher, p. 23.
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Mr Pharmacovski has very kindly sent me off-print of most of his articles.

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Uvarov, A. S., op. cit., Pl. VIII, A, B, very fanciful.

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M. 62
CHAPTER XVI.

CERCINITIS

Few little towns have had devoted to them so disproportionate an amount of discussion as Cercinitis. Various views about it have been already mentioned as the question had to be taken in connexion with the general topography (p. 17). The evidence for putting it near Eupatoria is the fair agreement with the distance given by the source common to the late Ps.-Arrian and Anon., the fact that this does not contradict the words of the Diophantus inscription, the occurrence of many coins of Cercinitis on this site (they also occur at Chersonese and at other points in the west Crimea) and finally the discovery of remains of a Greek settlement more important than any other in that part of the peninsula.

Between Chersonese and Tarkhankut, the western promontory of the Crimea, the coast forms a kind of quadrant; the only shelter for ships is furnished by a projection southwards breaking the regular curve, and protecting the open roadstead of Eupatoria, so that the modern town faces SE. Two miles to the west is the salt lake of Majnak now, as usual, cut off from the sea. This seems to have been the old harbour, and the old town was on its eastern side. There remain of it a few foundations, among them a grand staircase, some barrack and the site of a cemetery. This last extends as far as the Quarantine on the outskirts of the modern town.

The whole space is defended by a bank across from the lake to the Bay of Eupatoria. The objects yielded by the cemetery date from the 11th century B.C. on and include a silver twist (like that figured on p. 208, f. 106, 32), a black-figured kylix, a skull, a red-figured craters, a bronze statuette of Egyptian work and some terra-cottas of all dates, and coins of Cercinitis and Chersonese (of the earlier periods), also of Panticapeum, Amisos and more rarely Olbia. The middle part of the site has been less dug over. The western part which was the town has the characteristically uneven surface, but the foundations do not present any clear features, though Burakhov claims to have distinguished streets and towers. Lumps of slag, runnings from moulds and imperfect bronze objects make it probable that there was a bronze foundry on

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1 The name first occurs in Hecataeus, Fr. 153, ap. Steph. Byz., KapΣenkis πόλις Σακχαχ. Herodotus IV, 54, 92 mentions a town KapΣeνκες. On him depends Pomponius Mela II, 4, who mentions the gulf Cercinitis and from its name forms that of the town as Carcine; in this he is followed by Pliny, NH IV, 54, 83 (26), and Strabo makes KapΣenkis a river as well as a gulf and speaks of KapΣenkis πολυταντηγος by misunderstood Herodotean tradition. As his text now stands Strabo (vii, iii, 191; iv, 5) only mentions KapΣenkis gulf but v. p. 496 infra. The coins give KAPK and KEPKL. The Inscrip. App. 15, 18 (Jos.P.F. IV, 79; I, 18) have KapΣenkis, Ps.-Arrian (50, 19) and Anon. 85, 52 in their peripli make KapΣenkis 600 stades from Chersonese, Anon. adds the form KapΣenkis and speaks of the gulf as KapΣenkis. There is another Cercina and an island Cercinitis in the lesser Syris, cf. ΣΤΩΣ, fortress, and some might use this name as an argument for the presence of the Phoenicians in the Euxine. The Italian maps give Chichinini and such in the W. Crimea (Brum, Cherniomerj, II, p. 8).
the site. Besides the inscribed stele, others have been found, one with part of a very rude Totenmahle, also a bit of pediment with dentels. All these are illustrated in Romanchenko's two papers. The amphora handles recall those found at Chersonese. The barrows occur, some within the defensive bank (which may be more recent), and some in the open plain.

Mention by Hecataeus proves that the town existed about 500 B.C. (cf. Jakunchikov's coins). The one inscription of the 11th century shews the town to be Dorian, and therefore racially related to Chersonese. It may have been an earlier attempt on the part of the founders of the better known town, more probably it was a sister factory whose development was hindered by the badness of the Hypacyris route and the indefensibility of its territory.

What degree of autonomy it enjoyed we cannot tell. Of the three chief types of coins one would pass as Chersonesian but for the legend: the other two offer great similarities, but the right of issuing any coins at all argues formal independence. Many Chersonese coins occur on the site, especially those like Pl. iv. 6, 10.

Probably Cercinitis was at first an independent settlement which was compelled to lean for help upon Chersonese, whose situation laid it less open to the attacks of the natives. On the other hand, the open plain about Cercinitis offered space for a development of agriculture impossible upon the Lesser Peninsula. So mutual interest linked the towns very closely and Chersonese naturally became predominant. During the 11th and 11th centuries Chersonese could protect her dependency, but with the organization of Sasanian power under Chosroes, or even before his time, she had to relinquish it. By the help of Diophantus it was recovered, but the remains so far as we know do not shew anything much after the 11th century A.D.

COINS, PLATE IX. 1-3.

Jakunchikov¹ has two coins found on the site but without inscription:

| Ar. 171 grn. | Horse galloping r. |
| Ar. 171 grn. | Rude incuse square. |

The later coins are both in make and types very similar to those of Chersonese (see Pl. iv.). The head on No. 1 had some resemblance to that on Pl. iv. 17, especially in the peculiar embattled crown, but it is still more like the Tyche of Amisos and Heraclia Pontica². This coin also occurs with the magistrate's name ΠΟΛΥ (Oréshnikov 2). The axe on No. 2 is rather like that represented on Olbian coins, Pl. III. 4. Oréshnikov thinks the head is a dolphin. This type has several other names ΕΡΓΑ, ΕΛΩΣ, ΠΡΟΚΡΑ, ΚΑΛΛΙΩ, ΚΑΛΛΙΩ ΛΠ (Or. 3-9), ΙΣΤΙ (cf. iv. 14): the first two of these occur also on No. 3 (Or. 10, 11), presumably it is of the same date: its types are quite Chersonesian. Romanchenko³ publishes an entirely new type:

| Ae. Head of Heracles r. as at Chersonese, Pl. iv. | Eagle r. upon thunderbolt above HΡΩΝ, below КАΡΚΙΝ. |

P. Vacquier (op. cit.) gives several coins of which some are demonstrably strange to Cercinitis, others quite unique, e.g. No. 8:

\[ \text{Æ. Alexander-Heracles r.} \quad \text{Bow and club, between them } \text{XEPX} \text{ above } \text{BASILEOΣ ΣΧΙΛΟΡΟΥY} \]

Burachkov (Trans. Od. Soc. IX. p. 98) also describes a coin

\[ \text{Æ. Scilurus with saganis behind him, KEP.} \quad \text{Bow and club, BASILEOΣ ΣΧΙΛΟΡΟΥY} \]

There is nothing improbable in Scilurus having coined at Cercinitis, but no certain examples exist, and it would be a very likely idea for a forger.


\[ \text{Æ. Young Head in helmet l.} \quad \text{Lion not very unlike iat. Pl. V. 10, 11, TAM.} \]

but these have never been found north of the Euxine, and probably belong to some obscure town in Asia Minor.

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**Coins.**


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Burachkov as above and in his general Catalogue, p. 93 and Pl. xiii.


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CHAPTER XVII.

CHERSONESE.

Chersonese\(^1\) differs from all the other Greek colonies on the north shore of the Euxine except Cercinitis in being Dorian. It can hardly be a coincidence that like the other Dorian colonies it was founded on a site which however accessible from the sea did not offer special advantages for trade with the interior. Just as Heraclea Pontica, its mother city, had its own territory from which it drew supplies, so for the greater part of its existence Chersonese had mainly to rely on the produce of the Lesser Peninsula which soon became its very own, and in flourishing periods on possessions in the west part of the Crimea. But when the other colonies because of their intimate connexion with the natives whose hostility might bring ruin fell into decay through the change of population, then rose to importance the

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\(^1\) The official title of the city was Χερσονήσου Ἀρχοντικός (Jos.P.E. iv. 73, 74), other Greeks spoke of Χερσονήσιον ἤ & τω Λιλίνιοι (Ditt. Syll. 268, 281, 588); so it was distinguished from Chersonesus in Crete and the various peninsulas Thracian, Cnidian etc. There is always to be feared possible confusion with Chersonesus Taurica, the Crimea (Chersonesus Taurica—the city seems modern Latin), also with the Lesser Peninsula, Strabo's μικροῖς, which constituted the homeland of the city. The general name was Χερσονήσιον or Χερσοφόρου, there seems no ancient authority for the fashion of doubling the κ. Pliny, NH. iv. 85 (26) speaks of Heraclea Chersonesia, but that name seems due to his mixing it up with Heraclea Pontica its mother city: many modern writers use it as the full designation. About the 3rd century A.D. came in the forms Χερσονήσιον, Χερσοφόρου first found in a fragment of Philogon of Tralles in the time of Hadrian, but the quotation occurs in late authors who may have substituted the more modern form (e.g. Const. Porph. de Thea. i. 12, p. 63). Dionyssius Exiguus (ap. Mansi, Concil. viii. p. 326, but cf. p. 383) translates the signature of Bp Athanasius II at the second council of Constantinople A.D. 381 as <T>ersonianos, whereas his successor at the council of 448 was styled Χερσονησιατικός (ib. viii. p. 239, cf. p. 243); that is the long form did not at once give way to the short. The latter appears in Latin as Chersona in Jordanes (Get. v. 32, 37). The Russian chronicle makes it Epeyne, Korsun. The Tartar name was Sary Kermen, the yellow fortresses, e.g. Selivanov, p. 20, 22; Brandes, s.v. Cherson sinus (20), P. 246, p. 2261. I shall call it Chersone as the anglicized form of the word is familiar though not in its application to this city.
modest commerce of the Chersonesites, safe in their remote corner of a secondary peninsula. So the time when Chersonese was of moment in the world was when it was handing on to the untouched tribes of Russia the religion and culture of Eastern Rome. That is my excuse for continuing my sketch of its history to the time when cut off from the interior by the Mongols it died at the coming of the Turk.

Since then it has lain desolate. In 1578 Martinus Broniovius de Biezdez-fedea¹, ambassador from Bathory to the Crim Tartars, visited the site of which he left a high-flown account more indebted to Strabo than to his own eyes. So it remained until the coming of the Russians in 1783, and the speedy foundation of Sevastopol. Chersonese then became accessible to travellers and the first learned folk to see it were Pallas², Mrs Guthrie³, and Dr E. D. Clarke⁴. All these had preconceived ideas of what ought to be found on a classical site, and when nothing of the sort was to be seen, they ascribed the desolation to a Russian passion for destruction. General A. L. Bertier-de-La-Garde⁵ has shown that Pallas and Clarke much exaggerated the damage done. Clarke, more especially after the treatment he had suffered at the hands of the insane Emperor Paul, was no doubt excessively prejudiced against the Russians, and everywhere speaks of the antiquities that he saw as doomed to destruction. As a matter of fact everything he mentions has been preserved unto this day; but the explanation is probably that he visited the country just as real order was being established, and the pioneers of conquest were giving place to a more settled administration which could see to the preservation of antiquities. But during the first twenty years it was small blame to the Russians if they used Chersonese as a quarry for Sevastopol and stripped the town of the ready squared stone that lay on the surface. General Bertier-de-La-Garde argues that during its long decay the city's fine buildings had been dilapidated by its own inhabitants, and that there was nothing but small rough stone left by the time the Russians appeared, but the amount of squared stone walling discovered in recent excavations offers a presumption that much had remained aboveground and was greedily carried off to Sevastopol. It can hardly be held that it was more trouble to cart stone a couple of miles than to quarry it at Inkerman five miles off. Some destruction had already been done by the Turks who are said to have shipped columns across to Constantinople, by the Genoese, and by the Tartars; but at the time of the Russian occupation the remains of the poor Byzantine town stood almost intact surrounded by its walls, and with its gates in situ⁶: much in the same way Chufut Kale stands on its hill deserted by all but a Rabbi in charge of the Karaite synagogue, the people having gradually moved to Baghchi Saraj. To charges of reckless destructiveness Russians can reply that the Allies did their share of damage during the siege of Sevastopol.

³ Tour in Taurida made in 1795, London, 1802, p. 95.
⁵ Mat. XII. p. 1 sqq.
⁶ A view shewing it like this is reproduced in Ainalov: Monuments of Christian Chersones, St. Petersburg, 1853, but it is mostly fancy.
The Lesser Peninsula.

The home-domain of Chersonese consisted of what Strabo calls the Lesser Peninsula, a triangle of which the base is the line from Inkerman to Balaklava (7½ miles = 12 km.) and the south side the inhospitable coast from the latter to Cape Chersonese about 14 miles (23 km.) following the slight curves. The general line of the north side is fairly straight and extends some 12 miles (20 km.) from the Cape to the head of the North Bay at Inkerman, but the coast is deeply indented and presents a wonderful series of harbours.

This triangle is a plateau which has a general slope towards the north and especially the west (on Map viii. the heights are marked in feet), from the cliffs at the extreme south, where they reach 1000 feet (304 m.) to the lower cliffs opposite Inkerman, and to the flat Cape Chersonese. The edge of the plateau forms an escarpment overlooking a depression which coincides with the base of the triangle. Further to the east were the mountains of the Tauri, a region that the Chersonesites never seem to have subdued until after the Christian era. This triangle is precisely the limit of the ground occupied by the Allies besieging Sevastopol; they could hold the Sapun and Karagach escarpment against the Russian armies that attempted to relieve the town. It is drained by many ravines which make the inlets of the northern coast. General Bertier-de-La-Garde still further reduces the space owned by the citizens saying that traces of their occupation scarcely extend east of the South Bay of Sevastopol.

This exposed limestone plateau is now mostly barren; it lacks moisture and the soil is very thin; only in the ravines are there attempts at gardening and a few vineyards on the south-eastern slopes above Kadikoj. Yet in ancient times its whole surface was undoubtedly cultivated. Dubois de Montpéréau traced all over it the lines of regular boundary walls and in many places the foundations of the ancient homesteads. Inscriptions give us fragments of a decree concerning the apportionment of land and Agasicles is praised for his services in a redistribution of the vineyards. The produce of the vineyards was exported in amphorae referred to Chersonese on account of Doric names which coincide with those of known Chersonesian magistrates. I have no explanation of the enigma to offer unless it were a great diminution of rainfall; perhaps if sufficient labour and intelligence were applied to the peninsula it could support a considerable population. Nowadays this is not worth while as the valleys along the south coast of the great peninsula are far more attractive; debarred from these by the Tauri the Chersonesites did their best with difficult soil. In later times when decay set in Chersonese had to rely on imported wine and grain paid for with hides and wax from the Pecheneg country.

Let us now apply Strabo's description to this country.

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3. *Hist. IV. 86.*
4. *Hist. I. 105.* This may refer to land in the west of the Crimea, v. p. 518.
“As you sail out (of the Gulf of Carcinites) you have on your left... a townlet and another harbour of the Chersonesites. For as you continue your sail there stretches out towards the south a great promontory being part of the main Chersonese and upon it is built the city of the Heracleotes, itself called Chersonese. In this is the Sanctuary of the Maiden (a deity after which also is named the cape that runs out in front of the city at a distance of 100 stades and is called Parthenium) with a temple of the deity and an image. But between the city and the cape are three harbours. Then comes Old Chersonese all pulled down and after it a harbour with a narrow mouth, at which point the Tauri did most of their piracies attacking those that took refuge in it: it is called the harbour Symbolon. And this harbour makes with another called Ctenus an isthmus forty stades broad: this is that which shuts in the lesser Chersonese which we said was a part of the great Chersonese and has in it the town with the same name of Chersonese.”

In the next section Strabo remarks that Ctenus is the same distance from the town Chersonese as from the harbour Symbolon.

Again (i.e. § 7) he speaks of “a place called Eupatorium founded by Diophantus general of Mithridates. It is a cape distant about 15 stades from the wall (τεῖχος) of the Chersonesites making a fine large bay turned towards the city. Above it is a sea-meres with salt-works. This was where Ctenus was.” He next describes how Diophantus fortified the cape and made a mole across to the city (καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ κόλπου τὸ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως διέκοψε, surely this must be a mistake, a bridge or boom would give the easy communication sought) and how when the Scythians tried to pass the ditch across the isthmus towards Ctenus, by filling it up each day with reeds, the king’s men burnt them each night and so repelled their attacks (v. p. 519).

With New Chersonese fixed the promontory Parthenium must be that now called Cape Chersonese, the distance of 100 stades agrees fairly well with the actual 85, by land it would agree almost exactly. The three harbours would be Strelets, Reedy and Cossack Bays. The narrow-mouthed harbour Symbolon is clearly Balaklava. Old Chersonese should be somewhere east of Cape Parthenium. Clarke and Pallas say that the isthmus between Cossack Bay and the south-western sea was covered with the remains of a town, and on this the only conceivable site, Kosciuszko-Walużyńcz’s excavations exposed two cross-walls with towers and gates, also remains of houses and small antiquities going back to the Greek period of Chersonese. The end of one of

1 VII. iv. 2. The first words ‘Εκ πόλεως εἰς ἐμπρεταιν ποδόν καὶ ἄλλα λιμνη ξεροκοσμαντάν have something wrong with them. Casabian long ago conjectured Κάλλα λιμνη, but Latshev in his comment on the Ctenus’ oath in Mat. IX. p. 8 and in Journ. Mar. Phil. Inst. St. P., 1882, April-Pront., p. 120, thinks that the lacuna was still greater including a description of all the SW. coast of the Crimea. The loss was in any case due to the homoeoteleva ΚΑΛΛΟΣΑΙΜΗΝ and ΑΛΛΟΣΑΙΜΗΝ, that is the Fair Haven was mentioned and its name misunderstood. The towns along the west coast of the Crimea would be accounted for and the copyist’s mistake easily explained if only we dare put back the text in some such form as this—

ΕΠΑΝΟΘΕΝΑΔΕΡΚΙΤΕ ΠΑΝΕΚΤΟΚΑΛΛΟΣΑΙΜΗΝ ΚΤΕΙΝΗΕΡΟΝΙΣΗΤΟ ΕΙΣΑΕΝΑΚΙΝΙΤΙΚ ΠΟΛΕΥΝΚΑΛΛΟΣΑΙΜΗΝ ΧΕΡΟΝΗΣΙΟΝ

The lines are hardly shorter than usual, e.g. Kenyon, Palaeography of Greek Palaeography, pp. 21, 66, Pl. XI. or Schubert, Papyr. Gr. Berol. 31. The Heraea.

2 Latshev, loc. first proposed taking this as a parenthesis and so doing away with the idea of two sanctuaries, one in the town, another on the cape. Hence the buildings identified as this temple by Pallas and later travellers are probably but homesteads with well-built refuge towers.
the walls projected into Cossack Bay and formed an island upon which the Byzantines built a monastery answering to the account of the first resting place of S. Clement of Rome. If this fortress was not Old Chersonese it may have been a place of refuge to which cattle might be driven away from inroads of the Tauri, perhaps one of the seven referred to in the citizens' oath (v. p. 516)

In 1910 N. M. Pechonkin found pots and other objects beginning like the oldest things from New Chersonese with the end of the 11th century B.C. and going down to the early Roman period, when Strabo speaks of the place as ruined. They do not tell us whether this was the original settlement made in a corner remote from the natives because the Heracleotae were not yet sure of their ground, nor, if so, when the bulk of the population migrated, leaving a mere remnant behind. Pliny (l.c.), who does not seem dependent on Strabo, implies the existence of Old Chersonese by speaking of Chersonesus Nea.

Cteenus is clearly the great bay now called North Bay, the subsidiary Quarantine, Artillery, South, Dock and Careening Bays make it not unlike a comb. Balaklava to Inkerman is nearer sixty than forty stades but this distance just answers to the five miles from Chersonese to Inkerman. Eupatorium fifteen stades from Chersonese must have been a fort made by walling off the end of the North Cape and this is the isthmus towards Cteenus of which Strabo speaks in § 7; not the isthmus Balaklava-Inkerman. Pallas and Clarke misunderstanding this passage saw remains of a wall along the latter line; but General Bertier-de-la-Garde declares that there are no traces of it now and well shews that the population of Chersonese could not have manned so long a wall. No doubt they had observation-posts along the Sapun ridge and relied on the lie of the land for protection. Even so the massive foundations of the scattered homesteads suggest that they were built to offer refuge against sudden raids; there were no open villages.

The value of a tête-de-pont like Eupatorium to Diophantus who carried war into the country of the Scythians is evident, saving him from the long march round the North Bay and the dangerous passage of the Chernaja. The batteries on North Cape remained in Russian possession and the defenders of Sevastopol retired to them by a bridge thrown across from the city and so withdrew.

No attempt has been made to state the many conflicting views as to these various localities, e.g. Burachkov put Eupatorium at Eupatoria regardless of distances. Eupatoria is another instance of singularly unfortunate application of ancient names. Bertier-de-la-Garde denies that Eupatorium was the name of the fortress built by the besieged across the bay; yet this is the natural deduction from Strabo's words; so the Allies had their Fort Victoria. He maintains that the whole story about Scythian siege applies exactly to Cossack Bay and the site of Old Chersonese: the points deciding him are the sea-mere with salterns and the shallowness of the bay which allowed of throwing the mole across it. Von Stern will have none of Old Chersonese, but allows the scene of this siege to have been in Cossack Bay, saying that it is a

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1 CR. 1899, p. 37, and Clarke's plan, ii. p. 273.
2 Arch. Ant. 1911, p. 266; BCA. xli. pp. 108—120.
3 Pallas says that the distance does not look more than 40, op. cit. ii. p. 62.
4 BCA. xxi. p. 177 sqq.
matter of the ἐχή or forts of the Chersonesites (v. p. 516) not of the city wall, but this again is straining Strabo's words as he mostly speaks of πόλις. The view in the text has to give up δεξτρωτώς: 15 stades of mole is too much to ask, however shallow the bay: a bridge is no mean feat. The saltern cannot be reckoned a permanent geographical feature, but there is a lake just inside North Cape.

Site and Remains.

The final settlement of the Heracleotes was on a low peninsula between the lesser Round Bay and the Quarantine Bay. Among all the harbours offering this seems to have been chosen because it was well commanded by an easily fortified site yet itself had gently sloping shores suitable for the Greek method of beaching ships. The western harbours provided no kind of acropolis, the eastern such as South Bay were enclosed by steep cliffs, and North Bay was too large a scale and too much exposed to enemies.

The space finally enclosed by the walls of New Chersonese is some five eighths of a mile (about 1 km.) long from west to east and 600 yards (550 m.) from north to south occupying the whole of the blunt headland between the two bays. This gives a circumference of two English miles (3 km.) which can in no way tally with Pliny's five Roman miles. This considerable extent was naturally not built with one effort, but the capricious progress of the work shews less perseverance than might have been expected. The explanation is

1 Ptolemy, Geog. III. vi. 2, may in the light of this view receive a rather better interpretation than Layseth's on Map ii. (supra, p. 11): long. 60°; lat. 47° 10' (Symbolon Portus) can be at the head of an inlet running up from the NE. and 56° 15': 47° 10' (Cenus) on a deeper inlet coming from the NW. by "Poisatoria" (60° 45': 47° 40'). Thus an outline not indicated the actual, though not to be deduced from Ptolemy's data, can be made to fit them. Chersonese so appears between C. Partenium and Symbolon Portus, i.e. on the site of the old city. Dandace seems to occupy about the place of the new town and perhaps it was the name of one of Strabo's three harbours. Amm. Marc. who mentions it only copies Ptolemy.

2 The following account of the fortifications of New Chersonese with the deductions which can be drawn from them with regard to the history of that settlement presents, except as regards the open state of the town, the views of General Berthier-de-La-Garde (B.C.G., XXI), who has brought to the solution of the problems a most wonderful combination of qualities, for he is at once a soldier who understands the strategy and tactics of attack and defence, an engineer trained to notice technical points, an archaeologist and so to speak an "oldest inhabitant." Nothing less than this was required to answer the riddles presented and produce a consistent explanation of all the phenomena. Plan VII may not be quite exact, but Fig. 338 supplements it in the interesting area. The difficulty was that no large-scale plan had been published and the small-scale ones differed surprisingly from each other. I took as my main basis that given in Brockhaus-Jefron's Russian Encyclopaedia, s.v. Chersonese, and on it endeavoured to combine the sectional plans drawn to various scales which have accompanied the yearly reports of the excavations published in C. R. from 1888—1906 and in B.C.G. (v. Bibliography, p. 551). Finally I corrected the fortifications by Berthier-de-La-Garde's Pl. II, etc., and the churches and earlier excavations by Ainalov, Monuments of Christian Chersonese, &c. Ruins of Churches, etc., and Mr M. I. Skrjabov, draughtsmen to the excavations, made some important additions on thorough copy. The death of Mr K. K. Kosciuszko-Walutynez in December 1907 made it impossible to bring out the full results of his last two years' work. To him we owe almost all our knowledge of what has been actually found at Chersonese and I am specially indebted to him for his courtesy in giving me information on the spot and in supplying me with the latest results of his researches. The present Director of the excavations, Dr R. López, has continued his predecessor's kindness to me.

A great hindrance to the work is the presence of the monastery, which takes up the best part of the site. Its great church, the chief landmark of Chersonese, is built over the remains of a basilica hastily assumed to be the scene of Vladimir's baptism. Further the operations of military engineers are destructive but unavoidable as the site is of such strategic importance to Sevastopol.

3 Mer. iv. 85. This distance must refer to the isthmus of Perekop, cf. Pomp. Mela ii. 3, 4, whom Pliny seems to have misunderstood.
that until the 1st century B.C. a wall of crude brick or a palisade was in places defence enough. During the 11th century when danger was to be feared from the aggressive policy of the Spartocids, Greek poliorcetics were rather elementary, later on it was only a question of barbarian raids almost powerless against any sort of fortification.1

One exposed point of the position was clearly the lowest part of the site towards its S.E. corner (Fig. 338) commanded as it is by a considerable hill to the SW. of it; moreover it was vital to protect the port. Here accordingly was made the first attempt at fortification, or probably, as von Stern points out2, the beginning was made here for physical rather than tactical reasons. Between E and B the wall goes down into a deep valley, the middle of which about DC is nothing but the old bed of an arm of the harbour. The foundations actually stand in water and for that reason have not been exposed. In this water crude brick would simply have melted3; so from the tower F to the tower C were built the lower courses of a wall, and towers and gates were laid out; the towers had rather shallow projection and the gates were not well commanded by cross fire, but it was early for these improvements.

This whole piece of work is admirable, even extravagant in execution. The stones are large and “rusticated,” i.e., carefully smoothed round the edges, the face being left rough; they are laid as headers and stretchers alternately, without mortar but held by swallow-tailed wooden clamps. The facing is backed with rubble and stones set in clay, total thickness 12 ft. 8 in. (3.85 m.). Upon some stones are masons’ marks, notably an N with the archaic slope, later forms point to the 11th century.4 Deep in the heart of the wall,5 by the gate and dating from its construction is a sepulchral passage, a kind of T-shaped tunnel containing urns within which were ashes and jewelry, the earliest of which is of the 11th century, the latest about a hundred years more recent (v. pp. 380, 397—399, 402, 410 n. 1, 422): members of a distinguished family were successively buried here; having regard to the singular position, may it not be supposed that we have here the family tomb of the builder of the wall? He may have deserved the honour by his munificent intentions, but he did not execute them. The curtain walls were nowhere carried up more than nine courses: some of the towers were left even lower (v. elevation on Fig. 338): also the gate E by its position involved a most inconvenient steep approach. Perhaps because these weak points were observed the work was left incomplete as is shown by the regularly stepped line of its top courses, quite unlike the look of a wall which has been partly knocked down after having once been finished: further no similar stones have been found used as material in any later building.

A second attempt was made after a short interval which did not give the projecting corners time to weather; the work was more cheaply executed, the stones smaller and far less regular, though still rusticated; there are no masons’

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1 How elementary they were in the 4th century is well shown by Grundy, Thucydides and the History of his Age, Ch. XIII., p. 352 sqq. Betti-der-de-La-Carpe thinks that Old Chersones was remain as a refuge until the 1st century A.D. and so the Chersonesites were in no hurry to complete their defence on the new site.


3 Cf. Xenophon, Hellen. v. 1. 1-8.

4 BCA. 1971. p. 95, f. 14; similar marks along E.N.W. and on the house-walls N.-S.

5 v. inset Plan VI. BCA. i. pp. 3-7, f. 2-4.

6 Wace suggests a mud brick top to the wall.
marks. In this style the stepped upper line of the first attempt was brought to a level, but in other respects the former plans were departed from. The unfinished gate $E$ was walled up and the towers were rebuilt with more projection, thus the depth of this stratum varies from eleven courses at the tower $D$ which had not been intended by the first building, and seven in the curtain wall by $C$ to one course on the wall about the gate $E$ (v. elevation on Fig. 338).

**Fig. 334.** Gates ($E$ on Plan VII, v. inset) in the Greek Wall of Chersonese. Eight courses of 1st period, one of 2nd; above, Roman with threshold of portcullis. The gate was 3.87 m. broad, the passage way 8.39 m. long. Just within the entrance are portcullis-grooves and 5.33 m. from the face of the wall are projections reducing the opening to 2.12 m. To the east of the gate inside was a stair to go up on the wall. Three water runnels meeting give the directions of streets, two "lack of the walls," one towards the Acropolis and one towards the harbour (Fig. 339). At a lower level than all this was a sepulchral monument 2.40 m. square as it were a pyramid with three steps (C.R. 1900, p. 214, t. 43). The jambs of the gate showed no signs of any traffic having passed through it.

From a photograph furnished by Mr. Kostoszek-Walutyńcz, who stands in the gateway.

The plans were changed even during the execution of this small piece of work. In the second style the foundations were laid of a wall running east of
tower C to a round tower of the same size (\(V^1\) on Fig. 338). Then they seem to have decided to include a greater space for the harbour district and the towers \(A^1\) and \(B\) were built, but nothing remains to connect \(B\) up with a curtain wall. So far they had got by the 3rd century B.C. Towards the end of the 3rd century they began to join up towers \(C\) and \(B\) by means of a wall jutting out to the west of \(C\) and having in it a postern \(c\) with a skillfully turned arch; this wall only reached half-way to \(B^2\).

After the middle of the last century B.C., perhaps as a result of experiences in the wars with Scilurus, they tried to make Chersonese more defensible on this side and also more convenient. With the latter intention the existing masonry wall was sacrificed. We have seen that between \(E\) and \(B\) the wall descended into a deep valley. The road to the main part of the city followed it down into this marshy depression and then climbed a very steep slope to the gate at about \(J\). To remedy this the beginnings of the defensive walls were used as a retaining wall and earth to the depth of about 20 ft. was piled against their outer face to make a causeway.

Another weak point was at the sw. corner \(L-N\), where an enemy might come along a hog’s back leading gently down to the town; here again we have 4th century work forming a foundation for the walling of irregularly squared but not rusticated stones characteristic of the Roman period, when the circuit was finally completed in masonry.

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1. \(C.R.\), 1905, Pl. m.
2. \(C.R.\), 1909, Pl. l, pp. 13, 14, II 27—29; \(B.C.A.\), XXII, p. 159, f. 16.
From the successive towers $A^1$, $A^2$ on the shore of the harbour, a wall five
times rebuilt runs sw. to $B$, the most exposed point in the circuit. Hence
the original narrow tower of the second Greek period was treated as a mere
nucleus thickened at three successive rebuildings. Just by it was a postern $b$.
The piece of wall from $B$ to $C$ rested for its northern half on the Greek wall of
the second period, but the latter had been completely earthed over, for there
are courses of rough foundation masonry between it and the lowest course of
Roman finished walling. A new postern $c$ was built just above the former
one. Its object was to allow sallies from $b$ to return to the town without
exposing their right flank to an enemy. In the straight piece from $C$ to $E$ (Fig. 335) the three periods of masonry are best seen. At $D$ the second
period had designed a weak semicircular tower. The gate at $E$ had long
been walled up. It had no proper cross fire to defend it, and was altogether
badly placed. The round Greek tower $E^1$ to the west of it was not a
powerful work; in Roman times it was rebuilt in rectangular form. $F$ was
a stronger circular tower. No Greek work remains along the slope from $F$
almost to $L$. At $I$ was the main town gate for traffic approaching from the east
and a street led up from it to the Acropolis. $J$ was a tower whose importance
came later—between it and the se. corner tower $L^1$ there were only three
ordinary towers as here the ground falls steeply from the foot of the wall.
Some way along this space were the main Thermae from which successive
lines of water-courses ran between the walls to $c$, here re-entered the town over
the postern and so gained the harbour. The next section $L-N$ ran across a
ridge giving easy access to the great gates $M$, the chief entrance to the town
from the plateau, Balaklava and Old Chersonese; the gates were renewed in
Byzantine times, and the actual doors stood until the xviiiith century. The
aqueduct from Jukharin's Ravine entered the town at this point: but the levels
were equally favourable for bringing siege engines up to this piece of wall,
therefore it was built as early as the ivth century B.C. and in Roman times
rebuilt, doubled and strengthened by four towers: in 1894-5 it was mostly
dleared away by the War Office. The same applies to the stretch $N-O$.
From $O$ the foundations of the Greek wall go straight on nww. to $P^3$, the
remains of a round tower; there must have been three towers in between.
The Romans turned the wall westwards at a small gate and $a$ tower: their wall
makes two more projecting bends with towers, a re-entrant angle by $b$ where
a retaining arch carries it over a burial chamber, and finally at $P^2$ reaches
the sea at a tower half of which has fallen. This tower commanded the
postern $p$ (v. Fig. 336). This western section of the wall is remarkably well
designed to secure cross-fire and is further strengthened with an outer wall.

The system of an outer wall was applied also to the other part of the
walls resting on Greek foundations. The reports in $B.C.A.$ give it as early
Byzantine but one stretch seems according to the graves it disturbs to be rather
of the Antonine age. It reaches from the tower $J$ past the gates $I$ to the

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1 CR. 1897, pp. 91, 92, ff. 203, 204.
2 B.C.A. XXI. Pl. viii.
3 CR. 1894, pp. 64-67, ff. 90-102.
4 CR. 1893, Pl. No. 1, p. 35, f. 28.
5 CR. 1895, Pl. ii.
6 B.C.A. XIX. Pl. iii.
7 CR. 1893, p. 57, f. 33.
8 Plan, CR. 1898, p. 113, f. 19.
9 ib. p. 107, f. 7; 1899, p. 4, Pl. i.; 1900, Pl. i.
10 My plan follows Garaburda as very kindly
amended for me by M. I. Skubetov, Bull. Taur.
11, Comm. XIII. Pl. i., cf. Bertier-de-La-Garde,
12 CR. 1904, p. 34, f. 36.
13 CR. 1895, p. 102, ff. 253, 254.
14 Ins. E. IV. 94, of the time of Commodus.
tower $D$ which was rebuilt on a square plan without regard to the round foundations of the second period; opposite was built the tower $d$ to make the

Fig. 337. Chersonese. View between walls looking SW. On left Roman tower $d$; on right late Greek round tower about which has been built Roman square tower $D$; beyond, Greek wall with two Roman columbaria butting against it: these hide the Gate $E$ and the Tower $E'$ is in the bank beyond.
other side of a gateway. The foundations of D rested on an arrangement of beams now rotted away: that is the ground was marshy but not permanently submerged. Attention was next turned to the Southern Extension and this was made into a military quarter by building a tower at V² and joining it to A² and to C with a small gate C² half way. The curtain C²B was elaborately strengthened and the tower B once more reinforced. Control of access into the town was secured to the garrison by extending the double wall as far as B where gates B were made just under the great tower; the wall B—A² was also doubled.

As long as the Black Sea was duly policed, there was no great need for sea walls, though some fragments of such are assigned to the Greek period, e.g. A¹—V¹, T² (probably Roman) and at “1894” west of R; but after the middle of the 14th century pirates, raids had to be taken into account; hence the coast-line of the city was then guarded with walls, pieces are still found at Q, at H, at O, where we have the inner side of a tower, and near Z. From a point where a line drawn N.E. from R cuts the coast, past a square tower and then a convex bend at R, they can be traced fairly continuously round the harbour, with big towers at S, T, V² and A², perhaps another about T² between T and V². V² and the wall running north from it with small towers like C¹ and several little gates C²C³ is of still later date. Nearer to the present water's edge is the line of a quay wall, the flat space between being insufficient for an enemy to form on, and thoroughly well commanded by the defenders.

The parapet and battlements of the walls are nowhere preserved; but a view of a fortified town on the wall of a tomb south of the city shewed battlements, simple on the curtain walls and overhanging on the towers.

The builders of the walls have not left themselves without witnesses. The possible founder has his tomb; the second attempt agrees in date with Agasicles, whose wall building is not put down as his highest achievement. Somewhere in the 14th century A.D. we have the ἐπιμελητὴς Namuchus directing such work; of another inscription on some tower but the date 270 A.D. 245/6 is left. The names of Theodosius and Arcadius may be attached to the building of the military quarter, as also that of Domitian Modestus under Valens, Valentinian and Gratian (A.D. 370–375)⁶. Zeno's inscription (A.D. 488) seems to have come from the tower B², and to commemorate the last strengthening of it. That of Isaac Comnenus²⁷ came from near the quay and records the rebuilding of the gates of the Praetorium.

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¹ C.R. 1895, p. 97, l. 244.
² E. C.R. 1904, p. 29, l. 92; S. 1894, p. 33, l. 21; T. 1895, p. 87, l. 224; V. 1906, p. 24; 1906, l. 70; Pl. Ill.; A. 1897, p. 91, l. 225.
³ B.C.A. XXI, p. 161, l. 29. The writers of the reports in B.C.A. thought that the original area of the city was only half what is contained by the circuit of walls above described: they believed that walls at G G G were parts of an old Greek circuit connecting F and H, and all the space west of this line and also that south of E — S would have been additional; in each case they based their conclusions upon burials found within these areas, but the southern extension must have been made in the 14th century B.C. and the Greek walls L.A.O. discovered in 1907–9 show that the western was quite small only including the space beyond C P. As shown on the plans the walls G, G, and H never seemed suitable for town walls either in thickness or direction; walls of rudimentary ashlar at t are just as solid and certainly belonged to Greek houses. B.C.A. XII, pp. 102–107, l. 3–7.
⁴ App. 17 = I. 193.
⁵ I. 193.
⁸ B.C.A. XXIII, p. 5, No. 2, where Rostorft suggests that it was called νομίσμα ὁμοίως, i.e. inf. p. 331.
¹⁰ I. 193.
¹¹ App. 24 = Inscr. Christ. 2.
Mr Skobelev tells me of a Greek Tower (as on Plan XI) built out of A and a wall joining it to B), both discovered in 1907 and not yet published.

Diagrammatic Elevation of Greek Wall from F. After Bérard-de-La-Chaize, B.C.A. pp. 58, 105, it. 15, 16.
perhaps the military quarter. Justinian I also is said by Procopius to have rebuilt the walls of Chersonesus, but the expressions are vague. The greatest recorded trial the wall had to face was the attack ordered by Justinian II (v. infra, p. 532). Bertier-de-la-Cârde points out that the topography agrees with the account of the siege given by Theophanes (6205, 581 Bonn), if we take A to have been Centenaresius, the tower on the water's edge first taken, B Syagrus, and the inner wall which foiled the attack, that from C to V. The siege which Vladimir laid to the town was not such a test of its fortifications, being ended by treachery. The destruction of the walls was due to the Genoese, especially along the sea-front; all along the land side they could until quite recently be traced, and in some places stood up as much as thirty feet, but of course the ashar facing of the above-ground walls had gone.

Civil Buildings and Necropolis.

Of the buildings of the city there is not much to be said here. From Greek times we have nothing but fragments mostly mutilated by being used in later erections. We can point to worked stones from an Ionic temple about 35 feet high built into Uvarov's basilica (1), but this cannot go back before the 4th or 5th century A.D. (v. p. 525) : other fragments are still later. Of some interest are the potter's kilns, in one near Z were found the clay moulds (v. p. 564), another near B seems mainly to have produced amphorae, two are very well preserved west of X. From Roman times we have the Thermae (K) mentioned above, in connexion with them seems to have been a curious building with elaborate drainage just north of J, other baths near V. Some ordinary dwelling houses, one P with a hypocaust such as is found so commonly in Britain, and a large building X in a commanding situation in the western part of the town, possibly the residence of the governors—the palace of which Bronovius speaks unless the governor lived in the military extension to the east. Perhaps some interesting building is concealed by the monastery, but it is not very likely. Excavations on this central site might with more probability give us fresh inscriptions. A deep cellar, found in 1904, contained 45 blanks of bronze; it has been supposed that it was the mint. Near by was found a Greek altar with a sculptured snake curled round it, suggesting Asclepius. To the north at U, rather towards the sea, there seems in ancient times to have been an open space, later covered with Byzantine houses.

Besides the city of the living, the city of the dead yields much to the excavator. At Chersonesus it has given up many interesting objects, of which the most important have been noticed in their place in Chapter XL. The

1 De Antiquitate I, 7.
2 This still has to be guarded against. An attempt was made in 1864 to take away the marble sill of the porch A. Chersonesus stones got as far as Saros on the Volga. E. J. R. E. 19, infra p. 522, n. 7.
3 CR. 1895, pp. 48, 49, Pl. IV.
4 ib. pp. 40, 41, Pl. II, it was perhaps a fallmona.
5 CR. 1916, p. 38, Pl. III, plan II.
6 CR. 1916, pp. 26–27, Pl. III, plan i.
7 CR. 1916, pp. 54–57, Fig. 75–81.
8 ib. p. 28, f. 83.
9 Of the miscellaneous objects on Fig. 339 the stele of Gazmirus is interesting for his title (v. infra, p. 541), for the arms, the hooped javelin, the shield (cf. p. 28, f. 10), the typical sword, the medieval looking helmet (cf. Hoehn, Waffenkunde, p. 39: Ant. Pergamon, II. Pl. 45, 2, 47, 2, Text p. 102; Baumeister, p. 2037, f. 2215), the greaves and the gorget. Kieseritzky-Watzinger, [No. 409, Pl. XXVII.] say there was an upper field with figures of a boy, woman, man and child. For the cups v. p. 361; the earring, p. 403; the leaves for eyes and mouth, p. 422. The fibula indicates connections with the barbarians and the buckles exemplify just that view of pattern and background on which Riegl laid such stress (v. p. 173).
Fig. 330. Miscellaneous objects from Chersonese Necropolis, v. p. 306, n. 9.
different methods of burial have also been discussed in connexion with the usages of the other cities along the same shores (v. p. 421). But the actual position of the tombs gives us information. Mention has already been made of the 4th century Greek tomb found just inside the Greek gateway E. The idea of the western extension of the city in Roman times, since confirmed by the excavation of the actual town walls, was first arrived at on the discovery of Greek tombs within the present walls. So too the secondary walls are dated by the fact that they destroy in their course typical tombs of the earlier Roman time. It is a little hard to make out where each type of tomb prevails, chiefly owing to the somewhat desultory character of the excavations of the necropolis due to the necessity of anticipating the destructive activity of the military engineers. In general we find, as might be expected, the earlier and richer tombs near the city, the later or poorer ones at some distance, just the opposite to Olbia: the "catacombs" are naturally restricted to places where knolls of rock cropped out. Most of the necropolis is to the south of the city, for on all other sides it was surrounded by sea. It extended almost half a mile in this direction well beyond the cross-church. Whether there were buildings or tombs to the east of the Quarantine Bay is not clear. Clarke on his map and Koehne actually put the city there, but that may be mere carelessness. In any case Sevastopol has destroyed all traces.

**Byzantine Cherson. Churches.**

It is for its Byzantine remains that Chersonese is of interest in the history of Architecture. These belong to two main periods. There was an earlier one in which most of the streets follow the old lines, so that the houses are rather irregularly placed, but they are fairly well built, and the churches adorned with marble (mere trade-work from the Proconnesian quarries), some mosaic floors and a little wall-mosaic. This city seems to have perished by fire and the whole site was laid out afresh. If there is any truth in the story of the revenge of Justinian II (v. infra, p. 532), his may be the destruction indicated. The new streets were regular, cutting at right angles the old main street, which went from sw. to ne., but they were narrow and the houses mean and badly built of rough stone with clay for mortar. Byzantine houses are marked IV. The churches were in some cases allowed to go to decay, in others restored with the old materials, often on a smaller scale and within the old foundations (Fig. 340, Plans 4, 13). In everything is seen the increasing poverty of the city. This rebuilding and the partial reconstructions that preceded it changed the level of the city and caused constant modifications in the various arrangements for water-supply and drainage. Not much is left of the oldest system of which we can only trace the gutters down the middle of each street, in Roman times earthen pipes were more in use, but the late Byzantines reverted to open channels at least for the drains of the Thermae. Though the aqueduct from Yulgarin's ravine was no doubt the chief source of supply, rain-water was collected from roofs, for instance that from tower B was stored in a cistern to the west of it. As the surface rose,
the later inhabitants constantly adapted the lower parts of earlier buildings for the storage of food, fish has left most traces, and for middens or cess-pools.

I have been tempted to add a bare enumeration of the chief churches, which, with the subjoined page of ground plans, may be of value to students of Byzantine architecture. The subject was excellently treated by General Bertier-de-La-Garde in 1893, but several interesting buildings have been found since he wrote, and perhaps his verdict that Chersonian architecture was extremely poor stands in need of some revision. I received Ainalov's work too late to do more than add references to it. I cannot deal with the innumerable chapels (by 1891 twenty-seven churches and chapels had been found and since then another twenty at least), but will add a list of illustrations shewing the best among the icons and objects of ritual use.

The churches of Cherson were mostly basilicas roofed in wood; only six have a plan founded upon the Greek cross, and even of these all do not seem to have had domes; apparently the skill of the local builder was not equal to such difficult construction. All point about NE. towards the summer sunrise.

Of the basilicas the finest, probably the cathedral, was that discovered by Count Uvárov (1, the numbers refer both to Plan VII. and to Fig. 340) in 1853. It measured about 158 ft. long by about 88 broad (48 x 27 m.), including a side chapel. It seems, both on the evidence of coins and of style, to have been built in the 9th century and restored in the 10th. From the older church survived many remains of pagan buildings: it was paved with excellent mosaic, part of which, much rearranged, is now in the Hermitage. Its walls were also covered with mosaic, at any rate in the apse, for many cubes of coloured glass, especially of the blue ground, have been picked up on the site and on the shore below, as the sea has washed away the NE. corner of the building. Remains of frescoes also occurred, shewing in places three separate layers.

To the south of this is a building in the form of an ace of clubs (2). A basin in the middle, a system of water-pipes and a big cistern to the SE. shew it to have been a baptistery. The three apses seem to have been vaulted and adorned with mosaic, in which again blue predominated; even the central space was very likely domed. The lower part of the walls was lined with marble. The walls themselves are carefully constructed of stone, with binding layers of brick so as to sustain a vault. The evidence of coins points to about 600 A.D., which would fit both basilica and baptistery. If Vladimir was christened at Cherson (inf. p. 531) it was most probably in this building. Latyshev, discussing the life of S. Capito (inf. p. 531, n. 4), suggests that this represented the baptistery and church of S. Peter that he built. Almost under the baptistery are the remains of a small apse; this might go back to S. Capito's time. East of the baptistery was another early church in plan very like No. 10. There were two smaller basilicas* sw. of Uvárov's.

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* Ainalov, pp. 1-14, ff. 3-10.
* C. R. 1904, p. 59. 60. 64, 66. Not in Ainalov.
* Ainalov, pp. 24-29; ff. 22-24.
A building near the SW gate M being a quatrefoil on plan with a central dome and four apses resembles the baptistery but shewed no trace of a basin in its mosaic floor: it may have been secular, but the way it seems to occupy the site of an older kiln recalls the story of S. Capito (p. 531).

Of the same date as Uvarov's basilica and identical with it in plan was one which was found just inside the porthand at the SW corner of the city (3). It was 122 ft. long and 70 broad (37 x 21 m.): the aisles were paved with mosaic, but the nave with plain marble blocks; the sanctuary also was paved with marble, but in it a darker variety made the pattern of a cross within a circle, the altar being at the centre and below it a cross-shaped excavation for relics. This basilica seems to have been deserted in the 11th century and its marbles used up in other buildings.

In the western part of the town not far from the monks' garden was discovered in 1889 the best instance of a large church being destroyed and another built on its site, so much smaller that nave and aisles came within the old nave (4). The older church had marble work identical in style with that of the churches at Ravenna, the presumption being that all was made at Proconnessus. The floor was of rather good mosaic, and the whole has been preserved by the erection of sheds to cover it. The newer church is put together in the rudest way out of fragments of the former, unnecessary columns being built into the walls and the capitals used to pave the sanctuary. There was no pavement in the nave and clay was used for mortar, but the miserable building is interesting as a very late example of an aisled basilica built in the Eastern Church and for its altar being against the wall of the apse instead of on the chord (so too No. 13). It may be assigned to the 11th century. The very last of these belated Chersonian basiliacas was the church of S. George's Monastery, near Cape Fiolente, built after the abandonment of the city about the 12th century.

In the centre of the town, about where we should put the Acropolis, stood a considerable group of churches and chapels, including a cross-church (5), a basilica (6) and a church of intermediate type (7). The first (5) being, according to the knowledge of the middle of the last century, the church nearest to the centre of the town was taken at the scene of Vladimir's baptism, and over it has been built the great new church of the Monastery. The remains of the old churches have been quite spoilt.

Small-scale plans of eleven churches are given by Bertier-de-La-Garde, but I have mostly used plans on a larger scale than his. Basilicas 10 and 11 are remarkable for their proportionate breadth; 12 is given as an example of the heapings together of sepulchral chapels.

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FIG. 340. 888. The figures 1—12 correspond to those on Plan vii, 13 and 14 are outside its scope.
Of the cross-churches beside the baptismery (2) and a small one (8) attached to the NW. basilica (3) there may be mentioned one (9) found in 1897, north of the Greek tower F. Round it ran a complete peribolos wall. This church was 24'65 m. (80 ft. 9 in.) long, 19'50 m. (63 ft. 8 in.) broad. Between the arms were various subsidiary chambers, and that to the NE. had a kind of little apse in which was a basin, generally taken to be a font, but it is probably nothing more than a large piscina. In the main apse under the site of the altar was found in situ a silver censer (13'4 x 8'5 x 11'5 cm. = 5'4 x 3'4 x 4'4 in.) much the same in form as the two pitched shrines of our mediaeval times, adorned with three nimbed heads on each side and one at each end, and crosses on the slopes of the roof. Within was still the relic of an unknown martyr wrapped up in a cloth. Professor Pokrovskij refers the reliquary to the 11th century A.D. In later times the church was divided into separate ossuaries and finally destroyed by fire. The roof was of timber, the walls not being of a character to support vaults.

Remains of a still more remarkable cross-church (14) were explored in 1902. The earlier observers had noticed ruins on a little mound about 450 yards (410 m.) due south of the great south tower B. On excavation they proved to consist of a massive wall, including a space 4'4 x 36 m. (14'4 x 118 ft.). In the midst was a cruciform church 20 x 21 m. (65 ft. 8 in. x 69 ft.), and to the NE. two chambers filling up the space between it and a hall later turned into a chapel whose apse projected beyond the peribolos. Between the east and north arms of the cross was a chamber early pulled down, and corresponding to it on the south another better preserved; this was used as the diaconicum and had a basin like that described in the NE. addition of the last church (9) set in a similar fashion in a kind of apse, but the eastern arm of the main church is rectangular. At one stage this was lined with seats like a round apse, but originally there was a door at the end of each arm. Finally the whole was walled up and made into an ossuary.

The chief feature of the building besides its remarkable plan is a splendid mosaic floor, better than that removed from Uvárov's basilica. In the square central panel is a high vase flanked by peacocks, and something similar is in the south transept. In the north transept is a design of intersecting squares. The border of the whole is vine-pattern and the greater part of the area is taken up with intertwined straps enclosing medallions with various fruits and vases. The eastern arm had a brick floor. The walls of the church were decorated with frescoes; on them were painted or scratched inscriptions in Greek and Armenian. Only the SE. addition, the diaconicum, was vaulted; the rest of the roof was of timber: this arrangement agrees with No. 5. The date seems to be c. 525—550.

The whole building is constructed over six large sepulchral chambers. Below these is a passage hewn out of the rock roughly in the shape of a y stretching from the NE. corner of the enclosure, where it is reached by a
square shaft, to the sw., where it ends by a drain-hole through the outer wall, the whole distance being 45'-36 in. (148 ft. 6 in.). At two points are dry wells made to help in the excavation or to supply air, and at the end of the short arm just south of the nave of the church is a well with water. This has been regarded as a catacomb in the Roman sense. But Bertier-de-La-Garde shows that it is merely a passage giving protected access to water from a refuge-tower built in the sw. corner of the enclosure, and continued beyond the actual well in hopes of securing a more abundant supply. His other idea that the continuation was the beginning of an underground way to the city cannot vanquish a certain prejudice against admitting the existence of such long secret passages. By an analysis of the coins found in the graves about the church he gives strong reason to suppose that this was never a pagan burying place, but the original Christian cemetery, dating from times before the triumph of the faith, and therefore rich in martyrs' tombs and a suitable place for a fine church though the exposed site needed massive defences.

The church of most complex plan, discovered in 1906 too late for Ainalov or my Fig. 340, stood just to the west of K. In essence it was a cross church, but between each of the four arms of the cross was a chapel with an apse, those east of the transepts serving as prothesis and diaconicon. The end of each transept formed the side of another apsidal chapel, so that the east elevation of the church presented five apses; these apses were covered with half domes and the crossing was domed; the rest of the church was roofed in wood. A square baptistery was added on the north side, and at the west end was an inner and an outer narthex, the latter afterwards turned into chambers; the total length was 25 metres and the breadth 19 (81 x 62 ft.). Most of the coins were of Romanus I, so the church may date from the 10th century.1

One more ecclesiastical antiquity of Cherson the probable site of the tomb of S. Clement of Rome deserves mention because a reasonable hypothesis has endowed it with such an association (v. inf., p. 530). Mention has been made of the islet in Cossack Bay formed about the extreme wall-tower of Old Chersonese.2 On it we now find the remains of a little monastery. Placed amid the water and connected with the land by a causeway which may have been submerged from time to time it occupied just such a position as might give rise to the tradition of a church built by angels in the sea and approachable but once a year. In fact the earlier legends have nothing miraculous about them, but may be taken to mean that once a year priests and people went by boat six miles (precisely the distance) to celebrate the saint's day. This agrees with the account of how in 862 A.D. Constantine the Philosopher better known as Cyril the apostle of the Slavs found the saint's relics neglected and carried them off to Rome. He seems to have brought the site into notice again as the buildings, restored shortly after his time, were still seen by Rubruck (c. 1)

1 C.R. 1906, pp. 66-78, ff. 73-75, Plan IV.
Lesser Byzantine Antiquities.

Students of Byzantine art may be glad to have indicated to them the chief illustrations of smaller objects found at Cherson in that they show a style as distinct from that of Byzance as that of the architectural monuments. Moreover objects of this style were exported to Russia and served as models at Kiev.

Closely connected in material with the architecture are certain fragments of carved marble used in the adornment of churches referred by Bertier-de-La-Garde to the Proconnesian marble works.

Of painting we cannot judge by the fragments of frescoes and wall-mosaics, but small icons in low relief in various materials show characteristic Byzantine drawing. Perhaps the earliest is an incised marble plate with the subject of Our Lord and S. Peter walking on the Sea of Galilee.

True reliefs in gilt slate are one of SS. George and Demetrius and a fragment with Our Lord in glory. Certain marble reliefs are excessively rude, one of a saint inscribed ο θεω το σωμα αυτου. In bone after much the same style we have S. Luke in cast bronze an Evangelist and an icon of Our Lady Hodegetria. In clay there is a dish with a very archaic presentment of the Saviour and a roundel or pilgrim’s badge with S. Phocas who was a great patron of sailors on the Euxine and had a hospital at Cherson.

A mould for producing such a roundel with an inscription in honour of S. George was found in 1898, also moulds for crosses and other sacred objects. Crosses themselves are common: one has a Slavonic inscription showing that it was made for the Russian market, and examples of precisely similar style are found at Kiev. An enamel crucifixion of the 11th century is set in the mitre of the Hegumen of the monastery. Interesting for its dumpy archaic style is a bronze censer with several scenes from Gospel history.

Of other sacred objects in metal we have many candlesticks both small standing ones, and large ones either to hang in church or to stand, such the Russians call panikadilo—one of these was made out of a marble club of Heracles set on a base, others of old capitals of columns—a bronze discos.

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1 Amalov promises future parts of his Monuments dealing with marbles, mosaics and frescoes, with smaller ecclesiastical objects and with the glazed pottery. It is curious how few of the things figured in O. M. Dalton’s Byzantine Art and Archaeology have analogues at Cherson.

2 Mat. xii. p. 25, Pl. iv. t: CR. 1897, p. 109, f. 217—219; 1901, p. 32, f. 60—62; 1904, p. 37, f. 51, p. 61, f. 87.

3 Mat. xxiii. p. 26, f. 40. This and the other objects described by Layther in Mat. xxvii are also published by him in the Byzantine Correspondence (Fromentin), 1899, No. 3; cf. Hetzer, p. 303, and E. Michon, Bulletin de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France, 1900, pp. 332—337.

4 CR. 1894, pp. 56, 58, f. 741; 1895, p. 51, f. 32.

5 CR. 1894, p. 38, f. 83; 1895, p. 91.

6 CR. 1896, p. 80, f. 79.

7 CR. 1902, p. 40, f. 75.

8 BCA. 1, p. 55, f. 51.

9 CR. 1895, p. 94, f. 249; Mat. xxiii. 41, f. 44, where the inscription is discussed.

10 CR. 1904, p. 53, f. 74.

11 CR. 1896, p. 166, f. 331. He is fully discussed in Mat. xxvili. p. 30, No. 42.


13 CR. 1895, p. 117, f. 17; Mat. xxviii. p. 37, No. 41.

14 CR. 1902, p. 40, f. 166.


17 CR. 1896, p. 107, f. 553; 1897, p. 111, f. 224; 1900, p. 24, f. 59; 1904, p. 68, f. 103.

18 BCA. xvi. p. 80, f. 37; Bull. Trair. Rec. CXLIV.

19 CR. 1902, p. 34, f. 34.

20 ib. p. 30, f. 47. — BCA. i. p. 46, f. 43.
or paten, a hand-censer, the end of a crozier and the silver reliquary (p. 512) of secular use were many locks (of a type still made at Tului) and keys, weights inlaid with silver, a decorated bronze mortar and a cymbal.

Rather a different interest attaches to a series of carvings of beasts in bone or ivory (v. p. 355, n. 3). Even better examples of the beast-style, forming a transition between the Oriental and the Mediaeval beast-styles and not with Scythic influence, are to be found in the remains of shallow bowls or dishes of glazed pottery (v. p. 357, n. 5). Very good specimens of the same pottery have occurred at Theodosia. The same kind of monster appears on a gilt bronze buckle from Chersonese. One piece of mediaeval glass is interesting as it bears a shield with a pale and above the date ΟCCCXXXII.

History.

Chersonese was a colony of Heraclea Pontica upon the coast of Bithynia. The mother city was founded by the Megarians (with the help of the men of Tanagra) at the time that Cyrus conquered Media (c. 559 B.C.). At first a democracy it soon fell under the power of its aristocrats.

The foundation of Chersonese itself may possibly have been due to the expelled democrats who here found the freedom they had sought in vain in the former colony. Conceivably, if we do not press the word "soon" too far, the democrats sought refuge in a Heraclean factory already in existence and this accession of strength allowed the transfer of the settlement to a new site. As to the date of the foundation of Chersonese we have no information. Ps. Scymnus (i. 824) says that in obedience to an oracle the Heracleotes joined with the Delians to colonize a Chersonese. Here Delians is probably a mistake for Delphians and there may well be a confusion with the tradition as to the foundation of Heraclea Pontica recorded by Justin. There is no trace of any Ionic influence in the language or institutions of Chersonese. Pliny says that the towns at this end of the Crimea were called Megarian. No doubt this was in opposition to the Milesian colonies along the rest of the Scythian coast.

Friendly relations between mother and daughter city were always kept up so that even in the time of Hadrian the Heracleotes supported the Chersonesites in their petition for liberty. These relations helped the Chersonesites to remain purely Greek.

Herodotus makes no mention of Chersonese, not much can be deduced from his silence but it was probably later than his time. The first attempt at wall building on the new site belongs to the succeeding century. Bérard-de-La-Garde thinks the most natural point of time for the Heracleotes to found

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1 CR. 1864, p. 55, l. 75.
2 CR. 1864, p. 74, l. 44.
3 CR. 1864, p. 114, l. 145; XIII, pp. 127—133.
5 CR. 1864, p. 35, l. 49, 50.
6 CR. 1864, p. 31, l. 59.
7 CR. 1864, p. 92, l. 236.
8 Nymphius, l. 8, F.H.G. III, p. 183; Pausanias, V. xxi. 6, on the advice of Delphi, Justin, XVI, iii. 4.
9 Ps. Scymnus, i. 375.
10 Arrian, I. VIII. (v.) v. 2.
11 Ps. Scylla, § 66, the first author (v. supra p. 24) to mention Chersonese, calls it Gregoris. But Herodotus applies the same term to Olbia.
12 N.H. IV. 85, reading Megarides...vivabantur according to good MSS.; cf. Brandis, a.v. Chersonese vivat, F.—W. IV, iii. p. 226. The ordinary text gives Megarides...vivabantur.
14 B.C. XXI, p. 190, n. 1.
a colony in the Crimea would be just after the fall of Theodosia which they had helped against the dynasts of the Bosporus: but von Stern\(^1\) argues that this help was probably rendered because of the Heracleots already having a colony to protect in the Western Crimea and that the wall is older than the date mentioned. The fact is that we know too little of the history of any of the states concerned. The only hope lies in a complete excavation of the site of Old Chersonese and a determination of the time when it was first inhabited.

Evidence of communication with Athens we have in the vase found in the wall marked as a prize from the Anacis (v. supra, p. 380). Later in the century we have the dedication to Athena Soteira made by a citizen whose name is lost. The statue above was the work of a Polycrates who has been identified with the one mentioned by Pliny\(^2\). But Chersonese never seems to have been so closely connected with Athens as were the Bosporus and Olbia. Perhaps its Doric sympathies drew it aside and through Heraclea Pontica it had with Asia Minor special ties which strengthened as Athens sank. In the 11th century we have evidence of such ties in a decree granting proximity to Timagonis of Rhodes\(^3\) and in many coins of states such as Heraclea, Amsus, Sinope, Galatia, Amastris, Magnesia, Teos, and Byzantium and amphorae of Thasos and Rhodes as well as their coins\(^4\).

To the 11th century belongs the well-known citizens' oath\(^5\), certainly one of the three or four most interesting epigraphic finds of South Russia. It is the formula which every Chersonese had to rehearse before becoming a full citizen and accordingly it enumerates at length the duties of a citizen\(^6\). But the full detail into which it enters suggests that special dangers had injured or threatened the state and were still to be guarded against. We may compare the party oaths mentioned by Aristotle\(^7\). The citizen swears by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, the Maiden, the gods and goddesses of Olympus and the heroes of the land to defend Chersonese, its land, Cecinitas, the Fair Haven and the other Forts (ταὐχύνατο) against Greek and barbarian alike, to be faithful to the democracy and protect the "saster" and reveal to the damiorgi any plots against it; in case of election to the offices of damiorgus or senator to exercise them faithfully and not to divulge any state secrets; to deal fairly by every other citizen except a renegade: to take no part in any plots internal or external, private or public, but to give information of such, any oath to the

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2. V. p. 295. J. G. E. IV. 52: NH. XXXIV. 91 (19), the Attic form τωπίερα is some confirmation.
3. J. G. E. IV. 64.
6. For the shorter formula of the Athenian Oath cf. Lycurgus, in Lecretion 577 and Stobaeus, Florileg. XLII. 35. For the Gods invoked and the penalties cf. the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sspyloum. 9. 34, and the citizens of each state swore obedience thus: "Οὖν Μάρι Οὐρανία Αόρων καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν Ιδρομενίας καὶ Λάρισας καὶ τῶν Πελοπόννησου καὶ τῶν Μυκηνῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐκθεσιῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐμφύλων τῶν Ἐπαρχίων καὶ τῶν Πολεμιτῶν καὶ πληθυντικῶν...οὕρομεν μὴ μοι ἂν ἐκπρο-

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\(^2\) V. p. 7; 910, and Thuc. viii. 75.
\(^3\) The word οὐκοπτήσατο is new. It seems most probably derived from the root of αὐχίνατο. Th. Sokalek (Journ. of Ministry of Pub. Instruction, St. P. Nov. 1902) compares the form αὐχίνατο; and suggests that it means a kind of civil dictator appointed to compose the differences which the document presupposes. He cites Ditt. Syll. 108, a promise of the Athenians to support the ἀρχὴν ἀλώντος ἐν ἐλεύθεροι. Laytshy seems to think it means the established constitution.

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\(^4\) E. Reischur, Das gr. Vereinigung, p. 94, regards these ἐμπρο fichier as more or less permanent political clubs.
contrary notwithstanding, and to give his vote according to justice: finally not to export corn from the plain but to bring it to Chersonese. If he keep the oath it may be well with him and his, if he break it may neither sea nor land bear him fruit nor his women have offspring.

This document shews us the city governed by a democracy with daimiorgi and a senate for which every citizen was apparently eligible. The administration of justice was also in the hands of the citizens. The city was predominantly rich or mistress of Cercinthis, the Fair Haven and other Forts, and to it belonged a "plain" on which corn was grown. This plain must have been in the western part of the Crimea because legislation was required to ensure that its produce of wheat should be brought to Chersonese. If the plain were merely the plateau of the Lesser Peninsula Chersonese would have been the only conceivable port. This legislation recalls the Athenian regulation of the corn trade.

About the end of the third century we have several documents that point to the prosperity of the Chersonesites, probably the highest point that the city reached in its earlier history. To it belong the works of Syriscus narrating τάς ἐνθαίνεσι τάς Παρθένου...καὶ τά ποτί τοὺς Βουτ�ήρου βασιλέως...τά θ' ἑτηρικὰ φιλανδροπα ποτί τάς πίλεις. In the list of Proᵦcies conferred by the Delphians we find under the year 195/4 B.C. the name Hymnus, son of Seythas of Chersonese, and under 149/8 those of Phormion son of Pytion and Heraclidas son of Rhisthas, and in another inscription the occasion upon which this privilege was granted to these latter. The Delphians had sent envoys to announce the approaching Pythian games and these envoys reported that the Chersonesites had entertained them sumptuously at the public expense, and had passed a decree expressing their general and several regard for the Delphians and sent envoys, Phormion and Heraclidas, to make sacrifices of a hundred beasts to Apollo and twelve to Athena Pronaia (each sacrifice being headed by an ox) and to distribute the meat among the Delphians. Other gifts are recorded as well. Accordingly a decree of thanks was passed in honour of the Chersonesites and they were granted promauviz, while their envoys were given the proxein and suitable presents. That they were in a position to make such handsome sacrifices argues a certain prosperity.

This prosperity was probably due to their having gained dominion over the plain and divided it among the citizens. We have a fragmentary list of citizens who bought plots of land and among them the name of Hymnus-Son of Seythas. The lettering points to a date a few years earlier than the occurrence of his name at Delphi. The same name also occurs upon an amphora, but the lettering seems later. The area of a plot was 100 fathoms square; the prices given varied according to the quality or position of the land. The apportionment was carried out by ἐπελευσθαί elected for the purpose. An ἐπελευσθαί in such an operation, very likely this one, was Agasicles son of Ctesias, who besides holding the regular offices is praised for having made a proposal about a garrison and organized it, set out the boundaries of the vineyards upon the plain, and made walls.

2. Olshenberger, Styli. 262, 263.
3. I Π.Ε. IV. 80, cf. s. 226.
4. B.C.A. II. 6. 2. 23, with C. for Σ. A grandson's
5. name perhaps.
Although we cannot declare that the plateau of the Lesser Peninsula was not called the "Plain," the expression in the oath makes it probable that this word was reserved for the territory in the west part of the Crimea, and this is rendered almost certain by the small area on the plateau suitable for vineyards. It looks then as if the activity of Agasicles was devoted to organizing and defending new possessions on the mainland (he may have built the naos so often referred to) and the decree regulated the allotment of them among the citizens. The rectangular division of the plateau probably dates back earlier and formed a model for the allotment of new acquisitions, though the transfer of properties in succeeding ages has introduced certain irregularities now noticeable. Probably most of the wine exported in Chersonesian amphorae was raised on the mainland.

To this prosperous period belong the pieces of frieze from a temple dedicated by Pasitadas son of Artemidorus to Dionysus, to judge by the bucrania and swags of ivy leaves with which they are adorned.

The city was of sufficient power to be included in an alliance made in 179 B.C. between the kings Pharnaces I of Pontus, Eumenes II of Pergamum, Prusias of Bithynia, Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, Artaxias of Armenia and Aeusilocho and Gataulus the Sarmatian; and the cities Mesembria, Cyzicus and Heraclea Pontica: but each ally was under express obligations to Rome.

As the second century wore on the position of Chersonese changed for the worse. For one thing Greece was declining, for another she was receiving raw products from Syria and Egypt, now thoroughly opened up; moreover the oath of Pharnaces hints at attempts to destroy the democracy and finally we now hear of Scythians making attacks upon the city or at any rate its possessions: no doubt the coast tribes were being pressed on by Sarmatians behind them. With these Sarmatians accordingly the Chersonesites established friendly relations, so foreshadowing the Byzantine expedient of using distant tribes to make diversions against nearer ones (p. 539); this seems the foundation of the story of Amage queen of the Sarmatians, said with a force of 120 horsemen to have defeated and slain a Scythian king hostile to Chersonese.

But this policy was not permanently successful. Our one clear view of Chersonesian history, the story of the campaigns of Diophantus in the last decade of the second century, shows us the Scythians and Tauri united under King Scillus, and the Rhoxolans, a tribe of Sarmatians, ready to assist them. Scillus, who has taken the Fair Haven, Cercinensis and the Forts, has built Neapolis, Chabum and Palacium and is at any rate suzerain of Olbia, about this time leaves to his son Palacus a united sovereignty and the prospect of adding Chersonese to his dominions*.

1 Iap. E. IV. 87; Mat. XII. Pl. IV. p. 345. n. 8. Polyb. XXIV. 2 (XXVI. 6). This alliance put an end to a long war in which Pharnaces had seized Sinope and tried to extend his kingdom. It is not clear which side Heraclea took in this, whether she supported Pharnaces against Bithynia that had lately seized most of her territory or joined with her late enemies to resist the encroachments of a new one, whatever her policy she was probably supported by Chersonese; v. Th. Reineck, Milbroidar, p. 41: Schneiderwirth, Das Pontische Herakles, II. p. 17. App. 17 = B.C.A. XIV. p. 23, No. 1 gives the oaths interchanged by Pharnaces and the city: I am specially grateful to Professor Latshev and Dr. Léger for sending me this new find before publication.
2 Polyb. VIII. 56, it seems to fit in here. See the inscr. of Diophantus, Appendix 18 = Iap. E. I. 152: cf. IV. p. 270, Del. Syll. 336, also Iap. E. IV. 67, further Strabo VIII. iii. 17, 18, IV. 3. 7; Justin. XXXVII. viii. 3; the clearest account is in Th. Reineck, Milbroidar, p. 64 sqq.
The Bosporan kingdom was in equal danger. Help was to be had only from beyond the sea. The Chersonesites called in Mithridates VI, who had lately assumed the government of Northern Cappadocia (Pontus). On their entreaty he sent Diophantus of Sinope the son of Asclepiodorus, giving just the help his ancestor Pharmaces I had promised in his oath. This commander, who seems to have urged the expedition, appears to have spent four years almost continuously in the Crimea, probably from 110 to 106 B.C. We know that the conquest of some Scythians was the first exploit performed by or rather for Mithridates, and Diophantus is understood to have written an account of the country and of his campaigns (Πολιτεία) which is quoted in a work on the Red Sea by Agatharchides used by Artemidorus, who wrote in 104 B.C.¹ Now Mithridates only returned from his wild life and succeeded to power in 111 B.C.², so he could scarcely send help before the following year³.

Diophantus then crossed the Euxine with a fleet in the summer of 110. His first measure was to make a passage with his whole army over to the other side (Inscr. I. 6). This I take to be the making of the mole across the harbour⁴—that is rather a bridge across to the North Cape—and the building of a fort (which he called Eupatorium) to secure the harbour against the pirates of Palacium and to gain free access to the main peninsula so as to turn the enemy's position. When he got into the enemy's country he was attacked by Palacus before he was ready (Inscr. I. 7), but that merely gave him the occasion to set up in honour of Mithridates the first trophy celebrating a victory over the Scythians. This put the neighbouring Tauri into his power and he founded them a city on the spot and settled them together in it. As it was filled with Tauri and naturally in their country, probably it occupied the same site as Palacium on the harbour Symbolon and had nothing to do with Eupatorium; by giving it into the possession of the Chersonesites he could secure to them command of the harbour and people that had so long plagued them, and indeed the Tauri seem to have given them little more trouble, though they were still hostile. 150 years later (v. p. 523, n. 2). No accurate writer speaks of Tauri north of the North Bay⁵.

Diophantus would naturally leave a garrison in his île-du-pont, and it seems as if it was in his absence that an attack was made on it by the Scythians, who filled the ditch up with reeds which the defenders burnt every night, until they were relieved by the success of the general campaign; the incident may have occurred at any moment in the war⁶.

Diophantus, after settling the Tauric question, went off to the Bosporus and reduced it (v. p. 582). Next (probably the following year 109) he returned to Chersonese, took the pick of the citizens and marched into the midst of Scythia (i.e. the Central Crimea) and received the surrender of the royal towns of Chabum and Neapolis and the submission of all the tribes to Mithridates. For this success he received the thanks of the city and afterwards went back to Sinope (Inscr. II. 9—15).

The pacification, however, was not permanent. The Scythians rebelled

² Th. Reimach, op. cit. p. 52.
³ Justinus puts it well, XXXVII. ii. 1, ad regni deinde administrationem cum accessisset, statim non de regendo, sed de augendo regno cogitavit.
⁵ This is Selivanov's view, op. cit. p. 22, note 3.
⁶ Yet, I.c., for other views v. supra, p. 497.
and in the latter part of the following year (108) Mithridates sent Diophantus back to restore his authority. Diophantus with his own force and the best of the Chersonesites, undeterred by the approach of winter, set out to recapture the same royal towns of the Scythians, but the season made the valleys impassable and he turned aside to the plains along the coast of the Western Crimea, took Cercinitis and the Forts, and laid siege to the Fair Haven. But Palacus, believing the season to be in his favour, had collected all his own forces and further brought up the "Rheuxinai" (Inscr. II. 15-23). So Diophantus was obliged to leave to the citizens of Chersonese the capture of the town commemorated in another inscription. In the battle which followed Strabo (vii. iii. 17) pits fifty thousand Rhoxolans under their king Taisius against six thousand hoplites; either Diophantus prevented the junction of the barbarians or the forces of Palacus were reckoned in with the Rhoxolans. The event of the battle had been foreseen by the Maiden of Chersonese and rendered certain by the superiority of the Greek arms and tactics. According to the accounts none of the barbarian infantry escaped and but few of the cavalry (Inscr. II. 23-28).

Diophantus lost no time in following up his victory. Early in the following spring (107) he marched to Chabum and Neapolis and compelled the Scythians to flee or to make terms (Inscr. II. 28-32). His next task was to restore the authority of Mithridates on the Bosporus. This he seemed at first to have done without apparently any display of force; but the Scythian party of Saumaus the foster-son of Paeirades rose in insurrection, slew the old king and nearly caught Diophantus, who escaped upon a ship sent by Chersonese. However Mithridates seems to have sent help to his general, and Chersonese, exhorted by him, contributed three ships full of chosen citizens, so that in the early spring (106?) he set out thence and captured Theodosia and Panticapaeum, punished the ringleaders, sent Saumaus off to Mithridates, and reduced the country to obedience (Inscr. II. 32-44).

The net result was that Chersonese became tributary to Mithridates in return for effective protection against the Scythians. So far as we know the city was never again in such danger from the surrounding tribes, but its fate was now intimately linked with that of the Bosporan kingdom.

At first the terms granted it seem to have been easy. Diophantus is thanked for supporting the envoys of the city, and it is natural that he should do all he could for a city which had furnished him with such a valuable pied-a-terre and contributed men to the reduction of the Bosporus. In return for these services the senate and people decreed that Diophantus should be crowned with a gold wreath at the festival of the Maiden, and that the symmnaminones (v. infra p. 542) should call aloud this honour; that a bronze statue of him in full armour should be set up in the Acropolis between the altars of the Maiden and of Chersonese, and most effectual of all that the decree should be cut upon the base of the statue.

Still indebted as they might be to Diophantus, the Chersonesites probably had to contribute their share of the 180,000 medimni of wheat and the 200 talents of silver yearly sent across the Euxine to Mithridates, and according to

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1 *Jos. Eiv. 67*, very fragmentary, but mentioning the Fair Haven and like the Diophantus inscription set up in the year when Agelath son of Lagorius was king.
Strabo Chersonese remained "from that time until now" under the rulers of the Bosporus.

It was perhaps rather as a subject of Mithridates than as a daughter state and ancient ally that Chersonese sent help to Heraclea Pontica when it was being besieged by Cotta in 72 B.C.; though in the disorganization of the Pontic empire which the wars with Rome had brought about, it would have been possible to escape complying with the commands of the king. What part Chersonese played in the final break up it is impossible to say. The darkness settles down again and all efforts to reconstruct the history of the succeeding period have failed.

It is however difficult to believe that Chersonese had an uneventful history at this time, or that its submission to foreign kings was continuous. We cannot tell exactly what Strabo or his sources meant by "until now," we are certainly not obliged to take it to mean the last year of his life, c. A.D. 19. Pliny (d. 79), whose information as to these parts mostly goes back to the time of Augustus, says of Chersonese liberate a Romanis donatum (sc. oppidum), but this may refer to Flavian times. That something remarkable happened at Chersonese in 25/24 B.C. we can deduce from the fact that the Era of the city is reckoned from that date. This we may calculate from an inscription relating the restoring of the town walls by the command of the Emperor Zeno. It is dated "in the year 512 in the 11th of the Indiction." Zeno reigned from A.D. 474 to 491, and the only 11th year of an Indiction is 488 A.D.

Considering the disturbed state of these regions and the various uprisings and revolutions which even our scanty knowledge of Bosporan history shows (v. infra, p. 589) it is very probable that some fresh start was made by Chersonese in 25 B.C. and even if it were not politically successful, and the Bosporans maintained their hold until after the date of Strabo's death, the new reckoning may have become customary to supplement the clumsy method of eponymous kings or archons.

1 Memnon, c. XIX, 4, F.H.G. III, p. 554. Bosporus and Theodosia also helped, though Machares afterwards turned against his father. 2 N.H. iv. 85.

3 App. 23: the inscription has been published about twenty times; v. Bertier-de-La-Garde, Trans. Oe. Soc. XVI, p. 45; first by Pallas, Travels in Southern Prov. Eng. Ed. Vol. II, p. 74, Pl. 5, cf. among others L. de Wael, Recueil de quelques antiquités, Berlin, 1805, No. 5; E. D. Clarke, Travels, 8vo, Vol. II, p. 215; Boeckh, C. G. 8021; Layard, Inscri. Christ. No. 7, with photographic reproduction. Two questions have been specially debated; whether the number of the Indiction is 11 or 14. 1A or 1A.

The latter would give the date as A.D. 490/91 or 475/56. This last was adopted by Boeckh, who accordingly fixed the era at 36 B.C., and thought that to be the date of the Liberation of Chersonese, mentioned by Pliny. The other question was whether the inscription belonged to Chersonese at all. One Cousinny (Voyage dans la Maïdanie, Paris, 1831, i. pp. 368-369, according to B.-de-La-G.) gives it as from Thessalonica. General Bertier-de-La-Garde (c.) discusses the whole subject, shews pretty clearly that the reading is 1A and for ever

disposes of Cousinny by the following arguments. 1. Pallas saw the stone in Habicht's possession at Sympheropol probably in 1794, and Wael certainly in 1797. Cousinny cannot have seen it at Thessalonica less than forty years before he wrote his book. Habicht said it came from Chersonese. 2. There is no way by which it could have been brought from Thessalonica to the Crimea. 3. Cousinny is trying to prove an absurd theory. 4. He says it was kept in Eski Dzhumla in Thessalonica in the cellar; there are no cellars in that mosque and never have been. 5. Cousinny made corrections of the Byzantine spelling; if allowance be made for these, his errors can be traced to his having used Clarke and Wael. The evidence of a man of 84 writing about what he could not have seen for 40 years cannot be set against that of intelligent observers like Pallas, Wael and Clarke.

It is just to this period that Dr. Richard Garnett (Eng. Hist. Rev. Jan. 1897, Essays of an Ex-Librarian, p. 129) would refer the story of Gycia, v. infra, p. 528, assigned by Conant, Forskal, to the reign of some successor of Constantine I, late in the 11th century A.D.
Roman Period.

At least from the time of their rendering assistance to Heraclea Pontica the Chersonesites had to reckon seriously with the power of Rome. Their policy, whenever they were sufficiently free to have a policy, was to use Rome to free them from Bosporan sovranity or protect them from Bosporan ambition, but to snatch any opportunity when Rome was occupied to recover independene, sometimes by the risky method of alliance with Bosporus. Even if we had the history of Chersonese we should scarcely follow all the turns of such delicate steering, and it is hopeless to reconstruct the course of events from two or three fragmentary inscriptions and some enigmatic coins. One stone\(^1\) bears part of the name of King Aspurgus of the Bosporus (8 B.C.—38 A.D.), but we do not know in what connexion he was mentioned. So a citizen is praised for having headed a successful embassy to King Polemo, but whether the first (14 B.C.—) or the second (38—41 A.D.) we cannot tell. Nor can we say what services Cornelius Pudens rendered to the city to earn him proxeny.\(^4\)

Most tantalizing of all is an inscription about a kind of Chersonesan Protogenes.\(^4\) The hero of it comes back from abroad, encourages the citizens, drives out a tyrant without loss of life, is elected director of the finances, restores the fortiﬁcations, collects supplies through his own correspondents, goes on a mission to the Emperor and Senate, and it would seem recovers the city’s hereditary liberty; ﬁnally, on his return wards oﬀ an attack threatened by the tyrant and his picked men, apparently by catching his children and working on his paternal feelings. His reward is like that of Diophantus. The lettering shows that the Emperor mentioned is one of the earliest. It does not seem as if the word tyrant could be applied to one of the Bosporans, so that quite a new element appears on the scene. It certainly looks as if the Romans gave help against the tyrant.

Nor do the coins give us enough to construct any deﬁnite history, although a series bearing dates offers more to go upon than usual. Hitherto the coins had mostly borne the names of magistrates. All the dates have been collected by Bertier-de-La-Garde,\(^7\) the result is they fall into two divisions, in the former every year from 70 to 78, i.e. A.D. 46 to 54, is represented. Then there is a gap, and the next division has the numbers 103, 104, 109, 111, 120, 131 and 158, so stretching from A.D. 79 to 134. One of the former division and four of the latter are of gold, including the last (Pl. iv. 25). The coins have most of them a monogram (Παρθένου, v. p. 549), and further, there occur upon some the legends BACIAEYOUCAC and EIPHNC CEBACTHC\(^6\). Finally, we have a last series with the word EAYOEPAC, evidently later than the date-marks.

Bertier-de-La-Garde argues that the ﬁrst division from A.D. 46 to 54 runs from the accession of Cotys I to the death of Claudius, and represents a time during which Chersonese was practically independent. This free position

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\(^1\) *IstPE.* iv. 147.  
\(^2\) *IstPE.* iv. 91.  
\(^3\) *IstPE.* iv. 69.  
\(^4\) *IstPE.* iv. 68.  
\(^6\) Barrow occurs in Inscriptions, e.g. iv. 70.  
\(^7\) and App. 19 = Hort. p. 214, and agrees with Παρθένου; perhaps it is the same on the coins for on them the Maiden’s ﬁgure appears. Orphnokov.  
"Num. Misc." ii., comes to this view independently.
was probably gained during the struggles of Mithridates VIII and Cotys for the throne of the Bosporus. It may have been convenient to the Romans to acknowledge it, and if Pliny was up to date this may be the freedom he means.

The interruption in the series of dated coins goes from A.D. 54 to 78, beginning with the accession of Nero, whose vigorous foreign policy finally insisted on his head appearing on the coins of Cotys, and ending with Vespasian's reign. In the early part of this period we know that Rome, through T. Plautius Silvanus, helped Chersonese against the Scythians. In 66 A.D. the Jewish King Agrippa speaks of the Crimea as being held by a Roman garrison, and Chersonese was no doubt one of its stations: the detachment there being under a centurion according to a tile from Aj Todor. In the latter part of this time the Chersonesites set up a statue to S. Vettulenus Cerialis, legate of Moesia.

But we cannot say that Chersonese was quite free of Rome during the second period of dated coins; though some relaxation may tally with the Dacian wars and the preoccupation of the central government therewith during the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, it was still advisable for the city to honour the legate of Moesia with an inscription: also the heads of Apollo on the coins have a curiously imperial look, and the phrase EIiphnc CEBACTHC (Pl. iv. 23) seems the Roman PAX AVGSTA: finally, we have the evidence of the coins and bricks found at Aj Todor, the ancient Charax, a station on the south coast of the Crimea west of Jalta.

Here everything points to a vexillatio of the Ravenna fleet, some 500 men, as in occupation through the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian, and later the establishment of a vexillatio of the Moesian fleet from Trajan's time to Gordian's. We may suppose that when the Dacian trouble was over the Romans in due course again turned their attention to Chersonese, just as it

1 For the significance of a gold coinage cf. Mommsen, R. Staatsrecht, iii. i. p. 712.
2 App. t. CIL. XIV. 3683, 23, Scytharum quoque regem a Chersonesio quae est ultra Borostenum, opodium summo. This is dated after 62 A.D., and when the 4th legion was sent from Moesia to Armenia. Rostovtsev, BCA. XXVII. p. 35, No. 4, thinks the physician Vetus Theretus, perhaps the freedman of some distinguished Roman serving in this campaign, was slain by the Tauri at this time; the lettering seems early enough.
4 v. n. 7, Rostovtsev, Klio, II. p. 93, Per L. A. centurionem leg. I. Naced pros subsequently Vexillatio Moesiae inf."
5 Ins. E. 4. 172.
6 S. Octavien Fronto, c. 92 A.D. Ins. E. 4. 93.
7 M. I. Rostovtsev, Jour. Min. Publ. Instr. St. P. March, 1900, p. 146, "Roman Garrisons on the Tauric Peninsula." Klio, II. pp. 86-95, gives a particular account of this settlement. It consisted of a high steep promontory cut off by a brick wall with the outer defence of a ditch some distance beyond, I.c.p. 88; one of the buildings was a hypocaust. To his account R. prefixes a review of the whole history of the Roman occupation and this he has corrected and supplemented in BCA. XXIII. p. 1. XXVII. p. 35. XXXIII. p. 22. I have not the time to reproduce his account. Newer excavations published by B.C.A. XXI. pp. 1-42, with a good plan have revealed a gate in the outer wall flanked by towers, a cistern or "Nymphium," with a mosaic floor, baths and halls, also outside a temple with votive reliefs to various gods (v. p. 549) and inscriptions set up by benefactors at their post commanding important cross-roads; cf. Arch. Anz. 1911, pp. 234-238; Vinogradov, Hermes (Russian), VI. (1910), pp. 248 sqq., 278 sqq."

A find made in 1904 two miles inland of Jalta consisting of many hundred coins and a few other things offered to the goddess of some barbarous tribe in the hills, shows that a little east of Aj Todor Bosporan influence as measured by the predominance of Bosporan coins over Chersonesian, were in the ascendant, and Bertier-de-La-Garde in treating of it (Trans. R. Soc. XXVII. Minutes, pp. 19-25) suggests that Aj Todor, placed at the point where a transverse ridge reached the sea, was a natural Chersonesian frontier post and occupied as such by Roman troops; they would hardly have chosen it for themselves as a post from which to command the sea, since for this it offered no advantages. Rostovtsev thinks it a Tauric oppidum.
was about this time that Arrian was sent on his reconnoitring expedition round the east coast of the Euxine. They were very likely dissatisfied with the use the city had made of its liberty.  

There probably followed a period of complete subjection, during which the Chersonesites made every effort to obtain a tolerable position, and finally they were given their liberty, that is liberty in the Roman sense, and renewed their issue of coins, this time with the inscription ΕΑΕΥΘΕΠΑΣ (Pl. iv. 26—29). The late date of these coins is shown by their style, and this is confirmed by their occurrence at Aj Todor associated with Roman coins of the late 1st and early 2nd centuries.

Nor are we left quite in the dark as to what the Chersonesites may have been doing when the Roman vigilance was relaxed. Whatever their actual freedom they were no doubt allies of Rome, and Rome allowed none of her allies to treat with other states; whereas we have two inscriptions in honour of men who have had to do with the Bosporus: on one the hero besides having held the usual offices is praised for something done, ἀρισταρχὴς. His last duty seems to have been an embassy to the legate of Moesia.

Better preserved and more explicit is an inscription in honour of Ariston, son of Attinas. Besides filling the ordinary offices with singular merit and rendering special services in putting the finances in order, Ariston twice went as ambassador to Rhoemetaletes (131—134 A.D.), each time with success, and finally spent six years petitioning the Emperor about the city’s freedom. On this service he died apparently without being successful. The petition was afterwards backed up by the mother state, Heraclea Pontica, and Roman resentment was appeased. The Chersonesites duly express their gratitude in more severe Doric than usual. Meanwhile their relations with other towns are shown by various fragments of proxenies granted among others to Dia... of Heraclea, Pharmaces of Amastris, a ship-master Satyrus probably a Bosporan, and another ship-master, C. Caius Eutychianus of Sinope.

1 Phileon of Trafles, Olympiades Lib. xiv., fr. 20, as quoted by Const. Porph. de Thesm. ii. 12, says that Caesar put Cherson (sic) under his nominee Cotys. As Lib. xv. seems to deal with Hadrian this would be Cotys II (125—131 A.D.) and the experiment would be a possible one on the part of Rome. But we have no reason to reckon Cotys II a special nominee of Hadrian’s, whereas Cotys I was put on the throne by Claudius (v. infra, p. 597), and perhaps it refers to his time. Or it may be a case of the old confusion between the Crimea and the town Chersones, made this time by Constantine who certainly had “Chersones” before him, “Cherson” was not literary in the 2nd century. Rostovtzev in Brockhaus-Jefron thinks that Rome put Chersonese under the Bosporus in order to strengthen the latter for its work of resisting barbarians.

2 For civitates librae see Mommsen, R. Staatsrecht, iii. i, p. 655 sqq.

3 JosPE. i. 196. Latyshev puts this at 60—70 B.C. and thinks that this man implicated the help of T. Plautius Silvanus. But for Chersonese Lower Moesia was the only Moesia, so that even after the division under Domitian the nearer province would be understood without “Lower,” and the inscription quite well be put later.

4 App. 19=JosPE. i. 199.

5 The name occurs among the Thracian kings of the time of Augustus. Loevy (Inschr. Gr. Bildh. p. 237, No. 337) assigns the inscr. to this date because of the title of Augustus, ἀρισταρχὴς, but Latyshev (JosPE. iv. 280) rightly quotes App. 20=iv. 71, πολιτεία αὐτοῦ διόνυσου ἀνδριάσια ἀν δοκίμια, used of Antonine; cf. Dessimann, p. 264, n. 8.

6 App. 20=JosPE. IV. 71. There are mistakes in it and it is obviously a dead dialect, cf. Mommsen, Provincia, t. p. 282 note.

7 App. 18=Horváth, p. 314; JosPE. iv. 70; BCA. xiv. p. 104, No. 12; JosPE. iv. 72. The date of this last inscription is a real curiosity of Epigraphy: its right half has been known since 1821, it was found in the ruins of Saraj on the Volga, the capital of the Golden Horde, and copied by the Pastor of the German colony Sarepta. So it found its way into CIG. (2)349, and Bockh thought it might come from Eseopolis, a town mentioned by
Roman Garrison

In the latter half of the second century we have plentiful evidence of the presence of a Roman garrison at Chersonese. Besides the Greek tombstones with Roman names which always mark date we have many epitaphs of Roman soldiers and auxiliaries belonging to regiments known to have been stationed in Moesia during this period. In an African inscription we have the epitaph of a praepositus vestibulionibus Pontidis apud Scythiam et Tauricam, and in one from Vaison perhaps another is mentioned. The head of the detachment at Chersonese appears to have been a centurion (p. 523 n. 4).

Two important documents, both belonging to 185 A.D., throw much light on the Roman forces at Chersonese and their relations with the townsfolk. One is a dedication made in honour of Commodus and of Flavius Sergianus Sosibius trib. mil. leg. I. Italicae, no doubt commander of the whole garrison, naval and military, by T. Aurelius Secundus Ravenna, trierarch of the Moesian fleet. In the other, the well-known inscription dealing with the tēlos pōrnikōn, we have mentioned the tribune Attilius Primianus in chief command, a predecessor of his Arrius Aelciades and a centurion Valerius Maximus, who seems to have exacted the tax and taken too great a proportion of the proceeds for the benefit of the garrison, leaving the town less than the share which had been defined by the Emperors. Hence a correspondence between the central government, the legate of Moesia, the town of Chersonese and the commanders of the Roman soldiers stationed there. Interference with the private concerns of Chersonese could hardly go further.

However, the city must have prospered, as the remains of a fair sized temple, dedicated to Aphrodite and used up in Uvarov's basilica, seem to belong to the beginning of the third century, so far as we can judge from the type of name written on the columns. The usual contribution to the cost of a column was five hundred denarii. On the architrave is chronicled a gift of three thousand, the balance left in the hands of [Aur.] Hermocrates after a year of office as agrarianus.

Ptolemy on the Don. The left half was found at Chersonese and published in Mat. xvii. No. 3. Latyshev had not recognised its relation to the other fragment, but his restoration has been well borne out upon the whole. On noticing the name in CL., he put the parts together in Journ. Min. Pub. Inst. St. P. Nov. 1893. The story is of some importance for the causes of the destruction of Chersonese. It is wonderful that a stone should have carried 800 miles and more.

1 Eg. IosPE. iv. 120, Aur. Victor, leg. I. Italicae (in Moesia from 69 A.D.), B. Filow, 'Die Legionen der Provinz Moesien,' Klio, Berh. vi. (1906), p. 27, and united with XI. Claudiana before 211; IosPE. iv. 122, Aur. Salianus, tribunus leg. XI. Claudiana (B. Filow, p. 65); the names of these legions occur at A. Toda). We have no clue to the date of Julius Valens, IosPE. iv. 121, as his leg. V. Macedonica was in Moesia from 71 to 200 A.D. and again under Aurelian (Filo, p. 64); IosPE. iv. 119, Aur. Valens and Ael. Julius, trib. c. 26. c. 11; IosPE. iv. 119. Moesia from 134 A.D.; BCA. xxvii. p. 68, No. 2, M. Antonius Valens, trib. c. 10. IosPE. iv. 119, Moesia from 219 A.D. to 312, both these cohorts were from Spain. Greeks bearing names such as BCA. x. p. 22, No. 16. Aur. Tyche of IosPE. iv. 108, M. Aur. Jason must belong to the same period; Aur. Victor (ib. iv. 122) seems of the 3rd century.

3 CIL. xii. 1358, Rostovtzev BCA. xxxiii. p. 21.
6 Cf. a similar correspondence in the case of Tyana, Apo. 44 = IosPE. i. 51, supra p. 416.
The privileges of the city though boasted upon the series of coins issued at this time did not satisfy the inhabitants and Democrats, the son of Aristogenes, earned praise by paying his own expenses at Rome when going as an envoy for the benefit of the city. At this period the Doric dialect is no longer kept up. Now also comes in the title Protarchonenteon, forming a transition to the προτάρχων used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. About the middle of the century Chersonese ceases to coin money.

Legendary Wars with Bosphorus.

We hear no more of Chersonese, henceforth called Cherson, until the time of Diocletian. In the last chapter (53) of his work on the government of the Empire, Constantine Porphyrogenitus losing sight of any practical purpose goes off into a digression on the history of Cherson. He says that in the time of Diocletian (284 to 303 A.D.) Sauromatus (sic) of the Bosphors, son of Crisconorus (Rhescuporis?), marched through Lazica as far as the Haly, where he was met by a force under Constans (this must be for Constantius Chorus, and gives a date before 292), who being in a weak position urged the Chersonites to make a diversion. Accordingly the President Chrestus, son of Papias, collected a large force of men and artillery in wagons, defeated the Bosphors by a pretended flight, captured their city with their wives and families and compelled the latter to send to Sauromatus to make peace. Sauromatus, who had meanwhile won more advantages over the Romans, was after some negotiations forced to forgo an indemnity, give up his prisoners and retire to Bosphorus, whereupon the womenfolk were duly handed back to him unhurt, and the victorious Chersonites returned home. For this the city received true freedom and immunity and rich gifts.

Constantine the Great when troubled by an invasion of the Scythians (Goths) upon the Danube, remembering the help given to his father, called in the Chersonites, who under their President Diogenes, son of Diogenes, went with their artillery (χειροβολίστρα) and wagons and defeated the enemy.

1 IosPE. i. 200.  
3 For guesses as to the presence of a Roman garrison at this period v. Kostovskij in BCA. XXIII. p. 1, No. 1, publishing a Latin Inscription of about this date mentioning e.g. [cem] Romanae d'aur per quar dierium teg. XI. (Claudiae). In A.D. 245 the Chersonites were restoring their walls, IosPE. l. 211, just the time when the barbarians had subdued Olbia and Bosphorus. A witness to Roman commerce is a square lead weight inscribed episkos Trikona, CR. 1906, p. 80, l. 55.  
5 ἱστορία τοῦ καίσαρος Χερσονήσου, v. R. Garnett, L.; Finlay, Hist. of Greece, II. p. 350 sqq.; Gibbon, ed. Bury, II. p. 218. Brands in P. W. p. 2269 says this is all unhistorical and blames those who have repeated it, but it is probably drawn from some Chersonian chronicle (each incident is dated by the name of an annual president, e.g. στεφάνος φοινικοῦ καὶ στρατηγοὶ θεμελίων τῆς Κερασίνης) and represents what the Chersonites believed about their past. Also the story of Gysia is very pleasing, quite worthy of Herodotus. The genesis of the whole is very likely an attempt to explain certain statues existing in Cherson. Certain privileges and perhaps the existence of the remains of a great house, ruined and made into a rubbish heap, left in the west part of the town near a postern—this is Mommsen’s view, Prosopion, II. p. 319, note—the whole being combined with traditions of ancient wars against the rulers of the Bosphorus and stock stories like David and Goliath and Ali Baba.  
Accordingly the Emperor summoned the leaders to Byzance, confirmed the former privileges, and presented them with a golden statue (of himself) in royal crown and robes, a charter of liberties for them and their ships, and a ring with his portrait with which petitions to the Emperor were to be sealed. Also he granted them a yearly allowance of cord, hemp, iron and oil for the artillery and a thousand rations to those who served it, "paid until this day" to their descendants who make up a fixed number in the corps.

Years passed and Sauromatus, grandson of the former Sauromatus son of Crisconorus, sought to avenge his grandfather but was defeated at Capha (Theodosia; this is the first occurrence of the mediaeval name) by the president of Cherson, Byscus', son of Supolichus, and the boundary fixed at Capha at the old frontier of the Spartocids (v. inf. p. 557).

After a time another Sauromatus arose and crossed the boundary with a great force collected from the tribes about the Maeotis. The president of Cherson at this time was Pharmacus, son of Pharmacus, who led his army out to meet the enemy and proposed a single combat with the Bosphoran king, although he himself was a small man. Sauromatus readily agreed, trusting like Goliath in his height and heavy armour, but Pharmacus had arranged that when he should have manoeuvred his opponent round so that each had his back to his enemy's host, the Chersonites should cry out, "aha." Sauromatus turned his head round at the cry and the scales of his armour opened so that Pharmacus could pierce him with his spear. On seeing their leader slain the host of Sauromatus fled, but the victorious Pharmacus contented himself with drawing the boundary at a line forty miles from Bosphorus town, doing no harm to the citizens. In memory of this clemency the Bosphorans set up his statue in their city. This was an end to the kingship of the Sauromati in Bosphorus.

So far the story is not such as to make it impossible that it should have some foundation. Of course we must make allowance for the patriotism of the Chersonites, who glorify the prowess, cunning and mercy of their leaders, and extend the boundaries of the city's dominion. We can understand too that a confusion should arise between the ethnic name Sauromates and the proper name derived from it. Some of the expressions suggest that the enemy of Cherson was not exactly the rightful ruler of Bosphorus, he appears rather as the chief of the barbarians about the Maeotis. The state of things may correspond to a time of confusion in Bosphoran affairs, when at once there were two kings, one as it seems the representative of the old reigning house, the other of more recent barbarian origin. At the time indicated for the beginning of these events Thothorses, and after him Rhadampsadius, seem to have been rivals of the last Rhescuporis, and after this we know nothing of the Bosphorus. The barbarian element seems to have got out of hand because the Romans were busy with internal affairs and the Danubian difficulties. In earlier times they would not have allowed real wars between their vassals; we may compare the state of things under Pharsanzes, another extra king of Bosphorus, who put its fleet at the disposal of the barbarians (v. inf. p. 608).

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2 The forms in -os are presumably to be referred to the later date of Constantine or his authority.
Gycia.

Next, Constantine goes on to tell the story of the plot made by a Bosporan king Asander to avenge his kingdom upon Cherson. Hearing that Lamachus the president of Cherson had a fair daughter named Gycia, the king proposed that his eldest son should marry her and so put an end to the hostility between the two states. The Chersonites agreed but only on condition that the prince should come and live at Cherson and never go back to see his father at Bosporus, and the condition was accepted. Now at Cherson, Lamachus, who was very rich in gold and silver, menservants and maidservants, flocks and herds and goods, had a house taking up four wards (regiones) of the city in length and breadth; it had its own postern in the city wall and four towered gates with fair wickets through which each kind of beast went in and out to its own stable. Lamachus gave his consent to the marriage and after a space of two years died, and Gycia was left alone with Asander's son, for her mother had died long before. A year after the death of Lamachus, in the presidency of Zethus son of Zethon 1, Gycia, not desirous of making a display but wishing to keep bright the memory of her father, asked grace of the elders of the city that she might yearly all her life long on the anniversary of his death make a great feast to all the townsmen, their wives, children and households, so that abstaining from work for that day they should dance and make merry in public each in his own ward. In this proposal she was encouraged by her husband who saw in it an opportunity of carrying out his treasonable designs against the liberties of Cherson. After the feast he sent a trusty slave to Bosporus saying: "From time to time upon the pretext of bringing me presents send me ships and ten or twelve stout young men over and above the rowers. Let them wait at Symbolon and I will send and bring the young men and the presents into the city. Then in the daytime in the sight of all I will send away the young men and they shall hide till dark in the meadow (perhaps the marshes of the Chernaja by Inkerman) and then I will bring them by sea round to the harbour Susa and let them in by my own postern." So they did and in time there were assembled in the cellar of the house two hundred Bosporans, only waiting for the annual feast to burn and slay, the lady knowing nothing of the matter. Now a slave-girl, trusted by Gycia, had committed some fault and chanced to have been shut up in a chamber just above the Bosporans; in spinning she dropped her spindle-whorl and it rolled into a hole in the pavement. To reach it she pulled up a brick and through the hole she saw armed men in the cellar beneath, so she put the brick back carefully and sent for her mistress and shewed her the sight. Then Gycia, saying that her offence was foreordained of Heaven (δεός) that this treachery might be revealed, took her back into yet closer confidence and commanded her to keep silence: but she herself opened the matter to two trusty kinsmen and bade them summon the chiefs of the city in a secret place and let them choose out three men furnished with ability, able to keep a secret, who should promise under oath to do what Gycia should ask them, for she must trust them with a matter

1 Cf. iot.P.E. iv. 86, 96.
most weighty and of great moment to the state. When the three men came she made them swear that when she died she should be buried in the midst of the city. Then she told them of the two hundred Bosphorans hidden in her house. Further she said that they were not to forgo the approaching feast but to celebrate it with moderation. So she would first seem tired of it and they likewise would go early as though to bed: but really as soon as the prince was put off his guard they should all join and pile wood about the house of Lamachus and prepare covered torches and then stand ready to slay all that should break out thence; last of all that she herself should lock the doors and come out to them, whereupon they should put fire to the whole. To this they agreed, and on the appointed day the feast was celebrated with the utmost eagerness, so that they tired early of the dancing and went home. In her own house Gycia vied with her husband in pressing wine upon all, only she bade her chambermaids be sober and herself drank watered wine from a purple goblet but plied her husband withal. So when the citizens appeared weary she made her husband go to rest before the former time; this he did gladly but had not dared say so of himself. So all the doors were locked and the keys brought to Gycia who commanded her maids to take her jewels and any precious things they could hide in the folds of their garments. Then she stole from her husband as he slept overcome with wine, locked the bedroom door, went quietly out with her maids from the great gate and gave the citizens the sign to compass the house with fire. So it was burnt with all and everything within it.

When the citizens wished to rebuild it for her, Gycia would not allow it but bade them rather make a dunghill of the place where such treachery had been plotted. And the place is called the look out place of Lamachus until this day.

When the citizens saw the infinite mercy of heaven towards their city wrought through Gycia, and that she had spared nothing of her own, in the street of the city they set up two images of brass pourtraying her in her youth and beauty as she was at the time when she saved the city: one shewed her modestly adorned, revealing to the citizens her own husband's plot; the other in warlike array attacking the plotters. Below these the tale was written and whoever among the citizens wished for the fame of loving fair things would clean the letters and make clear the writing.

Now when a certain season had passed and Stratophilus son of Philomusus was chief ruler of Cherson, Gycia in her great wisdom wished to make trial of the Chersonites whether they would keep their oath and bury her in the midst of the city. So she took counsel with her maids and feigned to be dead; and her maids mourned her and gave word to the citizens that she was dead and asked in what place she should be buried. Whereupon the Chersonites took no account of their oath, but carried her without the city to bury her. And when the bier was set down at the tomb, Gycia sat up and looked round on the citizens: "Is this," said she, "your promise under oath? Is this how you keep your word?" Then the Chersonites, shamed by the issue of their own ill faith, prayed her to pardon their fault and to cease from reproaching them. So they swore a second oath to bury her in the midst of the city and this indeed they kept: for during her lifetime they set up her
altar-tomb and raised to her yet another brazen statue and overlaid it with gold setting it by her tomb for a yet more sure memorial.

This pleasing piece of Chersonian legend does not inspire confidence in its truth. Sir Lewis Morris was not violating history when he turned it into a tragedy and made a few changes to suit his purpose; only he need not have made the period 970 A.D. after the death of the author who relates it. As we have seen, Dr Richard Garnett (op. cit.) is dissatisfied with the date to which Constantine refers it and rightly points out that neither the names nor the customs still less the general atmosphere suit a presumably Christian town in the latter part of the 11th century. But when he comes to putting it in the 1st century B.C. because at that time there was a real Asander reigning in Bosporus he is doing more than is possible. As well fix the date of Arthur or Vladimir from the contents of the ballads without the help of external history. It looks, as I have said, as if the legend had gathered about some dismantled house (perhaps the Monte Testaccio in the west part of the city is Δαμακός σκοτεινὸς) and several statues of women, perhaps a Παρθένος πρόμαχος and a Victory. As to religion the tone is vaguely monotheistic unlike the century in which the Maiden gave definite promises of victory to Diophantus.

Christianity. Byzantine Period.

As to the introduction of Christianity into Chersonese, legend has it that St. Andrew first preached the gospel here. At the end of the first century we find it already a place of banishment for Christians, Flavia Domitilla in 92. S. Clement of Rome in 94. Whatever its foundation, in its final form the story of St. Clement is full of absurdities, he arrives with many companions and finds two thousand Christians working in marble quarries and forced to go 45 stades for a drink of water, the Saint at once reveals a clear spring, and next his preaching daily gains; many converts among the townsfolk up to five hundred, and seventy-five churches are built. This rouses a persecution; as nothing touches the Saint he is tied to an iron anchor and thrown into the sea. His disciples pray for the sight of his relics and the waters stand up to leave a path to where the Saint lies in a shrine and the anchor by him within a church (v. supra, p. 513). It is revealed to the disciples not to remove the body, and each year on the day of the martyrdom the miracle is repeated and this keeps the Chersonites constant in the faith. But the greatest wonder is that once the only son of pious parents who had taken him to the shrine was (for the shewing forth of the Saint's glory) left behind in it, and when the

1 Gylia, a Tragedy. London, 1886.
2 S. P. Shestakov, "Sketches of the History of Chersonese in the VI-X centuries A.D."; Pt III. of Ainalov's Monuments of Christian Chersonese; Moscow, 1908, takes the same view of Gylia as I do. I find that his very full (190 pp.) treatment of Chersonian history brings him to much the same conclusions as I had embodied in my bare outline. His first chapter, "The Beginnings of Christianity at Cherson," was contributed to Serta Bouvsthenica in honour of Professor Kulakovskij, Kiev, 1911.
parents returned next year to recover his body they found him alive and leaping; the Saint having fed and guarded him the while.

In the time of Diocletian, about 300 A.D., was made a real effort to evangelize Cherson, apparently initiated by Hermion, Bishop of Jerusalem, who is represented as sending out bishops wholesale. It roused violent opposition, the first martyr was S. Basilus and with him his companion S. Ephraim destined for "Turkey," i.e. the steppes. Next suffered SS. Eugene, Agathodorus and Elpidius together. Later Hermion sent S. Aetherius but he was cast ashore off the Dnepr, on the island Alhos since called by his name (v. pp. 16, 481, n. 7), and died before reaching his see. S. Capito his successor was sent out by Constantine, accompanied by 500 soldiers under the command of Theonas. He passed unscathed through a furnace, which was counted to him for martyrdom, built a church and baptistery and converted the unbelievers. M. I. Rostovtsev suggests the compiler of the legend brought into connexion the arrival of the bishop, the establishment of the corps of ballistarii which Constantine Porphyrogenitus also assigns to the time of Constantine the Great and the existence of the quarter τα Ἑσών, presumably the military quarter, i.e. the south-eastern extension ABCV. The Chersonites are represented as obstinate Pagans, but Christianity seems to have prevailed by the middle of the 11th century.

Capito, although he does not seem to have attended the Nicene council, marks the regular establishment of the see of Cherson. His successor, Aetherius the Second, signed the minutes of the second council of Constantinople in 381 as "Tersonitanus," and Longinus those of the council of 448 (v. p. 493, n. 1). At Chaleedon in 451 it was finally decided that the Bishop of Cherson was subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Franko (loc. cit.) has suggested rather plausibly that the Chersonites affiliated their church to Jerusalem in order to support its claim to autocephaly, as in the time of Hermion, whose date is not far out, the church of Jerusalem was of no great importance. Later on Cherson was advanced to the seat of an archbishop and finally of a metropolitan.

During the latter part of the 11th century Cherson became a regular place of banishment for persons regarded by the Court with disfavour or suspicion, even pretenders to the throne such as Procopius*. This proves that it was not exempt from the observation of the central government. But there is reason to believe that on the whole it was more independent than any other


2 BCA. XXIII, p. 5 sqq.

3 For the seven martyrs of Cherson v. Acta SS. (Bolland) Maral, 1, p. 639, Mar. 7, and Menologium Gracianum, Pt III, Mar. 8; also Trans. Od. Soc. VII, p. 120. Latyshev gives a full discussion and all texts in Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences de St P., Cl. Hist. Phil. Soc. VII, T. VIII, 3 (1906) and a Russian rendering in BCA. XXIII, p. 106 sqq., see also Lavrov, op. cit. pp. 154-170, 180-184. The whole question is well dealt with by Shestakov, p. 17 sqq., who is inclined to allow some foundation of truth in the stories: they have a certain interest as being almost certainly the work of Chersonite authors.

4 Zosimus, IV, 5.
town in the Empire. For instance it is not included in the Synecdemus of Hierocles (c. 500). Not but what in case of need it received help. Proof of this is seen in the fact of repairs done to towers and gates by officers of the Emperor. Such works were carried out by a Praetorian Prefect Domitius Modestus under Valens (370—375), a Tribune Fl. Vitus under Theodosius and Arcadius (383—398), by Count Diogenes under Zeno (488), by Justinian I; at Bosphorus under Maurice in 590 by Eupaturius General (στρατηγός) and Duke of Cherson, a few years previously the Turkish danger had been serious;—and finally by Leo Allatius Patrician and Praetor (στρατηγός) of Cherson and Sugdæa under Isaac Comnenus in 1059. In return the city made contributions in kind to the upkeep of the Imperial navy.

There was a special coinage for Cherson under Justinian I, under Maurice and from Michael III and Basil I to Basil II and Constantine IX (XI), i.e. 866—1025; in all these periods we have other evidence of close dependence, but the types and monetary system are peculiar to Cherson.

An interesting exile was Pope Martin (c. 653); he gives a most dismal account of things, complaining that the town was dependent upon what ships brought for the very necessities of life, but there is probably a good deal of exaggeration in what he says.

But much the most important exile was Justinian II, banished in 695, on whom after his mutilation by the usurper Leontius, as Gibbon puts it, "the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name Rhinotmetus." The story goes that Justinian hearing that some of the townsmen had hostile designs upon him escaped by the help of others to the Khan of the Khazars, married his sister and settled at Phanagoria. However, the Khan was finally bribed by Tiberius III to give him up but Justinian broke loose and took refuge with the Bulgars and by their help regained his throne (705). So he was in a position to avenge upon the citizens the insults and hostility they had directed against him. The accounts of his vengeance are just a string of legends which leave us quite in the dark as to his real motives. When he was an exile the governors seem to have been sent out from Constantinople, but at the time of his vengeance the Khazars had a representative (tudu) in the city and the expeditions seem to have been as much against the Khazars as against the Chersonites though the citizens are exterminated once or twice in the course of events. Finally it is Bardanes a nominee of Cherson that wins over the soldiers and returns to Byzance to murder Justinian (711). The whole story is severely criticized by Bertier-de-La-Garde, he admits however that it agrees remarkably well with the disposition of the fortifications, and Cherson seems rather more...
independent than he will allow. Shestakov (pp. 31—35) is less sceptical. The fullest accounts are in Theophanes', and Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus (p. 44 sqq.), who used the same source less accurately. The later writers (v. bibliography) merely abbreviate except Constantine Manasses (ll. 3988—4100) whose poetical treatment is quite in place.

During the reigns of the Isaurian dynasty Cherson was a refuge for the Orthodox banished by the Iconoclasts; as such it appears to have made itself more or less independent of the Empire. Several of the letters of Theodore of Studium are addressed to, or speak of, such refugees. At the same time it cultivated friendly relations with the Khazars, perhaps it had only changed a distant overlord for a near one.

Certainly it is presented as a new idea when Petronas Camaterus, a spatharocandidiate, who was sent to help the Khan of the Khazars to build himself a capital at Sarkel on the lower Don, and on his way had occasion to call at Cherson, suggests to Theophilus (c. 834) that he should make himself direct master of the city instead of leaving its government to the president (πρωτευόν) with the so-called Fathers of the city. So Theophilus sent this very Petronas as praetor (ορσαργός) and from that day the praetors were sent from Byzance. This is probably the time when Cherson was made a theme, the xiith. About this time the late life of S. Stephen of Surozh (Sudak) tells of a Russian Bravin making a successful raid on Cherson: how he got there is a mystery, perhaps he is a reflection of Vladimir's attack.

Towards 861 there came to Cherson, Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, afterwards the apostles of the Slavs, at this time sent by the Patriarch Photius on a mission to the Khazars, or perhaps to the Slavs under the Khazar rule; they also preached to the Goths in the region called Phullia. In Cherson Cyril is said to have learned many languages eastern and northern and some have supposed that it was from their alphabets that he supplied the signs for Slavonic sounds which are wanting in Greek, but Taylor and Jagić have made it probable that these signs are ligatures from the Greek cursive and that their alphabet was already invented. Cyril visited the tomb of Clement and took his relics away to Rome, and "Cersona" appears which mention the visit to Cherson are "Ein Brief des Anastasius Bibliothecarius an den Bischof Gaudericus" published by J. Friederich in S.B. d. k. Akad. d. d. Phil.-Hist. Cl. 1892, p. 393; "Translato S. Clementis," A.A. SS. Mort. B.II. p. 19; "Vita Constantini" (O. Slav.), ed. Mikelisich and Dümmler, Dem. d. k. Akad. d. d. W. zu Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl. xix. 1879; the "Vita Methodii" (O. Slav.), Arch. f. Kunde Oester. Geschichtsw. XIII. 1854, passes this episode over; P. Lavrov intends an edition of them all; cf. Hifelding, Works, St P. 1886, I. p. 300; "Cyril and Methodius" L. K. Goetz, Gesch. d. Slawen aufsl. Gotla, 1877, reprinting Lahn translations; V. Jagić, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte d. kirchenlat. Spr." in Dem. d. k. Akad. d. d. W. zu Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl. XVII. (1902) and Arch. f. Slaw. Phil. XXV. p. 544, XXVIII. pp. 101, 180, 229; "Cyrillo-Methodiana" by V. Lamanski, B. Brückner, I. Franko; also as touching Cherson, Shestakov, op. cit. p. 48; v. Encyl. Brit. 11 s.v. "Slavs"; Bury, op. c. pp. 392—401, 485—488, 500.
in the frescoes of San Clemente. The state of Cherson is described as pitiable, surrounded on all sides by new hordes of barbarians, its immediate environs desert, its own population much mixed and decadent.

In 891, under Leo VI the Chersonites rebelled and killed the governor Symeon, but they do not seem to have established their independence. The importance of Cherson in dealing with the Bulgars and the Khazars and for missionary effort is brought out in this reign by the letters of the Patriarch Nicolaus Mysticus to Symeon of Bulgaria, to an unknown, perhaps Bogas, governor of Cherson, mentioned in them, and to the Archbishop of Cherson.

**Intercourse with Russians. Vladimir.**

In the following century the power of the Khazars had declined through the attacks of the Pečenégs, and the Eastern Slavs had been united under their Russian (Varangian) leaders, so that they could throw off the Khazar yoke. The Russians descended to the mouth of the Dniepr in spite of the attacks of the nomads on their flanks and even made expeditions for trade and war across the Euxine. Of all the Greeks the Chersonites came into closest contact with them and their city became a main channel of Greek influence flowing into Russia. Accordingly their interests are carefully guarded in the treaties made by Byzance with Igor (944) and Sviatoslav (972), providing that the Chersonites should be allowed to fish unmolested at the mouth of the Dniepr (near which they had salt-works), and that their land should be left in peace and even protected from the raids of the Black Bulgars: however the Russians were to support the Emperor in case of Cherson’s revolting. It was through the help of Sviatoslav that a Chersonite Calocyrus hoped to become Emperor but failed.

The “Notes of the Gothic Toparch” have been fixed astronomically at 961 a.d. in the reign of Sviatoslav by Fr. Westberg who puts the scene of action to the north of the Crimea, but the author’s avoidance of all non-classical names makes identification of what he is trying to say hopeless.

The conversion of the Russian people to Orthodox Christianity is one of the most important events in European history, and though it was coming about by the direct intercourse of Byzantines and Russians,—Christian tombs dating back a hundred years before Vladimir have been found at Kiev,---

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1 The relics are usually said to have been lost and discovered by Cyril, but Franke, G. M., prints a form of the legend which ascribes the discovery to a priest Philip some years before Cyril. Vladimir in 988 also took Clement’s relics to Kiev, but then he had force on his side. If we take Brückner’s view of Cyril’s character, we might think that Photius suggested to Cyril how to make his mission to the West acceptable by using his stay at Cherson to authenticate relics which were sure to be most welcome at Rome.


4 Ps. Nestor’s chronicle under those years.


7 BCA. xxxiv. Suppl. p. 169.
Cherson certainly played its part in the process, being generally regarded as the scene of its most dramatic incident, the baptism of Vladimir, hence the building of the great church shown in the view (Fig. 333) and the necessity of discussing the question. In the Russian Chronicle the story goes that in 986 A.D. missionaries from the Muhammadan Bulgars on the Volga, the Germans, the Jews (Khazars) and the Greeks came to Vladimir one after another to set forth their faiths and that next year he in turn sent envoys to see how the faiths were practised in the various countries. In 988 as though to take Christianity by force he suddenly descended upon Cherson, encamped upon the further side of the town in the harbour, and set about starving it into submission, declaring that he could wait three years: as he did not succeed he threw up a bank against the wall (to bring his men on a level with the defenders) but these stole away the earth by a hole in the wall and carried it into the town. Finally a Chersonite named Anastasius sent Vladimir a message upon an arrow to say that pipes brought water into the town from wells to the east of him and bade him cut them off. Vladimir cried out, "If this prove true, I will be baptized." So the defenders were reduced by thirst. Then Vladimir sent to the Emperors Basil and Constantine demanding their sister Anne in marriage and threatening to do the like to Constantinople. They agreed on condition of his accepting Christianity, and upon this it is clear that he had already resolved. Thus Anne set out with much weeping as into slavery, and with her officers and priests, and the Chersonites met her with reverence. Then Anne's priests baptized Vladimir, naming him Basil in the church of S. Basil (i.e. Our Lady, in the "Life," S. James, in the midst of the town where the Chersonites buy and sell; many of his warriors were also baptized. So Vladimir took Anne to wife and by the church his palace and hers are to be seen unto this day. After building a church on the heap of earth stolen from his bank, Vladimir went back to Kiev with his bride.

1 The principal original authorities for the baptism of Vladimir and the taking of Cherson are: P. Nestor, Russian Chronicle sub A.M. 6496= A.D. 986, Laurensian M.S. St P., 1547.
This is reprinted by E. Golubinski, Hist. Russian Chr., Moscow, 1901, i. i. pp. 225–238, in columns parallel with a "Life of Vladimir" which agrees with it very closely.
Isaacus Monachus, Panegyrics (Memory and Prate) of Vladimir, ib. pp. 238–245.
Leo Diaconus, X. 10 (p. 175).
Cedrign, ii. pp. 443–444, Bonn.
Zonaras, III. pp. 516–553, Bonn.
* In what year was S. Vladimir Christened?
* Stories of such disputations were in the air, e.g. the conversion of the Bulgarian Boris in 864, the preaching of Cyril among the Khazars and the accounts of how they were Judaised, but the stories are hard to date, v. J. Marquart, Ost-Eur. u. Ost-As. Streifzüge, pp. 5–57.
carrying off thither Anastasius and other priests of Cherson, the relics of S. Clement, holy vessels and icons, also two brazen statues and four brazen horses afterwards set up in Kiev, but the town he gave back to the Emperors as a marriage-gift (věna). The Chronicle adds that some said mistakenly that Vladimir was baptized at Kiev, Vasiliev or elsewhere.

Shakhmatov’s “Special” Life agrees with this tale in making the fall of Cherson due to treachery and in putting Vladimir’s baptism there, but in other respects it differs entirely. Vladimir sends to demand the daughter of the prince of Cherson in marriage, on his being refused with scorn he collects his forces, takes up his position and makes his threat as before; but “Vladimir waited six months and the men of Korsun were not starved out; now in the town was a Varang named Zhidibern (Norse Sigbjorn): he shot an arrow into the company of Variags and said ‘take the arrow to Vladimir.’” He had written on the arrow that he was friendly to Vladimir and that in two or three years he could not starve Korsun out, “for shipmen come with drink and food into the town and their road is to the east of thine array.” So Vladimir cut this road and in three months the men in the town surrendered through hunger and thirst. Thereupon Vladimir violates the daughter of the prince and princess before their very eyes, slays them and gives her in marriage to Zhidibern whom he sends to Constantinople to demand for him the hand of Anne; and the end is as in the former version.

Bertier-de-La-Garde shews that both these stories are fairly consistent with the strategical topography of the place, supposing Vladimir had boldly penetrated to the head of the harbour, and the shipmen landing somewhere in North Bay brought provisions to the point opposite the town and across the mouth of the harbour out of sight of Vladimir who could not keep the sea in winter, the water pipes are of course well known (v. supra, p. 502): he also shews that both the episodes with arrows are reasonable and supposes a separate cutting off of the provisions and of the water, as is implied by either story separately, e.g. shipmen could not bring water for a beleaguered town: in fact that the authors of these two accounts knew a common source in which appeared all and more than all the incidents that now fill up two stories, the source being a tale or ballad made up in Vladimir’s camp, incorporating the motive of the vengeance of the rejected suitor. The Chronicle certainly implies that the siege took a long time and the “Special” life gives it at not less than nine months, this would enable us to reconcile the date given by the Chronicle, 988, which we may take as that of the beginning of the siege with the date of the capture deducible from Leo Diaconus and defined as between April and June 989. A difficulty has arisen because Yahyá of Antioch confirms the vaguer accounts of Cedrenus and Zonaras telling of a force of Russians, the origin of the Varangian guard, who were lent to Basil and Constantine and enabled them to defeat Bardas Phocas at Chrysopolis in the summer of 988 and at Abydos, April 13, 989. Yahyá says that (apparently in 987) the Emperors had to apply for help to an enemy, the prince of the Russians, and he demanded their sister in marriage, to which they consented on condition of his being baptized: and afterwards (giving time for the affair of Cherson), Basil sent bishops who baptized the prince...and they sent him their sister....and when the matter of the marriage was decided (not
necessarily after the promised bride had been received), the host of the Russians came and joined the host of the Greeks who were on the side of Basil; the Russians must have arrived between April 4, 988, when Basil published a very despairing preamble to a Novel, and the battle of Chrysopolis in the summer. Bertier-de-La-Garde argues that Vladimir would not have let his men go without getting a hostage for them in the shape of Anne, this being the main object of his marriage, and that Cherson must have been captured before then, in fact the hostilities against Cherson were the hostilities of which Yahyā speaks: besides it would be inconceivable that Vladimir should be besieging the Emperors’ town just when he was helping them with picked forces. Srukulj (p. 269) has hit on the explanation without making very much of it, when he suggests that perhaps at the moment the town did not belong to the Emperors. There is no direct evidence for this, but its dependence on Asia Minor is the most constant fact in its history and all Asia was under Bardas Phocas. Hence it appears to me an excellent stroke of policy for Vladimir, when the Emperors delayed his imperial bride, to do them a service, and yet remind them of his power by taking a Greek town belonging to the rebel side: this would palliate the treachery of Anastasius but would not much lessen the disaster in the eyes of Leo Diaconus. The hostility which Yahyā speaks was the longstanding hostility of the Russians dating from Askold and Dir, now turned to permanent friendship. The Emperors were then constrained by the pressure of the Bulgarian war and the revolt of Bardas Phocas, to promise a Porphyrogenita in marriage to a barbarian, and brought up to execute their promise by the alarming service of the reduction of Cherson. Vladimir had no need of a hostage for his Varies, who as a matter of fact, never came home as a body, but were quite able to take care of themselves, being for the next hundred years the main support of the Empire, always recruited from fresh Norsemen and later on from Englishmen. He was anxious for the matrimonial project because, though he knew the political weakness of the Empire, its prestige attracted him, and he really thought the time had come to adopt the faith and civilization of the Greeks.

The latest authorities have come to believe that however much truth there may be in the details of the siege the legend of Vladimir’s baptism at Cherson was inserted in the chronicle at one of its early remodellings. Shakhmatov supposes that an account of his baptism at Kiev came immediately after the triumph of the Greek missionary which ought to lead up to it (the sending of his own envoys being part of the Cherson story), and it is suggested that the mission was also political to ask for his help against Bardas or the Bulgarians. This would be in 986 and could be brought into agreement with the statement of the Panegyric that he took Korsun in the third year after his baptism; with it independent sources assert that he survived his baptism 28 years in all, and his death in 1015 is well known. It looks therefore as if Vladimir had been baptized at home, at Kiev or Vasiliev in 986, but like Meczisław of Poland, and Stephen of Hungary.
in similar circumstances, he kept it quiet for a while until the taking of Cherson and the marriage with an imperial princess gave him a grand opportunity to make the announcement: foundation for the story that he was christened at Cherson may be sought in the baptism of part of his host or in a misunderstanding of the marriage ceremony: the object of it was a desire to exaggerate the part played by Cherson in the Christianization of Russia. For it was the priests of Cherson that baptized the Russian people in the Dniepr: Joachim, first bishop of Novgorod was from Cherson; the holy and other objects made at Cherson for the Russian market went far and wide, so that many of the oldest pieces are still traditionally called Korsunian, but this attribution does not rest on a very sound basis except as regards crosses of a certain type which do occur at Chersonese, even with Slavonic inscriptions. At Novgorod are two pairs of bronze gates, one pair made at Magdeburg in the xiith century and called Korsunian, the other of Byzantine design said to have been brought from Siguna in Sweden. It is possible that the names have been exchanged, but even so we cannot be sure that the Byzantine gates came from Cherson. The Icon called Our Lady of Korsun belongs to a type which derives from Italian painting of the xivth century.

Commerce and Diplomacy. Decay.

A certain amount of prosperity seems to have come to the Chersonites from this commerce with the Russians, for whom were destined a hoard of Novgorod grivnas (bars of silver) found at Cherson; and with the Pechenegs to whom they exported silk and other stuffs and ribbons dyed to various shades of purple. In return they received hides and wax which they sold at Constantinople. Their ships then went along the coast of Asia Minor and brought cargoes of corn and wine and other such products. Without these the Chersonites could not live. Accordingly if the Chersonites were insubordinate, as perhaps in the reign of Leo, all that need be done was to seize any of their ships and cargoes that might be at Byzance, and shut up the crews and passengers in workhouses, to send and do the same by their ships along the coasts of the themes of the Bucellarii (Bithynia), Paphlagonia and the Armeniac theme (Pontus), meanwhile preventing the native ships from sailing across, and for the praetor to stop the allowance of ten pounds sent to Cherson from the treasury and the other two pounds allowed by treaty and retire to another town. For the Chersonites were equally dependent on selling the produce of the Pechenegs and buying the provisions of Asia.

1 Tolstoi and Kondakov, Russian Antiquities, v., crosses, pp. 37, 38, 39, ff. 21—23, gates, pp. 33—36, ff. 24, 25; Kondakov, Russian Icons, t. p. 33 340, where a distinction is insisted upon between the elegance of Constantinople work and the heavy oriental style of Cherson. Golubinskij, Hist. Russ. Ch. 1. ii. p. 48 strongly emphasizes the Korsun influence on Russian architecture, but in plan the early Russian churches are not like the Chersonian.

2 Kondakov, Iconography of the B.I.M.; the connexion of Greek and Russian Icon-painting with Italian painting of the early Renaissance, St. P. 1911, pp. 163—165; ff. 112—114.


4 Const. Porph. de adm. Imp. c. 6.

5 ib. c. 53 fin.; cf. for earlier times the commerce of the Althagiir. Huss with Chersona, gue Aseae ponus animus mercator imperial, Jordanes Get. V. 37.
Besides the commerce there passed through Cherson most of the
diplomatic communications between Byzance and the Pechenegs: and these
latter were most important as by keeping on friendly terms with them the
Empire could have the advantage of the Russians, Magyars (Ţuţărişan) and
Khazars, and dearly did they make the Greeks pay for their services.
However the Uzi could be employed against the Pechenegs and also against
the Khazars, and these latter could be kept from interfering with Cherson by
the help of the chief of the Alans or the Black Bolgars. So the system
of playing off barbarian against barbarian is expounded by Constantine.

In 1266 we have a curious story showing how the barbarians regarded
the Greeks. A captain from Cherson made friends with Rostislav Vladimirovich,
who was making the Russian principality of Trutorokan on the east
side of the Bosphorus too strong, and gave him at a banquet slow poison from
under his nail, then he returned and prophesied the prince's death. But the
Chersonites stoned him for his pains.

With the arrival of fresh hordes of Turkish tribes and the weakening
of the Russian power the profitable connexion of the latter with Cherson became
difficult and from the time of the Tartar invasion ceased completely. At the
same time the declining authority of the Empire (during the Latin usurpation
Cherson was Trutorokan) could no longer afford assistance, indeed, with the
growth of Genoese influence in the fourteenth century, it became hostile to
the interests of Cherson. The Italians while feeling their way, dwelt at
Cherson and had a consul and even an archbishop there, but after establishing
themselves firmly at Sudak, Caffa and Cembalo (Balaklava) they boycotted
the city and even forbade the Greeks to trade there.

It is generally said that the final blow was struck in 1363 by Olgerd the
Lithuanian, who having defeated the Tartars and pursued them into their
country, took the opportunity of plundering the poorly defended city, but
I cannot help thinking that the Korsun meant is the Russian town of that
name not very far from Kiev, and I find that Bertier de La Garde regards this
incursion as mythical. Be that as it may, the inhabitants gradually withdrew
to Cembalo and Inkerman, but the episcopal see still bore its old name being
even raised to the rank of a metropolis, perhaps to resist the pretensions of
the Latin archbishop, and the only events recorded are petty quarrels with
other sees as to small border villages; finally it was united with that of Gothia
still called after the few Ostrogoths who had remained behind in the Crimea.

Some few people must have remained in 1449 as the Genoese then had
a consul at Cherson, but in 1470 there was no one to prevent the Bank of S.
George pulling down the walls. We may take 1475 the year of the
Turkish conquest to be the end of Cherson as a habitation of men.

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1 As of old with the Turks v. Menahel, de
Legat. l. 43. FHG. IV. 245.
3 Ps. Nestor, a. 1066.
4 In 1363 he was Richard an Englishman,
For Italian glass dated 1324, v. p. 545.
6 Bubrinski, p. 162.
7 Karamzin, Hist. of the Russian Empire, Vol. v.
c. 1, quoting in note 12 Stryjkowski, Chron. Lith.
XII. ii., but the former dates Olgerd's raid in 1332,
and Koivalovicz, Hist. Lithuan. Dzarg., 1660,
p. 287, who claims to put Stryjkowski (whom I
have not seen) into classical dress, says nothing
of Cherson; Salorjef, History of Russia, says
nothing either.
Institutions.

The political constitution of Chersonese can only be divined by putting together the scanty hints afforded by the inscriptions and ekking them out with analogies drawn from Megara and its other colonies. The authors tell us nothing. Yet even so we can see that the names and duties of the magistrates and most likely the whole spirit of the constitution underwent a complete change in the latter part of the 1st century B.C., perhaps under Roman influence. Hence we must be very chary of applying to one period data derived from another.

Chersonese was essentially a democracy, and it preserved the forms and something of the spirit of a democracy to a very late period. Indeed it has been claimed for it that it was the only ancient city state which kept essential autonomy well into the Middle Ages. Yet no doubt it became rather oligarchical after its final submission to Rome under the Antonines.

Sovranity resided in the People (δήμος): but measures brought before it had first been considered by the Senate (βουλή). Every citizen might aspire to the senate. Proposals might be made either by private individuals or by officials, occasionally νομοφυλάκες, more often the πρώτευοι, who seem to have presided over the senate in Roman times. In earlier times we find the date of the decree in honour of Diophantus expressed by the name of the king, which gave the year, of the προσωπικοί and of the γραμματέως. It would appear that the προσωπικοί was the chief of a college of αἰσιομυναται corresponding to the prytaneis at Athens with their ἐπιστάτης, and probably holding office for a month. The exact relations of αἰσιομυναται and πρώτευοι are not clear. The latter may have taken the place of the former whose name was part of the Megarian heritage: or they may have co-existed, it being mere chance that words occur in distinct periods: at Athens the πρώτευοι in some degree superseded the prytaneis. Further in connexion with the senate and people there was a Secretary, γραμματέως.

Magistrates.

Until quite a late period the heads of the executive seem to have been the δαμαρχοί. It is to them that the citizens are to reveal all plots against the city. Every citizen was eligible, probably there was some limit of age. How many there may have been we do not know. The chief of them appears to have been said δαμαρχεύων τῶν πρώτων ἄρχαν. The word seems

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1 The whole matter was excellently treated by Latyshev in Journ. of Min. Phil. Inst. St. P. June, 1884. Classical Soc. pp. 35-77: "Epigraphic Data as to the Constitution of Chersonesus Taurica" = BCH. IX. (1885), pp. 265-300, 524, 525, and I have followed him closely, but the data supplied by the inscriptions in Ist. PE., especially the Oath, throw considerable fresh light; and also App. 10, from Journ. Min. Phil. Inst. 1897, March = Prom. art., pp. 314-331, where Latyshev discusses the recent additions to our knowledge, cf. BCA., XXIII. p. 39 sqq.
2 App. 16 = Ist. PE. IV. 79.
3 Ist. PE. I. 184, cf. BCA. XLV. p. 444; IV. 64, 65.
4 BCA. III. p. 21, No. 1; XIV. p. 101, No. 9.
5 App. 18 = Ist. PE. I. 188; IV. 71, 72; BCA. XIV. p. 103, Nos. (11), 12; also Ist. PE. I. 200.
7 App. 17, 18, 19, Ist. PE. I. 190, IV. (97).
8 Ist. PE. I. 196; the word occurs in another inscription which gives the cursus honorum, Ist. PE. I. 199 (cf. App. 19); and I have ventured to suggest it for the damaged wreath of App. 17 instead of Latyshev's στράταρχος.
to have gone out about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. as it last appears in
App. 19 dated by the mention of Rhemetalces (131—134). whereas in
App. 18 dated A.D. 129—130 we find the first mention of Archons a πρῶτος
ἀρχαῖον and four common ones. About this time came the abandonment of
the Doric forms in decrees. No doubt they had perished in common speech long
before, as even the legal speech was impure. In decrees of the later period,
e.g. App. 18*, the best preserved, we find the chief archon sealing next after
the Maiden Queen, the rest of the first two columns (στίχοι) are taken up
with thirteen names of prominent citizens, perhaps ex-magistrates, several of
them belonging to the same families; in the last column we have four other
archons, three nomophylaces, prodicus and secretary. The chief archonship
could be held more than once*. Gazuriae (p. 507, f. 339) is described as
πρωταρχητεύων, and from that, as I have said, it is but a step to the πρωτεύων
καὶ στεφανοφόρων of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

The Byzantine Governors were called στρατηγοί, Proctors (v. p. 543),
and πρωτεύων has the wider meaning of "being a leading citizen". On
a seal (p. 543), it seems a real title. There must have been Strategi in
ancient times, but the sixth wreath of Agasicles (App. 17) is doubtful.

The administration of justice was in the hands of the citizens who swore
to judge according to the laws. There were magistrates called προδικοί who
must have had to do with the course of justice, perhaps as at Corcyra they
were representatives of the senate in legal affairs*.

The νομοφύλακες, five or six in number, were police magistrates*. They
occasionally proposed measures as a college.

The αγορανόμοι looked after the markets. Perhaps it was while he filled
this office that Agasicles laid one out. Hermocrates spent the proceeds of his
tenure, three thousand pence, on the temple of Aphrodite*.

We can deduce the existence of αστυνομοί from the amphora-handles
with Doric names found at Chersonese; we find the same names upon coins,
their bearers having ascended to be δαμιργοί (v. supra, p. 359).

The office of Gymnasiarch, also filled by Agasicles, was rather a liturgy
than a magistracy*; so too with that of Thiasarch which is coupled with other
liturgies, although most probably it was semi-private*.

The Priesthood was a post of honour and expense: it was not unusual
for statues to be put up to those who had held one, to women as well as men.
A priest, no doubt that of the Maiden, is named in dating decrees*.

There were also ταυτα τῶν ἱερῶν who were to defray the expenses of
erecting a statue to Diophantus and the inscription to Syrus*.

With the priests are coupled in several inscriptions the Kings whose
office was no doubt purely religious*. That they were eponymous we know

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1 In IosPE. IV. 15 the word is only conjectural and not convinced.
2 e.g. IosPE. I. 196.
3 πρωτεύων. ἀρχαῖον was probably a purely complimentary title, IosPE. I. 192.
4 App. 18, 19, 20, and IosPE. I. 196.
5 App. 18, 19, IosPE. I. 190, iv. 79; cf also App.
6 IosPE. I. 203.
7 Makbol, Bull. Taur. Rec. Com. X. 11, sup-
poses that the astynomai were responsible for the
coinage as well as the amphorae.
8 cf also Πορτανια, p. 311.
p. 152, n. 5) think him a public overseer of societies.
10 App. 18, IosPE. I. 190, iv. 79; cf also App.
11 IosPE. I. 184, cf. IosPE. I. 190, iv. 79; 87, 88.
12 App. 15, IosPE. I. 87, 88.
from two inscriptions of the same year\(^1\). After a reorganization in the last half-century B.C., the fruits of which we can trace in the coinage also, human kings no longer appear and we find the Maiden named as Queen in decrees (e.g. App. 18\(^2\)) and on coins. This change it is hard not to bring into connexion with the establishment of the Chersonesian Era 24 B.C. both on coins and decrees, as the date according to that era is associated with the words βασιλευόντας Παρθένου, or the monogram ΔΦ. As Queen the goddess was the first to seal decrees\(^3\).

The σμιμανόντες only appear as crowning Diophantus and others whom the city honoured, proclaiming their deeds at a festival and writing them in stone. Latyshev takes them to be like λεγομανοντες and thinks that they came into the matter because of the religious character of the festival, whereas Th. Reinach calls them greffiers publics, which would seem rather to correspond to γραμματεύς, and indeed μυάμορα seems to be the old Doric equivalent for γραμματεύς surviving from before the time of writing\(^4\), at least those at Iasus\(^5\), Halicarnassus and Salmacis\(^6\), and Gortyn seem to have been "living archives" especially as regards land: such a function would be closely allied to the proclamation and registering of decrees\(^7\). We may infer that the college as a whole was called the σμιμανόντες and each individual member a μυάμορα\(^8\).

There is no need to do more than mention the ἐπικελευτής who allotted the fields\(^9\); or who saw to the building of walls\(^10\); the same word probably occurs in the tantalizing inscription which also mentions a tyrant, and the citizen who was elected (χειροονυμείς) to take charge against him\(^11\). Nor need we make a special office of διακριτης for Ariston (App. 19), who brought the finances into order. Such a reorganizer was necessary from time to time, another of them was Heraclidas, son of Parmenon επί τας διακριτης τοις ἐνω\(^12\).

In the same inscription is named a ταπεινας, the regular treasurer.

**Byzantine Government.**

The organization of Cherson under the Byzantines is nowhere clearly described. Until the time of Theophilus it was under its own πρωτεύων και στεφανηφορον, assisted by the City Fathers\(^13\). The στρατηγάτης και δουξ Χερσανως of Maurice's inscription at Bosporus\(^14\) may be regarded as a military commander sent to help against some special attack of barbarians. The expeditions of Justinian I\(^15\) were probably much like that of Theophilus, reasoned attempts to subject Cherson more directly, and officials were nominated for its government. Its freedom was saved by the ensuing

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\(^1\) App. 18, IstoPE. IV, 67; cf. App. 17, IV, 77, 80.
\(^2\) Oréshnikov, "Coins of Chersonese &c." Num.


\(^3\) IstoPE. I, 184, 185 (App. 18), IV, 65–67.
\(^4\) Mithridate, p. 70, cf. Darenberg-Saglio, s.v.

Mnamones.

\(^5\) Ditt. Syl. 96, l. 32; 10.
\(^6\) Perhaps at Megara, Eph. Apr. 1886, pp. 226, 231.


St P. Feb. 1905, Cl. Sect. p. 73.

\(^8\) IstoPE. IV, 80.

\(^9\) IstoPE. I, 202.

\(^10\) ib. IV, 68.

\(^11\) BCH, XCVIII, p. 114, No. 23, 1176th century B.C.

\(^12\) Const. Porph. de Adv. Imp. s. 42, ἡς ἡ στρατηγάτης ἀπό τὰς ἐποίησεν (Constantiopolis) ἀπο-

στηλλόμενον, ἄλλα ἡ τὰ πάντα δοκεῖ ἢ λεγόμενον πρωτεύων μετὰ τῶν ἐποίησεν στηλῆς παράγων τῶν ἀπο-

\(^13\) App. 70 = Inscr. Christ. 99.
anarchy. It was under a πρωτοστάτης and πρωτεύοντες, but the Khazar
κύριος was perhaps the real ruler. The Dux is again mentioned in a
fragment which has been referred to the time of Justin II. Theophilius
sent Petronas to be the first Praetor raising him two steps from the rank
of a στραταρχείου Κυρίου to that of a πρωτοστάτης. This is the regular rank
of a praetor of Cherson; the seals or leaden bullae of eight at least have come
down to us, all of this highest order save one spatharius, but they ranked
last of the στρατηγοί; one is στρατηγὸς Χερσονήσου καὶ κατὰ Σαράκας.
We find the names of one or two other magistrates on seals; of
Commerciai or inspectors of customs, five seals have survived, all of
spatharocandidati except one spatharius. One man, a spatharius, is
described as εἰς τὸν οἰκ(είκ) Πρωτοστάτης Χερσονήσου. The former title
designates the manager of the property of the Emperor’s privy purse.
Whether the office of πρωτοστάτης continued after the institution of praetors it
is hard to say, on this seal it looks like an office, whereas when Calycyrus
is described as the son of a πρωτοστάτης it would seem to mean merely a leading
man. Two of Jurgiewicz’s seals are not definitely Chersonian, but appear to
come from there, upon one of them we have a spatharocandidat εἰς τὸν
οἰκείους, on the other a protospatharius as a γενεαλ. ἱστορίας or treasurer-
general. These seals belong to the x–xiith centuries. The different
hierarchical ranks are some measure of the relative importance of the offices.

Cults.

In Chersonese one cult predominated almost to the exclusion of every
other—the cult of the Maiden. She was no doubt in the first place a local
deity—the same to whom the Tauri offered their human sacrifices. Further
she was identified with Artemis, apparently by a series of false etymologies
and analogies. The name Taurica suggested ταυρόθλος and ταύρος; her
dwelling in the mountainous belt may have brought to mind, Oriloché; the
bloody rites of her sacrifice recalled those of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.
Herodotus (iv. 153) identified the Tauric goddess with Iphigenia, who was
and was not Artemis Brauronia. Hence a confusion in which mythologists

1 Theophanes, p. 570, Bonn = 372 de Boor; Nicopolitanae, p. 44.
2 BCA. XVIII. p. 121, No. 37.
3 For a table of these orders v. J. B. Bury, “The
3 Imp. Administration System in the 1h Century,”
p. 11, Brit. Acad. Suppl. Papiros, 1. 1911; cf. Hirschfeld,
3 “Die Bündnisse d. öst. Kaiserzeit,” SB. Berlin
3 Akad. 1904, p. 370 sqq.
4 pp. 137, 143, 147.

6 cf. Const. Porphyrii, op. cit. c. 53, p. 251, Bonn,
6 ποταμοθείνα πρωτοστάτης.
7 The native goddess referred to on p. 323, n. 7
7 was milder, seeming only to have received the jaw-
bones of domestic animals as meat-offerings.
8 For Artemis and the Tauric Maiden v.
8 Roscher, s.v. Artemis § 15, p. 585, and Pausanias,
8 iii. p. 1661; also Weinnicke in F. W. s.v. Artemis,
8 Βραυρώνα, Ιφιγένεα, Όρθωρ, Ορτειά, Παρθένιος,
8 Ταυρόθλος, pp. 1375–1409; Harrison and Vernall,
8 Myths and Monuments of Ancient Athens, pp. 394–
8 404; Farnell, Cults, ii. p. 452. Orelli, op. cit.,
8 p. 9, vehemently objects to the Maiden being called
8 Artemis; I should have done better to avoid the
8 name.
9 v. I. Oriloché in Annu. Marc. xxii. viii. 54; cf.
9 Arz. Lib. 27, citing Nicander, who gives
9 Iphigenia the name Oρθωρία.
rejoice. The whole story was brought into artistic shape and popularized by Euripides. But in Chersonese, without troubling about origins, they acquiesced in their Maiden being Artemis: on coins she is the huntress with bow and spear, short chiton and hunting boots. Three attitudes may go back to artistic statues—though the coins are early for such dependence—standing over a deer and driving a spear into its neck from behind (Pl. iv. 16, 27), sitting and looking at the point of an arrow, perhaps with her deer beside her (Pl. iv. 8, 9), and kneeling on one knee with her spear laid down by her and holding a bow in her left hand (Pl. iv. 14); lastly we have what appears to be her cult image, perhaps the Διονύσων of which Strabo speaks (vii. iv. 2); she stands as though casting her spear with her right hand, while the left is outstretched with the bow¹. On her head can be distinguished a mural crown which re-appears on coins bearing her head alone (Pl. iv. 17): that is she also did duty as city-goddess, as Demeter may have done at Olbia²: it is in this aspect that she encouraged Diophantus and his army (App. 18, l. 23). Mela (ii. i. 3) calls Diana the foundress of the city and the chief festival in the religious year that of the Παρθένες. Her altar was on the acropolis and no doubt her temple too with its πρόσωπον in which decrees of honour could be set up³. Near it was an altar τὰς Κηρυγγάδου, who must have been rather the local nymph than the Tyche of the city; the goddess seems to rule out a Hero Chersonesus whom Orēshnikov⁴ sees on certain coins and a bas-relief: perhaps the Nymphs' cave mentioned by Mela (l. c.) belonged to a nymph Chersonesus. A cave called Parthenon is mentioned as the refuge of S. Basilieus⁵.

On coins besides the heads with mural crowns we have other heads that may be considered to exhibit Artemis (e.g. Pl. iv. 1—5, perhaps 2 and 4 might just conceivably be Apollo). Also the figure of a deer must be referred to her¹. Lastly the Victory which appears driving a quadriga (Pl. iv. 6) or a biga⁶, perhaps even that standing with a wreath⁷, must be thought of as an emanation of the Maiden. Even without these nearly two thirds of the coins figured by Burachkov bear the Maiden's image.

A very curious case of the citizens' devotion is furnished by an inscription which thanks Syrискus son of Heraclidas for having laboriously written an account (inter alia) of the manifestations of the Maiden and read it aloud⁸. There can be no doubt that if any priesthood was eponymous it was that of the Maiden. A dedication gives the name of a priest who had also been king⁹, and another, probably that of the same Gazurius who was chief archon¹₀.

Upon the coins Apollo occurs most frequently after the Maiden. Sometimes it is hard to tell which is meant, but in the later series upon

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¹ Pl. iv. 23, 26, 28, side view; front view Burachkov, XVI. 110. The reliefs from Aj Tedor, BCA. XLII. p. 16. Pl. iv. 12—14 only faintly recall these attitudes.
³ Isth. iv. 67.
⁵ Cap. 4 of his life, in. Latyshev, v. p. 531, n. 4.
⁶ Pl. iv. 17, 22, the latter looks rather Mithridatic.
⁹ App. 15—16, Isth. iv. 83, also probably 87, 88.
¹₀ Isth. iv. 86. Other interesting dedications: ib. XV. 84, XVII. cent.; 85, 11th cent., Δίκαιος τοῦ Ἀρχαλή Παρθένου κατ' εὐνόμιαν, the nomenclature suggests Apollo. Σταυρίας θεοῦ Παρθένου, BCA. XXVII. p. 16. No. 3, may have been a priest or perhaps Αἰσιόδος.
which his bust appears distinguished by the lyre there can, pace Bertier-de-La-Garde (v. infra p. 549), be little doubt. No inscription mentions him.

Athena Sotira receives one dedication, made by a man for his wife (both names are lost). The statue above was the work of Polycrates. In date this was as early as any dedication to the Maiden and in itself one which we should value specially highly for the name of the artist. Athena's helmeted head, in type like that used by Alexander, occurs on a few coins (Pl. iv. 11, 12).

In the Oath of the Citizens the Maiden comes just where the patron of the city should come (cf. inscription cited on p. 516, n. 6). Zeus, Earth, and Sun are invoked without our deducing thence that they had any special cult at Chersonese, their very natures and offices made them the guardians of all oaths, still less has the mention of all the gods and goddesses of Olympus any definite significance, even the heroes of the land need not have had direct worship paid to them. The only other inscription mentioning Zeus is a dedication of a piece of wall to Zeus Soter not earlier than the 11th century a.d. Zeus is represented on one coin which bears his head on the obverse and a thunderbolt on the reverse. Coins like Pl. iv. 24 are thought by Koehne and Burachkov to bear Zeus but the head is more probably that of Asclepius. $\omega\nu\iota\mu\pi\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma^{(\text{topico})} \text{Maximo}$ which instead of D.M. heads the gravestone of M. Antonius Valens, Rostovtsev explains by a combination of the Roman worship of Jove and the Spanish habit of dedicating gravestones to upper deities.

To Aphrodite was dedicated the temple which dating from the end of the 11th century a.d. furnished many fragments to Uvarov's basilica. One coin (Pl. iv. 10) bears a type which resembles rather her head than the Maiden's, but it does not seem to have been repeated.

In the same basilica that yielded the fragments of Aphrodite's temple were found pieces of frieze with skulls of oxen and goats (?), and swags of ivy, suggesting that it was to Dionysus that Pasiadas son of Artemi[ doros] king and priest dedicated it. One type of coin (Pl. iv. 7) with its Janiform head suggests the Indian Dionysus and Ariadne or some one else of Dionysus' train, but it is not less like a bearded Hermes.

To Hermes Demoteis son of Theophilus (11th century a.d.) dedicates as gymnasiarch epimenich which take the form of five elegiac couplets inscribed upon a base and containing several new epithets applied to the god, who is prayed to be gracious to all, δοξα λυτων ατυχει τω Διονυσιου, an interesting example of the Chersonesites' long-lived pride in their Doric descent. He has but few coins which honour his deity: his head appears on some (Pl. iv. 19, B. xv. 67, 82, 83, 86, xvi. 119) and on others the caduceus, this is scarcely evidence of an actual cult.

Asclepius with or without Hygiea also appears but rarely upon coins.

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2. IoSE. iv. 82, v. supra p. 205, n. 12.
3. IoSE. i. 202, cf. BCA. xxv. p. 32.
4. Girl in TRAS. VII. pl. xiv. No. 35. A thunderbolt occurs as a countermark on a few other coins, e.g. Pl. iv. 13.
5. Of the coin described in BCA. XVI. p. 59, B. 8, I cannot judge; it is said to bear busts of Zeus and Artemis and EIPHNC GEBACTHC effaced.
6. BCA. xxvii. p. 58, No. 2.
7. IoSE. i. 203, v. supra pp. 205 and 525.
10. Dionysius restored in BCA. XVIII. p. 114, No. 23, and on an altar (?) at Old Cher, Mat. xii. p. 117; and Dionysia, IoSE. i. 184, are very risky.
(Pl. iv. 29, probably 24; B. xvi. 115—118). According to Latyshev's restoration of one inscription, he had a temple in which complimentary decrees were set up perhaps in return for physicians' services. But there is a bare possibility that we have to do with a name like Asclepiodorus.

Many coins exhibit Heracles or his symbols, the lion's head or the club. Inasmuch as the mother city was Heraclea, and Chersonese may itself have been a Heraclea, it is no wonder if there was a cult of Heracles. But his appearance on coins does not go far enough. It may have been suggested the name of the city or it may have been mere reproduction of types specially common about the Pontus. The most usual head is Alexandroid.

The Dioscuri appear on a bas-relief and on coins. The altar τὸς Χεροσοπόθος (App. 18, l. 52) and Mela's Nymphs' Cave have already been mentioned. I cannot admit as evidence of any cult at Chersonese the sherds with two or three letters or a monogram scratched upon them such as ΗΠ or ΗΠΑ, AΙ, ΔΑΜΑ, ΔΙΑ, ΑΘΑ, ΑΠΙ, ΑΠΤ, for these are the first letters of men's names as well as gods: even ΚΩΘ begins some human names. It may be no mere chance that ten in von Stern's collection bear ΗΠ or ΗΠΑ but these are common enough initial combinations (v. p. 261).

At Aj Todor (v. p. 523, n. 7) were inscriptions and reliefs dedicated to Jove, the "Thracian Riders," Dionysius, Mithras, Hermes, triple Hecate and (on another site) Artemis, also a cistern inscribed ΝΥΜΠΗΚΑΕΗ, the temple being outside the wall was accessible to others beside the Roman garrison.

Kalendar, Literature and Athletics.

We know four months of the Chersonesian Kalendar, Dionysius, Heracleus, Lyceius and Eυκλειος. Having preserved Heracleus, perhaps derived from Heraclea Pontica, they bear out Latyshev's guess that Chersonese used a Kalendar like that of Megara and its colonies, Byzantium and Chalcedon.

Of literary activity in Chersonese our only specimen is one or two metrical epitaphs of which perhaps the less said the better, and the hymn to Hermes. We do just know the name of one Chersonesite writer Syrisus crowned for celebrating the Maiden's wonders but it seems they had to go to a stranger for any statue which should be an ornament to the city. Still their Doric traditions saved them from falling into the inflated style of the Olbian decrees. The tale of Gycia must reproduce Chersonian tradition, and a good deal of the hagiographical literature to which reference has been made was doubtless written in the city.

As at Olbia, so here we have evidence of the survival of athletic contests, in lists of victors in running both long and short distances, throwing the

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javelin, boxing, wrestling and ἀγευμονία which one would like to translate ju-jitsu. In honour of the victors we have the beginning words of each line of an elegiac epigram which we need not regret. More interesting is a fragment which seems to tell of contests of trumpeters and heralds and of an epigram written by one Marcus. All these inscriptions are shewn by the names and the grammatical forms (ἀκόντω) to belong to late Roman times, at least the third century. They justify Pliny's praise when he says that in the whole region the Chersonesites kept their Greek civilization specially bright.

COINS. PLATE IV.

Koehne in his book on Chersonese and later in *MK*, and recently General A. L. Bertier-de-La-Garde have done most to bring the coinage of Chersonese into order. The latter divides its numismatic history into three periods, which he has tabulated as follows:

1. Independence, from middle of 11th century to middle of 1st century B.C.
   Types: chief, Artemis, Heracles; rarer, Pallas, Hermes, Aphrodite, and Zeus: many secondary, bull, griffin, lion, deer, Nike, etc.
   XEP.: once at beginning XEPΣ; once at end XEPONHCOY.
   Names of magistrates except upon the earliest.

2. Autonomy, from middle of 1st century B.C. to latter part of 1st century A.D.
   Types: Apollo, Artemis; rarer, Zeus, Heracles, Pallas and Nike: secondary, deer, eagle, caduceus.
   XEP.: no magistrates. Dates, or its varieties.
   Artemis (Apollo not allowed by Bertier-de-La-Garde), Asclepius and Heges: bull.
   XEPONHCOY ΕΩΕΥΘΕΠΑ: no dates, no names, or .
   One or two transitional pieces do not come into this grouping.

The silver coins in the first group are rare. Up to the Mithridatic period Bertier-de-La-Garde makes of them two main divisions according as Heracles appears upon them or not. Upon the greater part the Maiden is unrivalled and these are coined on a standard of about 55 grm. or 3.55 grm. to the drachma, this he identifies with the Phoenician standard. So No. 1 would be half a drachma, No. 3 a lightish drachma, No. 4 a didrachm, No. 5 a tridrachm, No. 13 a tetradrachm: we seem to have the obol of this series in

| AR. 8.5 grm.=55 grm. Artemis head | Fish over club, below XEP.
| Oréshnikov, Mat. VII, p. 35, No. 35: weight corrected by B.-de-La-G.

The bull upon club seems to be derived from the coins of Heraclea Pontica, but it is such a common type as not to go for much. It is hard to think that it was not regarded as the arines parlantes of the Tauric Peninsula.

But No. 9 (14.16 grm.=9.17 grm.) does not fit in with such a system nor its congeners of half (reverse as Nos. 9 or 8) and quarter (reverse as No. 8) weight. This Heracles class has didrachm, drachma, and hemidrachm of the Persian standard, lightened from its 85 grm. drachma, as used in Asia Minor and especially in the mother city Heraclea Pontica with whose types it agrees.

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1. *BGA* XIV, p. 111, No. 34.
2. Praecipui nitoris in toto eo tractu custoditis Graecis moribus, *NH* IV, 85.
3. *Signification of Monograms* etc.
6. *Cf. RMC*, Pontus, Pl. XXIX, XXX.
The first attempt to issue coins on this standard approached more nearly to the original weight and the series comes out:

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<thead>
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<th>Coin</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Didrachm</td>
<td>16473 grn. = 10756 grm.</td>
<td>Hercules as No. 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma</td>
<td>8034 grn. = 515 grm.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemidrachma</td>
<td>39156 grn. = 2731 grm.</td>
<td>Peculiar head of Artemis r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Artemis as No. 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Artemis slaying deer as No. 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bull as No. 8 (B. xiv. 18, 19).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

but these are all very rare and of specially good workmanship. Evidently Chersonese struck silver upon one standard, the Persian, for external, on another, the Phoenician, for internal circulation. The two series run parallel as we see both from their style and from the magistrates' names common to both: to make a bridge between the systems was the object of the tri-drachm No. 5 equivalent to a Persian didrachm. Oréshnikov¹ does not accept this.

The coins in the top row on the plate belong in style to the second half of the 17th century. The coppers Nos. 6 and 7 are as good in execution as the silver. The spearman on No. 6 would appear to be a local hero, on the defensive like Chabrias²; both the types of No. 7 are interesting, the Janiform head on the obverse is quite unexplained, Oréshnikov supposes it to be the bearded Dionysus and a Maenad; Head makes the beardless head Dionysus and the other Zeus³: the reverse is a favourite motive among the Scythians. The second row represents the following two hundred years: the tetradrachm No. 13 is the largest of a series with a similar head on the obverse, didrachm (B. xiv. 3—5), drachma (B. 1—2) have reverse like No. 16, the half drachma has bow and quiver as on Pl. vi. 5 (B. 22—24). The first trial of Hercules-coin came early in the 11th century, the main issue such as No. 9, later, even half-way down the 1md. That coins like Nos. 9 or 13 were circulating at the end of that century is shown by the countermarks, e.g., the dolphin is Mithridatic, and just traceable on No. 13 under the thunderbolt is 𐊲, the first form of 𐊳 which marks all the next period at Chersonese.

At the very beginning of the 1st century there was a rough and ready reform of the currency. Under four magistrates, Demetrios, Moeris, Apollonius and Diotimus, any coins of anything like the right weight, e.g. drachmæ both of the Artemis and the Hercules series, like Nos. 9 and 13 but smaller, were re-struck to bring them into relation with the tetradrachms of Mithridates and the Roman denarii now the chief currency of the Levant. No. 17 comes from a hoard found in 1833 near Sevastopol and now spread all over Europe, No. 18 (there are coppers very like it, B. xv. 54) is the chief constituent of a hoard found in 1903 near Karan, between S. George's Monastery and Balaklava, just north of 979 on Map viii., apparently in a house or small fort burnt in the Scythian wars. In this hoard were found copper as well as silver coins and not merely new-struck ones as in the former hoard, but coins that had been in circulation previous to the reform, so we may put magistrates' names such as Choreius, Menestratus, Python, Promathion, Diogoras, Itron, &c., fairly late. The earliest in style found in the hoard was No. 11, but examples of it occur with 1st century stamps, so its good execution must be due to exact copying of the Alexander type. The head on

No. 17 recalls the type of Sinope and the deer is perhaps Mithridatic (cf. Pl. vi. 7). On the smaller denomination, No. 18, the memory of the Heracles series was preserved. No. 19 was found in the Karan hoard and belongs to this date. No. 20 also bears the head of Heracles in a lionskin which has hitherto been restricted to silver but the whole type is very similar to Panticapaeae coins (Pl. vi. 12, 14, 16, 24). The 1st century B.C. was the time of chief naval activity on the Euxine, and during it prows commonly occur on coins. This one may have to do with the exploits of Diophantus. The coin has been re-struck, the die seems hardly big enough for the blank, but what it may have been originally cannot be distinguished. Thoroughly Panticapaeae is No. 21 with its lion's head (cf. Pl. v. 9) and the star which appears to be Mithridatic (cf. Pl. vi. 3). Certainly the grazing deer on No. 22 is Mithridatic (cf. his later tetradrachms and Pl. vii. 7); so too B. xvi. 97.

Æ. Artemis like No. 13. | Eagle on thunderbolt (cf. Pl. vi. 11), XEΠ, countermark Π.

It has already been said that great changes took place at Chersonese in the second half of the last century B.C. What they were exactly we cannot tell (v. p. 521), but on monetary affairs we find their influence fundamental. Coins already in circulation were countermarked Π or later ΠP, new ones bear the latter on the die and date-letters appear, the era (v. p. 521) being calculated from 24 B.C. A find in the valley above Jalta, the site of a local sanctuary (v. supra, p. 523, n. 7), has provided a coin of the type common to the second and third period, e.g. No. 26, with an inscription forming a transition between them, obverse XEPΟΝH ΕΑΕΥ0, reverse ΠΑΣΟΕΝΟC. This confirms the guesses of Becker and other writers that the monograms indicate the Maiden goddess; Bertier-de-La-Garde suggests that the mint came under the influence of the temple authorities instead of the town magistrates, and therefore the goddess's monogram was put on the coins. A difficulty arises as to the interpretation of the obverse type, a bust with a lyre before it (Nos. 23, 25, 26, 28). Bertier-de-La-Garde sees in it Artemis ΥΜΝΙΑ and certainly it looks very feminine on e.g. No. 28, and he thinks that the more elaborate monogram Π stands for ΠΑΣΟΕΝΟC Καβια: but it might do just as well for ΠΑΣΟΕΝΟC and on No. 25 the head is certainly masculine, it might be said to be a reminiscence of a Roman Emperor. But after the history of the interpretation of a colossal statue such as "Winckelmann's Muse," certainty in regard to badly executed coins cannot be attained.

In this second period there is a change of metal, no more silver is coined, but we have a small number of gold pieces, corresponding in weight to the Roman or Bosporan aurei (v. p. 632). Their political signification and the dates they bear have been treated in the history of Chersonese. No. 25 with the letters ΡΝΗ = 158, i.e. 134 A.D., is the last of them.

2. Bertier-de-La-Garde, On monograms ΠP etc., p. 69, Pl. vi. 5.
3. Oršenikov, Num. Misc. 11, thinks this not ΡΑΒΙΟΣ and the bust a personification.
The third period is marked by the word ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ. Probably in between had been a time of direct subjection to Rome. There is no more question of gold or silver, only of copper. With the archaism of decadence the coins, like No. 27, bear reproductions of types of the first period, Artemis slaying a deer like No. 16 and the bull which appeared already on No. 4, but mostly we have Apollo with the lyre and Artemis standing. It has been suggested that this is a reproduction of a group set up in the city—Artemis in a mural crown, with dart and bow, a stag by her side, not so very unlike Diane de la Biche—but shewing late date by the accumulation of attributes. Asclepius and Hygiea are purely Roman. The tolerable style of Nos. 28 and 29 is due to a raising of craftsmanship accounted for by close communication with more civilized centres. The lettering with clumsy serifs is enough to shew the late date.

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= Hoffnek. p. 40.

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CHAPTER XVIII.
THEODOSIA AND NYMPHAEUM.

Theodosia.

Although Theodosia and Nymphaeum were soon to become part of the Bosporan kingdom they have not left themselves without witness to their free existence, and the former at any rate always remained a separate title in the rulers’ style and a special division of the kingdom. The anonymous *Periplus P. E.* (77 (51)) says that Theodosia, a deserted city with a harbour, lay 280 stades, 37$\frac{1}{2}$ miles, from Cazeca, that it was an ancient Greek city, a colony of the Milesians and often mentioned in literature. So far he agrees with Ps.-Arrian (30 (19 H.), but he adds from some unknown source, “now Theodosia is called in the Alan or Tauric tongue Αρδαβάς, = ἔνταθεος: it is said that exiles from the Bosporus once inhabited it.” As an inscription proves it not deserted till after Arrian’s time, this is so much against the authenticity of the second half of the Periplus ascribed to him (v. p. 24, n. 3). Ulpian, the scholiast to Demosthenes *in Lepinum*, says that Satyrus died while besieging it and that it had its name from the sister, or according to another authority, wife, of Leucon who on capturing the city made it more of a port than before and renamed it.

This question of its name is interesting; some authors (v. p. 560) and inscriptions give it as Θευδοσία which in itself is a Doric form, others and even inscriptions of the same ruler, Θεοδοσία. On the later coins we have ΩΕΥ (Pl. ix. 7), ΩΕΥΔΑ, on most early ones probably autonomous, ΩΕΩΔΑ (Pl. ix. 4 and Jakunichkov’s, v. p. 559), ΩΕΩДЕΑ, but ΩΕΩΔΑ (Pl. ix. 6) is almost as early. Koehne has suggested with great probability that these are ἄρδαβαδα from some ungreck name ΘΕΩΔΑΙΑ and that Leucon made a kind of pun in changing this to the name of his sister which somewhat resembled it and was also a good augury for the newly won city. As to Arvada Müllenhoff gets the right meaning out of it (v. p. 39) but it has been suggested that this was a mistaken interpretation and that the second half is cognate with ὀλαξ making an equivalent for the Greek name. It is almost certainly Iranian, but we cannot take this as throwing light on the Tauri for it is more probably Alan.

The site has never been systematically excavated, but in the harbour-works carried out in 1894 by that distinguished engineer and archaeologist General Bertier-de-La-Garde there were found inscriptions, sculpture

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2 v. Sändig in *Dem. Lepid. 35*. In all but the latest inscriptions both forms end in -ας.
5 *Mark.* 1. p. 776.

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70—2
(v. pp. 296, 298), terra-cottas\(^1\), sherds of pottery\(^2\), some with graffiti, e.g. \(\text{ΒΟΣΡΟΠΙΟΠΕΙΜΙΟΣΙΤΟΜΠΡΙΟΣΚΛΗΣ} \) with its early lettering and curious names\(^3\) and the two abecedaria (v. p. 361), also amphora-handles (v. p. 358, n. 8), all proving that the hill whereon stand the remains of the Genoese citadel at the east end of the circuit of mediaeval walls was the site also of the Greek city. Other excavations made in 1852 by Prince Sibirskij and in 1853 by the great sea-painter Aivazovskij on the initiative of Count Perovskij\(^4\) produced most beautiful gold work which may be referred to the 1\textsuperscript{1}th century and terra-cottas decidedly above the average of the Pontic coasts. But the terra-cottas found in the harbour-works are of quite a distinct class shewing a genuine archaic style of which one or two specimens (v. p. 364) must go back to the 1\textsuperscript{1}th century recalling the κόματα of the Athenian Acropolis, and black-figured vases tell of Athenian commerce\(^5\).

That makes the history of Theodosia begin over a century before the first event recorded, the siege laid to it by Satyrus c. 389 B.C. (v. inf. p. 574). We have an incident of this siege preserved by Polyænus who says that the Heracleotes supported the Theodosians and sent across Tynnnichus with the few soldiers they could raise and several beggars to be put into separate boats distant from one another. So when they sounded the besiegers thought in the darkness that they were so many full complements, and retired before the superior force. Certain it is that Satyrus died without having taken the city, but Leucon was more successful, although it is probable that he too had to contend with the Heracleotes\(^6\). It looks as if there was a prolonged struggle on the part of Heraclea Pontica, helped no doubt by her colony Chersonese, to extend her power over Theodosia or at any rate to prevent its falling under that of the Bosporan rulers. Memnon of Rhodes may have taken the side of Heraclea in this struggle, at least we do not know in what other war he should have opposed Leucon: if so the Heracleotes remained hostile through all Leucon’s reign, as Memnon’s career only just overlapped his.

However, when at length successful, Leucon took no vengeance on Theodosia but made good use of its natural advantages. Strabo (vii. iv. 4) says that the harbour was sufficient for as many as a hundred ships, whereas the harbour and docks of Panticapæum could only accommodate thirty: as a matter of fact the natural harbour has never been very good and the roads though spacious are absolutely open to the sea; however, that is not a dangerous quarter and the gently shelving beach would allow Greeks to draw their ships ashore. The piles found in the recent harbour-works may be the remains of a Greek mole or may only go back to Genoese times, they showed that the need of a real harbour had been met before the present final solution of the difficulty. For Leucon Theodosia had two great advantages over Panticapæum, it was always free from ice, and it was close to the rich corn-lands instead of being upon the “rugged peninsula.” Accordingly it was here that he made the staple of his corn-trade as we find in the speech of

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\(^2\) Polyænus, v. xxii. 46. 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, p. 117 (Terra-cottas); \(\text{KRE} \) p. 13 sqq.
\(^1\) Von Stern, \textit{Theodosia}, Pl. ii. v., everything is kept together in the Odessa Mus., \(\text{v. Guide} \) p. 58.
\(^2\) \textit{Trans. Od. Soc. XX.} p. 181, Pl. ii. No. 49.
\(^3\) \textit{Rep. of Arch. Explor. for 1853} ; Koelme, \textit{M.K.}

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Demosthenes against Leptines, and Strabo speaks of his sending 2,100,000 medimni across to Athens. Further, its possession made it easy to defend the whole eastern projection of the Crimea by a ditch running across to the sea of Azov.

Leucon and his successors without denying themselves supreme authority were considerate enough to call themselves archons merely and let the name of the city be part of their official style (v. p. 576).

It is likely that Theodosia suffered in the wars between Paerisades I and the Scythians, certainly compared with the many ivth century things objects

1 Demosthenes in Phormionem, § 2.
of the Hellenistic period are decidedly few: it probably fell into the same straits as Chersonese in the 1nd century B.C. It was taken by Diophantus\(^1\) and probably regained some prosperity under Mithridates: yet, perhaps under pressure of his taxation, it was one of the cities which followed the example of Phanagoria and revolted against him\(^4\). This is the last historical notice of it—the mentions in Mela, Pliny, Ptolemy and later Ammianus are merely geographical—and we might believe the Peripli that it lay desert in Roman times but for pieces of *terra sigillata*\(^5\), the fairly complete series of Bosporan coins found on the site\(^6\), and one or two inscriptions: the most important, referred by von Stern\(^7\) to the 3rd century A.D., shewed that there existed at Theodosia just such a religious society as at Tanais and elsewhere in the Bosporan kingdom. A presumption that it continued to have some importance as a frontier port is offered by the existence of a dignitary of the kingdom called the prefect of Theodosia\(^8\).

Von Stern\(^9\) expands two- or three-letter monograms upon sherds into the names of Apollo, Athena, Ares, Hera or Heracles, Artemis, Asclepius and perhaps Demeter: he wishes to regard them as θεοί σύνανα, but men write the name of a god to whom they are making a dedication, even when there is only one in the temple, besides we have no right to make them names of deities at all.

In the very unhistorical wars between Chersonese and Bosporus recounted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus\(^6\), Capha is named as the spot where the Chersonites defeat their enemies and set the frontier against them. That it was inhabited in the succeeding centuries is shewn by Byzantine pottery\(^7\) and by a pillar with epitaphs dated A.M. 6327 = A.D. 819\(^8\).

This name of Caffa is that under which the site of Theodosia became famous. As the chief Genoese mart on the Black Sea it destroyed by its competition the trade of Cherson and ruined its Venetian rival Soldaià (Sudak) which finally came under its authority together with Cembalo (Balaklava). It was far more important than Vospro (Kerch) and even Tana (Azov) in which were quarters for the merchants of each rival city.

The Genoese appear to have established themselves at Caffa shortly after 1266 and the settlement, being the objective of a trade-route reaching to China, flourished exceedingly in spite of the occasional hostility of the Tartar Khans, until the Turks gained control of the Thracian Bosporus. Then the tenure of the Italians became very precarious, it is wonderful that they could hold it at all at such a distance from their base, and the Turks had no difficulty in seizing it in 1475. At that time it seems to have contained a population of about a hundred thousand made up of many creeds and races. When the Genoese were turned out the rest remained and it was quite prosperous under the rule of the Turks who called it Little Stambul. The Sultan kept it directly under himself and did not give it to the Crim Tartars.

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1. App. 18 = *IotPE.* 1. 182, 1. 41.
3. e.g. Sterr, *Theodotia,* Pl. x. 100.
6. v. p. 612, App. 61, 63 = *IotPE.* ii. 39, R.C.A. x.
At the time of the Russian conquest in 1783 it had some 80,000 inhabitants but most of these deserted it, wishing to remain under the Sultan's rule. It was then adorned not only with the churches and walls of the Genoese but with minarets, baths and fountains of Turkish building and surrounded with orchards and gardens. The shortsighted destruction of all these amenities and the wavering commercial policy of its new owners reduced it to a ruin from which it has taken long to recover; but its prosperity is rapidly increasing since Sevastopol has been closed to merchant vessels. Its new harbour is deeper than the roads of Taganrog and Kerch, thus ships which have taken in half their cargo further east here complete their lading.

**Coins. Plate IX. Nos. 4-7.**

The coins go back to the 5th century, e.g. No. 4 inscribed ΣΕ ΞΔ ΕΥ and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39 grn. = 25 grn.</td>
<td>Head of Pallas r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152 grn. = 105 grn.</td>
<td>Female head in ampyx r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost as early is a coin in the Jakuchchikov collection at St Petersburg:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ox-head, three quarters r.</td>
<td>Star, between the six short thick rays ΣΕ ΞΔ ΕΥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The star has been compared to that on coins of Chersonese (Pl. iv. 21) and Panticapaeum (Pl. vi. 3) and the general similarity of design regarded as evidence for a monetary league, but the Theodosian coin seems very much earlier than the other two. Found at Theodosia all these coins no doubt belong there in spite of the unexpected form of the inscriptions. The charging ox upon the reverse of Nos. 5 and 6 appears on coins of Heraclia Pontica and Chersonese (Pl. iv. 4, 5, 8, 16) and would seem to point to an alliance. The largest silver coin, recently acquired by Bértier-de-la-Garde,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72 grn. = 472 grn.</td>
<td>Head of Heracles bearded r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

also recalls Heraclea, but almost certainly belongs to a time when autonomy had been lost, as does No. 7 with a similar inscription, though the resemblance between the latter and the commonplace types of Leucon II (Pl. vi. 16, 17) does not amount to very much, and cannot be adduced as proof that it belongs to a time of subjection. Burachkov's xviii. 4-7 belong to other cities. The standard seems to be Aeginetic as the coins fit into the Panticapaean series.

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1 For the present state of the walls, v. B.C.A. xxviii. pp. 45, 91.
3 *TRAS, Num. Soc.* i. iii. (1899), p. 177: I am very grateful to the owner for sending me a cast.
4 "Monetary novelties," *PL. 1. 10, Trans. Od. Soc. XXI.*
5 v. p. 611: B. XVIII. 3 would be 1 obol. Terlecki's coin, just similar, but 3 grn. = 2 obol, Giels, 14, IX, 4, three and Bértier-de-la-Garde's 1 or 2 obols, see his "Materials for Stathomological Investigations," *Num. Misc.* II, p. 26, Nos. 49-53.
Theodosia Bibliography. Nymphaeum

Sources and inscriptions mentioning Theodosia.

Theodosia, App. 18, 26, 37, 42, 51, 63 (= lsoPE
l. 185, ii. 343, 46, 56, 29; BCA. x. p. 26,
No. 21) and lsoPE. ii. 345.

Strabo, VII. iv. 4. 6.

Mela, I. 1. 3.

Ptolemy, Geogr. III. vi. 2; VIII. x. 4.

Ancient History and Antiquities.

Inscriptions found there, lsoPE. IV. 195—198, 468— Trans. Od. Soc. XXIV. Minutes. p. 29.

Neumann, K., Hellena, pp. 464—469.

Koehne, B. de, Musik Katschauer, i. p. 271—320.

Vinogradov, V. K., Theodosia, Theodosia, 1884.


This last sums up all there is to be known of Theodosia; unfortunately I had not received it when I compiled the above outline; however, I found that on the whole the author confirmed my conclusions and I had very little to add, and I have been allowed to take from it the plan: details of the latter and of his discoveries while carrying out the harbour works are added by Bertier-de- La-Carde, p. 85 sqq.

Nymphaeum.

At Nymphaeum† (Eltegen, v. p. 20) we can clearly trace the old harbour (cf. Strabo, I. c. πόλις εὐθύμενος), an acropolis, Ἀρμοδίως (Appian I. c.), set upon the cliffs and defended by a bank, a lower town and a necropolis. The excavations carried out by Kondakov (who found the interesting tombs with things in the Scythian style and an early coffin, v. pp. 208, I. 106, 210, 214, f. 115 and 329) and Verebrjusov4 and of late years by Mr Novikov its owner, whose collection has been acquired by the Hermitage, have mainly yielded minor antiquities including a fine Panathenaic vase, but there is a fair number of inscriptions, mostly epitaphs. Most interesting of these is the first, Πύρρος Ἑρώνων Ἡράκλεως with its suitable mixture of dialects. We gain more from the dedication Διός ΑΡΠΗΟΛΟ, 'Ἀρμωδίως', with its early 5th century writing and Attic associations, from the agonistic (?) list of citizens published by Skorpil I. c., which shows that early in the 3rd century B.C. there was an Ionic population with many Attic names and a small barbarous element, and from the inscription on Glycera's fountain (see below).

† Nymphai, usual form, Aeschines in Cleisthenes, 171; Strabo VII. iv. 4; Appian, Mithridates, 103; Ptolemy, III. vi. 2; Steph. Byz. s. v. who prefers the ἄνθρωπος Nymphaios to Nymphaeis which seems supported by the Nymphaios of the ill-recorded ISOPE. II. 201 taken by V. V. Skorpil, BCA. XLV. p. 14 as a genitive; Anon. Peripl. P. E. 76 (59); Haplograph. s. v.; Ps. Scylax 68 has Nymphaios its coines NYN and NYMA; Pliny, NH. IV. 86, Nymphaeum. Skorpil gives an exhaustive


‡ CIL. 1856, pp. x—xxxv; 1878, pp. xxxvii; 1879, pp. liii—lvii; 1880, pp. xiv—xxii.

§ ISOPE. II. 288, IV. 287, 325, 361, BCA. III. p. 44. No. 10 of the 17th cent. B.C. ISOPE. IV. 274 of the 11th. II. 102, 204, IV. 226, 370, 375. BCA. XIV. p. 121, No. 43 of Roman date.

¶ Collitz-Bechtle, 111. 4. 3085.

‖ BCA. x. p. 25, No. 20.

* ISOPE. IV. 205, cf. l. 432.
We cannot tell whether Nymphaeum was originally founded by the Athenians in order to secure a share of the Bosporan corn-trade or acquired by them subsequently. It is generally thought to have been one of the gains of the Euxine expedition which Pericles made in 444 B.C. shortly before the Spartocids seized the power at Panticapaeum which was probably not strong enough at the moment to raise any objection. The archaic writing of the dedication to Harmodius suggests that the Athenians were honouring their hero at an earlier date than this. We know from Craterus (ap. Harpocrate) that Nymphaeum was a member of the Delian league and paid a talent, hence Kohler has been able to restore its name from ΝΥ. He has also restored Κυμήρικον, Opuk, and ΠΛΤ to Πατραῖς the village near the monument of Satyrus (v. pp. 20, 23, 573) but this is all very doubtful. If right it tends to show that Athens made a serious attempt to establish herself on the Bosporus. In any case these possessions became untenable when she lost command of the sea after Aegospotami B.C. 405. The Athenian commander Gylon handed the place over to Satyrus and received Cepi in exchange. No doubt this was for this by the Athenians and Aeschines calls it treachery, some have thought that the fine was merely the formal disapproval of an act which must not be allowed to set a precedent. Aeschines discredits his statement by calling the Bosporan rulers enemies whereas we know that very shortly after they were on excellent terms with Athens. Probably Gylon was in a difficult position and contrived to extract from an inevitable loss to his country a personal advantage to himself.

Skorpiol has published an inscription found in the sea off Eltegen: in it the praise of Asander's wife Glicaria is put into the mouth of a wayfarer who has drunk his wine with water from a fountain by her tomb: the stone is in shape suitable for the keystone of a rustic arch and has a hole for a water pipe. There is quite a good case for the restoration of the husband's name and for identifying him with King Asander who married his known wife Dynamis rather late in life: the lettering is very like their inscriptions (v. pp. 591, 592 n. 7, 593 nn. 4–6). Skorpiol goes on to suggest that Nymphaeum was Asander's home or appanage and would thereby explain the next fact about it recorded in history, its rebellion against Mithridates (Appian, I., p. 588).

Pliny speaks of the town as a thing of the past (i.e. fuere oppida... Nymphaeum Dta); it may have suffered in the troublous times about the beginning of our era, but there are three or four gravestones of Roman date and the name survives in Periplus Anonymi and the Peutinger Tables. However, the harbour probably began to silt up in the early centuries of our era and there seems no evidence of the town's existence in Christian times.

The coins of Nymphaeum (Pl. IX. 8, 9 Aeginetic ½, 2 and 3 obols) are of silver and go back to the 1st century; all bear on one side the head of a Nymph, on the other ΝΥΜ, ΝΥΝ or ΝΥ, a vine-leaf and grape-cluster.

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2 BCA. XXXVII. pp. 14–22, with Rosov, who disclaims responsibility for any theorizing.

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[λάῃσθαι Νυμφαῖσι βίων.] | παρὰ περαιμία οὖν ἔξω
| πάντα οὖν τὸν
| θεόν ἐστὶν γίνομαι
cf. ἐπίστασιν

Bosporus

VIEW FROM KERCH ROADS

FIG. 344

PLAN OF PANTICAPAELUM
(KERCH) AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Bosporus

FIG. 344
CHAPTER XIX.

BOSPORUS.

The Bosporan kingdom was the age-long rival of Chersonese and in every way opposed to it. As the latter was the last Greek city to remain an autonomous democracy, so the Bosporus offers the first example of the type of state in which a monarch made a Greek city his capital and from it ruled a barbarous population. So the rule of the earlier Spartocids foreshadowed the Hellenistic states that arose after Alexander's death, because on the Bosporus Hellenistic conditions appeared independently. As elsewhere, the rulers treated the Hellenic cities with great favour and spared their susceptibilities, but they could not allow them real autonomy. The commercial Ionians of Panticapaeum were probably very well suited with their rulers, who on the whole allowed their trade to prosper, defending them against the natives of the interior and the pirates of the coast with more consistent success than democracy could have secured. We only hear of revolts when the dynasty had become effete or a foreign conqueror had imposed intolerable burdens to provide material for his ambitious schemes. Full light upon the actual development of this original form of state would be very welcome, but save for an inaccurate list of rulers in Diodorus, very scanty references in other authors and a few fragmentary inscriptions, we are left in the dark. We have a little more information about the last century B.C. when the Bosporus was brought into close connexion with the kingdom of Pontus and the general course of history. Again the darkness closes down and of the Bosporan kingdom for three hundred and fifty years after Christ we know but the names and dates of its kings and their faithful defence of an outpost of civilization against a weight of barbarism to which at last they had to give way.

Site of Panticapaeum.

The position of the various towns that made up the kingdom of Bosporus has been already discussed in the general survey of the coast (pp. 20—23 and Map III.). The actual site of Panticapaeum should present a certain amount of interest: but there is nothing above ground to attract the archaeologist.
The mighty masonry of some of the tombs has been described (pp. 194, 294). Upon the sketch plan prefixed to this chapter have been marked the lines of the walls surrounding the acropolis (Mount Mithridates) and the lower city as seen by Dubrux and Ashik in the early part of last century. They differ much from those shown by Dubois de Montpéreux and may be almost as fanciful. But the general lie of the land necessitates something similar well agreeing with Strabo's description (vii. iv. 4): "Panticapaeum is a hill encircled all about by dwellings in a circuit of 20 stades. To the east is a harbour and docks for about 30 ships: it has also an acropolis." The latter is evidently Mount Mithridates surmounted by a chapel to the memory of Stemkovskij the archaologist, mayor of Kerch during the twenties, and by the curiously cut mass of rocks called the throne of Mithridates. This must have formed the basement of a considerable building.

Half way down the hill there runs round it a kind of terrace approached by a fine flight of steps. On its widest part stands the old Museum, built on the model of the "Theseum" at Athens; it was destroyed during the war by the carelessness of the allies, who let the Turks amuse themselves by smashing all its contents, and since then it has been left as a memorial of Western civilization. Happily the practice of forwarding the more valuable finds to the Hermitage was already long established and Lutsenko the director had sent away everything of great importance. The present Museum is in the town. To the east of Mount Mithridates are traces of the ancient mole jutting out from the oldest part of the modern town—the site of the former Turkish fortress and the 16th century church of S. John.

The modern town is mostly on the north of the hill on very low ground which was probably harbour in ancient days. The present bay is silted up with the accumulations of the brooks Melek-Chesme and Bulganak and the deposit left by the strait current. The houses only climb up the lower slopes of the hill. All the sides of the latter are of made earth full of debris of antiquity, but it has been turned over and over by all kinds of excavators, so that finds made there are not very instructive. In general about the Bosporus the excavations have yielded many beautiful objects, but very little information as to the history and topography of the various sites. Digging to the N.W. of Mount Mithridates (Fig. 344. 6) show that spot to have been inhabited in the 5th century B.C. but to have been the extreme limit of the town in that direction, as a little further on were found tombs of that date and a kind of Monte Testaccio. Further to the east about (6) discoveries were rather more interesting. Here Duhmberg found the cellars of considerable houses with fragments of painted wall plaster, flooring and pillars. Near here have also occurred a few pieces of mediocre sculpture. This district must have been covered with fairly rich houses in the 1st century B.C. The only public building yet explored is the Bath-establishment of the same date uncovered in 1898 (see plan and explanation p. 565, f. 345). This part of the town perished by fire and sword; skeletons were found head downwards in a well.

2 B.C.A. XXXII. pp. 69—74. ff. 39—44.
5 CR. 1899, p. 19, f. 28.
Although the baths were supplied by a well, and there was a fountain at the foot of Mount Mithridates near the sea, water was probably a difficulty with the men of Panticapaeum; hence the numerous large cisterns that have been found on the slopes of the hill. At this day there is no water in Kerch fit to make tea with, except what is fetched from Taman on the other side of the strait.

_{Phanagoria and Gorgippia._}

Phanagoria was certainly near Sennaja, but the topography of the town has never been explored. It seems to have covered a considerable area, but the site has encroached upon the northern part of it. The actual site of the town was what is now a more or less level space about three quarters of a mile long and half a mile broad between the farms of Borovik and Semenjaka. From the middle of the sea-board a mole ran out about 330 yards (320 metres). The town-site is surrounded by mounds of rubbish containing tombs; and barrows line for a mile and a half in every direction the roads leading to the other towns of the Taman peninsula. To the south ran the old branch of the Kuban now filled up.

No Greek buildings have been excavated but architectural fragments, bases of statues and inscriptions have been found built into the ruins of Byzantine date. The site of the acropolis cannot be pointed out. Dubois de Montpéreux as usual saw walls and gates and streets, but the oldest inhabitant knew nothing of them. The ruins seen by De La Motraye were probably mediaeval. In Tartar times the peninsula of Taman was more thickly inhabited than now.

Inscriptions mention several buildings which are likely to have had some architectural importance, a gymnasion; a Caesareum, colonnades round the temple of Aphrodite Apaturias and outside the town the temple of Artemis Agrotera.

At Gorgippia (Anapa) nothing seems visible, but inscriptions are continually being discovered; these mention temples of Aphrodite Nauarchis and of Poseidon, a πρόβατον, a τέμενος τού μεγάλου θεού and an ἐργαστήριον.

_{Tanais._}

It is generally thought that there were two settlements called Tanais, a later, of which we have the remains at Nedvigovka, and an earlier, which is mentioned by the ancient authors. It is curious that it is not noticed by

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1 Appian, xxii. 108.
2 Travels, ii. p. 48.
3 K. K. Götze, *Archaeological Topography of the Taman Peninsula*, pp. 87—120, Plan 3, and *Historical Review of Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries on the Taman Peninsula from the end of the XVIIIth Century* to 1859, pp. 7—10, 71, 105 and Plan. It is well to renew the caution against confusing Suvorov’s Fort Phanagoria just E. of Taman, with the ancient city: e.g. Clarke’s marble “from the ruins of Phanagoria” came from Taman, Travels, ii. p. 82. The old name of Taman is unknown, in Const. Porphyrius it is Μαρακόο and in old Russian Tanturakan.

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1 *Iesp. il. 260, cf. BCA. iii. p. 50, No. 17.
3 ἐρατῳ περιποίησιν Ἰσαρ. ii. 357.
4 App. 29 = *Iesp. ll. 344.
5 App. 47 = BCA. xxiii. p. 46, No. 3.
7 *Iesp. iv. 430.
8 BCA. xxxvii. pp. 61, 63, Nos. 43, 46.
9 Strabo, xi. i. 31; Alexander Polyhistor ap. St. Byz. s. v. calls it Καρταγίνη a term used of it by Strabo and occurring in inscriptions on the new site; Eustathius, in Dion. Per. l. 663; Ptolem. ii. v. 12; perhaps means the new town: see also Pliny, NH. vi. 25 (7).
Ps.-Scymnus who speaks at length of the river and mentions the small settlements on the Taman peninsula. Pliny says that this region was held first by Carians, then by Clazomenians and Maeonians, lastly by men of Panticapaeum, while Strabo directly states that it was a colony of Bosporans: it seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of independence as he speaks of some Maeotae obeying the Bosporan rulers and some the holders of the trading station on the Tanais. Ptolemy found this freedom not to his liking and utterly destroyed the settlement (c. 15-7 B.C.). It had a great trade with both European and Asiatic nomads taking their slaves and hides and other nomadic products and giving in exchange clothing and wine and articles of civilized life. In front of it at a distance of a hundred stades lay the island of Alopecia with a mixed population.

Leontiev, who has done more than anyone else for Tanais, was inclined to seek the older Tanais at Elisavetovskaja in the delta. F. Butkov wished to put it, as well as the mediaeval Venetian colony Tana, at Azov, explaining the lack of remains by the wholesale blowing up of the Turkish fortress after the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739. Mr. A. A. Miller's excavations at Elisavetovskaja, 1908-1910, have not been sufficient to settle the question. He shews by a map of the mouths of the Don (loc. cit. p. 86) that the upper section of the delta (v. Map ix.) was once divided by a considerable channel into two halves, to the north a marsh, to the south a long stretch of sandy ground even now mostly raised above the spring floods: this stretch is covered with barrows for four miles, and half way along the old channel which bounded it to the north, is the site of a town with an outer bank, an inner enclosure and a hard or jetty (Plan loc. cit. p. 120). The barrows are Scythian in type save for an absence of horse-gear, but are full of Greek amphora and other pots: the town-site yields similar ware giving the date as the 114th century B.C., but some things from the barrows are much older, the sheath (p. 270, f. 186) came from here and another almost as early. But so far there are no inscriptions or other evidences of a real Greek settlement and I am much more inclined to think that we have here Alopecia and the κατοικία μεγάλων ἀνθρώπων. It happens that coming up the east coast, along which the traffic went, you would get to it just a hundred stades before reaching the spot where the town seems to have started anew about 100 A.D.

That this place has a right to the name Tanais the inscriptions prove; but as nothing on the site goes back B.C. the presumption is that the old town was elsewhere. Probably some change in the river channels made it advisable to re-establish the settlement between the villages of Nedvigovka and Sinjavka upon the north side of the northernmost arm of the Don now called the Dead Donets. Above a high cliff sloping steeply down to the river, a space about 700 feet square was surrounded by a bank: outside this was a ditch omitted on the side next the river. To the east and west were ravines which helped to isolate the site. At the corners of the square and in...
the middle of the north and west sides were towers. There was a gate at the NE. angle and another in the middle of the south side from which a way led down to the river. By the SW. angle below the cliff was a Monte Testaccio. The barrows of the necropolis had mostly been rifled in ancient times but Professor Veselovskij had some success in 1908\(^1\), finding evidence of both interment and cremation with interesting cinerary urns of slip ware and 11th century jewelry of some pretensions, especially an earring with a large Nike pendant\(^2\). In the middle of the town was the market-place as shewn

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\(^2\) I.e., p. 150, f. 16.
by remains of its paving; there were also two wells. All the masonry was exceedingly poor except one wall which may have belonged to a temple. The town was destroyed suddenly so that storeaes of wheat in the cellars were not removed; in cellars, too, were found candelabra and a lamp of bronze, the most elegant bronzes found in South Russia (v. p. 381, n. 13). The earliest inscriptions belong to the time of Sauromates I about the beginning of the 1st century A.D., the latest to that of Ininthemus in A.D. 237. Beside those set up by the religious societies and one or two private dedications, one of which seems to mention the docks (v. p. 619), no doubt to be placed on the sandy belt of beach where coins are still found, we have a whole series commemorating the erection of various buildings: walls, towers, gates, a market-place and a spring beautified so as to be a tower. Soon after the date of the last the town must have been destroyed probably by the Goths and Borani who were threatening the Bosporus about that time. Barbarous wallings and coins which go down to Rhescuporis the Last A.D. 338 and Valens shew that it was not entirely deserted. The cause of its brief prosperity is referred by Leontiev to the disturbance of the trade routes in Western Asia due to the decay of the Parthian power and its wars with Rome. So Tana which later flourished in the same neighbourhood was indebted to the decay of the Caliphate and to the Crusades. Tanais had no coins of its own. Those referred to it by Burachkov (xxiii. 1 a) and P. Vacquier, do not belong to it.

**History.**

We have no data telling us just when Panticapaeum was founded by the Milesians. Eusebius puts the foundation of Trapezus, a colony of Sinope, at 756 B.C., but the Greeks do not seem originally to have approached the Cimmerian Bosporus from that side, the Caucasus coast discouraged them. On the left side of the Euxine Istrus and Olbia are given as founded in the middle of the viith century and Panticapaeum was probably rather later. It was reckoned the mother of the cities on the Bosporus and was most likely the first of them.

4. A.D. 223.

The true name of the European capital was Panticapaeum (Ptolemy, *Nat. urbis*), *Eustochius* ap. St. *Byze*, s. v. *Panticapaeum*, but Greeks living at a distance sometimes said Bosporus without prefixing further that they meant the town Panticapaeum. To the people of the country Bosporus meant the land on each side of the strait with all the Greek cities except Theodosia which lay rather apart. The name Bosporus for the city prevailed in Byzantine times, e.g. *Procopius de Aedif.* iii. 7, and *Vishor* as a synonym for Kerch survived into the middle ages. Bosporus is the usual Latin and English form but Pliny and Tacitus use the more correct Bosporus—in inscriptions, e.g. *Ist P.E.* ii. 36 (= *App. 42*), 42, 355, 358 (v. *inf. p. 598*, n. 7, p. 613, n. 12), we have Bosporus by mistaken pedantry. The word is probably not Greek but Thracian. (Brundis, *P.W.* p. 711).

6. For importance need be attached to *Steph.* *Byz.* s. v. *φιλαρχος* is for *Acharne* *Panticapaeum* και καλλιεργης τινα πυρολ ωπο των μανδρων των τοιν πολεων των εκ θεου σιτισανων και καλλιεργης τινα πυρν ωπο των των μανδρων των τοιν πολεων των εκ θεου σιτισανων.

7. At the traditional point of Aetes there were yet no Scythians in the country. The name is not Greek and may have something in common with that of the river Panticapes. The coins with *ΑΙΠΟΑ* may point to a Greek name *Apollonias*, v. p. 628.

Phanagoria, the capital of the Asiatic shore, was the only town not Milesian. Arrian (ap. Eustath. I.c.) names its founder Phae[n]ageras of Teos fleeing from the violence of the Persians. It always seems to have kept a character of its own perhaps due to this different origin.

Hermonassa is said by Eustathius (I.c.) to have been Ionian and founded by one Hermon, but he quotes Arrian as saying that it was an Aeolian colony named after Hermonassa, wife of Semandrus of Mytilene. Καλομενίων ορκοαί, on the coast of the Maeotis between Tyrambe and Cimmerice, kept alive the name of non-Milesian adventurers.

Cimmeris is definitely called a foundation of the Bosporan tyrants. So by its name was Gorgippia, and perhaps Stratochia; Portus Sindicus was also a secondary foundation. To judge by the agonistic catalogue, Gorgippia contained a considerable Doric element. Eumelus brought Dorians over from Callatis. Cepi we know to have been Ionian.

Whenever Panticapaeum and the Greek towns about it may have been founded, we get no ray of light upon their history until the 6th century. Then Diodorus Siculus gives us what purports to be a list of Bosporan rulers for two centuries. Unfortunately his information is not even consistent with itself and one of the two dated inscriptions shews that his chronology is purely artificial—that he has fitted the regnal years of Bosporan kings to the list of Athenian archons by a secondary calculation, not by using direct evidence that they answered each to each. Further his text is in a bad state, the numbers being as usual specially liable to error; but when his light fails we realize how hard it is to supply any sort of continuous list.

The first entry in the history of the Bosporan kingdom runs: "In the archonship of Theodorus at Athens (438/7 B.C.)...those who had held the kingship of the Cimmerian Bosporus, they bore the name of Archeanactids, had ruled forty-two years. And Spartacus took over the rule and ruled seven years."

Who were the Archeanactids we do not know and it does not seem much use bringing them into connexion with Archeanax of Mytilene. Their name would seem to point to their being a privileged family from whom magistrates were chosen, such as were the Codridae at Athens. Their ancestor had a very suitable name for the founder of such a house, so suitable as to make one doubt his existence. Diodorus uses the title king very vaguely, probably they were not really kings, if only their rule had gone back to time immemorial we might have thought of the title as surviving from primitive usage; but if we are to believe Diodorus—and he is our only informant—their rule came into being being but forty-two years

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1 Phaenogoria, passim; Phaenogoria, Ps.-Scyllm. l. 886; Phaenogoria, Strabo, xi. ii. 103; Phaenogoria, Dion. Per. l. 549; Phaenogoria, Ennarchim. in eodem; Phaenogoria, Ps.-Scyllm. 72, Anon. 73 (46); Phanagoria, Pomp. Mela, l. 112. It took the name of Agrippus Caesarea in honour of Agrippa's settlement of Bosporan affairs under Augustus Caesar: v. Latyshev, IstoPE. ii. Introd. p. xxxviii.
2 Strabo, xi. ii. 4, cf. Pline, Nat. H. vi. 20 (7).
3 Clauzonian pots from Taman are probably only late Milesian, Pharmacovskij, Arch. Anz. 1912, P. 337.
4 Ps.-Scyllm. l. 898.
5 Pline, Nat. H. vi. 18 (6); Stratocles in App. 27 = IstoPE. ii. 6 was probably a Spartoic.
6 IstoPE. iv. 432, cf. Mist. xii. p. 64.
7 Dios. Sic. xii. 35.
8 Κηφις tη ουοικοείς δη Μιλησίως, Ps.-Scyllm. l. 899; Кηφις, Aeschines in Cleon. 171; Strabo, xi. ii. 103; Cerec, Mela, l. 112, Pline, Nat. H. vi. 18 (6). The inhabitants used the ἀρχανάκτης, BCA. xiii. p. 42, No. 26, 11th cent. inser. at Panticapæum.
9 Dios. Sic. xii. xxxi. 1.
before in 480 B.C. If they were a clan with a hereditary claim to government they must have gone much further back; Zhebel'ev remarks that Diodorus does not generally go back before that date, so his first year for their power seems quite meaningless. If they had held power only for forty years they must have been parvenu tyrants.

How Spartacus or rather Spartocus (so his descendants always wrote the name on their inscriptions) took over the power we know not; the usual idea that he was a Thracian mercenary leader who made a coup d'état has everything in its favour. Spartocus reigned for seven years. So Diodorus says in two places (xii. xxxi. 1 and xii. xxxvi. 1), but he is made to die in B.C. 433/2, which gives him only five years of reign. In the latter passage his successor is called Seleucus and reigns forty years (so the best ms. Polyæus, vulg. four). In the next passage touching Bosporus (xvi. xiii. 1) we hear nothing of Seleucus, but are told that in B.C. 393/2 died Satyrus, son of Spartocus, king of Bosporus having ruled forty-four years (so P., vulg. Ækatægora, edd. τεταπακοῦτα to make it agree with the archon-date and xii. xxxvi. 1). Before P. was discovered it was usually assumed that between Seleucus with his four years and Satyrus with his fourteen a "Spartocus II had dropped out. Now it is generally thought that Latyshev 1 is right in supposing that Seleucus—a name neither Greek nor Thracian and never heard of before the time of Seleucus Nicator though so familiar afterwards—is a mistake for Satyrus whose single reign took up the time formerly assigned to Seleucus, "Spartocus II and Satyrus. Diodorus goes on to say that Satyrus dying in 393/2 B.C. was succeeded by Leucos his son who reigned for forty years and in the next passage (xvi. xxxi. 6) that Leucos having reigned forty years died in 354/3 B.C., and was succeeded by his son "Spartacus" (II), who reigned five years till his death in 349/8 when "Parysades" his brother began his reign of thirty-eight years (xvi. lii. 10), and after his death a civil war followed in 310/9 B.C. 2 There was no reason to doubt this series until an inscription found in the Piraeus in 1877 shewed that in 347/6 B.C. 3 the Athenians had received from the joint rulers of the Bosporus, Spartocus and Parysades (so always in inscriptions) envoys to announce the death of their father Leucos and were setting up a decree complimentary to them and their brother Apollonius who remained in a private station. This means that Leucos did not die till about the preceding year or perhaps the one before that, just the date given by Diodorus for the death of Spartacus II himself. Schaefer's explanation is no doubt right that Diodorus, calculating back from 310/9 when he had definite information about the Bosporus, knew that Parysades had reigned thirty-eight years but did not know that five of

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4 xxi. xxvii., being the beginning of an extract which goes into details of Bosporan history and augurs a first-rate source.

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4 App. 28-Knauzandis, Antiquities, vi. p. 152, 500; A. Schaefer, Rhêna, Mus. xxxiv. 17, 18 sqq., c. xxviii. 5, 51; CIAM. iv. 1150 b.; Ditt. 1. li. 129; BCH. v. pl. 5; Hicks 1. 140.
5 In App. 48=CIAH. ii. 1151; Ditt. 1. 194, a year and a half had passed after the liberation of Athens from Demetrius Poliorcetes before the Athenians set up a decree to Spartocus III, who had sent corn and congratulations upon that event, v. infra p. 380.
these ran concurrently with the reign of Spartocus II whom he regards as reigning before Paerisades from 354/3 to 349/8.

Hence, instead of letting Lecon's forty years begin in 388/7, Diodorus had to push back his accession to 393/2. But I believe that he left the discrepant forty-four years to Satyrus and that the readings of the mss. in both places where the latter was mentioned (xii. xxxvi. 1 (mss. Σελευκος), P. τεσσαρακοντα vulg. τέσσαρα and xiv. xciil. 1, P. τεταρακοντα τέταρα vulg. δεκατέσσαρα) go back to this number. Diodorus is almost as much out about Spartocus I to whom he gives seven years although the dates are but five years apart. The whole confusion shews that Diodorus took some fixed date and calculated back from it adjusting the result to the tables of Athenian archonships.

Paerisades was succeeded in 310/9 by Satyrus II who only reigned nine months being slain in battle with a younger brother Eumelus who also slew another brother Prytanis. Eumelus reigned five years and five months (B.C. 300—304/3) and was killed in a carriage accident leaving the throne to his son Spartocus who reigned for twenty years (303—283 B.C.). So far, thanks to Diodorus, we can establish the chronology more or less (see table inf. p. 585) and it remains to fill in this outline by the testimony of other authors and of inscriptions.

Of Spartocus I we know nothing more. His short reign must have been fully taken up with establishing the authority of the new dynasty. How far that authority stretched we cannot tell.

Satyrus I devoted himself to rounding off the kingdom. We find him holding Cepi before the collapse of the Athenian sea power (405 B.C.) when Gylon the Athenian governor handed him over Nymphaeum and received Cepi in exchange (v. supra p. 561). This acquisition of Nymphaeum was the first enlargement of the kingdom of which we hear. Henceforward there was no more need for the dyke just to the west of Kerch on the boundary of strictly Panticapaean territory. It was probably Satyrus that secured the whole eastern end of the "rugged" peninsula by the dyke which runs across from Opuk-Cimmericum to the Maeotis. Nymphaeum gave Satyrus a harbour less liable to be ice-bound than Panticapaeum, but in pursuance of the same policy he set before himself the task of adding the port of Theodosia to his dominions. The harbouring of Bosporan exiles was probably a mere pretext. In this he was not successful but he left things so far advanced that his son Lecon could fulfill his desires. It is extremely improbable that a ruler who held Cepi and went so far afield as Theodosia should have allowed Phanagoria to continue perfectly free; we may assume that if he did not receive it from Spartocus, it was his first objective.

That Satyrus had yet extended his power over barbarians to the east and like his successors called himself king of certain native tribes is unlikely, but we cannot be sure, inasmuch as from his time we have no inscriptions,

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1 Diod. Sic. xx. xxii.—xxvi.
2 Diod. Sic. xx. c. 7.
3 Anon. Forpl. 77 (51)
4 Brandis P.-W. iii. p. 269, holds that Phanagoria was independent until the time of Mithridates.
5 It is hard to reconcile this with the inscriptions either from its immediate neighbourhood (JosPE. ii. 343 Lecon) or its actual site (JosPE. iv. 418 Paerisades) and the general situation required its early annexation.
but he is mentioned by Lysias and by Isocrates, who represents him as well disposed to Athens and allowing Athenian grain vessels special facilities for which he received the thanks of the city. On the other hand he seems liable to suspicion and capriciously condemns to confiscation and death the speaker and his father Sopaeus or Sinopeus one of his chief ministers, though afterwards repenting and marrying his son to the speaker’s sister. We hear of exiles and plots, so all Bosporans were not satisfied with his rule. Strabo (xi. ii. 7) mentions on the Asiatic shore near Patraeus, a tumulus raised to the memory of King Satyrus. It is likely to have been the first of the name who best deserved such a monument after his long reign and great services.

The tale of Tigratao does not fit any known Satyrus, but Latyshev is inclined to refer it to Satyrus I. The story goes that Hecataeus king of the Sindi, having been driven from his kingdom, was reinstated by Satyrus who gave him his daughter in marriage and bade him slay his former wife Tigratao, a Maeotian princess of the tribe of the Ixomatae; Hecataeus out of love to her spared her life, but put her in prison. She, however, escaped to her own people, married her father’s successor, roused their tribe against the Sindi, overran the kingdom of Hecataeus and did harm to that of Satyrus. The two kings sued for peace and handed over Metrodorus son of Satyrus as a hostage: but meanwhile tried to get Tigratao assassinated. She foiled the plot, slew the hostage and renewed the war with such success that Satyrus died of chagrin and his son and successor Gorgippus had to buy peace with rich gifts.

The main reason for supposing that the story applies to Satyrus I, is that all the rulers of Bosporus subsequent to his time claimed to be kings of the Sindi: a good reason against is that Satyrus died at the siege of Theodosia and was succeeded by Leucon: also that we do not hear again of the Ixomatae until much later and that Metrodorus is a late type of name. However, in the same generation as Leucon I there was a Gorgippus, the father of Comosarye wife of Paerisades I, and Latyshev suggests that he at first divided the kingdom with Leucon ruling the Asiatie side and founding Gorgippia. The inscription on which Leucon is called Archon of Bosporus and Theodosia does not help to prove that his authority was limited to the part west of the strait inasmuch as it was found near Lake Tsukur. But that sometime in the 11th century a Gorgippus had quasi-sovereign rights in Gorgippia we know from tile-stamps with ΘΩΡ | ΘΙΠ | ΘΟ | Υ. But these would suit another Gorgippus mentioned with another Satyrus by Dinarchus about fifty years later, and the repetition of the same names in the family makes identification impossible. It is quite likely that in the

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1 Pro Ms. Bibliotheca, § 4, 363 n.c. speaking of 405 n.c. Tragesilicus, 3–5, 11, 20, 35, 51, 52, 57, n.c. 394: the speaker is a young Bosporan, name unknown. 2 This may or may not be the Herodourus (Ms. 35 Mo. Παράγωνος) of Hecataeus ap. St. Byz. v. 4. 3 Polyaeus, viii. iv. For the name ν. supra, p. 59. 4 It seems to occur upon tiles as ΜΗΡΟΚΩΣ where the C does not = Κ but is a sign of abbreviation by suspension, cf. ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ for Σατυρος, ΑΠΟΣ for Λεσσαλάμιος, ΚΡΑΤΙΚ, ΤΙΜΟΣ, etc.; v. CR. 1861, p. 176; Giel, Kit. B., p. 41; BCA. xvi. p. 135; 35, 51, 52, 57, 58, 59. 5 Skorpiol in Bohnsich, Miscellanea, p. 33, n. 4, 5, 6, 9. 6 App. 39–Josephi, 11. 34. 7 App. 36–Josephi, 11. 34. 8 Mat. xlvii. p. 71, No. 72; Skorpiol loc. cit. n. 3; cf. ib. n. 11 and HCA. Reisch, p. 135; No. LXXVIII, a gold cylinder inscribed ὅρκημα τις Τυρήματος. 9 In Demosthenes, 45.
unknown times after B.C. 250 the decadent Bosporan kingdom may have acquiesced in the independence of the Sindi and been incapable of resisting the spirited Tigradato. That Strabo (xi. ii. 10) seems to call Gorgippia βασιλεία τοῦ Σινδοῦ points to their somewhat recent independence.

Satyrus died while besieging Theodosia. His operations had been rendered null by the aid of the Heracleots who sent across the ingenious Tynnichus. Leucos, his son, is always regarded as one of the most enlightened of Greek rulers. He was successful in reducing Theodosia and made it the great port for the shipment of corn. He is said to have named the town anew after his sister or wife—what may have been its precise state previously we do not know. Master of Theodosia he developed the agriculture of the flat district between that town and the Bosporus. The open country had been subject to the steppe Scythians who even pushed their raids across the strait on the ice to the country of the Sindi. No doubt fear of such inroads led the minor cities more readily to acquiesce in the spread of a strong central power. The agricultural inhabitants of the plain were reduced to serfdom and the Bosporan kingdom was ready to become the granary of Greece.

Naturally the closest ties sprang up between such a country and the chief commercial and manufacturing state of Hellas, Athens, and it is in this connexion that we hear most of Leucos and his successors. In this, too, he completed the policy of Satyrus.

Of these friendly relations we hear in Demosthenes. In order to equalize the burdens of the Social War, B.C. 356, Leptines proposed that all immunities decreed to individual citizens, except descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, should be revoked. This was bad policy in the case of foreigners who had merely complimentary citizenship and Demosthenes opposed it; the case of Leucos and his sons was a very good one for his purpose. Moreover Demosthenes had family relations with the Bosporan rulers, for Gylon his maternal uncle had been under their protection since he had handed Nymphaeum over to them, and either now or subsequently the orator received from them a yearly allowance of a thousand medimni of corn.

So Demosthenes sets forth at length the advantages reaped by Athens from the good will of Leucos. In a normal year Athens imported 800,000 medimni of corn of which half came from Bosporus. On these 400,000 medimni Leucos remitted the export duty of 3½ per cent amounting to 13,000 medimni and further, both at Pantikapaion and at his new staple of Theodosia, gave the ships bound for Athens facilities to load first. Moreover, three years before, in time of famine, he sent enough corn (presumably

1 Harpocrathon, s. v.; cf. supra p. 558.
2 Polyæus, v. xxi. For Heraclea's policy in this matter see supra, p. 516, but Chersonese had long been existing, witness tombii pots found there; v. Add. We cannot say to what date should be referred the war between Heraclea and Bosporus mentioned by Aristotele, Oeconomica, ii. ii. 8.
3 Herodotus, iv. 28.
5 Demarchus in Dem. § 43.
6 Dem. in Lept. 29—43.
at the normal rate) to let the Athenians make fifteen talents profit on the surplus. Strabo (vii. iv. 6) may mean this same consignment when he speaks of 2,100,000 medimni sent by Leucon from Theodosia. Such an amount would about represent the Attic wheat deficit in a thoroughly bad year: or it may be the total of several consignments. There is no reason to suppose that there was any question of a gift in either case. The 15,000¹ medimni sent by Spartoces III (v. infra) is quite a different thing: if only for the small amount of corn involved.

The ordinary price for corn was 5 drachmae a medimnus. No doubt the Bosporan rulers were themselves large sellers: no doubt, too, they did a profitable business with other states and the fisheries provided another source of revenue. No wonder that Bosporus could afford the wine and oil, the pottery and manufactures of Greece, even if money had to be spent on tribute to threatening Scythian tribes, on the support of Greek, Thracian and native mercenaries and on a fleet to keep down the neighbouring pirates. Perhaps it was for this purpose that later Spartoces II and Paerisades wanted the crews granted them in the inscription² set up to them in the Piraeus.

But from Athens the Spartocids received also less material recognition. From the same inscription we know that Satyrus had been honoured in some way, from Demosthenes and the same source we know that Leucon was publicly praised by the Athenian state, granted the citizenship and immunity from civil burdens and crowned at the Panathenaia with a golden wreath worth 1000 drachmae; which wreath according to custom was duly inscribed and dedicated to Athena Polias: further that the decree conferring these honours was set up, as Demosthenes tells us, in triplicate, in the Piraeus, at Bosporus and in the temple of Zeus Uranus at the entrance of the Euxine. The decree of immunity was necessary because there was always money belonging to the Spartocids lying at Athens and some ingenious citizen might have proposed an antidosis. That is why the proposal of Leptines had a material importance. But it was the insult of withdrawing a privilege granted as a courtesy which would have done the harm. No doubt the Spartocids' vanity was flattered by these compliments. As Perrot remarks they never seem to have sought the glory of success at the great Hellenic games, at which Sicilian princes loved to display their magnificence. Probably the descendants of a Thracian condottiere could not gain admittance. But it was some consolation that the "eye of Hellas" enrolled them among her citizens and allowed the distant Bosporans to enter for the Panathenaic games and bring home prize amphorae (v. pp. 347, 626).

In later times the compliments paid went even farther. Dinarchus (l.c.) accuses Demosthenes of corrupt motives in proposing that Birisades [sic] and Satyrus and Gorgippus should have bronze statues in the Agora. The inscription from the Acropolis in honour of Spartoces III (b.c. 287/6)³, speaks of such statues set up to his ancestors in the Agora and in the Emporium and of an offensive and defensive alliance concluded with them, and proposes to

¹ So Perrot p. 64. Edd. restore severansius.
² App. 34 = Ditt.² l. 194.
³ App. 28 = Ditt.⁴ l. 139.
set up to him two statues, one in the Agora by his ancestors and one upon the Acropolis, as well as the usual inscriptions and wreaths.

Leucon had to do not merely with Athens. We have the first few words of a decree in his honour passed by the common assembly of the Arcadians soon after 369 B.C.1 Perhaps he employed Arcadian mercenaries or granted them such a favour as the Mytilenians a few years later. These he let off with 1½ per cent export duty on 100,000 medimni of corn a year: above that figure they had to pay the usual 1½ per cent.

He left behind him as good a reputation as was possible for a man who was regarded as a rāpavos 2. To have looked after his soldiers' morals by stopping their pay when they got into debt through vice or gambling, 3 is counted to him for righteousness by Lattus, who reckons among minus laudabilis his saying that a tyranny has need of bad men and the devices for foiling conspiracies of which Polyænus (vi. ix. 2, 3) tells us, though one of these, enlisting the support of the trading class by borrowing its money, is not indefensible and the other not more treacherous than necessary: both show that the Bosporian Greeks had the spirit not to submit quite tamely: the financial operation (ibid. § 4) of calling in all the coinage and reissuing it at double its face value seems to have been regarded as doing no harm to anyone: it may have begun a practice which disfigured Bosporian coin with countermarks but the style of extant coins subjected to the process points to a later ruler of the name. Polyænus (v. xliii. 1, see inf. p. 626) also relates the trick played upon Leucon towards the end of his life by Memnon of Rhodes who was in the employ of the Heracleotes, the consistent foes of the Bosporan kings.

Besides the decree of the Arcadians three other inscriptions on the Bosporus record his name. In one from the Taman peninsula he is only styled archon of Bosporus and Theodosia. In another from Kerch he bears the titles of archon of Bosporus and Theodosia and king of the Sindus, Torstaeus, Dandar eius and Posse 4. The natural inference is that the former inscription belongs to a time when he had not yet conquered the native peoples. Lattus argues from this and from the story of Tigratap (v. supra p. 373) that at first he was not ruler of the Asiatic side of the strait, but the stone comes from there and the document would not have been dated in his archonship had he not at the time borne rule in that district. Hence we may infer that Satyrus set the reduction of the neighbouring Greek communities as the limit of his policy and that Leucon raised the dynasty from being archons of a few coast towns to being also kings of wide stretches of country and populous if barbarian tribes in the interior— and he it was who left the greatest name to posterity. Towards the end of his reign he seems to have admitted his sons to power, as they are thanked with him by the Mytilenians.

1 J. 1. 4 Kerch.
2 E. 1. 1. 4 Kerch.
3 J. 1. 4 Kerch.
4 Ditt. 1. 4 Kerch.
5 J. 1. 4 Kerch.
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84 J. 1. 4 Kerch.
From the joint reign of Spartocus II and Paerisades I (349/8—344/3) the only monument is the Piraeus inscription from which we learn the true chronology of these rulers, the precise honours paid them by Athens and the existence of a third brother Apollonius, who though a private person received compliments by way of afterthought. The inscription is headed with a bas-relief shewing three figures, but unfortunately the heads have been mutilated so we cannot judge whether any barbarous traces were left in the family type.

Paerisades when reigning alone (344/3—310/9) continued the policy of Leucon and is classed with him as a mild and capable ruler. He may even claim to surpass him; Strabo (vii. iv. 4) says he was reckoned a god, whether before or after death we cannot tell; here again we find the Bosporus anticipating Hellenistic custom. However, he had his difficulties as about 330 B.C. commerce in Bosporus was utterly disorganized by a war with the Scythian king. Probably the nomads had made a raid into the country about Theodosia, but war with the eastern tribes may be referred to. In this direction Paerisades enlarged his authority or at any rate his pretensions. It is hard to believe that we can trace the fluctuations of his power in the changes of his title: kings do not give up titles when they no longer represent facts, George III called himself king of France: the leaving out of tribes may be due to mere questions of space, but the addition of new tribes no doubt indicated fresh conquests.

Paerisades at first adopted Leucon’s style as in App. 29 which is just like App. 27 except that there was no room for Psessi or their name has perished. Next instead of enumerating the last tribes separately, he summed them up as Μακεδονικά πάντων, further he added Θαρτίων and dropped the πάντων, and made the final addition of Δοξάκων. No doubt these last two tribes stood apart from the Maeotae. The Sindi also are counted separately being the first Maeotian tribe to form part of the Bosporan state and being apparently less barbarous than the others.

One inscription is abnormal in that Bosporus is left out, also its whole form is unusual: still it falls into place as coming before Paerisades conquered the eastern tribes, a more satisfactory criterion than the absence of Bosporus, which must surely be a slip. Schaefer has based upon this the view that it belongs to a time when Spartocus ruled Bosporus and Paerisades Theodosia and the Maeotian tribes—a most unnatural combination. The stone was found at Kerch so in such a case it must have been dated by Spartocus.

The whole dominion of Paerisades is well summed up in the epigram:

Εἰκόνα Φοίβου στήσε, Ἀντίσσασθαι, Φανάραχον σαῦρον,
ἀδαίορον θυτών πατρὶ γέρας τέλειας,
Παρισαίας ἀρχοντος ὄσιν χθόνα τέρματες ἄρρητος ταῦτα
Ταύρων Καυκασίως τε εἶναι ἔχοντων δρωτος.

1 His name occurs on tiles Giel, KT. B. p. 41.
2 App. 28 = Dill. BCH, v. pl. 5.
4 e.g. App. 29 = JosPE. ii. 344.
5 In JosPE. iv. 419 we seem to have fragments of the same formula.
6 JosPE. ii. 10, 11 (= App. 29), 345, iv. 418.
7 JosPE. ii. 346.
8 JosPE. ii. 348.
9 JosPE. ii. 344.
11 op. c. also Latsheb JosPE. ii. p. 29.
12 JosPE. ii. 9; the genitive in -ος is most used by Paerisades, JosPE. ii. 9, 10, 345, 347, iv. 418.
13 Later kings of the name use -ωτος.
These were the natural boundaries which could only be easily passed towards the S.E. where the frontier was no doubt very variable. Polyaeus (vii. xxxvii.) has his anecdote about a Paerisades, probably the first of the name, how that he had one change of raiment for setting the battle in array, another for the fighting and a third for purposes of flight. The device seems to have stood him in better stead than it did Ahab.

Paerisades married Comosarye daughter of Gorgippus. This Gorgippus may have been Lecon's brother if the story of Tigratoa applies to Satyrus I.; in any case he was probably a member of the ruling family as his daughter's name is, like Spartacus and Paerisades, Thracian, and his own name recurs in the history and geography of Bosporus.

Paerisades had three sons at least, Satyrus II., who succeeded him, Eumelus and Prytanis. Most probably he had another, Gorgippus, and towards the latter part of his reign had associated Satyrus and Gorgippus with him in the power. That would account for Demosthenes having carried the proposal to set up the statues of all three Pontic tyrants as Dinarchus (i.e.) puts it, and would agree with the phrasing of inscriptions which begin Παρίσαδης και παίδες give proxeny to so and so. These inscriptions testify that they treated not merely Athenians but also Piraetans (i.e. Athenian colonists at Amisos) and Chalcedonians well.

Probably the reign of Paerisades represents the highest prosperity of the Bosporus kingdom under its own ruling house. The native tribes were weak or well kept in check by its vigorous ruler. As the granary of Greece it was sure of a constant income flowing in from a certain market. Athens its best customer was indeed declining but was not yet utterly fallen. But with the opening up of Asia to Greek enterprise new corn supplies were made accessible and new competitors appeared in markets whose purchasing power was lessened owing to the draining of Greece by wars and emigration.

The country was made the less ready to bear this adverse change by the exhaustion produced by a year's civil war, 309/8 B.C. When Paerisades died Satyrus his eldest son was his natural successor. We hear nothing of Gorgippus. However, Eumelus a younger son disputed his claim and Diodorus (xx. xxiii.—xxvi.) gives us a detailed account of the struggle.

Eumelus allied himself with Aripharnes king of the Thaeteis who lived beyond a river Thates. Satyrus invaded their country with two thousand Greek and two thousand Thracian mercenaries and Scythian allies numbering twenty thousand and more foot and ten thousand horse. He made a laager with his provision wagons and joined battle against the enemy who had twenty thousand horse and twenty-two thousand foot. Neither side seems to have used any Bosporan Greeks. After a doubtful struggle Satyrus was victorious and Eumelus and Aripharnes retired to the latter's royal fastness, obscurely described as a kind of pile village surrounded by the river and rendered unapproachable by great cliffs and a thick forest. Two ways only led to it, one well guarded by the high towers of the royal castle, the other leading through marshes and only secured by wooden fortifications.

Satyrus, after preliminary plundering of the open country, made his

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1 App. 80=IstP.E. ii. 346.
2 Acts, v. p. 355; ii. 4; was, to judge by the lettering, his daughter.
3 IstP.E. ii. 1 (=App. 32) and 2.
approaches in form, took the wooden fortifications and began to cut a way through the forest, though his men were much harassed by the enemy’s sharpshooters. Ultimately when by the fourth day the attack was approaching the castle, Meniscus the captain of the mercenaries had to give way to the defenders and Satyrus coming to his support was wounded and died that same evening. Meniscus raised the siege retiring to Gargaza and brought the king’s body back across the strait (τοῦ ποταμοῦ regarded as mouth of the Tanais) to Prytanis at Panticapaeum.

Prytanis laid Satyrus in the royal tomb and hasted to Gargaza where he assumed the power. Eumelus proposed a partition, but Prytanis refused it and hurried back to Panticapaeum to establish his authority. Thereupon Eumelus and his barbarian allies advanced and took Gargaza and other places, forced Prytanis to a combat, defeated him and shut him in a headland by the Maeotis: Prytanis capitulated and promised to leave the country, but when he came to the capital Panticapaeum, made a last attempt to seize the power, failed, fled to Cepi and there was slain. This last attempt seems to have exasperated Eumelus who proceeded to exterminate the house of Spartocus and the adherents of Satyrus, and only Paerisades the young son of Satyrus escaped. He took refuge with Agarus king of the Scythians.

These massacres roused the indignation of the citizens: but Eumelus called a mass-meeting, defended his actions, restored the ancestral government (την πατρων πολιτειαν ἀποκατεστησε), conceded again the immunity which the dwellers in Panticapaeum had enjoyed in the time of their forbears and promised to exempt everyone from the direct taxation, doing all this to gain the affection of the masses. So he ruled his subjects according to law and aroused much admiration by his merits: moreover he was a benefactor to the other Greeks about the Pontus, to the men of Byzantium and Sinope and especially to the citizens of Callatis. For when Lysimachus besieged them and there was lack of corn in the city, he received a thousand of them and granted them lands upon the Psoas. Further, he earned universal praise by restraining the piracies of the Heniochi, Tauri and Achaes and conquered for his kingdom much land of barbarous tribes. Indeed he formed the project of uniting all the tribes about the Pontus and might have succeeded but for his strange death. Jumping from a runaway waggon (it had four horses, four wheels and a tilt (v. p. 51, f. 6)) he got his sword caught in a wheel and was whirled round and round and killed after a reign of five years and five months (309/8—304/3).

I have given rather a full summary of the story of Eumelus found in Diodorus because it seems evidently to go back to an extract from some history of, or panegyric written for Bosporus. It gives us an insight into the relations between the Bosphoran state and the surrounding tribes indicating what a part they played in its internal affairs. The river Thates with the fastness of Aripharnes and the town of Gargaza are quite unknown, but everything points to the country between the lower Kuban and the

1 Unless Thates (v.l. Θατῆς) and Gargaza be Ptolemy’s Ψευθ and Gerusa as Wesseling and Ortelius suggest. Ψος too is unknown and not unlike Ψος, but Latyshev, Journ. Min. Pub. Inst.
outliers of the Caucasus. What may have been the rights and immunities restored by Eumelus to the citizens of Panticapaeum we cannot tell. They were probably rather shadowy. At least the citizens take singularly little part in their rulers' struggle. Eumelus may represent a reaction of the barbarian element against the Hellenic. In other things besides his scheme of general conquest he appears as a forerunner of Mithridates the Great.

There are no lapidary inscriptions in honour of Satyrus II, Prytanes or Eumelus, but the names occur upon tiles.

Spartocus III, son of Eumelus, reigned from 304/3 to 284/3 B.C. He is the last king of whom Diodorus (xx. c. 7) speaks. As we have seen the Athenian inscription tells us that in 287/6 B.C., a year and a half after expelling the garrison of Demetrius Poliorcetes, in return for a present of 15,000 medimnai of wheat Athens decreed Spartocus the usual honours: she could offer no other reward.

In his own country several inscriptions date from his reign, but do not tell us much about him: the first calls him archon alone, the next (and ii. 35) king alone, the last two give him both titles (e.g. 348 ἄρχοντος καὶ βασιλεύοντος).

His son Paerisades II reigned from 284/3 till after 252 B.C., for in the latter year he presented a vase to Apollo at Delphi.

In one inscription he is spoken of as archon of Bosporus and Theodosia and king of the Sindi, Maeotae and Thataeis. In the others he is only king.

The tiles with the names Spartocus and Paerisades seem to belong to these kings to judge by the lettering (Γ, Ο, Σ) and grammatical forms (genitive ἡπαρισάδου) but there is very little to go upon as also in the question of the coins (v. infra, p. 584 sqq.).

As Boeckh and after him Latyshev have well explained, the Spartocids at any rate from the time of Leucon when they had extended their power over neighbouring barbarian tribes, had borne a double title. In the Greek cities of the Bosporus and in Theodosia they professed to fill the more or less constitutional office of Archon, though their authority was such that other Greeks thought of them as τύχαντα and called them as much when they did not wish to be polite. Otherwise they spoke of them as δυνάμεις or ἵγεμονες. Demosthenes speaks of Leucon as archon, the official decrees of the Athenian people give no title at all: no one could tell but that Paerisades and Spartocus II and Spartocids III were private individuals. So thanks are given for acts which were obviously political without any mention of the state which performed them. That the Spartocids were really the whole state we see from decrees of proxeny being made out in their name.

Naturally there was no need of such careful regard for the feelings of barbarous tribes and the Spartocids could proclaim their power for what it was.

2. App. 51 = Czl. II. 311, Ditt. 1. 104.  
3. InsPE. II. 13 (= App. 33), 14, 348, 349; cf. 35.  
5. App. 35 = InsPE. II. 17.  
6. InsPE. II. 16, 17 (= App. 36), 35. [350].  
7. Chr. 1861, p. 176; Giel, K. /. B. p. 41; BCA. III. p. 162. ΠΡΥΤΑΝΗ, ib. p. 163; cannot be fitted in; XL. p. 156; Skorπil, Bobrianskoj Misc. p. 33, no. 6, 7.  
8. e.g. Dinarchus in Dem. 43.  
was and call themselves kings. Whatever may have been the concessions made by Eumelus to gain the acquiescence of the mob they probably did not amount to much more than words. The constitution of their fathers and their forbears' immunity were sounding phrases, and if the ruler could remit the taxes paid by the citizens of the chief town it shews that he was entirely independent of them. So his successor Spartocus becomes rather careless of a distinction which was becoming an anachronism in the world of the Diadochi—and Paerisades II after the last regular appearance of the ancient formula called himself simply king. Later historians not unnaturally tended to call all members of the house kings in whatever connexion they may have been mentioning them.

We have an inscription1 which mentions a king Spartocus (IV), son of Paerisades. The lettering suggests the middle of the third century, Latyshev makes him son to Paerisades II. Another son of his was Leucon2 who during his father's lifetime made a dedication to Apollo Hietros. The combination of names recalls to Latyshev the story referred to by Ovid in the *Ibis* (l. 309):

> Aut pia te caeso dicatur adultera, sicut
> Qua cecidit Leucon vindice dicta piast.3

Neither king would seem to have reigned long: hence we have but one coin and one inscription from the time of Spartocus and only coins from that of Leucon II, if indeed all the coins are not still later. The tile with the name of Leucon is still unpublished. Skorpil seems to refer it to Leucon I.4

Then follows a break of about seventy years into the earlier part of which there probably come the King Aces and the Archon Hygiaenon, but as we know their names from tiles and coins only, they are better discussed in connexion with the coins of the Spartocids (p. 583). The friendly relations with Chersonese chronicled by Syriscus (p. 517) came just at this time.

We next have a glimpse of the Bosporan kings in the middle of the third century in an inscription honouring as King and Archon Paerisades Philometor, son of King Paerisades and of Queen Camasarye Philotecno, daughter of Spartocus, and now married to Argotes son of I...thus.5 Latyshev6 has identified these persons with pious donors recorded in inscriptions in the temples of Branchidæae and Delphi. At the former place under the year 156/5 we have the name of Queen Camasarye7 and under the following year Haussoullier restores that of Paerisades8.

Further Homolle9 has published a decree of the Delphians in honour of

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1 App. 32 = *Ist PE*. II. 12.
2 App. 33 = *Ist PE*. II. 15.
4 *Leucon occidit fratrem pro coniuge eumque Coniux et causa mortis atrique fuit.*
5 C. von Mure, ibid., preserves the name Alcathoe but makes her wife to Spartacus.
6 *Bobrainstof Misc.* p. 35.
10 C. J. *Ch.* p. 283.
12 135 still follows Boeckh in making C. wife to Prusias II.
13 *BCH*. XXIII. (1899), i—vi. p. 96.
It seems rather earlier in date than the Branchidae entries. We learn from it that Camasaryye’s father, who cannot be the Spartoc IV of whom we have already treated, bore the title of king. As Latyshev says, both Paerisades and Camasaryye belonged to the royal house and were probably cousins, or uncle and niece: perhaps Paerisades was the son of Prytanis (v. p. 580, n. 7); he certainly seems not to have been in as direct succession as his wife and to have ranked rather as king-consort. She survived him and from the form of the Bosphoran inscription was regent in the time of her son Paerisades Philometor, even associating in her power her second husband Argotes. In view of this we cannot be sure that the Paerisades mentioned at Branchidae was her husband rather than her son and accordingly lose the *terminus post quem* for the accession of Philometor that Latyshev wishes to fix. Still considering the natural longevity of the Spartocids it is possible that Philometor whose reign began with a minority may be the Paerisades whom we find reigning in the last decade of the century, we can at least be sure that he too belonged to the royal house.

Paerisades the Last ruled a kingdom no longer strong enough to make head against the barbarians, who increased their demands for tribute, and who seem to have had the sympathy of a large party of the population. Accordingly Paerisades put himself under the protection of Mithridates VI Eupator king of Pontus, and thereby brought his kingdom into the main stream of history.

Mithridates employed as his agent in the Crimea Diophantus, whose exploits are related in the great Chersonesan inscription\(^1\). After defeating Palacus, Diophantus went to the Bosphorus and there was most successful (presumably in the winter of B.C. 110, inscr. I. 10), apparently relieving Paerisades from his enemies, but leaving him the semblance of authority. So things remained for about three years, during which Diophantus was breaking the power of the western Scythians. However, in the autumn of 107, when Diophantus was actually at Bosphorus seeing after the interests of Mithridates, the Scythians under Saumacus\(^2\), who had been brought up by Paerisades, rose and killed the old king and nearly caught Diophantus, who escaped on a ship sent by Chersonese. Diophantus raised a force among the men of that city, received support from Mithridates, and in the following spring crushed the revolt and took Saumacus prisoner. It is quite possible that Saumacus was the legitimate representative of the Spartocids naturally opposed to the intervention of Mithridates and like Eumelus relying on native support, but after his failure Diophantus could establish his master’s unlimited authority over the kingdom.

Neither among the Spartocids nor still less among the later kings can we find a place for Leucanor and Eubiotus of whom Lucian\(^3\) speaks, though the older investigators even assigned coins to the latter.

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\(^1\) App. 18—*Lelo* P.E. I. 185; for the question of the dates and general account of Diophantus, v. p. 590.


Table of the Spartocids.

Spartocids I (438/7–433/2 B.C.)

Satyrus I (433/2–389/8)

Spartocids II (349/8–344/3)

Satyrus II (310/9)

Paerisades I (344/3–310/9)

Spartocids IIII (304/3–284/3)

Spartocids IV (after 252)

Paerisades II (284/3 till after 252)

Paerisades IIII (304/3–284/3)

Prytanis (309/8–304/3)

Prytanis (309/8–304/3)

Paerisades the Last (d. c. 107)

Spartocid Coins.

Numismatists have made so much history out of the Bosporan coins that it is impossible to treat the coins and the history apart, but as regards the Spartocid period they have thrown on it very little real light. Even did we know the names and dates of all the kings we could scarcely assign them their coins, for in dealing with remote cities, using imitative types, style becomes a most untrustworthy criterion, we cannot even be sure that there was steady decadence, at any time a good engraver might come across from Asia and raise the level.

1 Since Koehne's day attention to publishing Spartocid coins has been given by Prince Sibirtskij (quite fantastic), Chabouillet, von Sallet, Orëshnikov (Zur Münzkunde. Com. Bozh, the most valuable), Burachkov, Podshivalov. Trans. Od. Soc. XV. p. 13, the best photographs), Leiphoof-Blumer (who puts them all into the 11th century B.C.), Latyshev (from the historical side, IorP.E. II. p. xxix.), Giel, Skoropl (Hygienon) and Bertier-de-la-Garde, Num. Mfc. II. Mat. for Stathmological Investigations, p. 58, who alone gives all the weights, see Bibliography.
Coins bear three names known in Bosporan history, Spartocas, Leucon and Paerisades, and one, Hygiaenon, that occurs on Bosporan tiles with the title of Archon; a fifth name, Aces, otherwise unknown but not without analogues, appears on a coin assigned to the Bosporus on the ground of its close resemblance to the staters of Paerisades and Hygiaenon.

One thing is clear, that we have no coins of the older Spartocidas who refrained from the title of king except in connexion with the barbarous tribes. There is no coin older than Spartocas IV, or at most Paerisades II. Coinage was the only sovereign act that we can attribute to the cities of Panticapaeum and Phanagoria.

Spartocas only coined silver, Leucon only copper, and Aces only gold; Hygiaenon certainly coined gold and silver, perhaps copper as well. Electrum and gold staters and a silver tetradrachm bear the name Paerisades. The gold coins go together being all modelled on the staters of Lysimachus and showing on the reverse his Pallas Nicephoros (cf. p. 448, l. 329 bis).

The eleven surviving staters with the name Paerisades all come under the description applied to Pl. vi. 20, 21, but they seem to fall into four groups as they differ among themselves in execution and the cast and features upon the obverse and also in the monograms upon the reverse and in weight. These particulars, the history and the chief publications of each coin, may be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Weight (gm.)</th>
<th>Monogram</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Monogram</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>130.2</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td>in field</td>
<td>nothing under seat.</td>
<td>Once Pr. Sibiričkis now Giel Coll.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>130.3</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>in field</td>
<td>A under seat</td>
<td>Artjuchov's Barrow, Grave II: Hermitage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>130.9</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>under seat</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Giel, TRAS v. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>129.3</td>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>under seat</td>
<td>Terlecki Coll. now Prowe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both in letters to V. V. Skorop and I. Terlecki: Oręšnikov, Num. Misc. ii. (1912).

"Coins of Chersonese &c." p. 37. Pl. i. Nos. 2, 3, puts the first in Group II, the second in a group by its self, but to my eye the Hunter specimen links them together.

With the staters goes the tetradrachm lately acquired by H. I. H. Alexej Michaelovich:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Weight (gm.)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R.</td>
<td>217.6</td>
<td>Head of Paerisades r., bearded and filleted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>217.6</td>
<td>Pallas Nicephoros as before; K in field; nothing under seat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I cannot feel that there is much essential difference between the first three groups. The head in all is decidedly idealized though the Ammon horn of the Alexander model is not reproduced, it is a kind of compromise; the work on Sibirskij’s example is finer than on the others, and the hair is rather stiff in group III, none come near a good Lysimachus; so too the average weight is decidedly inferior to the general run of the Lysimachi in the Anadol hoard buried somewhere circa B.C. 270. The time of Paerisades II is possible, and the style of the things in Artjukhov’s barrow (v. p. 430) agrees, unless our judgment of it is founded on this very coin, but if we knew of a Paerisades about 250 B.C.—perhaps the father of Philometer might do—he would suit the coins better. The head on the tetradrachm is certainly a portrait, for it has a slight beard not unlike those worn by Prusias I and II (B.C. 220—149), and this makes for about the same date; the features to my eye resemble those on Sibirskij’s stater. Group IV shows the light weight and rude workmanship of the Pseudo-Lysimachian staters issued in the western Euxine towards the end of the 3rd century B.C. and first half of the 1st; on such appear the features of Mithridates and Pharnaces, and no doubt we have here those of Paerisades, probably Philometer or a later king if such there were: they show a decided resemblance to Spartocus. The monogram under the bust is no doubt IIA for Panticapaeum, cf. the BY of Byzantium and the TY of Tyre (v. supra p. 448). The trident and dolphins in the exergue also appear in the western Euxine.

There is therefore no proof that the unique stater at Paris inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΚρΟΥ (13 1/17 grn. = 8 1/3 grm.; the head has the horn of Ammon, and so is not a portrait) belongs to a king of Bosphorus; accordingly Chabouillet (p. 3) assigns it to a Thracian or Scythian dynasty. Imhoof-Blumer (op. cit. p. 35) was first to prefer Bosphorus on account of the general likeness; judging by weight and style it ought to come rather earlier than the better Paerisades coins though the A (also found on the tetradrachm) and the absence of Athena’s spear suggest lateness; the name would be the masculine counterpart of ΑΧΙΣ which has occurred in the Spartocid house.

As to Hygiaenon the tiles with ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΣ / ΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝΤΩΣ settle the matter, and so Aces is probably Bosphoran also; Hygiaenon’s silver coin was first found and next the gold stater (Pl. vi. 19), lastly Škorpil has announced a copper (loc. Pl. 1. 3).

A. Head r. with long back hair.

Horseman charging r. with raised spear, chlamys flying behind. In front Λ; below, ΜΡ; between, ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΣ / ΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝΤΩΣ.

but he tells me that Bertier-de-La-Garde doubts its belonging to Hygiaenon.

1. BCA. III. p. 38.
4. ΑΧΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Άκρως.
7. 125: full list Škorpil, ‘The date of the Archon Hygiaenon’s rule,” *Babirissky Misc.* pp. 34, 35; ff. 1, 2.
9. Pl. 1. 2. figures a better specimen.
The silver coin looks of the 11th century, the lettering of the tiles 11th, the stater in weight 129.32 grm. comes between the better and the worse Paerisades, but the style is better than any, the hair rather recalls the Panticapaean "macaroni" (v. inf. p. 628). The head is certainly a portrait though slightly idealized, it is without the divine horn or the regal diadem. The sum of all this points to Aces in the latter part of the 11th century followed by Hygiaeon and a Paerisades early in the 11th.

Luecon's coins, being copper, are naturally much the commonest. They are rough in style and rather worn. The lettering on all three varieties (Pl. vi. 16, 17, 18) is very similar, and there is no reason to give them to more than one king. The heads of Heracles (Pl. vi. 16, occasionally the reverse has the bow other way up and above the club) and of Athena are derived from types of Alexander, but that is the only guide to the date. Against putting them down to Luecon II, of whom Ovid speaks, is the presumption that he had a short reign, but we are hardly justified in inventing for them a Luecon III in the 11th century B.C.

Spartocus has only left one single coin (Pl. vi. 15, in the Rumjantsev Museum at Moscow) in poor preservation; von Sallet thought the \( \text{E} \) was \( \text{E} \), and put it accordingly into the 11th century, assigning it to Spartocus, the father of Cnasaraye. On the whole the general style points that way rather than to the 11th, and further the head bears a distinct resemblance to the Paerisades on the worst variety (Pl. vi. 21), i.e. probably to his grandson Philometor.

**Mithridates and Pharnaces.**

Mithridates, by defending Chersonese and driving the Scythians out of the Bosporus, gained throughout the Greek world the reputation of a champion of Hellenism. Also he added to his ancestral dominions a district from which in the future he could draw men, money and supplies. The Crimea and Sindica paid him a tribute of 180,000 medimni of wheat and 200 talents of silver, and we find troops from these parts enumerated among his forces. Not less valuable was the access he thereby gained to recruiting grounds which supplied levies more martial if not more trustworthy than the commercial Greeks. It was because he had profited by continuous relations with the barbarians of the interior and had long been used to enrol under his banners Scythians, Tauri and Sarmatae, as well as Bastarnae, Thracians and Kelts further west, that he formed his great scheme of marching on Italy from the north and rolling up all these nations to overwhelm it. It is probably at this time that Mithridates received the allegiance of Olbia formerly subject to Scilurus (v. p. 463). Neoptolemus was his most likely agent, as we find his name attached to a tower at the mouth of the Tyrs, and probably Tyrs town also joined him.

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1. Th. Reinach, *Mithridates*, p. 190, n. 4, p. 391, makes Hygiaeon rebel against Mithridates in 86 B.C.; but he did not know the stater and cannot have paid enough attention to the lettering of the tiles.

2. Burckov, XXIV, 1.


4. Appian, XII, 15, 41; Bosporans even captured Roman standards, Orisius, VI, xxii, 28.

At first Mithridates seems to have ruled by deputy the provinces that his deputy had won for him. The first war with Rome forced him to subject them to a heavy tribute and probably interfered with their trade, also the Scythian danger may have appeared less serious now that it had been diverted; similar causes acted in Colchis and both dependencies revolted. Colchis was quickly reduced and Mithridates put in as viceroy his son of the same name.

Against Bosporus a large expedition was being prepared when Murena, wishing for a cheap triumph, alleged that the Roman power was the real objective of so powerful a force and claimed to be merely anticipating Mithridates in declaring war. So for two years the attention of the king was occupied by the "second" war with Rome. After the defeat of Murena and the conclusion of peace (81 B.C.) Mithridates was free to deal with Bosporus, which he speedily reconquered. About this period come the exploits of Neoptolemus, who defeated the natives both on the ice and on the water of the Bosporus, but an expedition against the wild tribes of the Caucasus coast was destroyed. Meanwhile Machaeres was installed as viceroy of Bosporus (B.C. 79). What his title may have been we do not know, as no coins bearing his name have come down to us. At first during the course of the ensuing war with Rome he continued faithful and forwarded to his father reinforcements and provisions, so that he was allowed to add to his dominions the satrapy of Colchis. Accordingly he refused supplies to Cotta during the siege of Heraclea (72 B.C.). But when Fortune had definitely declared herself upon the side of Rome and Mithridates in great straits after the disastrous retreat from Cyzicus sent across for help, Diocles, his envoy to the Scythians, deserted to Lucullus, taking with him the money entrusted to him, and Machaeres withheld his support. During the flight of Mithridates into Armenia, Machaeres was practically independent, still he had the grace to send grain to besieged Sinope. Finally he gave in to Lucullus and made a treaty with him, offering him a gold wreath and supplying with corn the besiegers of Sinope instead of the beleaguered city. At this juncture Olbia appears to have sent help to the besieged.

After his final defeat in 67 B.C. and the desertion of Tigranes, when the West, the South and the East were closed to him, Mithridates put his hopes in the North. Colchis had not followed its ruler Machaeres in his desertion, but seems to have reverted to a kind of neutral independence. He found there no opposition to his flight, and wintered in Dioscurias (66/5 B.C.). From here he stirred up the Iberians and Albanians and gave Pompey some trouble in his pursuit. When the latter arrived in the basin of the Phasis Mithridates had fled; his last hope was to win back the kingdom of Machaeres. He could not go by sea, for a Roman squadron was watching the coast. He had to make his way along the steep southern slope of the Caucasus, through

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1 So he did in Colchis, Strabo, XIV. ii. 18, επηκείνατο δ' α' α' του των φλαμον θαρρειοι και δαναηθη

2 81 B.C., Appian, XII. 64; Reinach, Mithridates, p. 201.

3 Strabo, VII. iii. 18.

4 Appian, XII. 67.

5 Memnon, I. 53.

6 Memnon, I. 49.

7 B.C. 70; Appian, XII. 83; Memnon, I. 53.

8 B.C. 72; Appian, XII. 83; Memnon, I. 49.

9 B.C. 70; Appian, XII. 83; Memnon, I. 53.

10 B.C. 71; Appian, XII. 101 sqq.
tribes whose reputation for savagery was unsurpassed in the ancient world. The Heniochi were friendly, but the Zygii were so hostile that he had to take to boats and so get round to the Achaei, who were also well disposed.

When Machaeres learned that his father had come through this unexampled journey, he did not dare to measure his strength against even such a small force as he had brought, but sent envoys to try and turn away his wrath, and knowing him too well to have faith in their efficacy, burned all the ships he could and put the strait between his father and himself. When other ships were found and sent after him, he slew himself after having been ruler of Bosporus fourteen years and almost independent for the last seven (71—65 B.C.).

Although the last acts of Mithridates and his death are the most dramatic events in the history of Bosporus (well is the hill of Kerch called Mount Mithridates), they are too familiar to make it necessary to describe them in detail. Filled with his great scheme of invading Italy from the north, Mithridates relaxed no efforts to collect and equip an army; for this he disdained neither bond nor free, spared no wood, not even the oxen for the plough, laid the heaviest taxes upon even the smallest property and allowed his agents to make these exactions insolently, being unable to look after them himself because of some disfiguring disease which kept him in his castle. Further, the Roman fleet was blockading the whole peninsula and an earthquake (64 B.C.) added to the economic ruin. Moreover, in spite of his energy and the fact that the aged king had created a new army and a new fleet, all felt that the star of Rome was in the ascendant and had lost their former confidence and loyalty. Finally, the Roman deserters who formed a corps whose very position made them trustworthy, were disturbed at the prospect of attacking their motherland of Italy.

The spark to make the explosion came from Phanagoria. Castor the governor, illtreated by one of the king's eunuchs, slew him and roused the people. The acropolis held out. In it were five children of Mithridates, who gave themselves up. One, Cleopatra, would not yield and was rescued by her father. Following Phanagoria's example, Chersonese, Theodosia, Nymphaeum, and the other places of which Mithridates had lately got possession, revolted. Then he began to have doubts of his own troops. In a last hope of strengthening himself he sent two of his daughters as brides to Scythian kings asking for speedy help; but their military escort slew the eunuchs in charge and handed the girls over to Pompey. Yet even so Mithridates did not despair of his Italian campaign. Then his favourite son Pharnaces, whom he had designated as his heir, fearing that on the failure of this great enterprise the forces of the kingdom would be utterly exhausted, and the Romans embittered beyond hope of appeasement, determined to seize the kingdom while there was yet a kingdom to seize. His plot was discovered and his confederates tortured, but he was spared. The very next night he went and tampered with the Roman deserters and easily won them over and

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1 Strabo, XI, ii, 13; Appian, XII, 102, says the Achaei were put to flight. The tribes do not seem to have been as hostile as they might have been. Perhaps Machaeres, to ensure his convoys on their way across to Sinope, had been putting down their piracies.

2 Appian, XII, 102; Dio Cassius, XXXVI, 1, 2, says he was slain by his own friends.

3 Reimach, pp. 402 sqq.; cf. Appian, XII, 107; Dio Cassius, XXXVIII, 4, 9 sqq.; Orosius, VI, 4, 5, V.

4 Plutarch, Pompey, XXXIX.

5 Dio Cassius, XXXVIII, 6, 1; Orosius, VI, 4, 1.
the fleet too. In the confusion many corps came over because they thought the matter already decided.

Mithridates went out to speak to the rebels, but it was too late, he barely escaped from them alive. Returning to the castle he watched from the terrace while Pharnaces was crowned king with a strip of papyrus from a temple near. When there came again none of his messengers whom he sent asking to be allowed to depart safely, he thanked his faithful friends and guards and sent them over to the new king.

So he prepared to die. The poison which he carried with him failed to act, though it sufficed for his two daughters Mithridatis and Nyssa. Too weak to slay himself, he had to ask this last service of Bituitus, a Gaulish chieftain who had long followed him faithfully. So he died at the age of sixty-nine, having been overlord of the Bosporus for more than forty years. Pharnaces sent the body over to Sinope, where it was buried by Pompey in the royal tomb.

Pharnaces asked either for all his ancestral dominions, or at least for the Bosporus as ruled over by Machares. Pompey, while admitting him as a friend and ally of the Roman People in return for the service he had done in ridding it of its great enemy, granted him the Bosporus only, and exempted from his rule the city of Phanagoria, because it gave the signal for revolt.

With this arrangement Pharnaces had to content, and he occupied himself in extending his power over the tribes to the east of the Maeotis, so that his frontiers reached to the Tanais. One of these tribes, the Dardarri, he conquered by flooding their country from an arm of the Hypanis, so they must have dwelt in its northern delta. About 48 B.C. he thought that the Romans being preoccupied with the civil war, he had an opportunity of regaining his father's kingdom. First he seems to have retaken Phanagoria (if indeed he could keep his hands off it so long), but treated it with clemency. Next he overran Colchis and the former kingdom of Pontus, defeating Cn. Domitius Calvinus and fancying himself as great as his father. However, he received the news that Asander, whom he had left as governor of Bosporus, had revolted, so he turned back and on his way encountered Caesar at Zela, to be utterly defeated (B.C. 47).

He made his peace with Rome as best he could, and fled back to Bosporus, for he did not despair of regaining his authority there. So he raised a force of natives and recovered Theodosia and Panticapaeum, but was hemmed in and slain by Asander.

Now Asander had risen in the hope that the Romans would be favourable and give him the dominion of the country; but Caesar, disgusted by his treachery, named as king one Mithridates, said to be son of the great Mithridates by a Gaulish mistress, Adobogionis, wife of Menodotus of Pergamum. However, this Mithridates of Pergamum was defeated and slain by the native claimant, and for the next few years the Romans were much too taken up with their own affairs to disturb Asander.
Little light is thrown by coins upon the history of Bosporus under Mithridates or Pharnaces. The former struck his large silver in Asia Minor and left the cities their small change: certain copper coins with the monogram have been referred to him coining for some reason under the name of Eupator, but their style seems later (v. p. 603). Pharnaces issued gold staters as Great King of Kings from A.D. (see below) 243 to 247 = B.C. 55 to 51, when, as far as we know, his rule was confined to Bosporus (Pl. vi. 23).

**Genealogy of Kings of Pontus and Bosporus: B.C. 100 to A.D. 100.**

Rulers claiming Bosporus in capitals. Pretenders' names in brackets.

**Mithridates Eupator Dionysus—Adobogionis—Menodotus**

(VI of Pontic Cappadocia, I of Bosporus

Overlord 110–63 B.C.)

**Machares**

(79–65 B.C.)

**Pharnaces**

(VII II [II]

Pergamon (47 B.C.)

Zeno

Laodiceus

Pythodorus = Antonia Traillanis

Antonia = M. Antonius Hvir.

**Glycera**

= Asander (47–17/16 B.C.)

= Dymahas = Scribonius (reigning in 17/16 B.C.)

= Polemo I = Pythodorus = Archelaus

(K. of Cappadocia d. 17 A.D.)

Rheminiales I

(Rhescoporis III)

(K. of Thrace)

= Stephanus

= Tryphaena

= Cotys V Sapaes (K. of Thrace)

= Antonia

(Rhescutoris I [II]

[68/6–91/2 A.D.]

Sauromates I

[91/2–123 A.D.]

Mithridates VIII

(VII or III]

[39–49 A.D.] and later)

= Cotys I = Eupodice

[45–62 A.D.]

= Rhoemetaleis II

(K. of Thrace, mediatised 43 A.D.)

Kotys

(K. of Lesser Armenia)

= Cotys

(K. of Pontus and Cilicia till 63 A.D.)

Polemo II

(Titular K. of Bosporus 38–41 A.D.)

Mithridates Eupator, besides being the most picturesque figure in Bosporan history, did it a very definite service, being held responsible for the introduction into it of the era by which subsequent kings dated their coins and inscriptions*. This Bosporan era, as we shall call it, inasmuch as it was used on the Bosporus much longer than anywhere else, originated in Bithynia,

* Pharnaces I in App. 17 = B.C. XIV. p. 23, n. 1 (v. p. 518) seems to make B.C. 179 the 127th year of an era otherwise unknown, perhaps reckoned from B.C. 334, the accession of Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes, whom Lüder calls Cistus, giving as his successors Mithr. II, Ariobarzanes, Mithr. III, Pharnaces I, Mithr. IV Philopator Philadelphia, Mithr. V Euergetes and Mithr. Eupator, to whom as against E. Meyer and Reinach he restores the traditional VI.
where it probably commemorated the year in which Zipoetes raised that principality to the rank of a kingdom. The point from which it is reckoned is the autumnal equinox of B.C. 297 = A.D.C. 457. The months are those of the Macedonian Kalender; we have no names of Bosphoran months before its introduction, probably they were after the Milesian pattern as at Olbia and Tyras (p. 472). The era first appears upon the coins of Nicomedes II in B.C. 148/7 and continues till the death of Nicomedes III in B.C. 74/3. Mithridates, during a close political and commercial alliance with Bithynia, issued his famous tetradrachms bearing date A.B. (Anno Bithyniae seu Bospori) 202 = B.C. 96/5 and subsequent years, and statera from A.B. 205 = B.C. 93/2. They probably circulated in Bosphorus, and were in themselves sufficient to familiarize his subjects with the era. Pharmaces II also put these dates on his coins, which were no doubt issued in Bosphorus. The first coin distinctively Bosporan on which the era is used bears date A.B. 281 = B.C. 17/6 (Fig. 347) and belongs to Dynamis, wife of Asander, ruling alone after her husband's death. The first dated inscription bears the name of Aspurgus and the year —. It usually read E B T, but quite possibly E B T, giving the dates A.B. 313 or 325 = A.D. 17 or 29; the last date known is A.B. 794 = A.D. 497/8.

Asander and Dynamis.

The first mention of Asander seems to be in the Nymphaean inscription quoted on p. 561, according to which he had a first wife Glycaria. It would also be a witness to his importance at Nymphaeum, and this may have been the reason why that city revolted before any other. The literary references do not tell us who he was, but speak of his personal antagonism to Pharmaces: this makes it hard to understand why the latter, during his time of power, did not make away with him and how his daughter Dynamis came to be Asander's wife. The most natural explanation is that he had his own following in the country, due, it is suggested, to his representing the Spartocid tradition, and was too strong to be attacked; so Pharmaces early in his reign, when Asander would be about fifty, thought that he would attach him to himself by giving him his daughter to wife, and afterwards trusted him to the extent of leaving him in charge of the kingdom during his expedition to Asia. The common idea that Asander at the age of 63 married Dynamis just after he had killed her father is almost too much even for the 1st century B.C. 4; it is founded on the gratuitous assumption that Pharmaces only had one daughter, the one whom he offered in marriage to Caesar before Zela. The account of Asander in Dio Cassius (LIV. xxiv.) is that he married Dynamis, daughter to Pharmaces

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2 BCA. X. p. 96, No. 107. 4 IoSE. II. 364.

3 Skoril, BCA. XXXVII. p. 21; Prince Shibishe, Trans. Oth. Soc. X. p. 56; Bertrin-de-la-Garde, ib. XXXIX. (1911), "Coins of Rulers of the Cimmerian Bosphorus determined by Monograms," p. 181. To this last article, though I have not been able to accept all its positions, I have been most indebted throughout the next fifteen pages.

4 Appian, XIII. 91.
and so granddaughter to Mithridates¹, and that by 14 B.C. he was dead and his wife, after taking over the power, had married first an adventurer Scribonius and afterwards the Roman nominee Polemo. Lucian² says that Asander was raised by Augustus from ἄρχων to king, was a first-rate soldier at the age of ninety and starved himself to death at the age of ninety-three when he saw his men deserting to Scribonius³. This would place his birth about 108 B.C. Strabo adds (vii. iv. 6) that he defended the isthmus across to the Maeotis with a wall 360 stades long with ten towers to the stade, trusting thereby to keep off the Scythians without paying them tribute⁴.

On the east side of the Maeotis he established his rule as far as the Tanais⁵, and probably repressed the pirates unlike the Bosporan rulers who gave them a refuge and market for their spoils⁶: sea-power is suggested by his coins and his admiral's dedication⁷. This inscription proves that his royalty was recognized by Rome (in it first occurs the epithet φιλορωματος) and mentions his wife Dynamis. The evidence of coins bears out the other information, but just fails to tell us anything fresh. We have his gold coins for 29 years. For the first ten or so they weigh the same as those of Pharmaces, 125'6 grm.=8'14 grm., afterwards coming down to the weight of a Roman aureus, 127'9 grm.=8'93 grm.⁸ For the first three years he bore the title of archon and put on his coins the heads of Octavian (1 and 2) and Antonius (3⁹). In the fourth he also figures as king and lets his own head appear, and so henceforth, e.g. Pl. vi. 26 with date KH=28: unluckily he did not use the Bosporan era, and we do not know from what date to reckon.

His wife Dynamis represented the Mithridatic tradition and put the date A.B. 281 (= B.C. 17/16, A.U.C. 737/8) on her solitary stater, which shows us that in that year she was reigning alone as queen and had not yet married Scribonius. Reckoning back 28 complete years we have B.C. 44=A.U.C. 709/10 as the latest date when Asander can have begun to coin as archon. That would just allow us to suppose that as long as Caesar, the friend of Mithridates Pergamenus, was alive he kept quiet, but on the news of his death the title of archon, received the acquiescence of Octavian, then fully occupied in avenging his uncle's murder, and put his effigy upon his coins. For this he substituted that of Antony upon the latter's coming east in A.U.C. 712, and next year was allowed by the concurrence of Octavian

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2. If M. Acrobutus be Lucian's, c. 17.  
3. Dio Cassius, liv. xxiv. 4, implies some interval between the death of Asander and the appearance of Scribonius.  
4. Because of the length mentioned this wall is generally supposed to be across the isthmus of Theodosia, and the remains of a bank there still exist: but even this has only half the breadth required, and at this time the kings of Bosporus ruled as far as Chersonese and did not want protection on this line. Strabo (vii. iv. 1), speaking of the isthmus of Perekop, says that it is forty stades broad, but that other authors give it as 360. This 360 may be due to his authority reckoning right across from the bay of Carcinites to the open Maeotis at Genciched, then it is not far out. A wall 360 stades long, with ten towers to the stade, would take up a most enormous force to defend it: one of 40 stades would naturally be very closely fortified. The mention of the number of the towers suggests that Strabo meant the isthmus of Perekop and merely adopted the wrong reckoning of the distance across, v. supra, p. 16, n. 6.  
5. Strabo, xi. ii. 11.  
8. BMC Pontus etc. Pl. x. 10 shows ΘΚ=29.  
9. 1 Giel, KT. B. Pl. ii. 22; (2) B. xxxiv. 41 after Slirschki; (3) Orskshnikov, Cat. Ætropore, p. 62.
and Antony to assume the style of king, a licence attributed by Lucian to Augustus. This is essentially Órëshëënov's explanation and does account for the facts—only it requires us to assume that Asander died early in his year 29 and that Dynamis issued her coin very soon after. As archon, Asander hastily coined a great deal of bronze bearing a ship's prow all restruck on already existing coins either of Panticapaeum and Phanagoria or of Sinope and Amisos (v. inf. p. 630 and Pl. vi, 24, 25), but as king he seems to have confined himself to gold. Perhaps he had supplied the demand by his hasty reminting. Apparently he feared that to assume the title of archon, strike coins and reckon his rule from the date of his rebellion against Pharnaces, a rebellion so definitely disapproved by Caesar, would have been to flout the suzerain claims of the Romans and might lead to their sending fresh nominees like Mithridates of Pergamum, or at any rate make them unready to allow him the full title of king, the unauthorized assumption of which they could not have overlooked. In any case we may reckon the extreme years of his rule B.C. 47/46 = A.D.C. 707/8 = A.B.C. 251, and B.C. 47/46 = A.D.C. 737/8 = A.B. 281.

Dynamis then was queen in this latter year, but on the appearance of an adventurer Scribonius, who claimed to be a grandson of Mithridates named by Augustus to succeed upon Asander's death, she took him for her husband. Upon this Agrippa, who was at Sinope settling the affairs of Asia, sent across Polemo, king of Asiatic Pontus, to slay Scribonius and take possession of the kingdom. He found that the Bosphorans had already unmasked and slain the impostor, but were by no means ready to accept as king the member of an upstart dynasty, and they did not yield to Agrippa's decision until he came himself to support it. This is all put down to the year A.D.C. 740 = B.C. 14 = A.B. 283.

Dynamis professed special gratitude to Augustus. Accordingly she set up statues to him at Panticapaeum and Phanagoria. At the latter town she also set up one to Livia. In these, no more than upon her staters or the complimentary inscription of the Agrippians, is there any mention of her husband. It has been supposed that they were the expression of her gratitude for the alliance with Polemo, but rather she was still hoping for the favour of being left alone as queen-regent to bring up her son, or more probably grandson,

1 For Asander, v. p. 391 n. 4 and the following: von Sallet, whose Doctor's dissertation was De Asandro et Polesone quarantae chronologicae et numismatiae, Berlin, 1865, amplified into R. M. N. p. 37. Geogr. u. Num. d. K. u. d. Ch. Hop. u. d. Pontus, ib. 1866, thinks Julius Caesar recognized A. so that his coins begin in A.D.C. 708, = B.C. 46/5; Waddington, Rev. Num. n.s. xi. (1868) p. 417, dates his archonship from the death of Pharnaces, B.C. 47; Burzackov, General Catalogue, p. 190, 191, Pl. xxi. 41–50, begins with 45 B.C., and Giel, K.T. pp. 45, 11, agrees with von Sallet; these are all well summarized by Latschew, Jassy. ii. pp. xxxvii–xxxviii, but he comes to no conclusion. Giel, TRAS. vii. p. 225, Pl. xix. 60 goes over to Orëshënov's view as put forth in Catalog. of Coins of Cis-Usurral Coins, Pt. vj. pp. 62–68, v. esp. No. 471, the stater of Dynamis, supra Fig. 347. Brandis, s.v. Bosphorus, P.-H.'s pp. 777–779, makes Asander date from his first rising against Pharnaces in 48/7, and so gives Dynamis some years of solitary reign. But he sees the head of Asander on all his coins alike, which is absurd: Asander certainly did not put his own head upon the coins of years 1 and 2, though Wroth's Tr. A.G. Pontus, p. xxxvi, and Regling with Hennig (Berliner Münzsblätter, xlii. 1908, p. 86) think that he did in year 3. These latter take the head on years 1 and 2 to be Antony; I am very much inclined to find Antony on all these years. I regret not having seen V. Voigt, De Asandro Bospori Regis, Kiew, 1894.

2 Ótros, Liv. xxiv.4–6.
3 Ótros, vii. 9. (Augustus) omnes Ponti maritimae csitarres R. dicit imperio; Ótros, Luc. Euseb. xi. 191. 3.
4 App. 40 = Ótros. ii. 201.
5 ib. II. 354.
6 ib. IV. 420.
7 App. 41 = Ótros. ii. 356.
Aspurgus. But the success of Scribonius shewed that this could not be allowed by Rome, though it was probably for this that the Bosporans fought against Polemo. Dynamis, as a daughter of Pharnaces, must have been an elderly bride and probably did not long trouble Polemo, as within a few years we find him married to Pythodoris.

Polemo I and Pythodoris.

Polemo had no possible right to the Bosporus. The princes, vassals of the Empire, formed at this time a special class whose members from Mauretania to Bosporus and from Judaea to Thrace intermarried and were regarded as interchangeable. Polemo was raised into this class by Antony. His father Zeno, a rhetor of Laodicea, had bravely defended his native city against the Parthians, the son was made king, first of Lycaonia, next of Pontus and finally of Little Armenia. Although he supported Antony at Actium he did not lose the favour of Augustus, and Agrippa thought him a suitable instrument for securing the obedience of the Bosporus.

His second wife Pythodorus belonged to a similar family. Her father Pythodorus was a great man at Tralles, as rich as a king and a close friend of Pompey's. This brought upon him confiscations, but his wealth carried him through. He married Antonia, eldest daughter of the triumvir by his second wife Antonia.

So Polemo and his wife belonged to the Antonians, but this did not prevent their being highly favoured by Augustus. Towards the end of his life he reigned over most of the countries that formed the kingdom of Mithridates. He subdued Colchis, continued the conquest of the eastern coast of the Maeotis, and on a lack of obedience on the part of the colony of Tanais utterly ravaged it.

Polemo met his death while making a treacherous attack upon the Aspurgians, whom Strabo (x. ii. 11; xii. iii. 29) regards as a tribe of barbarians living in a space of five hundred stades between Phanagoria and Gorgippia. This is the first we hear of the Aspurgians, and it can hardly be a coincidence that Aspurgus is the name of the next king of whom we know, the rightful heir of Asander. It would be natural to suppose them to be a political party of his adherents having its chief strength in that part of the country but that the name occurs in inscriptions, Λατούργιαν, being one of the officers of the Bosporan monarchy in the latter part of the second century A.D.

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1 I cannot but think that she was only divorced and regained power, so that the O coins (Pl. VII. 1) were struck by her from A.D. 289 to B.C. 98. 16. A.D. 304 = A.D. 78 perhaps as regent for Aspurgus.
2 P. C. Sardis, The Client Princes of the Roman Empire under the Republic, just stops short of this period.
3 Strabo, x. iii. 26; viii. 16.
4 Strabo, xii. 1. 42. 2. 43. 1.
6 Strabo, xii. ii. 16.
7 Strabo, xi. ii. 3. speaks of this having taken place near the place beyond: and from this it has been argued that Polemo lived to within a few years of 10 A.D., when Strabo was still writing: but as we do not know his method of composition or to how much revision he subjected his notes, this is no criterion. The sack of Tanais may have happened thirty years before.
8 Iow. P. E. 12. 29 (= App. 61), 431, 431.
settlement, perhaps made up of mercenaries whom he had used against Polemo and established on the land side of the Taman Peninsula. This region would, as Brandis (p. 780) says, be called τὰ 'Ασσοργιάνδα and count as a local division of the kingdom beside ἡ νῆσος and the others (v. p. 613). That Strabo was so little clear about them would argue that Polemo's death was not very fresh in his mind, but we have no information as to when it happened. It seems likely that the Bosporan coins, which begin in A.D. 289 = B.C. 9/8, imply that he was no longer king; in any case Pythodorus married Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, about 8 A.D. Polemo struck a few pieces, but they are not connected with Bosporus (Pl. vi. 27): as he did not represent the Mithridatic tradition he did not use the Bosporan era.

Pythodorus succeeded to Polemo's kingdom, but we do not know whether Bosporus was included: Strabo (xii. iii. 29) says nothing of it in his account of her dominions, but that may refer to after 17 A.D., when she had been left a widow by Archelaus. She seems to have retained her rule in Asia Minor until succeeded by her grandson Polemo II, and also directed affairs in Thrace, where her eldest daughter Antonia Tryphaena was married to King Cotys V Sapaces. She has left coins with the dates 60 and 63 of the Actian era, both with heads of Augustus and one dated 60 with that of Tiberius. The reverse types, Capricorn (Pl. vi. 28) and Scales, refer to the horoscope of Augustus, his conception and birth.¹

Aspurgus to Rhescoporis I.

The assertion of Roman power by the forced marriage of Dynamis to Polemo, almost coinciding with the assumption by Augustus of the sole right to coin gold and the limitation of all other coinage rights, is the starting point of a period in Bosporan history beset with curious difficulty due to the jealousy with which the Romans controlled the issues of the Bosporan mint. For the first few years it was absolutely closed; then in A.D. 289 = B.C. 9/8 there begins the series of dated auri which continues until the 11th century A.D.; this would furnish a satisfactory chronological framework, but for the fact that not until A.D. 377 = A.D. 80/1, save for two significant exceptions, do we find a full name and a king's portrait upon a gold coin. Instead we have but monograms: θ (Pl. vii. 1), A.D. 289—304 = B.C. 9/8 to A.D. 7/8; θ (ib. 2), A.D. 305, 306 = A.D. 8/9, 9/10; θ and the like (ib. 3), A.D. 307—310 = A.D. 10/11—13/14; θ and the like (ib. 4), A.D. 311—334 = A.D. 14/15—37/8; θ (ib. 6), A.D. 334, 335 = A.D. 37/8—38/9; then two auri with the name Mithridates, A.D. 336 (ib. 10), 336 = A.D. 39/40, 41/2; afterwards θ (cf. ib. 19), A.D. 342—357 = A.D. 45/6—60/1; θ (ib. 22), A.D. 359—


² The table on p. 611 gives every year of the Bosporan era that appears on a coin during this period.
A.D. 62/3 and Ἀὐλου (Pl. vii. 23). A.D. 365—374 = A.D. 68/9—77/8; the heads too rarely present recognizable features, though after Bertier-de-la-Garde's exposition (v. infra, p. 601) we may take it that they all represent Romans and not Bosporan rulers. Ἀὐλος and Ἐλεός are certainly for Cotys and Rhescuporis, as dated inscriptions attest, unfortunately they do not exactly determine the accession of either, but when Ἐλεός was appearing upon coins an inscription mentions Aspurgus and uncertainties rise. The coins have not even dates, those with Ἐλεός and Ἀὐλος are quite puzzling, they do not bear portraits either; those with Ἐλος and Ἀὐλος are not all certainly contemporaneous with the gold that bears those marks. Mithridates and Gepaepyrus appear in full upon coppers, but they are certainly as exceptional as that king's gold: Cotys and Rhescuporis use names as well as monograms, one gets round the law by an artifice, the other at last attains freedom to put his image and superscription on both gold and copper. The heads on the coppers with monograms are some help in checking the dates on the gold, being mostly inscribed Roman portraits.

In one case (ib. 21) Nero allows not even a Bosporan monogram, just as he has his own on gold in A.D. 59 (ib. 22); occasionally we have heads of Bosporan rulers apparently defined by the monograms ΠΕ, Α, Αμ and Αμ. This is all that the coins yield readily and certainly.

Before embarking upon conjectures it seems best to see what is definitely known from authors and from inscriptions, both sources of knowledge being very scanty just when the monograms are most enigmatic. The first name we meet is that of Aspurgus mentioned in no author; but a servi manumissio from Phanagoria tells us that he was reigning in A.D. 313 = A.D. 17, or else perhaps A.D. 325. We have no certain knowledge of the limits of his reign, though the coins allow us to make a guess at any rate at the closing date.

On the base of his statue were set out his titles, from which we know that he ruled over the whole Bosporan kingdom and right up to Tanais; but Chersonese is not mentioned, for it had now regained its freedom, though somehow his name occurs in an inscription there. We learn also that he was acknowledged by Rome (ὁμολογούσα as well as φιλορώματος) and was called the son of Asander (Ἀσανδρόφυτος). Coins (e.g. Pl. vii. 20) and inscriptions shew that he was father to Cotys; Tacitus and Petrus Patricius call Cotys brother to Mithridates VIII (III), so we have the names of two sons. It is at least possible that Gepaepyrus was his wife (v. p. 601).

Dio Cassius (lx. xii. 2) says that in 39 A.D. Gaius granted to Polemo the son (or rather grandson) of Polemo all his father's dominions. Later on (lx. viii. 2) he says that in 41 A.D. Claudius granted Bosporus to Mithridates, a descendant of the great Mithridates, and ceded to Polemo part of Cilicia in exchange. But we have the aureus (Pl. vii. 10) with an Emperor's head on one side and on the other Nike, the name of Mithridates in full and the date A.D. 336 = A.D. 39/40, and another with the date A.D. 338 = A.D. 41/2

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1 InsPE, ii. 364, v. supra p. 591.
2 App. 42 = InsPE, ii. 36.
3 InsPE, iv. 147.
4 App. 44, 45 = InsPE, ii. 32, 37.
to shew that he was exercising sovran rights long before the grant to Polemo was revoked. We do not know the reasons for the Roman policy; perhaps Gaius, who had his intuitions, distrusted Mithridates, and the highly connected Zenonids took the opportunity of a change at Bosporus to urge a claim, which, though Polemo II does not seem to have gone to the country, brought him compensation nearer home. The coins of Polemo and his mother Antonia Tryphaena have nothing to do with Bosporus (Pl. vii. 8, 9). Besides the gold coins Mithridates issued coppers with his own head and name, and the club, lion-skin and quiver of Heracles and the trident of Poseidon on the reverse (Pl. vii. 11). Others have the head and the name of Queen Gropaepys, which also appear on the obverse of coins like Pl. vii. 7 with a goddess in a calathos and veil on the other side.

These were numismatic audacities, no one else dared to put his full name directly on to a coin until leave was given forty years later, and they symbolized a revolt on the part of Mithridates against his position as a vassal of Rome, a position he felt unworthy of his great ancestry. The emblems of Heracles and Poseidon refer to a descent from them to which the later Bosporan kings laid claim; we do not know how it was traced. But it was of Mithridates the Great that his namesake was most proud and this pride became the inspiration of his life. If, as Latyshev supposes, what Petrus Patricius says of Mithridates Iberus really applies to Bosporus, and in giving him a brother and successor Cotys he seems to shew his own mistake, Mithridates disregarding his mother’s advice really made preparations for war against the Romans and when their suspicions were aroused sent his brother Cotys to Rome to allay them. He however revealed the whole scheme and received the kingdom for himself, being conducted back by a force under Didius Gallus.Tacitus gave an account of all this in a lost book of the Annals; the end of the story which is preserved recalls that of Satyrs and Eumelus.

Didius Gallus withdrew with the main part of his army and left Cotys, quite a young man, under the protection of Julius Aquila and a few cohorts. Mithridates was regarded as crushed, but he began to win over deserters and rouse the native tribes till he had sufficient force to drive the king of the Dandaridae (or Dandaritii) out of his kingdom, also he made Zorsines, king of the Siraci, resume hostilities. So Cotys and Aquila made friends with Eunones, king of the Aorsi, who supplied them with cavalry. Aquila and his allies routed their enemy who could not make a stand at Soza in the country of the Dandaridae, because that tribe was not well disposed, but Zorsines attempted to defend Uspe in the country of the Siraci, a place set in a strong position beyond the river Panda and defended by wooden walls and earthworks. This was stormed and quarter was refused. The fate of Uspe struck terror into the Siraci and Zorsines made his peace with Rome, prostrating

1 Gieh, TRAS, VII. p. 225, VII. 62, 7, p. 354. VII. 67; Berthier-de-la-Garde, TRAP. XVII, p. 277, Nos. 70, 71.
2 In App. 45 in V Apo. 200, from Anapa, dated A.C. 336, the king’s name has been erased. On the whole the plates are more like Mithridates than Polemo, and so Stephani restored it. The emasure may have been due to the hatred of Cotys: Latyshev restores Polemo’s name and suggests on the strength of it that Polemo ruled on the Asiatic side and Mithridates on the European, but there is no real evidence for this; however the epithet philospermatok would suit Polemo better.
4 Burckhor, XXII. 93.
5 App. 44 in V Apo. 431.
6 FTR. IV. 184, fr. 3.
himself to the Emperor's statue. So the Roman force returned after coming within three days' journey of the Tanais. On its way back some of the troops were wrecked on the Tauric coast and slain by the natives.

Mithridates could not trust Cotys (proditor olim, deinde hostis, cf. Pet. Patricius), and did not regard the guarantee of Aquila as sufficient. He dressed the part of the supplicant king, prepared a suitable speech and threw himself at the feet of Eunones. Eunones raised the supplicant and sent envoys to Rome asking that Mithridates be spared the indignity of a triumph and the punishment of death. Claudius having decided that the trouble and risk of so distant an expedition were too great, said that he was quite prepared to exact the due penalty of Mithridates, but that he preferred to spare the conquered. So Mithridates was brought to Rome where he was thought to have borne himself too insolently for his position, crying aloud so as to be heard by all, "I was not brought back to you, but came back: if you do not believe me, let me go and then see if you can bring me back." He lived at Rome until the time of Galba who had him executed for taking part in the conspiracy of Nymphidius. All this is related by Tacitus under the year 49 A.D., no doubt the year that Mithridates appeared in Rome after his long struggle. Cotys had been on the throne for more than four years, as we have a coin of his (with the monogram ΠΑ) dated A.D. 342 = A.D. 45.

Ancient authors tell us no more about Cotys, but we have several inscriptions with his name. Two are servorum missiones (cf. App. 43) and merely give us the dates 57 and 39 A.D. and tell us that like all his successors he bore the names Tiberius Julius. On the base of a statue of his preserver Nero he is the first Bosporan king to proclaim himself "pious and high priest of the Augusti," while an inscription on a fountain claims that he has raised again the glory of his land and house, and holds all the sceptres of the Inachii (=Achaei). In two mutilated inscriptions of Rhescuporis I (I.I), Latyshev has been able to restore the name of Cotys (which alone can fit) with all but absolute certainty, so shewing that his wife's name was Eu[nice] and that Rhescuporis was his son.

We do not know in what year Rhescuporis came to the throne and no author mentions him. All we hear of the Bosporos at this time is that in A.D. 66 Herod Agrippa says that the Henioci, Colchi, Tauri, Bosporans and peoples round the Maeotis are now kept in order by 3000 hoplites and forty

1 Ann. xlii. 18. — Mithridates terrae marique Romanis per tot annos quasisit sponte aduan: utere, ut voles, prole magai Achaemenis, quod mihi solum hostes non abstulerunt.

2 c. 20. — sed dissidentur contra suscipi bellum avio sine. nempe, importunm mario: ad hoc reges aegos, vapores populos, solum frugum egensum, taedum ex mora, periculo ex propemogia, modicam victoriam laudem ac multum infamiae si pellenturum. A good summary of the disadvantage of punitive expeditions.

3 Plutarch, Glaed, 13, 14.


5 App. 44 = Jot. P. B. 32.


7 Jot. P. B. 1, 355; Phanagoria, dated A.D. 71, on the base of a statue of Vespasian, {epigrammatos} to the emperor: R.C.A. xxvii. p. 70, No. 7: [τού] τοῦ ἐπιτάγματος βασιλέως μεγάλου. Κυρίως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταββαδοῦ νομίσαι, ἐν τῇ ἐπίταγμα τοῦ κράτεως τῆς Κυπρίας.

8 Dion. V. 17, 18: ὡς συνηθεὶς ἀρχαῖος ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ παραδόξου. Παραδόχος δὲ δεῖ τὸν ἰσόπλον τοῦ ἐπιτάγματος τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Κυπρίας.
warships (cf. p. 523), but these two inscriptions and two manumissions, one dated A.D. 79, the other A.D. 81, belong to his time; several more mention him as the father of Sauromates his successor.

In A.D. 377 = A.D. 80/1 the Bosporan rulers in the person of Rhescuporis obtained what they had been striving after for three generations, the right to put their names and portraits upon their coins. But we cannot exactly fix the year of his death, for A.D. 388 = A.D. 91/2 is the last year in which he coined, whereas we have no aureus of his successor Sauromates until A.D. 390 = A.D. 93/4.

**Coins with monograms.**

If we now turn back to correlate these few facts just outlined with the contemporary coins it appears that for the last half of the period we are not entirely at a loss and it is best to see what we can make of it before attempting the first half. The coinage with the name of Mithridates is the definite expression of his wish for more freedom if not for independence, of his pride in his divine ancestry and his regard for Getae territory, of whom he later thought to have exercised sovereign rights during some three years A.D. 39/40 to 41/2 before his first defeat, but as no coin of ΜΘ (obviously Cotys) bears date before 45/6 it looks as if it took four years before Cotys was well on his throne; the next bears 48/9, leaving an interval which it is tempting to connect with the second resistance of Mithridates ending in A.D. 49.

Cotys, as might be expected, shewed great subservience to Rome. On coppers with his monogram we have mostly Roman portraits, Claudius and Agrippina (Pl. viii. 19), Britannicus, Nero and Poppaea; the latter with the epithet Σεβαστή granted in A.D. 62 and so the latest coin of Cotys, as no aureus is known after 60/1. Still Bosporan likenesses do occur; his own, one marked with ΜΘ and one, a woman's, with ΑΠ apparently a posthumous honour paid to those rulers (Bonsen, p. 302). Also he found an excuse to put his whole name and his father's on to a coin by displaying his pride in the honours accorded him by the Romans, on the reverse the sela curuleus, wreath and sceptre, labelled ΤΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΝΕΥΕ ΜΟΥ and on the reverse various arms and ΤΟΥ ΑΜΠΟΥΡΗΟΥ (Pl. viii. 20). But Nero put an end to this and we have a solitary aureus with his monogram ΜΘ dated A.D. 62/3 (Pl. vii. 22) and answering to it a copper with nothing Bosporan at all (ib. 21): this we can correlate with the presence of the Roman troops of which Herod Agrippa spoke. Buffer states were out of fashion: Claudius had annexed Thrace, in the following year (63) Nero annexed Pontus, reducing Polemo II to a small part of Cilicia; so he seems to have mediatized Cotys.

We cannot be sure that all this does not belong to the next reign which

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2. BCA, XIV. p. 10, Nos. 22; App. 36 = RPC, II. 52.
3. RPC, II. 30, 31, 35; IV. 466.
4. Burckhardt, XXVII. 105, 111; BMC, Pontus, xi. 141, 142, 143; 102 = XII. 1.
6. A.D. 64/6, but Berthier-de-la-Garde, Trans. Od. Soc. XXIII, p. 162, rejects it.
7. Le, p. 162, Pl. II. 34, 35, 31; Bur. XXVII. 105 (= BMC, Pontus, xi. 15), 113, 122.
may have begun any time between A.D. 62 and 68/9. Rhescuporis seems to have decided at once for Vespasian, an aureus of the latter year with \[\text{Æ} \]

bears that emperor's portrait and to him he probably owed his recognition as king, hence the laudatory inscription cited above (p. 598 n. 7): we have three more aurei with the monogram of Rhescuporis dated A.D. 359, 370, 374 = A.D. 72/4, 77/8, but none from the time of Titus. Domitian must have regarded Rhescuporis with special favour, as instantly upon his accession his head appears on the reverse of an aureus and on the obverse he allowed the king to put his own bust and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΗΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΔΟΣ. As the year A.D. 377 expired a fortnight after Domitian's accession (Sep. 13 A.D. 81), this is a remarkable example of the swiftness of the Roman posts, and the quickness with which coin-dies were sunk. In A.D. 383 and 384 (Pl. vii. 24) appears the full name Tiberius Julius Rhescuporis but he soon reverted to the shorter style in which he was followed by his successors.

In copper he at first continued the types of Cotys with the arms and the ΤΕΙΜΑΙ (cf. Pl. vii. 20) and Nero's reverse (cf. ib. 21): later he launched out into portraits, his own bust flanked by the club and trident on one side of a coin and his queen's on the other or both facing each other on the obverse, or else a full length showing him seated on the curule chair and holding his sceptre (ib. 25) a new version of the ΤΕΙΜΑΙ, putting his foot on the neck of one of two crouching captives or again riding swiftly with uplifted spear (cf. Pl. vii. 4): further we have a view of a town gate with an equestrian statue over the arch (cf. ib. 2), and a reverse with Nike. All these point to successful wars with barbarians. Two more of his coppers are used by Bertier-de-La-Garde, to support his view that this Rhescuporis was the son of Aspurgus and that the latter also bore the name Rhescuporis as well: on the obverse of each is the head of a long-haired king and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΗΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΔΟΣ, on the reverse \[\text{Æ} \] and a female head wearing in one case a calathos (as inf. Pl. vii. 7) in the other a stelphis; either of them would be a goddess or a Roman lady, perhaps Livia, in a goddess's attributes. He regards it as a coin rendering posthumous honour to the king's father, like those of Cotys mentioned above, arguing that you would not have a king's monogram on the same coin on which he had been allowed to display his full name and that we know from e.g. Pl. vii. 20 that a king could put his father's name in full: but there is nothing surprising in the use of an old die for the reverse after the whole name had been allowed and we have good reason for thinking that Cotys not Aspurgus was father to this Rhescuporis; finally we have no real evidence that Aspurgus was called Rhescuporis.

This idea had originally been suggested by Burachkov to account for the monogram \[\text{Æ} \] known to belong to the time of Aspurgus: but if we are to guess at monograms I am inclined to see in \[\text{Æ} \] the same name as in

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1. General Bertier-de-La-Garde tells me Turkish ships cross from Constantinople in three days.
2. Burachkov, XXVII, 127—131; BMC, Pontus, xii, 5—11.
4. BMC, Pontus, xii, 4.
5. A stranger thing is a coin with \[\text{Æ} \] on the reverse and the same monogram countermarked on the obverse. Giel, Tr. S. v. Pl. vii. 60.
6. This disposes of an interpretation of the monogram on Pl. vii. 25 as \(\text{στήλα} \) \(\text{ταύ} \); it might be the date \(\text{AOT} = \text{A.D. 371} = \text{A.D. 74/5}\).
with the insertion of B for βασιλεύς: and it can hardly be chance that in
we can see ἈΠ three important letters of Αυτοκρατόρος: the addition of the
Σ would introduce too great complications. So too it can hardly be a coinci-
dence that the B comes just when there was a new emperor whose names
Tiberius Julius were borne by all the successors of Aspuragus and most likely
were adopted by him in connexion with the conferment upon him of the kingly
title. On the reverse of coppers, except on Pl. vii. 5, ἈΠ accompanies a
portrait which is probably Aspuragus; on the obverse appear first Tiberius and
then Gaius with their superscriptions.

Again it can hardly be chance that in ἈΠ, a woman's monogram as we
know from coins struck in her honour by Cotys (v. p. 599), we can see the
characteristic letters of Βασίλισσα ΠΗΠΙΗΠΙΟΣ, a name that we read upon
the coins of Mithridates VIII, and only their mother could appear upon the
coins of both brothers—the φιλοραμάτων mother of whom Petrus Patriarius
speaks. It looks therefore as if Aspuragus began by putting his simple monogram
ἈΠ on his coins in A.B. 307 and 310 = A.D. 10/11, 13/14, received the title of
king from Tiberius in A.B. 311 = A.D. 14/15 and died in A.B. 334 = A.D. 37/8
leaving his wife Gpaeapryris as regent until Mithridates came of age in
A.B. 336 = A.D. 39/40. This minority raised the hopes of the Zenonids and
led to Polemo II's empty claim. The monograms ἈΠ and ἈΠ kept the Α as
part of Βασιλεύς, perhaps the top line is a survival from the Π in ἈΠ.

I have hazarded the suggestion that Dynamis lurks in ἈΠ indicating that
she was the head of the Anti-Polemonian or Aspurgian party though she must
have been very aged: but her rival Pythodorois also ruled at the age of sixty.
Of ΤΕ I have no interpretation: perhaps it belonged to an elder brother of
Aspuragus: there may be a Τ in it accounting for the top line.

As to the portraits on these gold coins from A.B. 289 to 374 there can be
scarcely any doubt that they are meant to represent Romans and that
very little attempt was made to secure a resemblance, though fathers and sons
or very near relations are made somewhat alike: Roman officials would have
demanded closer portraiture. Until A.B. 310 = A.D. 13/14 we have the same
face on the obverse: its disappearance after that year points to Augustus.
Its companion on the reverse goes on one more year and has been called
Agrippa. The next face on the obverse as it takes the place of Augustus is
clearly Tiberius and persists not merely to A.B. 333 = A.D. 36/7, as we might
expect, but to 335. The reason suggested is that on the reverse they took to
putting the next heir to the Empire, first perhaps the younger Drusus, then
from A.B. 324 = A.D. 24/5 a son of Germanicus, finally to be defined as Gaius.
When the latter came to the throne, there being no obvious heir, they left the
two heads as before, a precedent for the Emperor's predecessor or parent
taking the obverse and himself the reverse. The two staters of Mithridates VIII

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1 So JosPE. IV. 203 mentioning Cotys, son of
Tt. Julius, may as well be Cotys I as II or III: but it
does not tell us anything. The style Tt. Julius is
established for all kings except those known only
by coins or imperfect inscriptions.

2 B. xxvi. 84—88; BMC. Pontus, xi. 5, 6.

3 Bertier-de-La-Garde, op. cit. p. 159, reads
HF... or HPA...

4 There are numberless views: I give Bertier-
de-La-Garde's, op. cit. pp. 166—179.
have not been explained as on the first Gaius ought to appear, but both have the same head and it persists as that of Claudius on the regular obverses until A.D. 359 = A.D. 62/3, except that Agrippina appears for the one year A.D. 352, the first of Nero's reign. On the reverses we have Britannicus till 346 and then Nero. The coins all have Vespasian on the obverse and on the reverse a purely conventional Titus, but Domitian appears on the first gold coin with a king's name, A.D. 377; from that year the Bosphoran king occupies the obverse and the Emperor the reverse.

If we are at a loss with regard to the gold coins which do bear dates, even worse is the case of the coppers with the monograms BAE, BAM:

BAE occurs on about twenty varieties: the monogram (as almost always on Bosphoran coins) is on the reverse and so in many cases is a numeral letter. The same applies to coins with BAM, save that there are only three varieties and all have numerals: one has Δ, another, Pl. vii. 13, like the identical coin (ib. 5), K, the third, Pl. vii. 12, unlike BAE's similar coin (ib. 18), L. Roughly speaking the size of the coin increases with the numeral it bears, so the numbers do not give dates but values presumably in chalci or lepta. Bertier-de-La-Garde's inference is that BAE came first, produced several issues and then introduced the novelty of value-marks kept up by his successor BAM and by κ under whom the reckoning by chalci soon gave way to that by asses practised in later times (v. p. 633). According to this BAE and BAM must have been contemporaneous with BAE and BAM and consequently, as two kings cannot fill the same state at the same time, these latter monograms must be those of officials regulating the coinage, and having in view the close relations between Bosphoran and Roman gold we must pronounce these officials to have been Roman; but it is not clear that once value-marks were introduced they were never dropped, but were used...
continuously, and on this depends the comparative chronology suggested: also the monograms ΑΓ, ΜΒ, ΑΓ are similar to ΚΑΘ, ΚΑΘ, ΑΓ in application and execution, nor is there any change in the coinage as though with the appearance of the latter group a new authority had assumed control, so that it is unlikely that the persons represented by the former group stood in an entirely different relation to the coinage from that in which the kings ΑΓ etc. stood.

The extraordinary variety of types on the coins of ΑΓ makes it hard to say that they point in any particular direction unless perhaps to Asia Minor, but we cannot see in this the influence of Pythodoris under whose tutelage Bertier-de-La-Garde would put both these mysterious kings. It appears to me that in these miscellaneous types a king who was limited in real authority even as regards the coinage of gold, tried to symbolize his pretensions and ancestry: Bertier-de-La-Garde cites a parallel in Juba II of Mauretania, husband of Cleopatra Selene, whose position was very like that of a Bosporan king. He seems to have taken a pleasure in varying his coins, some with Latin, some with Greek, some with Punic inscriptions, and types recalling different divinities and the glories and cults of Africa and Egypt. So hints at a descent from Poseidon (Pl. vii. 16) and Heracles (the coin with a reverse like Pl. vii. 11), ancestors of the later Bosporan kings, and also at a connexion with Mithridates VI, by putting Helios - Mithras with a Mithridatic profile and the star and crescent, the old badge of his house (Pl. vii. 18), Perseus, the eponymous ancestor of the Persians (Pl. vii. 17), Sarapis, the god of Sinope, Dionysus, whose name was adopted by Mithridates, though he has not dared repeat the most characteristic types used by the great king.

These Mithridatic reminiscences made Oréshnikov (L.c.) read ΑΓ as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ and assign the coins to Mithridates the Great; while those with ΒΑ he put down to Mithridates VIII imitating his great ancestor, pointing out that numbers 4 and 6 taken as regnal years would suit the part of his reign before he was deposed and to his last bid for royalty. The attribution to Mithridates VI is impossible on the ground of style (e.g. Pl. vii. 16 is nearer akin to vii. 11 than to the splendid issues of the great king) and the numerals 1-7, 10 on ΑΓ coins led me to attribute both series to Mithridates VIII, hence the position in which they appear in Pl. vii. This ground fails me, and though I do not consider it inconceivable that a person like Mithridates VIII may have used two monograms besides his whole name, adopting the surname Eupator but just lacking courage to put it at full length because that would be open defiance to Rome before he was ready, and may have chosen the many types setting forth the ancestry of which we know that he was proud, I fear that until inscriptions are discovered throwing light on the period between B.C. 16 and A.D. 14 we must give up hope of reading the riddle of these monograms.

2 L. Müller, Numismatique de l'Afrique Ant., III. p. 103 sqq.
3 Imhoof-Blumer, Portraits, p. 36 and Wroth, BMC Pontus etc., p. xxx. n. 1 agree.
4 He cites from Chodzko, Corruption... à Settimi, p. 79 a last coin like vii. 12 but with KA ΑΥΑΙΟΥ round the head which would settle the matter.

Bertier-de-La-Garde explains the inscription as a fake.
Bosporus. History

During this dark period some close connexion was formed between the Bosporan house and the royal house of Thrace. The Thracian names of Spartocus and Paerisades indicate too remote a link to account for the appearance on the Bosporus of the names Cotys, Rhescuporis and a century later Rhoeometalces, which go back generations in the Thracian dynasty. We do know of a link in that Pythodoris, second wife of Polemo I, married her daughter Antonia Tryphaena to Cotys V Sapaecus of Thrace and became regent of the country, but the Zenodotis were only interlopers on the Bosporus and Antonia's son, Polemo II, never established his claim to it, so it would scarcely be through them that the Bosporan dynasty (pace Bertier-de-La-Garde l.c.) adopted Thracian names. If Gelaepyris was Thracian she would be a more likely person. The descent claimed from Eumolpus (App. 54) shows pride in the Thracian connexion. I have referred to the probability that Aspurgus took the names Tiberius Julius on being granted the kingly title at the accession of the Emperor Tiberius.

Sauromates I and Cotys II.

Ti. Julius Sauromates I, son of Rhescuporis, reigned according to his coins (Pl. VIII. 1) from A.B. 390 to 420 = A.D. 93/4 to 123/4. His coppers are similar to those of his father's (v. p. 600 and Pl. VII. 19, 20, 25) only that upon some appears the head of the Emperor or that of an Empress or goddess (cf. VII. 7 reverse). The superscriptions are sometimes extraordinarily ill written testifying to Bosporan ignorance of Greek. A new variety of the gateway coin shows two towers, a kneeling captive and a tree or flames behind the arch (Pl. VIII. 2). The portraits of the king upon his large bronzes are very characteristic with his mild expression, long hair and prominent nose. His inscriptions give us his full title—he revives the style βασιλεὺς βασιλέων used by Pharnaces and perhaps by Asander—tell us of buildings undertaken for or by him, and shew that in his time Tanais was already re-established, but on the new site. The Latin inscription is a compliment from the colony of Sinope. He is the first to express upon inscriptions the claims to descent from Poseidon and Heracles that his father indicated upon his coins and Rhescuporis described most elaborately. To this king's reign we must refer a revolt quelled by Trajan of which Jordanes speaks, if we are to believe in it at all. Pliny the Younger tells us of envoys sent by Sauromates to Trajan.

Ti. Julius Cotys II, son of Sauromates, reigned from A.B. 420 to 429 = A.D. 123/4 to 132/3. In his first year his admiral defeated the Scythians.

1 Bertier-de-La-Garde, op. cit. p. 186-8, well explains him as the representative of a younger branch whose founder received this name before the Thracians were mediatized in 43 A.D.
2 So Tomashek, Die alten Thraker, p. 51.
3 Burckhart, XXVIII. 157-4.
5 Sauromates, son of Rhescuporis, must be the original of Sauromatos, son of Crisconoros, the enemy of Cherson in Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp. c. 53; the legend has no value as Bosporan history though some as Chersonean literature, v. p. 520.
6 Isis PE. II. 26, 38, 39, 40 (Latin), 352, 358, 401, IV. 292 (I), 449, BCA. XXIII. p. 46, No. 32 (=App. 47), XXVII. p. 37, No. 33 (?) from Perga, probably brought there as building material.
7 Isis PE. II. 41 (=App. 54) and 38.
8 Romana, 267, Traianus...Bosporanos Colchos...epistum postquam...ad feritatem prominunt; perhaps a mere exaggeration of Eutropius VIII 55, regem...Bosporonnorum...in fidem accepti.
9 Epp. LXIII, LXIV, LXVII.
10 Isis PE. II. 27, his only other inscription is IV. 421 (=App. 48).
Phlegon of Tralles says that the Emperor gave him the crown and put Cherson under him. Arrian in his Periplus (26 (17 H.)) is made to tell the Emperor that he extended his information to include the north coast of the Euxine in case he should wish to interfere in Bosporan affairs on the occasion of the death of Cotys which had recently occurred. Brandis has suggested that the forger who added the second half of the Periplus introduced this local name in order to make a transition to his own work. But there is nothing unlikely in disturbances on the Bosporus at the time of Cotys's death as Rhoeometalces his successor does not seem to have been his son, but the representative of a younger branch, yet the dated aurei overlap by a full year.

The bronze coins of Cotys are much like his father's: new types present the temple of Jupiter Capitoline with KA II and the king's monogram ΔΚ within a wreath (Pl. viii. 5). His gold coins and those of Rhoeometalces and Eupator are a good deal alloyed and the British Museum Catalogue even reckons them electrum.

**Rhoeometalces and Eupator.**

Ti. Julius Rhoeometalces, as his coins show, reigned from A.D. 428 to 450 = A.D. 131/2 to 153/4; they are fairly continuous, but there is a curious gap between A.D. 434 and 439 (Pl. viii. 6). In his second year he set up an inscription to Hadrian as τούτου Ιωάννου κυρίου). Later on he may have had some idea of making himself more independent, for twice the Chersonesians sent Ariston to him to discuss an alliance and some cause of trouble arose between him and the Roman provincial authorities. However the Emperor Antoninus Pius sent him back to his kingdom. His coppers present much the same types as those of his predecessors, without the new ones added by Cotys II.

O. Rossbach supposes that a bust in the National Museum at Athens is a portrait of Rhoeometalces, but there are other possibilities.

The name of Ti. Julius Eupator shows that in spite of their Thracian names the Bosporan kings had not forgotten the Mithridatic tradition. His coins extend from A.D. 451 to 467 = A.D. 154/5 to 170/1 (cf. Pl. viii. 7). Then follow three years without any issue; these may be assigned either to Eupator or to his successor Sauromates or to an interregnum or struggle. Lucian makes one of his characters in "Alexander or the False Prophet" meet at Aegeial the envoys of Eupator journeying into Bithynia to fetch the yearly subsidy and fare in their ship to Amastris. His inscriptions are all from Tanais where there was much building activity in his time.

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3. BMC. Pontus, p. 61; Cotys, 438=429 A.B.
4. "R. E. II. 33, other inscriptions II. 353 (=App. 40), 437. DCA. XLV. p. 9, No. 1 is a private dedication to Hadrian (?).
7. Remiur. Brandis, P.-W. III. p. 784, translates curator by Vermand suggesting that Rhoeometalces was a minor under a guardian.
8. B. XXIX. 179-100.
10. C. 57, Vermand, s.v. Bosphorus, the coins of the era are marked by the superscription BOSPOROS, so Brandis translates P.-W. III. p. 787, not paying tribute as P. C. Sands, op. cit. p. 135, says. Cf. infra p. 608 n. 2.
11. Ist. E. II. 422 (=App. 30), 438, 439; IV. 447; the latter has a fine example of the Bosporan state mark, v. p. 317, f. 227; p. 318, n. 4.
The coins of Eupator are very uneven in workmanship, so much so that some rude specimens have been assigned to an unnecessary "Eupator II". Eupator uses the coin types brought in by Cotys II (substituting his own monogram KY as well as the ordinary ones). Whether this points to his being more directly linked to him or not we cannot say: the mutual relations of Cotys II, Rheometalces and Eupator are unknown. The next king Ti. Julius Sauromates II was son of Rheometalces.

Sauromates II. Rhescuporis II. Cotys III. Sauromates III.

After the three years' gap mentioned above the coins of Sauromates II run without any decided break from A.B. 471 to 507 = A.D. 174/5 to 210/11 (cf. Pl. viii. 9). He is not mentioned by any author but appears in a good many inscriptions. In the first he thanks Caracalla as a benefactor of himself and his kingdom: another (App. 52) speaks of him as having gained victories over Scythians and Siraci, received the submission of the Tauric land and made the sea safe for ships to go to Bithynia. Indeed the reign of Sauromates marks the end of a peaceful stretch in Bosporan history and the beginning of long wars with the natives; to this corresponds the way the quiet scenes depicted in the earlier catacombs (e.g. p. 313, ff. 223) give place to combats in the later (pp. 314-319, ff. 224-230). His coinage is interesting: besides continuing the types of Rheometalces he issued a series of large coppers of unusually good workmanship with the labours of his ancestor Heracles (e.g. Pl. viii. 11). Other new types are those of the captive and trophy, the eagle displayed holding a wreath and a figure of a goddess (Aphrodite Urania?) sitting on a throne crowned with a mural crown, holding the apple in one hand and a long sceptre in the other (Pl. viii. 12, 14). Before her sometimes stands Eros. This type survived in utter degradation upon the coins of later kings. A more important innovation was the substitution in some of his staters of very decided electrum for gold, an important step in a degradation which ended in the miserable coins of the later kings.

Ti. Julius Rhescuporis II son of Sauromates, king from A.B. 507 to 525 = A.D. 210/1 to 228/9, is usually considered to be the husband of the queen with the gold mask (v. p. 433). From his time we have many inscriptions mostly

2 Pl. viii. 8; B. xxix. 101—202.
3 R.C.A. x. p. 20. No. 22 mentions a son of Rheometalces, Tib. Julius, Eupator or Sauromates we cannot say.

6 B. xxix. 213.—217.; xxxi. 250, 251.
8 B. xxxi. 252.—254.
10 Rostovtsev, op. cit. 190, n. 1. arguing that the figures, formerly described as Sarapis and Isis (v. supra p. 310), are really chthonian deities into whom the deceased is to be merged, suggests that on these coins we have the queen merged in a similar goddess and on those (B. xxx. 226, 227) which show Hercules with club and trident crowned by Nike, the king merged in his divine ancestors; he compares the stele described on p. 304, n. 4. 
from Tanais where much was doing in his reign. Two stones witness to the
grateful to the
citizens of Prusias ad Hypium; another set up by the city of
Amastris calls the king Philhellene, proof positive that he was a barbarian.
His "aurei" are some of gold and some of electrum (Pl. viii. 15, 16); the
coppers mostly shew the king on horseback with a spear (type of Pl. viii. 16)
and the seated Aphrodite: a new and elaborate type shows a trophy with
supporters and a crouching captive below. The abundant coinage of Rhes-
cuporis gives place in A.B. 524 to an issue of his son Ti. Julius Cotys III: in
525 both coined aurei reduced by 5 grn. probably thus raising funds for a civil
war. Cotys III's coins go on till A.B. 530 = A.D. 233/4 (e.g. Pl. viii. 17).
After his father's death Cotys did not reign alone for we have coins (e.g. Pl.
viii. 18) bearing the name Sauromates (III) and dates from A.B. 526 to 529 =
A.D. 229/30 to 232/3. Their names appeared together in an inscription of
a society at Gorgippia, so presumably their relations were friendly. To
Sauromates III is referred a hopelessly corrupt manumissiont, otherwise he is
unknown; Cotys is mentioned in several inscriptions from Tanais. The
degradation of the coinage now proceeded rapidly. Cotys III has "aurei" of
gold, electrum and silver, Sauromates III of electrum and silver and perhaps
even potin. Their coppers shew few types and poor design.

Later Kings.

However, worse was speedily to come. The coinage shews that the
kingdom was fast declining and that divided rule produced its natural effect.
Whether the division was effected peacefully we cannot tell; but it is probable
that, as in the Empire itself, mutually hostile claimants to the crown held
different parts and tried to dethrone each other. Further the execution of the
portraits is so poor that it is impossible to be sure to how many persons belong
the various heads marked Rhescuporis. The regnal years are as follows.
Coins with the name Rhescuporis appeared during the year A.B. 530 = A.D. 233/4
(Pl. viii. 19), the last year of Cotys, and A.B. 531 = A.D. 234/5 the first of
Ininthimeus whose coins (Pl. viii. 20) go on till A.B. 536 = A.D. 239/40. Then
begin other coins marked Rhescuporis which go on without any considerable
break until A.B. 572 = A.D. 275/6. There is a good deal of variety among the
portraits on these coins but different writers put the change at different times:
Mionnet and Sabatier take A.B. 550 = A.D. 253/4, for which year there seem
no Rhescuporis coins, and just at that moment Pharsanes strikes coins with the
dates A.B. 550 (Pl. viii. 21), 551 = A.D. 253/4, 254/5. Orshnikov finds
at A.B. 560 = A.D. 263/4 a new head and a better style (v. Pl. viii. 22 and 23),
leaving off with a real gold aureus: whereas Koehne (l.c.) refuses to make any

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1. *Inst.** P.** E.** II. 41 (= App. *54*), 42, 43, 48, 429, 430
   (= App. *56*), 31, 32, 430, 434, 447, 448, 449, 450
   471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480.
   (B.C.A. XXXVII. p. 1. 1. 1.): of them, all of them, e.g. Pl. 447
   (= App. 56), mention him, the year number being
   sufficient dating: in II. 437, 453, 454, 455, he is given
   as the father of Cotys.

2. *Inst. P.** E.** II. 43 and IV. 194 (from Eski-Krym, a
   new place for Bosporan inscriptions).

3. Ib. II. 42.

4. B. XXXII. 284.

5. Bertier-de-La-Garde, "Materials for...Stath-
   mological Investigations," p. 87, n. 46.


7. *Inst.** P.** E.** II. 54.


10. Cat. Uvarov, p. 413.
distinction; certainly the variation in style of Eupator or Sauromates II is just as great. This evidence may be interpreted according to taste. One and the same king may have been enthroned in A.D. 233, deposed the following year in favour of Ininthimeus, restored in 239, again driven out by Pharsanzes during the year 254, and re-established under more favourable conditions so that in a few years he could make improvements in the coinage and rule undisturbed till his death in A.D. 572 = A.D. 275/61, or again there may have been a whole series of short-lived princes bearing or adopting the same royal name and struggling with various rivals or rebellious subjects. This is what we usually find towards the end of an oriental dynasty. Certainly the appearance of Pharsanzes, as has been already remarked, coincides with the time when on the extinction (or rather effacement) of the old loyal dynasty, the Borani and Goths were allowed by upstart kings to use against Roman Asia the harbour and ships of Bosporus4. It is clearly useless to number these later Rhescuporids.

Ininthimeus (A.D. 234—239) apparently belonged to the old house, at least he used the names Tiberius Julius, but a different ligma (v. p. 218, n. 1), on inscriptions at Tanais5, the latest found on the site. Shortly after the town must have succumbed probably to the very movement of the barbarians that brought the Borani to the Bosporus. A Ti. Julius Rhescuporidus has left us inscriptions from Panticapaeum itself6, dated A.D. 546, 547 = A.D. 249, 250, and these tell us that he claimed the kingdom by hereditary right.

Evidently A.D. 572 = A.D. 275/6 must have been a critical year on the Bosporus. The date is borne by the last coin of the Rhescuporid series, by the whole issue of Sauromates IV (Pl. viii. 24) of whom we know no more, and by the first coin struck by Tiberius Julius Teiranes whose series (Pl. viii. 25) breaks off at A.D. 576 = A.D. 279/80, the latest from Taraktash (v. p. 606, n. 11). In his honour and that of his queen Aelia all the great men of the kingdom from Theodosia to τὰ Ἀστυπόργια joined to set up a dedication to Zeus and Hera the Saviours7, so he must have ruled on both sides of the strait.

Thothorces succeeded to Teiranes and we find his coins for most years from A.D. 575 to 605 = A.D. 278/9 to 308/9 (e.g. Pl. viii. 26)8. In time corresponds to the legendary Sauromat son of Crisconorus in Constantine Porphyrogenitus. No inscription names Thothorces, but one dated A.D. 603 = A.D. 366 throws an interesting light on the career of a Bosporan in his reign9. One Sogus, son of Olympus after spending sixteen years in Roman territory where he bore the name of Aurelius Valerius Olympianus and rose to be

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1 Oréshnikov, p. 116.
2 Zosimus, l. 31: Βαρναβάς γάρ καὶ τῷ εἰς τὴν Ἀναταν θαλασσίστα οὐκ ἔπαβε, καὶ μόνα γε καταστράφησαν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ Βασιλείου, ἔπειτα μὲν Ἀραχνείαν καὶ ἔργαμον τῆς Διήθρας. Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραλόγου τοῦ Βασιλείου παραλογία καἱ τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς Διήθρας ἐπιστράφησαν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ Ἐρημοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἄλλον πρὸς τὸν Ἐρημοῦ ἐπιστράφησαν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ Ἐρημοῦ. Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραλόγου τῆς Διήθρας ἐπιστράφησαν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ Ἐρημοῦ. Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραλόγου τῆς Διήθρας ἐπιστράφησαν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ Ἐρημοῦ.
4 Indo-Eu. ii. 44. 45. (= Appr. 60).
5 App. 61 = Indo-Eu. ii. 39. v. p. 612: App. 62 = Indo-Eu. iv. 211 probably belongs to this reign.
6 Giel, TRAC. v. p. 360, makes him begin at A.D. 553 = A.D. 286/7 but there seems no reason to doubt the earlier years quoted by Koehne
7 MK. ii. p. 337; Oréshnikov, Cat. Uticae, p. 118 raises no objection: Giel is sole authority for the year 605. Note the special ligma on his coin.
8 App. 63 = B.C.A. x. p. 26, No. 21; of the Ἀστυποργίας Roman knight in Appr. 60.
personally honoured by Diocletian and Maximian, and after passing through much tribulation returns to be governor of Theodosia and builds a προσευχη in fulfilment of a vow.

Rhadamsadius (Rhadamsades, Rhadampsadius) coined from A.D. 605 to 619 = A.D. 308/9 to 322/3 (e.g. Pl. VIII. 27) thus overlapping with Rhescuporis the Last. Rhadamsadius is mentioned in two inscriptions, but both are imperfect beyond satisfactory restoration. One mentions Rhescuporis as well and Latyshev restores it as if it belonged to the time when the two kings reigned together, but the stone is lost and the reading unintelligible. Koehne gives coins of Rhescuporis the Last for most years between A.D. 608 = A.D. 311/2 and A.D. 631 = A.D. 334/5; Podshivalov has instances some with the date A.D. 600 = A.D. 303/4 at the beginning and A.D. 638 = A.D. 341/2 at the end and Imhoof-Blumer follows him in this, but the coins (e.g. Pl. VIII. 28) are so miserably executed that Oréshnikov is quite right in doubting these figures. Giel (i.e.) after a new examination declares that his earliest coin is A.D. 615 = A.D. 318/9. The name is written in either nominative or genitive in endless ways; Giel gives thirteen varieties. One of these misunderstood gave birth to a mythical king Cωττες who has been finally disposed of by Giel.

Koehne has been followed by many other investigators in his endeavour to make out two dynasties during the latter part of the Bosporan kingdom. He makes Rhescuporis, Sauromates IV and Rhescuporis the Last the representatives of the old line and Pharsanes, Teiranes, Thoethores and Rhadampsadius members of a foreign dynasty. But we cannot establish two lines of kings; each set is fairly complementary to the other and the overlappings, about A.D. 253/4, 272 and 318–321, are quite intelligible without such a supposition: the words of Zosimus do not necessarily imply it.

The series of coins which gives us each king's name and date fails us in 342 A.D. and the general idea used to be that the Bosporan kingdom soon came to an end and Panticapaeum was destroyed by the Huns.

In A.D. 362 envoys from the Bosporans approached Julian asking leave to pay tribute (annua compleentem sollemnia) and live peaceably in their own territories. Perhaps what they really wanted was help against the barbarians. Certain it is that there were movements of Goths and Huns passing from the Crimea to the Caucasian mainland in close neighbourhood to the Greek cities, but what destruction they wreaked was not fatal, for it is certain that the old population went on digging catacombs and using the Bosporan era and bearing Iranian names until the end of the 4th century (v. p. 320), and probable that kings bearing the names of Tiberius Julius and more or less representative of the ancient line may have survived in the town until the centralizing policy of Justinian undertook their duties of government and defence.

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1 As to the first date Giel, TRAS vi. p. 359, says that Koehne read as EX should be ΞE, making 606. As to the later limit there exist several pieces with ΞEIX but on one of them Giel has seen clear traces of an attempt to alter the die to ΞIX and so thinks the Θ in all cases a mistake, but Koehne, MK. ii. p. 355; quotes at any rate 616 and 617.
2 App. 64, 65 = Int. PE. n. 49, 313; (p. 309).
3 Besch. p. 24, Nos. 75, 79.
4 Portraitkopfe, Pl. v. 16 and p. 38.
6 TRAS vii. p. 228.
7 TRAS. v. p. 359.
8 Mommsen, Provinces, i. p. 315.
The main evidence for this is the inscription of Ti. Julius Doeptunes in which the old Bosporan formulae are preserved untouched, except that the old invocation Ἄγαθη Τυχή is flanked with a cross, the epithet εὐαρχής comes before the rest, and the titles ἐπισκόπος and κόμης, applied to two officials concerned shew the influence of Christian Constantinople. Of the date only the unit cipher remains, but the ten looks like O and as in its general disposition the inscription is so like those of the earlier kings that in a time of change it cannot be separated from them by a very great interval, I should be inclined to supply X for the hundred and make the whole 369 = A.D. 383.

The earliest dated Christian inscription has the year A.D. 601 = A.D. 304/5.

In 333 Cadmus Bishop of Bosporus signed the decisions of the council of Nicæa; later in the century no doubt Christianity became dominant. We have a cross inserted into a Deacon in the year A.D. 733 = A.D. 436/7 and there is the whole catacomb with its walls covered with psalms, prayers and responses dated A.D. 748 = A.D. 491 and others similar but undated Christian burials are concentrated in two regions, one spot in the Glinischche and one on the north slope of Mount Mithridates near the catacombs.

At the same time we must admit the presence of Goths even in the towns; for as Skoril points out, we find them buried with their characteristic jewelry in these same Christian cemeteries and in catacombs hard by.

In the time of Justin (A.D. 518—527) says Procopius the Bosporites who had been independent found it necessary to add themselves to the Empire. The Huns had already utterly destroyed Cepi and Phanagoria and they feared the same fate for Bosporus. Justinian tried to assure the peace of the Bosporus by supporting Grod or Gordas, a converted Hun, as prince of the neighbouring barbarians, but he infuriated his compatriots by melting down their idols and selling the metal in the city. Under his brother Mugel or Moagerius they rose up against him, slew him and attacked Bosporus where they slew the imperial officers. So Justinian had to send considerable forces and re-establish the imperial authority. Presumably it was at this time that he rebuilt the fortifications that had fallen into decay. From henceforward Bosporus has no independent existence. Sometimes it is subject to the Empire, sometimes to the Huns later to the Khazars, but it does not keep the same individuality that Chersonese kept and there is not the same temptation to follow its history through the dark ages.

1 App. ii. 49, p. 292.
3 Latyshev, Justin. Christ. 86.
5 R.C.A. xxiii. p. 31.
6 e.g. MacPherson, Pl. v. von Stern Trans. Soc. xx. p. 1; Pharmacovskij Arch. Arz., 1903, p. 60—CK. 1904, p. 71, 78, p. supra p. 385, where dishes with figures of Constantines afford some idea of the date.
7 de Bello Persico, i. 12.
8 Procopius, de B. Goth. iv. 5: yet we find Phanagoria mentioned in the time of Justinian II; Theophanes (de Boor), p. 373; Niceph. C. politianus (Bonn), p. 46.
9 Malalas (Bonn), p. 431; Theophanes (de Boor), p. 175, v. supra, p. 532.
10 Procopius de Aedif. iii. 7; cf. Latyshev, Justin. Christ. No. 98. This obligation fell on later emperors, e.g. Maurice App. 70—Niceph. Christ. No. 99, and was carried out through imperial officials—no doubt the Bosporan dynasty was extinct.
LATER KINGS OF BOSPORUS AND THEIR DATED COINS.

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<td>Rhescoporos</td>
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Every known gold or silver coin of these Bosporan rulers from Pharnaces to Inithineus is noted with its weight in Berrie-de-la-Garde's "Materials for Stathmological Investigations," Num. Mitr., it., and this table is in close agreement with his: he adds one to the numbers of the Rhescoporos (v. p. 600).
Officials of the Bosporan Kingdom.

We have already seen how the Spartocids at first ruled as archons in the Greek cities, then assumed the title of kings over various barbarian tribes and finally imitated the other rulers of their time and called themselves, at any rate in ordinary usage, kings of the whole Bosporus. Considering their preponderance as evidenced by the absence of all mention of senate or people they can hardly be said to have had a constitutional position. Mithridates introduced the purest orientalism and this probably characterized all his successors.

The growth of the king's title has been followed as it developed into the sonorous formula used by Rhescuporis II. Even this did not express enough for subjects who address Sauromates II as οἱ θεοί [θεός] καὶ δεσπότης οἱ, and Teiranes and his queen as οἱ θεοὶ θεοί καὶ εὐεργέται. The king was surrounded by his court and some of the administrators of the government bore titles derived from his household, having as usual developed out of his personal attendants. After the time of Mithridates VIII the Bosporans seem to have dropped out of the social class of client kings, we hear no more of the ruling queens who are characteristic of the period of transition and probably a harem system was established. Others of the official hierarchy bore territorial titles. Latyshev has given the general outlines of this organization pieced together from indications centuries apart in date. But there is every reason to believe that the Bosporan kingdom was thoroughly conservative and the picture is probably right, it remains but to fill in the details which have come to light since Latyshev wrote. The chief interest in the matter is that the Bosporan kingdom as a survival of Hellenistic states throws light on the manner in which such personal officers of the ruler, always the main officials of an Eastern state, passed into the organization of the later Roman Empire.

We have a list of the chief grandees in an inscription at Panticapaeum set up by them in honour of Teiranes and his queen Aelia. They call themselves ἄρτητου βασιλείας "officers of the Sublime Porte", and include Menestrateus prefect of the Kingdom (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας) and of Theodosia, Phannes commander of the Thousand, and prefect of the Aspurgiana, Phanes the chief secretary of state (ἀρχηγός). Chariton the captain (λοχαγός), Phidatus formerly governor of the city (τυχίν πολέμαρχος), Leimanaeus actual governor of the city, Eudius and Eros former finance ministers (ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων), Psycharon actual finance minister, Alexander formerly private secretary (ἐπὶ τῆς πυλίκδος), Menestrateus under secretary of state (γραμματεύς), and perhaps Bardanes (ἐπὶ τῶν ?) Παμφύλαδον. These state officials, with many private persons seem...
to have formed a religious society with Julius Chopharnes as priest. Other inscriptions mention ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς ηῷσου, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωργυπιᾶς, ὃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν.

Clearly, the country was divided into districts and their rulers were apparently little satraps. The west side of the strait was called the kingdom par excellence, the peninsula of Taman or perhaps its northern part about Fontan formed the island, the country between Phanagoria and Gorgippia was called τὰ Λασσοργογιανά, perhaps ὃ ἐπὶ τῶν Λ. was a later name for ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς ηῷσου. Gorgippia as a frontier port at one extremity and Theodosia in a similar position at the other each had its own governor. Pluralism was allowed, for instance Menestrasus has two adjoining prefectures. The officials went into retirement after holding office, none of them were appointed for life. Prominent families might have more than their share of office, e.g. Ulpius Parthenoctes and Ulpius Antimachus were prefects of the kingdom and the island and very likely brothers. As to the time when these offices came into being, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς η在传奇 is mentioned in the time of Aspurgus and the others probably go back to the same period.

The court officers (οἱ βασιλίκοι?) were as follows: ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, the ἀρχικουτωνείτις, the κράσβαρος, maybe the same or his underling, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς ποντικίδος, apparently the king's private secretary, and ὃ περὶ αὐτῆς γιὰ ζωήλαξ]. If rightly restored, the court treasurer.

The πολεμαρχαὶ of Panticapaeum were presumably presidents of the municipality nominated by the crown like the ἱδρωναστικές of certain Russian towns. Phanagoria or rather Agrippias Caesarea may have preserved special privileges even after its reduction by Pharnaces, it seems even to have treated directly with Rome in a surprising manner. Its magistrates are called Archons in 307 A.D.: its Demos is mentioned in the time of Dynamis and in the 4th century a.D. a Demos and, perhaps a Boule too, we also meet with the titles of λοχαγός and ὃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν.

So too we learn that the Demos survived at Gorgippia in the time of Cotys 1. Here besides the governor, who was no doubt nominated by the king, were ἐκκυκλιόν οἰκονόμου and ἱερῶν οἰκονόμου. The ἀρχιοφορίδες was also probably in the service of the state rather than an officer in a society (v. pp. 624, 625) and the same applies to the Gymnasiarch, who may have been fulfilling a liturgy rather than practising a profession.

However ὃ ὅ των παναγογογίου at Panticapaeum was surely head of a state school. Minor officials were Soracus who collected fines (ὁκῶν πράκτωρ).

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1. Διαλ. Ι. 36 (= App. 42), 254 (150 A.D.), 359.
2. Διαλ. Ι. 434; Β. C. Α. Ι. 32, p. 46, No. 32.
3. Διαλ. Ι. 38, No. 2 (= App. 47, 51).
6. Διαλ. Ι. 359.
8. Διαλ. Ι. 428, A.D. 192.
9. Διαλ. Ι. 297, Καρπατόριου, B. C. Α. Ι. p. 65, No. 60, 146 A.D.
10. Διαλ. Ι. 38, 49 (? = App. 61, 60), 131.
11. Διαλ. Ι. 202, c. 100 A.D. As uncertain is Τουραμάν τοῦτον at Taman, Trans. Ι. Δ. Σ. χ. Ω. Κιδών.
and the interpreters ἐπιμελητὲς under a chief mentioned on a building at Taman. The ἐπιμελητὲς often mentioned as carrying out particular tasks were chosen ad hoc and were not as such regular magistrates: ἐπισκόπης and κόμης (App. 66) were probably Roman titles not Bosporan offices.

Army and Fleet.

The military forces of the kingdom had always to be kept efficient. Many are the epitaphs of Bosporans who fell in the continuous struggle against the surrounding tribes. Their ordinary equipment is shown on frescoes and grave reliefs (v. pp. 301—304, 313—319, ff. 214—216, 218, 223—225, 227, 230) but there was a body of Bosporans armed in Roman fashion. We cannot discern their organization: there were chiliarchi, λοχαγοὶ, occurring in all three towns; they may be commanders of local forces. At Gorgippia there was also a τάγμα τάρταξη, if that is right; and ἀποστάτης. At Panticapaeum a special part of the cemetery was set apart and marked ἁρματήριον, and near by was buried a ἀποστάτης Τυκαιοῦτος. The native army was stiffened with Roman troops at any rate during the 1st century A.D. Apparently they consisted not of legions but of auxiliaries. We have the gravestones of privates in the Cyprian cohort and the princeps and centurion of the Thracian cohort. There was also a ἀποστάτης Ἰωάννου πρώτης.

The fleet was almost as important as the army. We hear of Spartocus II and Paerisades asking for Athenian crews (supra, p. 375), the services rendered by Eumelus in putting down piracy have been duly chronicled and the later kings boast of similar exploits. The northern dominion of Mithridates was founded on sea-power and his admiral Neoptolemus won a battle in the strait itself. Asander's success would seem to have been due to a naval victory, at least a ship's prow occurs on all his coins (Pl. vi. 24—26), and we find his καρποῖς setting up a monument to Poseidon Sosineos and Aphrodite Nauarchis, deities singularly nautical. So in the time of Cotys II the admiral Tryphon celebrates a victory over the Scythians.

Magistrates of Tanais.

We do not know what may have been the exact relations between Tanais and the Bosporan kingdom or its internal constitution before its destruction by

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1 Isot. I. 28, 9; Aspergus in CIL. vi. 3207, v. p. 613, n. 12, was probably in Roman service.
3 Isot. I. 339, 48, 49, 50 (v. App. 65, 66, 59, 312, 335 (= App. 49), cv. II. 22.
4 Tacitus, Ann. xii. 15, cf. Arrian, Καρποῖς κατ' Ἰωάννου, 8 where they come after the Italians and the Cimmerians. Gattinon σπορωμάτως, Isot. I. 493, was probably officer in such a corps not as Poland, Gesch. d. gr. Verrußen (v. p. 620, n. 3), pp. 153, 359 says, the head of a band of mystics: so too the men with native names and the title προπέλατος, Isot. I. 28, 278, 1824, p. 325.
5 Isot. I. 29, 41, 30 (= App. 61, 34, 60), Phanagoria, 357.
6 Isot. I. 29, 53, 40 (v. App. 61, 54, 60), Phanagoria, 357.
7 Panticapaeum, Isot. I. 29, Phanagoria, 353.
8 Gorgippia, II. 402 (= App. 69), iv. 436 a; BCA. XXXVII. p. 44, No. 3.
9 Isot. I. 431, perhaps πεδαιοράγης
10 Isot. I. 404; BCA. XXXVII. p. 38, No. 2 (= App. 51.
17 Isot. I. 447; cf. Cichorius, l.c. p. 255. A second cohort is mentioned CIL. x. 270 but seems doubtful.
19 Isot. I. 27.
Polemo, but the town was rising again under Sauromates, and from the time of Eupator and his successors we have several inscriptions recording how various officials made restorations of towers, walls, a gate, a fountain and an agora. The settlement consisted of two communities distinguished as Ἑλληνες καὶ Ταναιεταί, each with its head, the Hellenarch and the Archon of Tanais (App. 52) or Ταναιεταίοι. This last office appears in commission in App. 55 which mentions four or five men. This double character is also indicated by the custom of speaking of benefits conferred τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις (e.g. App. 55), but it is not clear which corresponds to which, nor whether as places τῇ πόλει and τῷ ἐμπόρῳ were distinct or no.

Supreme over both communities and their magistrates was the royal Legate: he was often one of the great officers of the kingdom, the grand chamberlain (App. 52), the prefect of the Aspurgiana, the prefect of the kingdom, but sometimes he was chosen from the Tanaïtes, e.g. Chophrasmus, legate in a.d. 236 (App. 59), appears in several lists of private citizens.

In App. 52 we have apparently four ἀστρατηγοὶ τῶν πολεμῶν as well as the archon of Tanais and the Hellenarch. Minor officers were the διάδοχος (App. 59) and the revenue officer, but he may have been employed in the kingdom rather than in the town as he is called Hellenarch late revenue officer.

The architects and ἐπιμεληταί hardly count as public officials. They were probably chosen for each separate job, though the architect Aurelius Antoninus evidently got most of the town's work.

Cults.

The religious history of the Bosporan kingdom is especially interesting in its later stages. A Graeco-Iranian population in the presence of a Jewish ferment developed a syncretistic popular religion organized in private societies which seem more completely than in the Empire to have superseded the hierarchies of the old Hellenic gods. The names of these survive in official documents of the latest period but their personalities seem faded and the combinations of deities which occur and the epithets applied to them shew a pantheistic tendency. Somehow it seems quite natural that the Hellenic religion should not have flourished in a country in which the bay and myrtle, so interwoven with their cult, could not be made to grow in spite of efforts made by Mithridates and others definitely for the sake of ritual needs.

Of the old Hellenic gods Zeus did not apparently attract the worship of the Bosporans. There is a dedication to Zeus πανάρχης made by one of the

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1 v. p. 594; Strabo, XI. cl. 3, 11.
2 Isthm. IV. 448.
3 Isthm. IV. 444.
5 Isthm. IV. 447.
8 Isthm. IV. 442, 430, 431 bis, 433-434, 447, called συμβεβλητὰς καὶ ἐκκεραυθεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ.
9 Theoph. de Plant. IV. v. 3: Pliny, NH. XVI. 137 (59).
kings about the Christian era\(^1\) and a few coins bear his head\(^2\). The great
inscription in honour of Teiranes\(^3\) is addressed by a religious society under
a priest to Zeus Σωτήρ\(^4\) and Hera Σωτερία but this is hardly the personal Zeus.
In this rather general sense he is joined with Aphrodite and Ares at Tanais\(^5\),
and in the pagan formula for the manumission of slaves\(^6\) he is called as a
witness together with Ge and Helios. The head of this latter appears on
a coin of Gorgippia (Pl. ix. 22) and on two of ΒΑΕ and ΒΑΜ (Pl. vii. 12, 18):
this seems merely personal to these rulers.

Poseidon was the patron of the guild of shipowners at Gorgippia where he
had a temple\(^7\), otherwise he was regarded less as a god than as an ancestor of
the royal house: as such his name appears in the genealogical boasts of the
later kings\(^8\), and Sauromates II put on his coins a figure combining his
attributes with those of Heracles\(^9\). As Σωτήρειος he obtains with Aphrodite
Nauarchis a dedication from Asander's admiral\(^10\), and appears on coins which
may be referred to that king (Pl. v. 28, vi. 12, 13; also vii. 16).

The chief deity of ancient Panticapaeum was Apollo especially with the
epithet Hietros\(^11\), his priest is the only one regularly mentioned in inscriptions.
The supposition has already been mentioned that the Greek name of Panticapaeum
was Apollonia because of the coins marked ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (v. p. 628, and
Pl. ix. 10); these early coins also sometimes bear the head of Apollo\(^12\). He
was also called Phoebus\(^13\). Apollo was worshipped at Phanagoria where he
may have been patron of the games, at least Mestor makes his dedication to him\(^14\) ἄγωνος Ἀπόλλωνος. Here too he bears the epithet Hietros\(^15\). In later
times there was an Apollo ἀντίγονη, the infinite, at Dioclea perhaps a suburb
of Phanagoria\(^16\), and at Tanais Apollo received a dedication\(^17\). His head is
common upon coins of the 1st century B.C. Apparently he and his tripod
were Hermithian types\(^18\).

Hermes is not directly mentioned in inscriptions but the great games at
Gorgippia were Hermaea\(^19\). His head only occurs on ΒΑΕ coins\(^20\): his figure
is common on the walls of "catacombs" in company with Calypso (v. pp. 309—
311, 310—321).

Dionysus has one dedication made to him simply\(^21\), and another\(^22\) under the

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\(^1\) IosPE. iv. 200.  
\(^2\) Burachkow, xxii. 161—167; XXIV. 21, 22.  
\(^3\) App. 61 = IosPE. ii. 39.  
\(^4\) There are a few graffiti: ἔγραφεν Δῆμος Σωτήρας from Kerch, Arch. Ame. 1910, p. 399; ἔγραφε Δῆμος Φέλιξ, ib. 1928, p. 79; and Υπὲρ Δῆμος Παρμοῦ καὶ
Προφατ. ib. 1907, p. 139.  
\(^5\) App. 52 = IosPE. ii. 423.  
\(^6\) IosPE. ii. 54, 420 = App. 43.  
\(^7\) App. 51 = BCA. xxxvii. p. 38, No. 2; perhaps
App. 60 = IosPE. ii. 402.  
\(^8\) IosPE. ii. 41 = App. 34, 353, 356.  
\(^9\) B. XXX. 228, 239, v. p. 606: his trident appears
on many royal coins, e.g. Pl. vii. 11, 11, 36.  
\(^10\) App. 30 = IosPE. ii. 25; the combination of god and goddess finds a close parallel at Myasa,
Π. Ασβύδσκος and Α. Εὐσεβίους, P.-H. s.v. Aphrodite,
pp. 2755.  
\(^11\) IosPE. ii. 6. (= App. 27), 10, 15 (= App. 35).  
\(^12\) supra, p. 477 and p. 381; Ct. I. I. Tolstoi, Journ. Min.
\(^13\) "The Cult of Apollo on the Bosporus and at Olbia"; Roscher, i. p. 433; Farnell, Cults, iv. pp. 433, 493.
\(^14\) B. XIX. 25 and 42.
\(^15\) In verse, v. supra, p. 577; Λαμπρόν Καλαμόν, IosPE. iv. 407, is probably a man's name and
patronymic, so Skorpiol, BCA. XL. p. 115 quoting an amphora-stamp with the same genitive.
\(^16\) IosPE. ii. 325.
\(^17\) IosPE. ii. 338.
\(^18\) App. 50 = IosPE. ii. 422.
\(^19\) Panticapaeum, Pl. v. 24—27, vi. 2—6, 9, 11.
\(^20\) B. XXX. 98—100, XXXI. 101—143, XXXII. 144—151.
\(^21\) Phanagoria, Pl. ix. 16—19; B. XXIII. 12—18; Gorgippia, Pl. ix. 23, 24; B. XXIII. 52: ΒΑΕ, Pl. vii. 15.
\(^22\) IosPE. iv. 432.
\(^23\) B. XXIV. 23, 24, 26.
\(^24\) App. 37 = IosPE. ii. 18.
\(^25\) IosPE. iv. 199, 199. iv. C. B.C.
strange epithet ἀρείος; no doubt he was honoured in the theatre mentioned by Polyaeus (v. xlii. 1). Mithridates called himself Dionysus, so no wonder the god's head appears on many coins which may be referred to his time.

Ares had a temple and statue at Panticapaeum restored by a Sauromates¹; he is also mentioned in a Tanais inscription². He occurs upon coins of ἸΣ and ΛΕ (Pl. vii. 5, 13).

Asclepius appears upon one inscription³. It was in his temple at Panticapaeum that his priest Stratus dedicated the bronze vessel that had been burst by the frost to the standing wonder of the Greeks⁴; he figures on no coin⁵.

Heracles received a dedication on each side of the strait⁶. His head appears on coins of Leucon after an Alexander model (Pl. vi. 16) and on another type on later coins of Panticapaeum⁷; his club and lion-skin adorn those of ἸΣ and Mithridates VIII and his club alone issues of many subsequent kings (v. p. 633 and Pl. vii. 11, viii. 7). He is claimed as an ancestor by Sauromates I and Rhesocoris II⁸. Sauromates II put all his labours on his coins⁹.

Quite unexplained so far are the deities to whom Comosary makes her dedication ἅγιοι Θεοὶ Σανεργείας καὶ ᾠστάρας. Mr S. A. Cook, late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, to whom I applied for help under the impression that at any rate ᾠστάρα was clearly Semitic and a form of 'Ištar, Astarte, would not allow even so much; the Phoenician form always has the second τ, the Aramaic changes away the s, e.g. Atargatis, and there is no possibility of the Ethiopic form which would agree occurring here: but he hardly allows enough for the Greek distortion of loan-words¹⁰, and I still dare suppose Astara a form of Astarte: so she becomes almost indistinguishable from Aphrodite Aature herself; and if we remember that in Strabo's story¹¹ Heracles had his part in the deceit which she used towards the giants, we might see in the strong god Sanerges such a deity as the East loved to join with Astarte and the West usually identified with Heracles. In Sanerges may lurk the names of the Babylonian deities San or Nergal or even both combined¹².

From Asia Minor came Mên¹³ who appears in the 1st century B.C. upon coins of Panticapaeum, Phanagoria and Gorgippia. Probably¹⁴ he is in connexion with the star and crescent badge of Mithridates. Reina

¹ Panticapaeum, Pl. vi. 8 and a full length figure with lioness and thyrsus on the large Mên coin vi. 10: Phanagoria, B. XXIII. 246 and the uncertain coins, Pl. IX. 21, cf. Giel, K. B. Pl. IV.
² IoPE. II. 47.
³ App. 52 = IoPE. II. 423.
⁴ IoPE. II. 39, dedicating a table.
⁵ Strabo, II. 16. 160.
⁶ B. XXII. 22 is Ammon, BMC. Pontus, p. 44.
⁷ IoPE. II. 24, 350.
⁸ B. XXXII. 81, 182; also Theodotus, c. p. 559.
⁹ IoPE. II. 358.
¹⁰ App. 54 = IoPE. II. 41.
¹¹ e.g. Pl. vii. 11; B. XXII. 239 sqq.; Giel, TRAS. V. Pl. VII. 72-77.
¹² App. 39 = IoPE. II. 346.
¹³ I offer him my best thanks.
¹⁴ The loss of the t in Greek may be paralleled by its loss in Hamilcar, cf. ἸΣ; and there does occur a later Babylonian form ἹΣΕΙΔΑ with an Aramaic termination, as used by Syrians and Mandaeans, Nöldeke, Enzykl. Bibl. II. p. 1404 sv. Esther.
¹⁵ Strabo, XI. ii. 10: ἑρμανδέων διὸ τὸ ἐπίθετον τὴν βούλη μὲν τινα προστατικόν, ὥστε ἐπιθυμεῖν ἑπείδη τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Γαρντάκτων, ἐπικαλείσθην τῷ Ἱσαρκίῳ κρίσεως σταυροῦ τοῦ Γαρντάκτου εἰς αἰλοῦν τοῦ τοῦ Ἰσαρκίου εἰς τοῦ τοῦ Ἱσαρκίου
¹⁶ The combination of the two names Sanerges and Astarta is curiously like the names of two otherwise unknown deities ΝΕΡΓΑΛΙ and ΑΣΤΑΡΗ in an Aramaic inscription at Tellaa in N. Arabia, C. I. Semit., Pt. II. Tom. 1. No. 113, I. io kindly pointed out to me by Professor Beyer. We have learnt nothing certain since Köhler published his Dissertation in 1805.
¹⁷ BAV II. p. 261 he is called Mithraus.
¹⁸ Pl. vi. 10, B. XXII. 179, Giel, K. B. Pl. IV. 6, B. XXIII. 6 sq.
calls by his name the dancing terra-cotta figures in Phrygian costume (v. pp. 346, 368).

Another Asiatic deity who occurs in terra-cottas is Mithras (ib.). Mithridates does not seem to have sought to spread his ancestral cult outside Cappadocia. We cannot put a name to the “Great God” at Gorgippia (v. p. 566).

As to other gods who only occur on coins there is no reason to take this as evidence of special cult. Pan whose head appears on most of the autonomous coins of Panticapaeum (and through imitation on some of Phanagoria, Pl. ix. 15) does not seem to have been held in any particular honour there, he served but as the armes parlantes of the city. The caps of the Dioscuri are similarly represented on the coins of the Euxine cities either as patrons of sailors or because of some monetary agreement, but they were not worshipped specially so far as we can tell (Pl. vi. 1, ix. 22, 28). Sarapis comes on the coins of among many exotic types (p. 602, n. 1), figures with Isis and Harpocrates upon a ring which argues at any rate private devotion and with Hermes on a stele: allied divinities occur in burial vaults (v. pp. 310 and 606, n. 10): also put the head of his ancestor Perseus with his harpé upon a coin (Pl. viii. 14).

The chief deity of the whole kingdom was no doubt Aphrodite Urania: the centre of her worship was on the east side of the strait where she had a temple in Phanagoria and one called to Απατώρον on the south side of Lake Corocondamitis: after this sanctuary she is described in inscriptions as Απατώριας or more often Απατώρος μεθέως. Strabo (l.c.) calls the goddess η Απατώρα but the Berezan graffito (p. 479) Απατώρης does not support this form, nor does the inscription found by De La Motraye on an unidentified site near the Upper Kuban ΣΕ...ΑΠΑΤΟΡΟΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙII
must be Atpure and at Panticapaeum where she is also called Nauarchis and at Tanais. As Nauarchis she had a temple built to her at Gorgippia A.B. 407 = A.D. 110. Aphrodite does not occur on the coins of the cities upon the Bosporus. It is only from the days of Sauromates II that she suddenly becomes the most important type. She is seated on a throne with a staff in one hand and an apple or patera in the other, wearing a high headdress, and before her stands Eros. This aspect is clearly far removed from the ordinary Aphrodite such as we see in many terra-cottas (v. p. 367, nn. 1, 2) which have no cult significance, whereas this throned type probably represents the cult image. As such she has affinity with chthonian goddesses, as Rostovtsev suggests (v. supra, p. 606, n. 10) or with the Asiatic goddesses whose names are so variously represented by the Greeks; she sees her head upon such coins as Pl. vii. 7 or ix. 19. Astara is probably another name for her.

Other nature goddesses appear on the Bosporus. We have dedications to the Mother, the Phrygian Mother from her priestess, and even to the mysterious "Agyptis". To this Mother may be referred many terra-cottas (v. supra, p. 368). Here seems to belong a late Graffito, "θάς μεγάλανε". Artemis of Ephesus was the same kind of deity. More Hellenic was the hunting goddess Artemis Agrotera, whose temple on the Taman peninsula has all vanished, perhaps owing to the same volcanic agency that threw up the inscription which records its existence. Artemis seems to have protected the docks at Tanais. A few coins bear her head (Pl. ix. 13), but the browsing deer that mostly goes with it is a Mithridatic emblem (Pl. vii. 7, ix. 18).

A dedication to Demeter dating from Leucon II, another set up by a priestess of the goddess, yet another with the epithet Thesmophoros and the tomb called the Great Bliantissa wherein was buried a family specially devoted to Demeter (v. supra, p. 423), all point to her worship having flourished in the ivth and ivth centuries B.C., while a fragmentary inscription with ritual directions as to certain mysteries which may be those of Eleusis marks a revival in Roman times. The rape of Kore or her head alone often adorns the walls of catacombs.

Quite isolated is a little altar inscribed Βάθυλλος Δέρνιος | Εκάττυς | Σανδρής μεθεαντινή |. Since Hecate does not seem to have had any special connexion with Sparta, perhaps Bathylus came from there.

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1. Ins.P.E. II. 349.
2. Ins.P.E. II. 21, 22; B.C.A. XVIII. p. 125, No. 40.
8. B. XXXII. 239 sqq. infra Pl. VIII. 12, 14.
9. For a similar composition in terra-cotta see Gorgippia.
10. B.C.A. XXXII. 199; supra, p. 368.
15. B.C.A. III. p. 163.
17. B.C.A. XXXVII. p. 37, No. 1, Gorgippia.
19. In ancient times there were earthquakes on the Bosporus, and one split a hill and revealed gigantic bones. Theopompus Sinop. ap. Pliny, Nat. Hist. xix. 48.
21. Nefioipos; k.t.l. whereas NEPPO and NEPIPO seems to lurk.
27. Ins.P.E. II. 23, ivth or ivth cent. B.C.
It is rather surprising that we have no documentary evidence of any cult of Athena upon the Bosporus. Her head occurs on a few coins (Panticapaeum, Pl. vi. 14; Leucon, vi. 17; EAE, vii. 14), but these are merely reproductions of Alexander’s types.

Phanagoras appears upon the coins of the city that he founded (Pl. ix. 12), and he was no doubt the object of a heroic cult.

Finally there was the cult of the Augusti* of whom the kings proclaimed themselves perpetual high priests. In accordance with this the ladies of the imperial house appear on coins with the attributes of goddesses (Agrippias Caesarea, Pl. ix. 19, 20; Gecaepyris, vii. 7). In spite of their addressing their kings as gods (v. p. 612)†, it is not likely that the Bosporans actually worshipped them as such.

A document which illustrates religious beliefs at Panticapaeum, but can scarcely be regarded as evidence for a definite cult, is a defixio, as usual a tablet of lead rolled up and pierced with two nails‡; it bears two curses, in one Hermes, Hecata, Pluto, Leucothea and Pherephona, each and all called Chthonian, Artemis Strophaea and Demeter Chthonia and the Chthonian heroes are invoked; in the other the Chthonian Hermas, Hermas (I. Hecata), Plutodota, Praxidica, Pherephona, the heroes and Demeter. The chthonian side of gods appears in the catacombs but again this does not imply that the living paid it so much regard as Rostovtsev (l. cit.) argues.

Religious Societies.

More interesting than the official religion in the Bosporan kingdom were the semi-private societies (θησεῖς, συνοδοί)*. These seem to have had three distinguishable objects, the worship of certain deities, the due burial of the members, and the education of the young; this last would appear to have been a subsequent development, but we cannot say whether the other two were original or whether one grew out of the other.

The societies, introduced from Asia Minor*, spread equally in all the cities of the Bosporan kingdom, but it is only lately that we have ascertained that everywhere existed certain features which the inscriptions of Tanais (Nedvigovka), preserved by the conditions of the site, have made most intelligible to us. It is only at Tanais that we have complete catalogues* of

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* In HEP. 1894, p. 494, he is called a Cabinos.
† From the time of Dynamos, JoesE. iv. 201 (=App. 40); then II. 32 (=App. 44), 39, 41 (=App. 54), 352, 355, 360; BCA. XXXVII. p. 70, No. 7, v. p. 396, n. 7.
‡ App. 61 = JoesE. II. 29.

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* For the words v. Poland, pp. 16 sq., 18 sq.
† Poland, p. 23.
‡ App. 53, 56, 58; JoesE. II. 437–457, IV. 449; Ziebarth, p. 59, Poland, p. 284.
societies with their officers and members; from Gorgippia come many fragments of such documents, enough to show a general correspondence together with considerable divergence in detail and names of officers unknown elsewhere; from Theodosia we have a list of names of members, but the heading and the titles of the officers are lost; still smaller are fragments from Zjuk (Heracleum or Zenonis Chersonesus) and Opuk (Cimmericum).

At Panticapaicum have been found no fragments that can be held exactly to correspond to the general catalogues, but we have many gravestones erected to the memory of one or more officers or members of a society and bearing the list of officers whereby we see that the terminology was practically the same as at Tanais, and so presumably the objects of the societies. The two or three inscriptions from near Phanagoria shew rather a different terminology and offer one more indication that Phanagoria was not quite as the other towns.

The earliest of the θησος in the Bosporan kingdom is that which in the middle of the 1st century B.C. set up a stele to Aphrodite Urania, Lady of Apaturon, on behalf of Pacisades Philometor, Camasarey and Argotes. The head was called a συμμαγος, the members θησις, and their names are appended. This organization seems to have been devoted to one deity in the ancient Pantheon—it was not in any sense monotheistic. Another catalogue from Panticapaicum, of which we have part of the heading, seems to have been dedicated θεου συντείρα, in which the personality of the goddess may or may not be fading; as we should expect at so late a date. The courtiers of Teiranes (App. 61) appear to have formed a society with a priest, a γραμμαθής (?) and νεστερός under a novice-master Coties.

The catalogues from Tanais are headed by a dedication θεου ἵπτωτα, or have the phrase διαπουσις ἀδελφοι συμμαγον, θεου ἵπτωτον. At Gorgippia we have θεου δικαίος as well as θεου ἵπτωτα. To ἱπτωτος was often added the further epithet ἠτήκον at Tanais, and at Panticapaicum. We have also manumissions of slaves made θεου ἱπτωτος παντοκράτωρ ἰππότης. The whole form of these documents and the epithets of the deity are clearly due to Jewish influence, although they end with the pagan formula ὑπὸ Δία, Γαμ, Ἡλιος. The purely Jewish manumission also occurs, so we are justified in supposing that it was in the presence of Jews that the pagan gave place to

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1 *IosPE* ii. 402 (=App. 66)—418, iv. 433 (= App. 57)—443; *B.C.A.* iii. p. 52; xxviii. p. 38, No. 1 (fairly complete); *App. 51*—p. 69, No. 41.
3 *IosPE.* iv. 266.
4 *B.C.A.* xli. p. 93, No. 1.
6 *IosPE.* ii. 365 (four members together), iv. 431 (=App. 48); *B.C.A.* xiv. p. 116, No. 38.
7 *IosPE.* ii. 431; *IosPE.* ii. 19.
8 *IosPE.* ii. 57 (late 1st century A.D.): Latyshev supplies θεανή; [sho] (iv. p. 286), but the analogies he quotes, iv. 433 (=App. 57), 434, are not exact.
9 *IosPE.* ii. 439, 442, 454 (=App. 31) cf. 454.
10 *IosPE.* ii. 449, 454, 452 (=App. 55), 456.
11 *IosPE.* iv. 440, 456, 456, επιφορά.
14 *App. 61* = *B.C.A.* x. p. 26, No. 21.
15 *IosPE.* ii. 400 (=App. 43), 401—407; made θεου ἤτηκον καταθέου, is hopelessly corrupt; and *B.C.A.* xiv. p. 10, No. 2, Phanagoria, imperfect.
16 Cf. the oaths, App. 16, 17.
monotheistic societies whose cult was, as it were, unsectarian, as Schürer says, neither Judaism, nor Paganism, but a Neutralisierung of both\textsuperscript{1}.

All these epithets are practically confined to Greek as spoken by Jews and have their equivalents in Hebrew or Aramaic, as pointed out by Schürer. In the manumission θεός υἱόστω παντοκράτωρ εὐλογητός recalls LXX. κύρος δ’ θεός δ’ παντοκράτωρ = ἀντίδραμα θεοῦ, e.g. Amos iii. 13, and εὐλογητός = ἐοραίος. Zeus υἱόστω is fairly common in Roman times, but points to similar eastern influences. Deissmann (op. cit.) is inclined to emphasize these, but the Jewish element cannot be ignored. In Palmyra we get several examples of Δέ υἱόστω ἐπικόμω, once translated ⟨Δὲ υἱόστω ἐπικόμω⟩, "He whose name be ever blessed, the good, the merciful," where υἱόστω seems to equal εὐλογητός. θεός υἱόστω, though occurring in heathen inscriptions, is comparatively rare, whereas it is a common combination in Jewish Greek\textsuperscript{2}, LXX., and Apocrypha, answering to the Hebrew υἱόστς θεός, Gen. xiv. 18, etc.

The word σεβόμενον had the technical sense of Gentiles who had adopted some of the Jewish faith without submitting to all the requirements of the Mosaic law, e.g. often in the Acts, as of Lydia σεβόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ (xvi. 14).\textsuperscript{3} It is true that this phrase only comes in a small class of the Tanais inscriptions; but we cannot therefore argue that this worship was confined to that class. Among the semi-pagan sects of the 11th and 12th centuries was that of the υἱόσταμος to which once belonged the father of Gregory Nazianzen\textsuperscript{4}. That the god of the Tanaïtes was originally Zeus is rendered probable by the frequent survival of an eagle upon the pediments above the inscriptions, though it is reduced to a mere decoration and as such is even doubled. Until Schürer had shown the true connexion of this υἱόστς θεός analogies pointed in the direction of Sabazius, as a close parallel had been found at Pirot (Serdica)\textsuperscript{5} in

\textsuperscript{1} The Jews in the Bosporan kingdom are fully discussed by Schürer, op. cit. who shews that they had suffered Gentile influence, as is proved by App. 46 = \textit{Jos.P.E.} ii. 52, which is modelled on a legal form of manumission by which a slave was fictitiously sold to a heathen deity without becoming a temple-slave or owing other duty to the god than reverence. (See also Deissmann, \textit{Licht vom Ostern}, p. 233.) This in the Jewish form is expanded to "worship and regular attendance at the synagogue," whose members took the responsibility of the transaction. The slave seems to have been a Gentile; in all cases he bears a name unknown among any Jews. For προσκύνησις cf. the use of προσκύνησις in the Acts i. 14, ii. 42, vii. 4, and especially ii. 46 and elsewhere in the New Testament (Deissmann, op. cit. p. 66). In later times we have many Jewish epitaphs often adorned with the seven-branched candlestick, Levites' trumpet. Aaron's rod. etc.: \textit{Jos.P.E.} ii. 304–305, iv. 404, 494, 426, cf. E. Litzenko, "Ancient Jewish Funeral Monuments discovered in the mounds of Phanagoria," \textit{Travaux de la 16e Session du Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes, St. P. 1876}, Vol. i. pp. 575–580, Pl. i–viii. In the Byantine period we know of the presence of Jews at Phanagoria from Theophanes (p. 357 de Boor), V. Kulakowski's review of Schürer, \textit{Journ. Min. Pub. Instr.} St. P. 1898, April. No doubt these Crimean Jews converted the Khazars. For the whole question of the Jews in the Crimea and the Karamides the authorities referred to by Schürer, v. "All-Judische Denkmäler aus der Krim mitgetheilt von Arb. Firkowitsch, geprüft von A. Harkavy," \textit{Min. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. P., viii série, T. XXIV. No. i, 1876.}

\textsuperscript{2} e.g. Inscription from Adrias, \textit{BCH.} xiii. (1889) p. 178.

\textsuperscript{3} So Josephus \textit{Ant. Jud.} xx. viii. 11 calls Poppaea θεοτόκιος.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Oral. XVIII.} 5.: Migne P. G. XXXV. p. 929 sqq.

Serbia, a dedication made θεῷ ἐπήκοω ῥήματος by a θεός Σαβαζίανος. Perhaps the personality of Sabazius, in whose honour the thiasus had been named, had faded with time. Certainly there is no reason to call the Bosporan deity Sabazius, though they both had come to be much the same kind of divinity.

The lists of θιασεῖται or συνοδεῖται at Tanais are arranged according to three formulae. The most usual after the invocations to the deity and to good luck and after naming the reigning king begins ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ ἱερέα τοῦ δεία and gives the list of officeholders and then that of the members. The next begins the enumeration thus ἡ σύνοδος περὶ θεῶν ῥήματος καὶ ἱερέων ῥήματα. Finally we have lists which appear to contain names of new members or mere associates; they run ἵσποντοι ἅδελφοι συνόμωμοι θεῶν ῥήματος ἑγγράφατοι ἱερεῖς τά ἱστάματα περὶ πρεσβύτερον τοῦ δεία.

In the second variety the deity is reckoned as if he were the chief officer of the society; in the development of mystic doctrine either the deity has descended among his worshippers or they have raised themselves almost to his level. This then would seem an innovation appearing in A.D. 220—228, but two inscriptions which do not show it are assigned to the reign of Cotys A.D. 227—233, so perhaps not all societies adopted it. The examples of affiliated associations seem to belong to the same decade.

As to numbers, Poland (p. 284, 285) remarks that societies in the earlier days were rather small, ranging from some 15 to 30; in the second variety, with which II. 445 and 454 must be included, shew 40 as the norm plus additions which can be seen to be such; the affiliated associations are naturally quite small, about 20, II. 453 enumerates only eleven members.

The officers of a society at Tanais usually appear more or less in this order (ἱερεῖς), (πατὴρ συνόδου), συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμναστάρχης, νεανισκάρχης, and (γραμματεύς). I have bracketed those which are not always present. The presence of a ιερεῖς argues that there was a sacrificial ritual; the πατὴρ συνόδου seems rather to have held the position of a patron or an honorary senior than a real office, while the συναγωγός was the working president; the γυμναστάρχης and νεανισκάρχης show that the society concerned itself with the education of the young; perhaps if we had complete lists we should find that the πρεσβύτερος of an affiliated association was the νεανισκάρχης of the parent society. The γραμματεύς only appears in one or two of the earlier societies. What were the duties of the φιλάγαθος and παραφιλάγαθος we cannot divine. Ziebarth (p. 146) is inclined to believe in a kind of cursus honorum, a regular promotion from office to office, but Poland (p. 338) does not concur. The heading of the Theodosian list has unfortunately perished. At Gorgippia we learn most from the inscription set up to Poseidon by the

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1 *I.P.E.* II. 437—445 (=App. 53. 454, 453 and 455 cannot be restored to fit into any regular formula; 453 seems to call full members δικαζόμενοι. The first two names are the same priest and are taken to belong to the same society, although there is but five years between them, and yet only two names are common to the two lists.


3 *I.P.E.* II. 454, 455.

4 *I.P.E.* II. 454, 455.

5 Poland, 433.

6 So Poland, p. 374, against Ziebarth, p. 154.

7 Ziebarth, p. 149.

8 In Chalcedon societies the φιλ. had ritual functions. Ziebarth, p. 155; in Egypt the word seems a mere honorary title, Poland, p. 413.

9 App. 51 = *BCA.* XXXVII. p. 38, No. 2: App. 69 (=I.P.E.* II. 402) had, I think, the same dedication.
gild of ship-owners (Merchant Venturers) in the time of Sauromates II. It looks as if the gild was open to others besides ship-owners, seeing that all the chief men of the state were members (v. p. 625), even the king, who had paid an entrance-fee towards restoring the temple¹. Probably too the deity had, like his worshippers, lost touch with the sea and become very like the θεὸς ὑφιστὸς. The gild is called a βεσος, feminine on the analogy of σύνοδος used in Ἰστ.ΠΕ. IV. 434. The officers besides the usual Priest² and συναγωγός³ included ἡρωνισταί⁴, elsewhere unknown, but the ἤρων ὀικονῦμος, like the obviously secular officials and probably even the γυμνασίαρχος⁵ and ὄρφανο-φύλακας⁶ of other inscriptions (to judge by their places in the list), were not, as such, officers of the society (v. p. 613). The number of members at Gorgippia was particularly large: one list⁷ has not less than 150 names.

At Panticapaeum there is direct evidence mostly of the burial-club side of the societies: we have no lists of members but epitaphs beginning ὑ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ ἱερείας or συναγωγός (the absence of the priest may indicate a society of less distinctively religious character), followed by the names of the officers given more or less fully and that of the dead man. We have two inscriptions of one society with the same officers⁸; in one the members call the dead man τῶν ἰδίων αἴτητον, an expression Poland (p. 54) had sought in vain to exemplify. Unusual is the case in which a society honours its παραθεωρήσεως διὰ βίου with an engraved gold wreath-strip⁹. Failing full lists an epitaph⁵⁰ giving all the identical officers that we had at Tanais proves the existence of a precisely similar organization with the same purposes including the care of the young. Only the γραμματέωι is absent, and he occurs in some cases¹¹, and in others we find a πραγματές occupying the same place¹². In view of this terminological identity and of the fact that the θεὸς υφιστὸς ἐπίκουος was worshipped at Panticapaeum we may take it that the burial societies at the latter place worshipped him, and that had we yet any gravestones from Tanais we should find that the religious societies there were also burial-clubs.

It may be by chance that the two or three inscriptions from Phanagoria bear a character of their own, but it might be urged that though the Jews were in special force there, still paganism made of the great shrine a stronghold. There is a hieratic stamp about the σύνοδος whose officers are a νακάριος, a ἱερεῖς and a ἱερόμοστορ as well as the γραμματέωι and φυλάκας¹³; the ἱερόμοστορ comes again in an inscription from Akhanizovka¹⁴. He seems to correspond to the ἱεροποιός¹⁵, an assistant to the priest in other societies. No doubt the spirit of their worship changed, but it looks as if the Phanagorites remained in a sense faithful to Aphrodite Apatire¹⁶. A very late list from Taman¹⁷

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¹ Latyshev quotes this meaning of συναγωγός from Ditt. 734, l. 22, but prefers "remission of custom duty."
³ Cf. Ḫos. PE. IV. 434. BCA. III. p. 52. XXXVII. pp. 45. 46. Nos. 3. 6.
⁴ Ḫos. PE. IV. 4341. BCA. XXXVII. pp. 44. 46. Nos. 3. 6.
⁵ Ḫos. PE. 405.
⁶ Ḫos. PE. IV. 432.
⁷ Ḫos. PE. II. 402.
⁸ Ḫos. PE. IV. 207; BCA. XL. p. 104, No. 18.
⁹ Ḫos. PE. IV. p. 125, n. 2; BCA. XXVII. p. 43.
¹⁰ Ḫos. PE. IV. 209, 212; perhaps Ḫos. PE. II. 61, 62 (v. supra p. 301, l. 214), 637.
¹¹ Poland, p. 378, thinks him a finance officer.
¹² Ḫos. PE. 421.
¹³ BCA. IV. p. 116, No. 38.
¹⁴ Ziebath, p. 131; Poland, p. 390.
¹⁵ Poland, p. 191, remarks that the worship of A. Urania flourished just in the same regions as that of θεῖος υφιστός.
¹⁶ Ḫos. PE. II. 389.
has only the words σωθεασεῖται and τῶν ἄγλων, both peculiar, distinguishable among the names.

Besides their direct religious and educational objects the societies had much social importance. Evidently they included among their members the most distinguished citizens. At Tanais, for instance, Chophrasmos, son of Phorgabacus, appears as priest of a society in the years 220 and 225 a.d., and in the former year he was apparently Hellenarch; in 236 a.d. he becomes legate. So Ἰωνᾶς Φάννεως, who comes first among the private members of his society, is prefect of the Aspurigiana and legate. The names of various ἔπιμεληταί who carried out public works for the town, sometimes at their own expense, reappear among the θιασίται and so too those of the architects.

At Bosporus the Teiranes stele seems to shew all the court enrolled in a society; no wonder Julius Sambion was πατήρ σώματος when ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐξής, Daphnus who held the same post was a σώματιτης (v. p. 302, f. 215), and Sogus, whose distinctions are set forth in App. 63, probably set up the προσευχή for the benefit of a σώματος. At Gorgippia we have as members of the θεάτων ναυτιλίων, apparently the king himself, the πρώτος ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς θαυματουργίας, a τερων οἰκονόμος, who is probably the same as ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τερων, several ἐπικεφαλίων οἰκονόμοι and στρατηγοὶ, and other lists shew λογαριάς. The ὀρφανοφόραξ was also a state-official, and τερως when they stand low on the list are probably not the society’s priests. Membership was confined to men and apparently to soldiers, at least at Panticapaeum, where the reliefs set up by the σώματος always represent the deceased as such: either he is leaning on a pillar with his bow-case hung up behind him (p. 231, f. 214) or he is riding out in full equipment with or without an attendant (p. 201, f. 215). I cannot agree with Poland (p. 22) that they were not true societies but rather lists of the chance participants in an annual celebration, who had their names cut on a stone just as nowadays they might be photographed in a group.

It is quite possible that this organization may have helped the Greeks in their resistance to barbarization, though the names in the lists shew that by the 11th century a.d. the members were mostly of native blood, and the grammar makes one feel that Greek was hardly a living tongue, or rather was not being treated with due respect as a dead language. The use of the cases and the construction of the sentences are so bad that it is sometimes hard to establish the exact sense, while other mistakes seem due to phonetic decay.

In any case the religious societies in the Bosporan kingdom offer an interesting example of that trend towards monotheism which prepared the triumph of Christianity.

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8 IoPE II. 448, 447 (= App. 59).
9 IoPE II. 429 (= App. 55, 431, 431 bl.)
10 IoPE II. 434.
11 IoPE II. 448.
13 BCA. x. p. 32, No. 24.
14 BCA. x. p. 28, No. 27.
15 App. 51 = BCA. xxviii. p. 38, No. 2.
16 Cf. App. 57 = IoPE. IV. 433.
17 Cf. IoPE. IV. 434.
18 ibid., Poland, p. 391, takes him to be an assistant to the society’s priest.
19 Cf. IoPE. II. 404; in 402 (= App. 69) l. 32. I cannot allow myself to see the word.
20 App. 69, IoPE IV. 436a; BCA. xxxvii. p. 44, No. 3.
21 ib. p. 46, No. 7 (?); IoPE. IV. 436; Poland, p. 404.
22 IoPE. II. 402 (= App. 69) 404, 410; Poland, p. 340.
23 e.g. in App. 58 = IoPE. II. 422, the doubt whether there were one πρεσβυτερος or four, and the confusion of cases in App. 51.
24 e.g. we for us, App. 52, l. 17, cf. App. 47, l. 11.
The Bosporans kept up the gymnastic exercises of Hellas, but we have not so much evidence of it as in Chersonese and Olbia. Only at Gorgippia have we a considerable inscription, which tells us that early in the 3rd century B.C. that city held a festival of the Hermaea at which was a long race (δόλυχος). There was also a kind of all-round contest in σέκαία, into which, strength, beauty, agility and skill in arms all probably entered. Other early lists of citizens from Panticapaeum and Nymphaeum were also probably agonistic. Phanagoria can show its Agonotheset in the time of Paersiades. The Panathenaic vases which I have mentioned several times (p. 347) are also a proof that the Bosporans were not unsuccessful in their cultivation of athletics, though we do not know of their having distinguished themselves in the great games of the mother country. The occurrence of the title gymnasiarch among the officers of religious societies proves that to the end bodily exercises were practised. Professors of gymnastics were imported from Sinope.

The Bosporans' taste and practice in art has been sufficiently treated (p. 294). Memnon made use of their taste in music by sending with his envoy to Leucon the famous citharoedus Aristonicus of Olynthus. The latter was instructed to begin his performance as he approached the shore, so that to hear him the whole population should assemble in the theatre, and accordingly its full numbers might be ascertained. We have the stele of an αὐληθής from Myrmeceum. A 7th century "Pseudo-Panathenaic" vase from Kerch with a contest of flute players matched by a genuine inscribed one of the 6th century from Elizavetovskaja (Tanas, v. p. 567) with lyrist argues some success in music.

In literature they have nothing to boast of. Sphaerus, a rather obscure philosopher, a pupil of Zeno and Cleanthes, lived at the court of Ptolemy Philopator. He also helped Cleomenes in his schemes for regenerating Sparta. Yet the Bosporan kings tried to patronize letters. One of them who had received a full Greek education came to Smyrna while seeing the sights of Ionia. Polemo of Smyrna, the chief sophist of the town, so far from politely waiting upon him, would not even go to see him when invited, and made the king come to him with a present of ten talents. The king must have been Sauromates I, Cotys II or Rhoemetalces, during whose reigns Polemo flourished. The long extract in Diodorus (v. p. 578) presumably comes from the works of some native author; but the historians of Mithridates and his deeds seem to have been from Asia Minor.

We can only judge of Bosporan literature by one or two metrical inscriptions and epitaphs, of which there are about thirty. The earliest of these, one of the very earliest inscriptions from the north of the Euxine, being written boustrphedon, is a failure.

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2. *IstPE*. ii. 55, 56.
5. *IstPE*. ii. 399.
178 enumerates his very miscellaneous works but Plutarch, *Cleomenes* ii., calls him a Borythaimet.
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Other early verses are better1, and the epitaphs of Lysimachus2 and Glycera (v. p. 561) are still simple. Those of Roman date are either monotonous3 or artificial, full of phrases which recur in the Anthology4 or Kaibel’s collection. This is particularly true of a series from a spot in the Glinischke, which must have been an aristocratic cemetery5.

A very literary composition is the epitaph of Sabhion, whose special delight was in the Muses6. By the irony of fate Vergilii A działidius has the worst of probably unintentional hexameters7, but some Bosporan knew enough Homer to scratch half a line on a stone and make but two mistakes8. An epitaph in verse was often earned by death in battle with the natives.

Ordinary gravestones tell us of strangers sojourning in Bosporus, besides Romans and Jews (v. pp. 614, 622, n. 1). We have near neighbours whose ἑθελέματι point to city patriotism within the kingdom, men of Nymphæum, Theodosia, Hermonassa and Cepi9, and several Chersonesities10 and an Odessite11, but no Olbians. Most foreigners came from the opposite coast: Amasias and Amisos11, Heraclea Pontica12, and especially Sinope12, also Tium and Paphlagonia12. Of more distant cities that sent men to die in Bosporus may be mentioned Mantinea, Mytilene, Chios, Colophon, and even far off Cyprus and Syracuse13. The foreign coins found come from the same Asiatic cities (among them in the early period from Cyzicus14), and offer further evidence of the close communication between the opposite coasts of the Euxine, which found its full expression in the Empire of Mithridates.

Bosporus Coinage, City Issues. Plates V, VI. 1—14, IX. 10—29.

To the exceptional constitution of the Bosporan kingdom correspond its monetary issues, so much can be discerned, but the want of data forbids us from tracing this correspondence into any great detail. Just as the rulers of the country long refrained from assuming any higher title than king with respect to the cities, so they refrained from the royal prerogative of coinage. It is clear that they kept to this rule until the latter half of the 1st century at least, and the comparative rarity of Spartocid coins in the precious metals as compared with the abundant city issues argues that their interference in the matter was exceptional. The common coins with Leucon’s name may have been called out by some emergency and do not represent a great addition to

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1 Hedée, IntPE. II. 370 cf. BCA. XXIII. p. 564; Hecataeus: a foreigner, BCA. III. p. 37, No. 3; Sanon, XIV. p. 123, No. 49.
2 IntPE. II. 171.
5 Cf. Mélanges Nicole, I. 27; IntPE. II. 86, in which the youth is called ἔφεσις ἄθλος; IV. 259, 317, set up by a Thasian; BCA. X. p. 71, No. 77; XIV. p. 130, No. 42; others of the group, IntPE. IV. 218, BCA. X. p. 49, No. 46, p. 68, No. 69, and part of XIV. p. 144, No. 47, the most elaborate of all, are in laments; this and two similar ones, IntPE. II. 298, 299 commemorate people of Sinope, as 286 a woman of Amisos.
6 IntPE. II. 197.
7 IntPE. IV. 330. Not 80 bad as Zeilas of Tarsus, BCA. XIX. p. 10, No. 7, set up in his lifetime to his wife “one of the Hellenic Muses” above a funeral feast.
8 IntPE. IV. 409 = Il. X. 242.
11 IntPE. II. 205.
12 IntPE. II. 285, 286, 2861, 387.
13 IntPE. II. 289, cf. supra p. 568.
14 v. n. 5 and BCA. X. p. 67, No. 71; XVIII. p. 132, No. 40; XXVII. p. 39, No. 9.
15 IntPE. II. 301, 296.
16 BCA. III. p. 51, No. 171; IntPE. II. 294, II. 408 and IV. 403, 401, II. 292, 300.
17 E.g. ABC. Reinach, p. 130.
the currency. There are points of resemblance between certain royal coins and others issued by the cities, but in the uncertainty of historical and stylistic criteria we do not gain from these much help in dating either.

With the entrance of Mithridates the coinage becomes quite different and types which ultimately go back to his inspiration become dominant: but he did not deprive the cities of the right of coining, not even of the right of coining silver. He allowed them to issue the small silver change and copper required to supplement the splendid tetradrachms which he made the chief currency of his dominions. To his time belong Dionysiac types. During the unsettled half-century that succeeded, naval power was all-important on the Euxine, and naval types are very general upon the coins, especially during the time of Asander. From this time the mints become royal mints, only, as it seems, Phanagoria, which had been granted exceptional privileges and had taken the name of Agrippias Caesarea, continued to issue copper after the other cities had given up coining. The coinages of Nymphaeum and Theodosia, even the latter's last (ix. 7) so-called Leuconian type, have no affinity but their Aeginetic weight with that of the Bosporan towns and have been treated separately.

The first group of coins is common to Panticapaeum, Apollonia and Phanagoria. The metal is silver and the reverse has almost always an incuse square. The type is a lion-scalp (v. 3—6. IX. 10, 11) treated in some cases in quite an archaic manner. The smaller coins of the class are very small indeed, some of these have an ant instead (v. 1, 2). The incuse square is sometimes plain, quadripartite or with pellets, sometimes of the swastika or mill-sail pattern; a few members of the group have a ram's head with a fish below it; it is remarkable that an example at Berlin 1 has this more developed type overstruck with a quadripartite square inscribed ΠΑΝΤ. The legends are ΑΠ or ΠΑ (reading either way), ΠΑΝΤ, ΠΑΝΤ, ΠΑΝΤΓ and ΠΑ. The ant has been supposed to refer to Myrmecium, the little town to the N. of Kerch; and Apollonia has been thought to be the true Greek name of Panticapaeum. These coins have been referred to Apollonia in Thrace 2, but they are found on the Bosporus. Their issue must have continued for most of the 6th century 3.

This name of Apollonia may account for a severe head of Apollo on the obverse of a late coin of this early series 4 and upon the reverse of one of the next group, which belongs to the time of greatest prosperity under the established Spartocids. This group is marked at Panticapaeum by heads of Pan, whose presence merely expresses the first three letters of the city's name. His head appears in wonderful variety, bearded and beardless, at first with straight fine hair (v. 7, 9—13); then it becomes more bold and curly (v. 8, 15), and finally is conventionalized in a way which recalls Mucha's posters of fifteen years ago with their decorative "macaroni" (v. 16—23). The later straight and rough treatments which shade into one another correspond to the time when full, or nearly full faces were in vogue on coins; the last style returns to profile. In this style the use of the drill has been allowed to produce round blobs (there is no other word) in the features and a monotonous quality of

1 Becker, 1 p. 9, Pl. II. 13.
2 BMC, Thrace, 2nd p. 87.
3 GieI, KT, II. Pl. III, shows 43 of them.
4 Burakhkov, XIX. 25, reverse, ram's head and ΓΠΑΝΤ in square, 157 grn. = 1'02 grn., 1'06 obols (then B. XIX. 48=MK, 1 p. 345; obverse, Pan bearded, 1'95 grn. = 1'06 grn., stater.
treatment (see the folds in the neck of the ox on v. 17). Often the presence
of the ivy wreath goes with the later style. This Pan class of coin seems to
have gone right through the 11th century and survived into the 2nd. In the
2nd and perhaps even in the 1st it appears to have been occasionally revived in
inferior specimens (vi. 1, ix. 15).

The finest examples are furnished by the magnificent gold staters which
are the glory of the Panticapaeum mint; these are in three varieties, according
as the head of Pan, or, as some call him, a bearded Satyr, is in full face (v. 8),
or turned to the left (v. 7) or in profile, but wreathed with ivy (v. 16). The
reverse always bears a horned griffin. The types of the silver are more varied.
Mostly we find lions (e.g. v. 11—13, the latter has been taken to be a complete
allegory of Bosporus conquering Chersones), demi-lions (v. 16) or lion
faces (v. 9, 14); further, we have ox-heads (v. 15, 17), supposed by Oréshnikov
to be in allusion to Bosporus. On copper the types of this period include
demi-griffins (v. 18), lion-heads (v. 20), each with the sturgeon below, ox-heads
similar to v. 15, and, most important of all, the bow and arrow (v. 19, ix. 15)
which connects on with Leucon’s reverse (vi. 16). To the 11th century belong
some good coins of Phanagoria with quite distinctive types, Phanagoras, ox
or demi-ox and wheatear (ix. 12 and B. xxiii. 2, 4 b).

The issues of the late 2nd and 1st centuries are marked by a pre
dominance of Apolline types. The earliest of these (v. 25) still has macaroni
treatment of the hair. The change seems to be about the time of Spartocus,
on whose coin we have the bow in case, which we also find on some of the
later Pan coins (v. 23), on a great countermark over a Pan coin (v. 21) and
on the Theodosian coins which recall those of Leucon by their obverse
(ix. 7; cf. vi. 17). But one copper issue (v. 24) almost exactly reproduces the
coin of Spartocus (vi. 15) and the monogram might read ΣΠ. Similar coins
occur in silver (B. xxii. 107, 112), and v. 26 is a degenerate variety. With Apollo
go such types as the dolphin (vi. 2), the eagle (B. xxii. 102), and the horse
(v. 25, 27), also Poseidon (v. 28). We now find fuller legends such as
ΠΑΝΤΙ and ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΙΑΤΩΝ. It is hard to know whether degraded Pans such
as vi. 1 or ix. 15 should be classed with these or referred to a later assertion of
coming rights; vi. 1 has Mithridatic affinities. To the 1st century would
seem to belong the first issue of Gorgippia, which may be even earlier to judge
by the lettering (ix. 22).

During the Mithridatic period Dionysus (who was incarnate in the great
king) appears on most of the coins, the three cities of Panticapaeum,
Phanagoria and Gorgippia striking identical types1 on blanks of a new fabric.
To shew their identity in type and monogram I have given vi. 9, ix. 17 and
ix. 24, so vi. 10 recur at the other two towns, and ix. 16, 18, 25 have
analogues at Panticapaeum. The balaustion is peculiar to Phanagoria, but
the head of Artemis on ix. 13 is like that on vi. 7, which is clearly shewn to be
Mithridatic by the characteristic pasturing deer, the mark of Mithridates’ later
tetradrachms (cf. Pl. iv. 22 at Chersonese), and the star and crescent of ix. 14 is
the well-known sign of the Achaemenid house. The last coin has no legend;
ix. 21 is also distinguished by no legend to shew its minting place, but its

1 Giel, ΚΛ.Β. Pl. iv., shews them well. 2 Rather than the goddess’s attribute.
monogram is Mithridatic, and it is commonly found on the Bosporus and undoubtedly belongs there.

No one has unravelled the confusion of issues which reigned on the Bosporus in the time following Mithridates. There was such a restriking and countermarking of coins as has hardly ever been known. The various short-lived governments seem to have wished to make political capital by making their emblems appear on the coinage as soon as possible; but to determine the order of these restrikings is difficult.

Such a coining contest seems to have gone on between Asander and his opponents. The copper coins that are certainly his are marked by prows, emblems apparently of a naval victory, and we have an inscription dedicated by his admiral to naval deities. On the other side we have the Mithridatic tradition of which Pharnaces was the embodiment. To this belong the deer, eagle, tripod, stars, cornucopia and pilae, Apolline and Dionysiac emblems; this side, too, made a bid for naval victory with a prow. Further, there is an occasional reversion to autonomous types, such as we see in the Pan of vi. 1, the griffin wing of vi. 4 or the balauton of ix. 14. A very clear case of the Mithridatic tradition is seen in vi. 5 and 6, where Apollo’s head recalls the king’s features, and the types on the other side come from him, and yet vi. 6 is struck upon a coin of Asander as archon. So vi. 11, a city coin, is struck over the unassigned coin ix. 21. The eagle does not seem to be the Roman type, as it occurs on Mithridatic coins, e.g. of Sinope, and Asander has struck vi. 25 on vi. 11, itself already restruck. All Asander’s large bronzes are struck upon coins of Panticapaeum or Phanagoria. The smaller ones, as pl. vi. 24, are struck upon those of Amisos and Sinope.

So the big countermark put upon the Poseidon-prow coins (vi. 12) as on vi. 13 is exceedingly like the Pallas on vi. 14, which has a prow on its reverse. To which side these stamps belonged we cannot distinguish. With this interchange of monetary courtesies the city issues of the Bosporus come to an end. Save only Phanagoria, granted an exceptional position by Agrippa and accordingly renamed Agrippia Caesarea, issued ix. 19 and 20; the head on the obverse seems decidedly like that of Livia, whether she were represented as a mortal or a goddess. A similar head appears on coins of Gepaelpyris (vii. 7), Cotys I, Rhaseuporis I and Sauronates I, but local coinage has hardly survived into these latter reigns; the reverse types are quite common-place.

As to the standards upon which the mintage of the precious metals in Panticapaeum and Phanagoria proceeded, it is, as usual, an article of Bertier-de-La-Garde’s which gives most help. With the archaic 4th century silver coins he does not deal directly, but though remarking on their likeness to the Samian, many specimens of which have been found on the Bosporus, thinks

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2 BMC, Pontus, Introduction, p. xv sq.
3 BMC, Pontus, Introduction, p. xv sq.
4 App. 39 = Ιωάννης Β. II. 25.
5 For this coin v. ΖΤ, Introduzione, XIX. p. 254, pl. IX. 1, 2, where Imbault-Brunner assigns this and a similar coin bearing a leather helmet on the obverse to Phanagoria. Sinope had a very similar issue, cf. also K. B. Pl. v. 1, 2.
7 Pharnaces, vi. 22 and BMC, Pontus, x. 8 on ib. xi. 36 (Amisos) and xxiii. 2 (Sinope).
8 Numismatic Miscellany, 1. Moscow, 1905, “The Comparative Value of Monetary Metals on the Bosporus and Borysthenes in the middle of the 4th century B.C.”
that the Aeginetic system suits them best. Head refers them to the
Phoenician or Asiatic. No electrum was coined at Panticapaeum at any time.

In the 18th century Panticapaeum coined in gold and copper, but no
doubt the silver, still Aeginetic, was the real basis. We have the stater
(v. 17), the tetrol (v. 13), the triobol (v. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and other varieties
with Pan and lion), the diobol with a ram on the reverse, perhaps to be
referred to the older series, the obol (v. 10, other varieties with young Pan
demi-lion or griffin), similar types served for the half- and quarter-obol.

Stirred by the success of Philip's gold staters Panticapaeum attempted its
issue of gold; of the two earlier varieties (v. 7, 8) 14 and 16 specimens are
known, all extremely close to 1.49'4 grm. = 9.1 grm., and 46 of the later rather
broader sort (v. 16) are nearly as exact. This unique weight has been generally
supposed to be an Attic stater raised because gold was cheap at Panticapaeum
owing to the produce of the Ural or Altai mines. But Bertier-de-La-Garde
shows that this abundance of gold was mythical (v. supra p. 441), and that
electrum was there a little dearer than elsewhere, 7.41 times silver, citing
Demosthenes, who says that there a Cyzicene = 28 Attic drachmae. Assuming
therefore that the unusual weight is due to a desire to make the gold coin
commensurate in value with the silver unit he finds that to take the gold coin
equal to nine silver staters (v. 17) brings out the monetary ratio of gold to
silver as 11.6:1, and the commercial as 12:1, again a little more than in Greece,
but much the same as he had reached at Olbia, allowance being made for more
alloy in the Olbian silver, and he thinks that we have it in the gold piece, which
weighs exactly an Egyptian Kat, 13 drachmae or 9 obols Aeginetic, the very
rare hecath (young Pan demi-griffin 1., 22.8 grm. = 1.5 grm.) being half-
drachmae, so a silver stater would be exactly worth a gold obol. Unfortunately
for Panticapaeum this ingenious adjustment was spoilt by the drop in gold
down to ten silver after Philip's coining and Alexander's conquests: also the
6 2/6 extra was just enough to make its gold sought after but not enough
to give it an independent position in the market, and it suffered the fate of
good coin, going straight out of the country, to the great loss of the town
which had bought its gold rather dear. This last consideration brought ill
come to a final attempt to coin gold, this time Attic staters; five are known
just like v. 16 but, though perfectly preserved, weighing only 1.32 grm. =
8.55 grm. (one is 8.34), and a solitary half-stater, 6.64 grm. = 4.3 grm. The

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1 His last article, kindly sent to me in slip-proof.
2 Materials for Stathmological Investigation into the coinages... of Tauris and Sarmatia, *Num. Misc.* ii. 192a; gives (pp. 26–30) weights of 567 coins of this early silver, dividing them into seven groups (one transitional) and sixty series, determining according to the average of each sort; sometimes two sorts make a continuous series and any division between them must be arbitrary (e.g. coins like v. 2 range from 19 to 25 grm., is 14 grm. to be
dominated as 14 or 13 2/3 obols); I give his denominations for those I figure and for one or two larger
ones, but these again are too rare for us to be sure of their proper weight: v. 1 is 1/2 obol; v. 3, 11,
1 obol; v. 4, 4, 6, 10, 10 obols; v. 7 to 7.4 grm., pentobol, Giel, *K.B.* iii. 18 (61 grm. = 5.39 grm.), a drachma; Brussels (7.8 grm. =
8.54 grm.), 9 obols. I had put down v. 5, 6 as obols but they are clearly very light terms of series
averaging 1.39 and 1.44 grm. He allows several issues of 1/4 obols (e.g. B. XIX. 9, like my v. 5. 43 grm. =
3 grm. and more doubtfully of 1, 1/2 and 4 obols.
4 Bertier-de-La-Garde, op. cit. p. 36–40, enumerates 24 sorts and 213 coins, *Comp. Values*, p. 34, n. 2.
5 B. XIX. 26 (7 grm. = 1.74 grm.).
6 B. XX. 65, 66, 67.
7 Giel, *TRAE*; v. 39 (3.55 grm. = 3.6 grm.), 39 (3.24 grm. = 21 grm.)
8 In *Phthominon*, p. 23.
0 Bertier-de-La-Garde, *Comp. Values*, p. 51.
example of Philip and Alexander had been irresistible, but subservience to it was also useless and the city issued no more gold; for the 3rd century Panticapaeum, like most cities, left coining to foreign kings. A fresh start with silver was made early in the 1st century by Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, and now also Gorgippia: it was on the reduced Attic standard, not the cistophoric. There is nothing to guide us in classifying the denominations of the copper token currency.

The coinage of the Sindi belongs to the 5th century before they came under the power of the Spartocids, Hecataeus, the name of their king at this period, if genuine, shews that the Greeks had already established a footing among them, and the coins are quite Greek imitated from familiar types: ix. 25 points to Heraclea Pontica, 26 to Teos, from which Phanagoria was colonized, and the owl suggests Athens or Sinope; the standard is Aeginetic. The one coin of Dioscurius (ix. 28) appears to be Mithridatic. The Colchian coins (ix. 29) are quite archaic, but no definite meaning can be attached to their types, which rather recall Samos.

One thing is clear throughout the Bosporus, that the coin types had not the slightest religious significance. The types of the main series were either cantiug heraldry or commercial, the imported types were purely political.

**Bosporus Royal Issues. Plates VI. 15—28, VII, VIII.**

The royal issues have been discussed in the course of the history so far as they bore upon it, and the chief types of each king have been passed in review. As to their weights and denominations, the solitary silver coin of Spartocus appears to be a didrachm, that of Hygænon a drachma, and that of Paerisades a tetradrachm, all of the lightish Attic standard current in their day, and the gold staters correspond (v. p. 584). Later on those of Mithridates weigh about 128.86 grn. (= 8.35 grm.), those of Pharnaces and of Asander down to about B.C. 33, 125.6 grn. (= 8.14 grm.), the later issues of Asander and Dynamis (v. p. 592, l. 347), 123.9 grn. (= 8.03 grm.), just a trifle more than the Roman aureus with which they competed. The earlier gold coins with monograms average 122 grn. (= 7.91 grm.); Mithridates VII 121.1 grn. (= 7.85 grn.), Cotys I and Rhescuporis 121.6 grn. (= 7.88 grm.), thus declining much less quickly than the Roman gold. When Rhescuporis was allowed to put his full name on coins he came down to 120.8 grn. (= 7.83 grm.), Sauromates I to 120.2 grn. (= 7.79 grm.) and Cotys II to 119.75 grn. (= 7.76 grm.). At this weight the coins remained fairly constant, but under this king the gold begins to be much alloyed, so that it passes into electrum, which is almost white under Sauromates II, after whose time the weight also becomes very uncertain. Under Cotys III the electrum was debased to mere silver, Sauromates III was satisfied with potin; Ininthimeus returned to electrum, but the following Rhescuporis and Pharsanthes mostly

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1. V. 25 is a tetradrachm; VI. 8, a didrachm, cf. VI. 15, V. 25, VI. 7, IX. 16, 22, 25, drachmae; V. 27, IX. 14, tetrobols and V. 28 a diobol, or perhaps all three-half-drachmae.
2. IX. 25, 26, 27, all diobols. The other coins, B. XXIII. 16—7, fit into the series, p. 631, n. 1, 28

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3. 3 and 4 obols.
coined potin, though there is a momentary reversion to gold of light weight 39'4 grn. (= 2'55 grn.)\(^1\). Soon after this the series passes into bronze with no definite weight and hardly any shape, but the king's name and the date distinguish the degenerate aureus.

The subsidiary signs of these royal coins have been specially studied by Bertier-de-La-Garde\(^2\). The coins of the gold series in certain years between A.B. 299 and 359 bear unexplained dots (vii. 4). Then between A.B. 418 and the time of utter degradation we have various marks, some, e.g. the club (viii. 7, 20, 27) and the trident (viii. 6), doubtless refer to the king's ancestry; others, the star (viii. 9)—which is a star and not a sesterce\(^3\)—crescent, bird, wreath, rosette (viii. 15), dots (viii. 17, 18, 21), and letters (viii. 23), seem to mark the different issues in any given year when more than one issue was called for; they are commonest under Eupator and Sauromates II.

The numbers upon the coins of \(\Phi \varepsilon \beta \alpha \mu \) and \(\Phi \varepsilon \beta \alpha \mu \) (vii. 15—18, 12, 13, 5) have already been shewn to be marks of value, the unit perhaps being some fraction of the chalcus, but they are rather surprising, as 1—7 to do not fit into any familiar system; probably because they did not go with the Roman coinage of which the Bosporan was subordinated they gave way to a new series of numbers; \(\Phi \varepsilon \beta \alpha \mu \)'s ordinary coins have 6 and 12, Mithridates VIII's 12, Cotys I's 4, 6, 8, 12, 24, those of later kings till Sauromates II some 24 and all 48. At its heaviest the 48 weighs about the same as a Roman dupondius and the smaller denominations correspond roughly to Roman coins on the assumption that the unit is the half-ounce: probably this was an adaptation of the old local fraction of the chalcus to the Roman system.

By the earlier part of the reign of Sauromates II the copper coinage was a good deal debased and a new issue restoring the size of the principal coppers was made, perhaps at the command of Septimius Severus, whose head appears as a subsidiary mark (viii. 14) or countermark upon the new coins. To prevent confusion with the former reduced copper there was introduced the new set of types mentioned above (p. 606) and new marks of value indicating at first a very small unit—Bertier-de-La-Garde suggests a scruple—as the smaller coins bear such large numbers as 96 and 144 (viii. 13); but the main bulk have either a star (viii. 12) or a star and B (viii. 10, 11, 14) as being more convenient than the larger numbers, and indicating one and two asses respectively. But the reform was short-lived, and soon after Rhescuporis II the coppers lose all regularity of weight and become debased even before the gold, which had kept a good standard for nearly two centuries, followed its example.

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\(^1\) MK, ii. p. 332.
\(^2\) Bertier-de-La-Garde, "Différents sur Bosporan Coins," Numism. Misc. Moscow, 1911, cf. BMC.
\(^3\)Pontius, p. xxxiv.

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APPENDIX

I have followed Latshev (or in the case of Nos. 1, 3, 17, 18, 34 other editors) in his supplements, punctuation, accentuation, etc., except where I have noted divergent readings and in some inscriptions of which I have kept the precise spelling. I have not given more than one or two references to the literature of each inscription, the rest can be found under these or in the notes on the pages cited. Conventions as in *JHS*, except that || indicates letters omitted by the engraver's carelessness. I have not always expanded obvious abbreviations. Names and facts occurring in these Inscriptions but not mentioned in the Text have not been indexed.


TI. PIATIUS M. F. (AN) SIVANIO AELIANO.

FONTE. SODALI AUG.

III vir. A. A. A. F. (?mentor) Th. Camarist

8 Legat. leg. V. in Germani.


Camaris in Britannia. Comit.


In qua luna quam centum mill. (a)

ad nonnume Transdanuviana,

ad præstanda tributa cum milia.

ae Libitis et principibus aut régibus suis transmissit.

Meum orientem Sarmatam.

comprehendit suam. parte[m] magnae[m] exercitus

ad expeditionem in Armenia misit.

Iunior ante aut infirmis P.R. régibus signis

Rómæ adorávorum est. Rári qua quae adducit

perduxit. Régium Bárbarum et

Róssiarum (His). Décumum fiat[(u)]

20 captos aut hostium spectat semel; ut

atque cum omnibus acceperit; per quern pacem

provincias et confirmavit et proutstatus

Scytharum quosque régibus sae clocks (v) sae.

quae est ultria Bárbarorum, opulentia summa.

25 Primum ex ea provincia magni trítici modo

ammonium P.R. adlevavit. Haec légiturn in

(m) Hispaniam ad praefectur. Vrbís remissum.

Senatus in praefectura triumphibus

ornamentis honoriavit, auctore Imp.

30 Caesar Augusto Vespásiano verbis ex

cir Rhómae eis q[uo][que] [diss. scripta] x[u]:

Moédianum præcibus ut non denuit in

me diffini honos triumphium eis

ornamentorum: nisi quod látior et

35 constituit acor titulis Præfecto Vrbis.

Haec in catum praefectura Vrbis. Imp. Caesar

Aug. Vespásianus iterum ex. fécit.


fr. Τ. Τ. Τ. Μ.',

TT [Ερεπέλεια?]

fr. εństι

TT [D.]

TT Τε[μπαι]

XX K[ατε]

XX K[ατε]

XX N[ατι]

XX Πλ[ευ]-

— K[ατε]

— D[e]vlas.


Τροιάνοι ——Ρωμαίοι διονυσιασταί

μην ἐνεργεῖ τοιαύτα ἡμών ἤπειροι;

τὰ παρὰ ταῦτα ἴδω την τὴν ἡμέραν;

ὕπεροφορίας —— ἀρχαῖοι ἄρῃ

βραχίονοι... μείνα τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ...

15 τὰ τὰ θρόνου παλαιού ποίῳ ὑπ' ὑπὲρ τηθρομένων

τῆς πολεοῦ Οὐσίδαρμος Πνεύμο τίτηρε τι[τάρξ]

παράλληλον Ούλλαιον καὶ τὸ εὐφροσύνου Φίλου

ἐν τῇ θάλασσῃ —— Εὐαγγέλια ἐν Τίρώ προς τῇ Ἁλ.

Μαρκίου ἀποκριτοῦ Καρδάς τῇ γῇ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Βαρι

20 πλουτίστας, διὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡτέον τὴν διώκει

τὰς τὰ περὶ Οὐσίδαρμος Βασίλειος καὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμιδι

ἀντικρίσθαι ἢ. Ἀρτέμιδι ἡγεμονίας ἔτη ἐκ πρὸς

βασιλείας —— Περὶ τῶν Καρδάς ἀνάθημα —— Ἀδριανοῖς Ἀδρια

Ἀλέξανδροι Ἀδρίανοι Ἀδριανοῖς Ἀδρια

25 τῶν ἐπίσημων. Τιτ. Μαρκίου Ἀρτέμιδος. "Στέφανος

Μούσας Παρασκευής" Αὐθάνατος Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀδρια

Βασιλείας. "Τίταν τῶν Ἀρτέμιδος" Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀρτέμι

δίων "Χρυσότητος Χρυσότητος Αὐθάνατος Ἀρτέμιδος" Ἀκ

δίων Ἀρτέμιδος —— Αὐθάνατος Ἀρτέμιδος. Ἀδρια

30 Πλουτίστῶν "Ιουλίανος Ιουλίανος" Διο

δίωνος Ἰ πλ. "Ιουλίανος ιουλίανος" Ἀδρια

Οὐσίδαρμος Πνεύμο τίτηρε τῆς ἠγεμονίας τοῦ Ἰππότου.

[Exemplum epistula ad Tertullium].
[Mittimus ubi epistula ad Heraclitum, unde]
[interleges, quid statutum est de immunitate].
[Quam Tyrii sibi concessum esse contendunt].
[Quam hic admittere non solemus nisi pri-
1 [vitiligii auxiliaria perpersa et origine immu-
2 nitatis inspecta, quod a[murpatam esse dii qua-
3 qua ratione videlicet, cum iusti [moderatori]-
4 ne servavimus, ut sequecum compererem].
5 ne diuturna pellentur et in postquam]
6 denera civium adseratorem const[is]
7 praesidis provinciae civilium[i] et perp[ermentur岅]

Exemplum epistulae ad Heraclitum.
Quaerunt Tyrorum civitas or(i)ginaes.
10 dat benifici non ostendat nec facile, quae
per errorem aut licentiam amputate sunt, prae-
scriptione temtis confinatur, tamen,
quoniam divi Antonini parentis nostri: litte-
ras, sed et fraterni imperatorum cognomina, itum
15 Antonii Hiberni gravissimi praesidis, quod attingit
ad ipsius Tyrorum quique ab ilium secundum leges
corum in numerum civium adsumpti sunt, ex pri-
stino more nihil mutari volumus. Retinente
igitur quaestio ratione quasimae sive possessem
10 privilegio causam in promeritibus quacque re-
bus, quas tamen pristino more professionibus
ad discernendum munificentem meretricionem ad-
das esse enumerent. Sed cum illi fructum
per ambitionem demini non oportet, liquent
5 eos, qui posthac fuerint adsumpti, fructum
immunitatis sua, demum habituros, si eos legitimás
e et amicus noster v. c. habe civitatis dignos esse de-
creto pronuntiaverit. Quos eiusmum sitis a
[amboqueque] suis consultum, si grati fuerint, exi-
35 simulantur, quos origine benefices non quaesi-
ta dignos honore cives seres experimemus.

4. IosPE. l. 120 (iv. p. 275). Olbia, cf. p. 458,
4. A. M. [0 Σ]
5. O. D. [Ι Ι]
6. E I M I M
7. W Ν Μ A

5. IosPE. l. 11. Anadolu Kavak (Temple of
1 [Eli] Βενουσίαν εκπέλων τον
2 [Χάριν καθα τάκτικα έλοβε βουλήν,
3 [και δήμων, Δήμων τα ινδικά ένεργεία]
4 [και] έργα έκαστον ή την προσθήκη]
5 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
6 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
7 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
8 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
9 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
10 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
11 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
12 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
13 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
14 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
15 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
16 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
17 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
18 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
19 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
20 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
21 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
22 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
23 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
24 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
25 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
26 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
27 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
28 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
29 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
30 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
31 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
32 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
33 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
34 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
35 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
36 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
37 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
38 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
39 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
40 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
41 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
42 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
43 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της
44 [και] έπωσθησαν έκ της επικονικής
45 [και] έκτός οικίας οικίας έκ της


Φυσικόν ἀνακοινώσεως καὶ ἀδύναμον ἀργυρίῳ καὶ δούλῳ τετελεσθέντος
εἰς τὸν Ἁγιασμόν Ἰωάννου Αναρρήτου
καὶ τὴς Δημητρίεως.

Φιλεῖ δὲ...
Appendix No. 7. Olbia

A.


A. (contd.)

...κατὰ λαθρόν παρ᾽ ἐκεῖ τοὺς κόλπους χωρὶς τραπεζιῶν, καὶ ἀκομαθίας Κόρωνος, διὸ τὸ δὲ τὰ χρήματα μη διωκάτω.

50 δεῦκαι τοὺς ἄρχουσας. Αὐτὰ δὲν τι δὲ τὰ πελάτα, διὰ λόγων τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς τῆς σεβασμοῦ τῶν δικαίων καὶ μέγατα τὰ σφήματα, εἰς τῇ ἀρχῇ τό ἱερόν ἔσπειρε νυμφαία οἷα καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀκομαθίας Φοίβου, οὐδὲν.

55 Πρωτογένεια δὲ τῶν μεγάλων διηθὺσεις μεταλειπόμενος τοῦ χώρου, οὗτοι παρελθοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησίας Ἒλληνίδος τῶν τραπεζιῶν χωρίς τὸν Πλατάνδρας[1] άρα τὸν Πλατάνδρας καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἐνδείκνυται καὶ τῶν...

60 λαχεῖον τοῦ ἑτεροῦ τίνι μόνῳ καὶ οὗτοι τρεῖς, προφθαρίζοντες τὸν ἑτεροῦ προφθαρίζουσας, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τρεῖς, καὶ διὰ τὰ μὲν τὰ δικαία διακοινοῦσας τὸν ἑτεροῦ καὶ αὐτούς...

65 δὲς οὕτως, εἰς τὴν τῆς χώρας παρα-χείρας τοῦ εὐπρέπετος τοῦ Πλατᾶνδρας, πρὸς τὸν εὐπρέπετον κράτος τῆς Εὐρύσκου, ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μὲν τὰ δικαία διακοινοῦσας τὸν ἑτεροῦ καὶ αὐτούς...

70 εἰς ἑτεροῦ, καὶ διὰ τῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ παρεκκλήσει: οὗτος δὲ ἐκκλησίας τῶν μὲν δικαίων ἐκκλησίας παρεκκλήσεις, ἐν τῇ δὲ παρεκκλήσεις τὸν ἑτεροῦ καὶ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τῆς ἑτεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν τὴν τή...
7. ldoPE. 1. 16 (contd).


c.

εἰ τῷ δὲ τοῦ πλείστου αἴρεσι τῷ πρὸ τά τοῦ ποι[η-]


45 αἰσθήσιν, τοῦ προ τά μεγάλαι πόλεις ἀκ-


55 χρήμα, ὡς ἐκείνο ὁ δῆσμος πολλάκις αὐτοῦ καὶ


65 


70 


80 


90

1. Ἐπιστολοντατε ... των τεχνικων.
2. Καλεσαν Παυσιπλος.
3. Καλλιγράφων Άνθιονα, 
4. Ποιητικῶν Εὐκράτους, 
5. Αλέωνος Λαυρίου, 
6. Πόποις Μαρτυράν, 
7. Αιτων Χρυσακίλος, 
8. τοις θύσινας ἀναχώσας 
9. ταῖς τὴν ἑρακλεῖν. 
10. βοής μὲν κάλλος διακεκριμένης, 
11. ἑτοῖν δὲ τὴν ἑρακλεῖν.
12. τρικομῆς δὲ ἠλέλειται.


1. Ἐπιστολοντατε ... οἷον Ποιητικῶν Άνθιονος.
2. [ἔχεις, ἔμειναι Μαυροποιήσατος θάλασσας, ἔν ὄφεινα ἐμφάνισθαι γραφῆς καταχωρήσης ἐδώκει μοι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Αὖργωσις οἱ πρὸς Ποιητικῶν Άνθιονος εἶναι αὐτὴν.
3. μετέπειτα οὖν τῷ βασιλεὺς Μεσανδρίων Κυπάρισσος Αρμὸς, 
4. καὶ τός πόλεως του παίδως ἔφτασεντο καὶ τῇ ἤλιοι εὐφράτης.
5. καὶ τοῖς τοῖς ἐπίστολοι παραπέμπεται καὶ τῷ ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλεως ἐν αὐτῷ εὐφράτης.
6. τὴν πόλεως τοῖς ἀνακοινώσεως χρήσεις εἰσῄρετο καὶ τῇ πόλεως πολιτείας ἐκδίκησης καὶ αὐτῷ.
7. καὶ δόθησαν παρουσίας τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐναποθετεῖται ἐναργίας ἐπίλυμα.
8. καὶ λαμπρῆς τοῖς πλάσματος εἰς ἀναφέρεις, τῶν δὲ πρώτις, 
9. [ἐπί] τοῖς ἀναρχίαι τοῖς, 
10. καταλησινοῦντος, 
11. τοῖς τοῖς ἀναρχίαι τοῖς, 
12. τοῖς τοῖς ἀναρχίαι τοῖς, 
13. τοῖς τοῖς ἀναρχίαι τοῖς, 
14. τοῖς τοῖς ἀναρχίαι τοῖς, 
15. τοῖς τοῖς ἀναρχίαι τοῖς, 
16. τοῖς τοῖς ἀναρχίαι τοῖς.

10. IosPE. 1. 22, see next page.


1. ἄγαθος ῆρως. 
2. Ἀρχίλαος Ποιητικῶν 
3. νομίζω τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
4. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
5. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
6. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
7. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
8. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
9. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
10. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 


1. ἄγαθος ῆρως. 
2. Ἀρχίλαος Ποιητικῶν 
3. νομίζω τὸ ποιητικῶν Ἀρχίλαος. 
4. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
5. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
6. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
7. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
8. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
9. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
10. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 


1. ἄγαθος ῆρως. 
2. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
3. νομίζω τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
4. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
5. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
6. Ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
7. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
8. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
9. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
10. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος. 
11. τὰ τὸ ἀρχίλαος Ἀρχίλαος.

81—2

10. Τῇ ἀρχῇ τῶν περὶ τὴν Σάλπικον, ἤ τε τῇ στεφάνῳ, τῷ Υπέρσολίτα, Ἰερασίτη, Ἰοχανάτνιπο, Εὐτυχίτα, Θεοσκόπος, Θεοτόκος, Νικαίος, Ἀναφαίτητα, ᾿Ομόσποντα, Ἀβάσπας, Κορόπος, Βασίλειος, Σμύρνιος.

15. Ἡ τῇ ἡλίω ἡμῶν κατανικασθενέν ἐπὶ τῷ πρῳδίω καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τὰ κακά ἐν παλικαρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι τῶν μᾶς ἔφυγε, εὐφροσύνῃ ἢ ἀνακολούθησιν ὁ ἀγών τῶν προγόνων ἐξομοιότατο καὶ τῷ λαμόπλοι καὶ εὐπροσφορᾷ πρὸς τῇ πατρίδις διεξαγόμενο, ἢ καὶ τῇ πρόγονον αὐτὸν.

15. II. BCA. xviii. p. 104, No. 5; IosPE. 1. 75; IosPE. 1. 77; see p. 645.
Appendix Nos. 15, 16. Chersonese


Blue Sula.

"Atheism, Ilium, toil Sula, bitulare,

*Fig. 348. The Chersonese Oath.*
I.

II.
18. *IosPE. i. 185 (contd.)*


185. Ποτικό, p. 314, see p. 640.


Αρίστωνα Ἀττινα τῶν φιλόπατρών.

1. πρεσ-
2. πρεσ-
3. πρεσ-
4. πρεσ-
5. πρεσ-
6. πρεσ-
7. πρεσ-
8. πρεσ-
9. πρεσ-
10. πρεσ-

αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀριστοκράτεια
τῷ Σωτῆρι εἴρησαν καὶ ὑποκαθίστησαν
τῷ Σωτῆρι εἴρησαν καὶ ὑποκαθίστησαν
τῷ Σωτῆρι εἴρησαν καὶ ὑποκαθίστησαν
τῷ Σωτῆρι εἴρησαν καὶ ὑποκαθίστησαν
τῷ Σωτῆρι εἴρησαν καὶ ὑποκαθίστησαν

παρακαλεῖς
καὶ Φιλίππας
καὶ Φιλίππας
καὶ Φιλίππας
καὶ Φιλίππας
καὶ Φιλίππας

τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ
τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ
τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ
τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ
τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ

τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ
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τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ
τῷ Ρωμηλάσῳ

1—10 are in a synaxis.

20. *IosPE. iv. 71,* see p. 650.
Appendix No. 21. Chersonese 649

1. I.

2. II.

3. III.

4. G6

5. IV.

6. V.

7. VI.

8. VII.

9. The Appendix 1. Antiper Prisci

10. [Ut scias quae sint officia millium agendum in vestitism. Chersonesita] (scripsiilio maximi) quod adhærebat ad exemplum sententiae Arri Alcibiadis tunc tribuni praebenti eundem vestitismi

11. 

12. E(e)gip
tiniae. Quod scripsit Atilio Primiano tribi

13. 

14. E(exemplum) opstulac. Quod ad decretum Chersonesitanae recipiendi fegnoccetia eis quae

15. E(exemplum) opstulac. Quod scripsit Aurelio Primiano reinter dies in praecepti et rursum admodum cantavit, ne sub obtenta lipsius

16. 

17. }


Appendix Nos. 34—43. Bosporus

34. IG. II. 511 (contd).


[Mithridates VIII], cf. pp. 597, 616, 621.
Appendix Nos. 44—50. Bosporus


1. Θρησφυγος. Τω Ψαλτήρι. Αποθήκη τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυ- 
ροματικόν φιλοσοφικόν και φιλολογικόν.


1. Αρχαγή. τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυ- 
ροματικόν φιλοσοφικόν και φιλολογικόν. Μεταφράζεται από την 
φωνή των ενδυνάμων ιστορικών και ενωνιμών και του 
καθοδήγητος των ιδεών και των διαμερισμάτων αρμα- 
τικών και εκτροφών.

10. Αρχαγή, μεταφράζεται από την ιστορική τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

15. Κρητικής, μεταφράζεται από την ιστορική τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

20. Αρχαγή, μεταφράζεται από την ιστορική τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

At least 16 lines of names similar to those in No. 69.


1. Αρχαγή, μεταφράζεται από την ιστορική τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

5. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

10. Αρχαγή, μεταφράζεται από την ιστορική τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

15. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

20. Αρχαγή, μεταφράζεται από την ιστορική τέχνης. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

25. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-

30. Βασιλείων των Μεσογείων Τεχνών (Τεχνών) Σαυρο-
Appendix Nos. 56—59. Bosporus


Appendix No. 69. Bosporus

67. *IosPE.* ii. 383, Fig. 341.
68. *IosPE.* ii. 362, Fig. 350. See p. 660.

69. *IosPE.* ii. 402. Anapa. Fitzwilliam Museum. E. D. Clarke's copy made when the stone was less broken and corrected in Porson's hand is in the University Library, Cambridge. Sivromates II (?). The first three lines restored by comparing the stone and No. 51, and various corrections introduced in the names, cf. Fig. 351 and pp. 37, 606, 612, 614, 616, 621, 623–625.

1. Βασίλειος Βασίλειος Βασίλειος Βασίλειος Βασίλειος
2. καλάρης καὶ φρονύμων ινεμελεῖας τε... τε... τε... τε...
3. μετάν. Ουδὲν Προμηθέων νε...

Then only stray names: 1. 4, Παντάσ; 1. 9, Πάντα Χριστιάνος; 1. 10, Νεοκλής; 1. 11, Γρηγόριος Ζαχαρίας; 1. 12, κράτος; 1. 15, Αλέξανδρος; 1. 17, οι Κοστίων; 1. 18, οι Κοστίων; 1. 19, Αλέξανδρος

20. Μεταξά. Νεοκλής Θ...
21. Προμηθέων Νεοκλής Θ...
22. Πάντα Χριστιάνος
23. Νεοκλής Θ...
24. Αλέξανδρος Θ...
25. Αλέξανδρος Θ...
26. Αλέξανδρος Θ...
27. Αλέξανδρος Θ...

28. Μεταξά. Νεοκλής Θ...
29. Νεοκλής Θ...
30. Νεοκλής Θ...
31. Νεοκλής Θ...
32. Νεοκλής Θ...
33. Νεοκλής Θ...
34. Νεοκλής Θ...
35. Νεοκλής Θ...
36. Νεοκλής Θ...
37. Νεοκλής Θ...
38. Νεοκλής Θ...
39. Νεοκλής Θ...
40. Νεοκλής Θ...
41. Νεοκλής Θ...
42. Νεοκλής Θ...
43. Νεοκλής Θ...
44. Νεοκλής Θ...
45. Νεοκλής Θ...
46. Νεοκλής Θ...
47. Νεοκλής Θ...
48. Νεοκλής Θ...
49. Νεοκλής Θ...
50. Νεοκλής Θ...

51. Προμηθέων Νεοκλής Θ...
52. Προμηθέων Νεοκλής Θ...
53. Προμηθέων Νεοκλής Θ...
54. Προμηθέων Νεοκλής Θ...
55. Προμηθέων Νεοκλής Θ...
56. Προμηθέων Νεοκλής Θ...


69. IosPE. ii. 402, Fig. 351; see pp. 658, 659.

COIN PLATES

I. Tyras.
II. Olbia, Ant gravae.
III. Olbia, ordinary coins. Native Kings.
IV. Chersonese.
V. Panticapaemum.
VI. Panticapaum. Kings of Bosporus B.C.
VII. Kings of Bosporus 1st century A.D.
VIII. Later Kings of Bosporus.

The following Persons and Institutions possess important collections of Greek coins from South Russia and to most of them as indicated below I am indebted for casts:

H.I.H. the Grand Duke Alexander Michailovich; his is perhaps the richest of all. It includes the coins collected by A. M. Podshivalov and by Chr. Giel (G.) and described in their writings (v. supra pp. xxx, xxxii, 638).

The Hermitage (H.), no Catalogue published, but Koehne in M.K. (v. p. xxx) often indicates what coins were there even in his time: it receives the results of excavations.

The Historical Museum at Moscow contains Burachkov's coins (B. p. xxx) and others (Mosc.).

The Rumjantsev Museum at Moscow, Catalogue by Podshivalov (p. xxxii).

The University of Moscow, Catalogue by Oréshnikov (p. xxxii).

The University of S. Vladimir, Kiev, Catalogue by Antonovich (p. xix).

The Museum of the Odessa Historical and Archaeological Society (O.), specially rich in Olbia and Tyras.

The University of New Russia, Odessa, also has some coins.

The Museums at Kherson (Catalogue by Goszkiewicz, p. xxxii), Chersonese, Theodosia and Kerch.

Mr. B. M. Jakmechikov at St. Petersburg collects Greek coins in general (v. TRAS. Univ. Sect. t. ii. pp. 7—59).

Mr. Th. I. Prowe at Moscow.

The Countess Uvarov at Porchje (U.), Catalogue by Oréshnikov (p. xxxii).

Mrs. L. I. Kuris and Mr. P. A. Mavrogordato at Odessa; the latter has recently sold in western Europe many coins which were not required for the Odessa Society's Museum.

General A. L. Bertier-de-La-Garde at Jalta, especially rich in Chersonese (BG.). This collection is destined to join that at Odessa.

Dr. I. A. Terlecki at Kerch (to whom my best thanks are due for making me practically acquainted with Bosporan coins and letting me have a selection (M.) which has conveniently filled up certain gaps): some of his best coins have passed to Mr. Prowe.


The Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

The British Museum (BM.), which has much increased its series especially from Mr. Mavrogordato since the publication of its Catalogues (BMC.) Thrace, Tauric Chersonese and Sarmatia, by P. Gardner, 1877; Pontus and Bosporus, by W. Wroth, 1889.

The Imperial Cabinet at Vienna, the Royal Cabinets at Brussels and Copenhagen, the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, the St Florian Collection at Enns, have important pieces. The Fitzwilliam Museum (FW.) at Cambridge possesses a fine series of Olbian Asses and about a hundred ordinary coins.
A Corpus of these coins has been undertaken by the Grand Duke in conjunction with the staff of the Hermitage, but meanwhile the numismatic literature of our region (v. the various Bibliographies) is unsatisfactory. Kochene's *Mühe Kötschaubey (MK.)*, the first real attempt to deal with it as a whole, quite superseded all that went before but is now out of date and withal very rare. Burachkov's *General Catalogue (B.)* is also a rare book and both text and plates are very untrustworthy, but Bertier-de-La-Garde's *Corrections* have to a great extent made up for this and since, as figuring over a thousand coins, it is still the means by which specimens are identified, I have given many references to it.

Pick's plates (P.) of Olbian and Tyran coins are just what was wanted, but there is no text, only a note on p. 928 to state in what collections the specimens he figures are preserved: the materials for his text have been handed over by the Berlin Academy to the Russian compilers of the Corpus. Articles by Jurgiewicz (J.) (on Tyras), by Podshivalov (on the Bosporus), and by Gied in his *Kleine Beiträge (KI. B.)* and "Accessions to his Collection" (*TRAS.* v and viii), have been of real value, and more recently Oreshnikov's (Or.) and Bertier-de-La-Garde's (BG.) work. How much I am indebted to these my text has shewn: copies of several of these more recent articles I have furnished with a running analysis in English and placed in the Medal Room of the British Museum where they are generally accessible.

These plates have been the result of an afterthought, and I have been able neither to choose the very best specimens nor to reproduce the coins quite as I should wish, but pending the publication of the Corpus it seemed necessary to bring the more important coins before my readers: these nine plates, though they fall short of the spacious collotypes now customary, offer a fairly representative selection giving a sufficient idea of the city issues and an example of very nearly every ruler; the descriptions make up for some deficiencies with data from better specimens: that is enough to render intelligible the short account of the coinage in connexion with history and religion appended to the chapter devoted to each state. I have mostly chosen the commoner coins just because they are common and therefore truly typical. These I found ready to hand in the Odessa collection to which half the coins belong; it was put at my entire disposal by the Director, Professor E. R. von Stern, to whom my best thanks are due. But a desire to add rarer specimens because they illustrated some particular point has involved my giving much trouble to those who have the keeping of the originals. Most of all are my thanks due to Mr. A. V. Oréshnikov, keeper of the Historical Museum at Moscow: to him I sent an unconscionable list of desiderata from among Burachkov's coins. The courtesy of Mr. O. F. Retovska of the Hermitage was the more to be appreciated in that it was as a complete stranger that I applied to him for casts from that collection and the Grand Duke's, including Gied's. General Bertier-de-La-Garde kindly sent me most delicate impressions from certain of his important coins of Chersonese. Nearer home I am glad to acknowledge the help given me in the B. M. by the late Mr. Warwick Wroth, Mr. G. F. Hill and Mr. H. Mattingly. The Hunterian Paerisades was cast for me by the late Professor J. Young of Glasgow. Recognition is also due to the technical skill of Mr. Ready at the B. M. and of the late Mr H. A. Chapman at the Fitzwilliam. The latter made the casts from my sealing-wax impressions and took the photographs from which the blocks were prepared as well as many other photographs needed for this book.

With regard to the weights given for the gold and silver coins I must explain that I had not the time to weigh those from which I took impressions in the Odessa Museum: but the weights of nearly all these specimens have been published by Bertier-de-La-Garde in his *Materials for Numismatic Investigation*, and so I have been able to supply them: but in some few cases, which did not come within his purview, the weight is given in brackets and is that of the specimen of the same coin given in the publication cited in the last column of the description.
PLATE I. TYRAS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Wt. (grm.)</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Collection</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Demeter three-quarters l., ears of corn on forehead.</td>
<td>Bull butting l. above, ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ; in field, A.</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>P. XII. 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>Demeter facing, ears of corn on forehead.</td>
<td>Bull butting l. above, ΤΥΡΑΝ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. X. 1. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Demeter front, ears of corn on forehead.</td>
<td>Cista Mystica: ΤΥΡΑ; monogram ΠΤΥ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Demeter r., under kerchief.</td>
<td>ΤΥΡΑ in wreath.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XII. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dionysus r., laur.</td>
<td>Eagle standing on thunderbolt: below, ΤΥΡΑΝ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo l., laur.</td>
<td>Horse's head and neck r.: ΤΥΡΑ.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>B. 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rivergod r.</td>
<td>Fish l.: ΤΥΡΑ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rivergod (?), l.</td>
<td>Fish: ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>P. XII. 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Augustus (?), l.</td>
<td>Spread eagle r.: ΤΥΡΑΝΝΩΝ (?).</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Domitian r., laur.: ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ.</td>
<td>Club of Heracles vertical: ΤΥΡΑ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΥ.</td>
<td>Hercules standing with lion-skin and club, hd to r., dot-border: ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ΚΑΙ] ΑΥΚ ΑΙ ΚΟΜΩΔΟΙ.</td>
<td>Eagle standing l., looking r., with wreath in beak: ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ; B.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>P. XII. 25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ΣΕΡ. ΣΕΙΒΕΡΟΣ, cf. 22.]</td>
<td>Winged Victory r., with palm and wreath: ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ; Α.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ΣΕΡ. ΣΕΙΒΕΡΟΣ, bust r., laur.: ΑΥΓΙΤΙΑΝΝΩΝΩΝΙΕΡ.</td>
<td>Heroes with club, lion-skin and apples, hd to r.: ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ; Α.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Julia Domna, bust r.: ΙΟΥΑΙΑ ΜΑΜΜΑΙΑ.</td>
<td>Tyche (as 16): ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ; Α.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>J. 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Caracalla, bust r., laur.: ΑΥΚΟΗΡΑΡΙΟΥ ΑΡΩΝ ΑΝΩΝΙ.</td>
<td>As 22.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XIII. 66.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Geta, bust r.: ΑΣΚΙΝΑΥ.</td>
<td>As 20.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Al. Severus, bust r.: ΑΥΓΚΑΝΝΟΣ ΑΣΚΙΝΑΥ.</td>
<td>Winged Victory l., with palm and wreath: ΤΥΡΑΝΝΩΝ, crescent in field.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>J. 94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Mammaea, bust r.: ΙΟΥΑΙΑ ΜΑΜΜΑΙΑ ΑΣΚΙΝΑΥ.</td>
<td>River-god seated r. by urn from which stream flows: ΤΥΡΑΝΩΝ, Α and crescent.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>J. 108.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PLATE II. OLBIA
PLATE II. OLBIA. AES GRAVE AND CAST PIECES, ALL BRONZE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Weight (kr. gr.)</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2152 (1655) 1720</td>
<td>Archaic Medusa facing, tongue</td>
<td>Sea-eagle, wings extended, upon dolphin: APIX.</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>[B, I. 7; P, VIII. 3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>158 (104) 116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>523 (224) 431</td>
<td>Same smaller.</td>
<td>Four-spoked wheel: APIX.</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>[B, I. 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34 (21) 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>247 (154) 185</td>
<td>Same smaller.</td>
<td>Same smaller.</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>[B, I. 2, 4; P, VIII. 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 (10) 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>1900 (1574) 1866</td>
<td>Pallas helmed l., before her dolphin.</td>
<td>Four-spoked wheel: ΤΛΥΣ.</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>[B, II. 9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>127 (102) 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>1173 (1033) 1906</td>
<td>Same smaller.</td>
<td>Same smaller: pellets in quarters.</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>[B, II. 12]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76 (67) 71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>603 (399) 586</td>
<td>Same smaller.</td>
<td>Same smaller: ΤΛΥΣ. BM</td>
<td>[B, II. 10; P, VIII. 1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43 (33) 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>417 (288) 340</td>
<td>Medusa facing.</td>
<td>Eagle upon dolphin: ΟΛΒΗ. BM</td>
<td>[B, I. 5, 6, 8]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37 (18) 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1852 (1655) 1728</td>
<td>Demeter (?) facing; necklace, ears of corn in hair.</td>
<td>Eagle upon dolphin: ΟΛΒΗ, beneath sometimes Δ. BM</td>
<td>[B, I. 1, II. 11, 13; P, VIII. 4]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120 (104) 112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>(11) 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>298 (135) 138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>126 (67) 82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2524 (105)</td>
<td>Dolphin.</td>
<td>(Flat.) BM</td>
<td>Unpublished.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>Dolphin.</td>
<td>(Flat.) BM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(Dolphin.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>APIXO. O.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(Dolphin.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>APIX:O. O.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Smaller dolphin.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΥΥ. O.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Flat fish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
AES GRAVE (pp. 482–483)
PLATE III. OL比亚. NATIVE KINGS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>32 ½</td>
<td>Head of Demeter l.</td>
<td>Dolphin l.; below, ΟΑ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. IV. 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>21 ½</td>
<td>Demeter l., crowned with corn.</td>
<td>Sen-eagle upon dolphin; in field, trident; ΑΟΒΙΟ; above, monogram.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. IX. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Demeter l. mural crown adorned with ears of corn.</td>
<td>Kneeling shooting l. a Scythian archer with bow-case: above, ΣΙΣΤΡΑ; int. exergue, [ΟΑΒΙΟ].</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. VII. 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Horned river-god l.</td>
<td>Bow-case and quiver, axe: below, ΟΑΒΙΟ; above, ΙΦ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. IX. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Same, later style.</td>
<td>Same: other letters above.</td>
<td></td>
<td>O. C. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Apollo r., laurel, countermark.</td>
<td>Three-stringed lyre: above, ΟΑΒΙΟ; on each side, monogram.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. V. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Apollo (?), laurel.</td>
<td>Archer as 3: ΟΙ ΕΠΤΑ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Demeter r.</td>
<td>Bow-case: below, ΟΑΒΙΟ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Heracles in lion-scarf r. (perhaps Apollo or Demeter).</td>
<td>Eagle upon dolphin: above, ΟΑΒΙΟ; below, ΒΣΕ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. IX. 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Heracles in lion-scarf r.: countermark, Pallas.</td>
<td>Club horizontal: above, ΟΑΒΙΟ; below, ΕΙΡΗΒΑ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Same or: Demeter l.: large countermark, Helios rayed, cf. 22.</td>
<td>Like 5: large countermark, two demi-horses springing apart: ΕΛ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. X. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Zeus r.: countermark, caduceus.</td>
<td>Eagle standing l.: ΟΑΒΙΟ. ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ. Υ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. I. 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Zeus r.: countermark, myrtle-branch.</td>
<td>Sceptrum vertical: ΑΟΒΙΟΠΟ. ΑΙΤΕΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. IX. 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Cybele in calathus and veil: countermark, myrtle-branch.</td>
<td>Tympanium: ΟΑΒΙΟ; monogram. ΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. XIII. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Apollo boustre, before him bow-case: [ΟΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ]: Χ.</td>
<td>Eagle l., looking back with wreath: ΑΔΟΥΟΥ ΔΑΛΦΟΥ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Apollo r.: ΑΟΒΙΟΠΟ.</td>
<td>[Apollo standing with bow and pater (?): ΔΑΛΙΟΣ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. VIII. 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>[Apollo leaning on a pillar: ΑΙΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ].</td>
<td>ΑΟΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. X. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Bust of Geta r.: ΚΑΣΕΠΤΙΓΕΤΑ.</td>
<td>Lyre: ΔΑΙΔΟΣΑΤΥΡΟΥ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. I. 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>Bust of A. Severus r., laurel: ΑΤΤΙΚΟΥΡΙΟΣ.ΣΑΝΤΡΟΣ.</td>
<td>Mars in full armour standing r.: ΑΟΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. X. 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NATIVE KINGS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Cantites Æ.</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Two heads. (Demeter and Corn?) near wreathing corn.</td>
<td>Two stalks of wheat: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΝΙΤΟΥΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. XIII. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sainias Æ.</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bearded head r., wreathed (?).</td>
<td>Bow in case: ΒΑΣΙ. ΣΑΡΙ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>P. XIII. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Aelius Æ.</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rayed head facing.</td>
<td>Two ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; monogram: ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΤΟΜ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aem. X. 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kav Æ.</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hermes r. in petasus.</td>
<td>Winged caduceus: ΒΑΣΙ</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. IX. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Scilurus Æ.</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Similar.</td>
<td>Caduceus: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΚΙΛΟΥΡΟΥ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. IX. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bearded head in pointed cap: countermark, saltire.</td>
<td>Bow-case between ears of corn and club: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΚΙΛΟΥΡΟΥ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Pharsaeus N.</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hd of Pharsaeus r., filleted.</td>
<td>Eagle r. standing on royal sign: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΑΡΣΩΙΟΥ. ΟΛΑ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>TRAS, v. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Ininsimeus R.</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hd of Ininsimeus r.; royal sign: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ INICIMEV.</td>
<td>Tyche in mural crown r.: ΟΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ.</td>
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<td>B. XIII. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Publication Notes:**

- B. IV. 45
- P. IX. 10
- B. VII. 135
- P. IX. 2
- B. IX. 174
- P. X. 1
- O. C. 17
- B. V. 27
- O. B. 83
- B. X. 25
- B. 91
- B. 87
- O. P. 6
- O. P. 6
- B. IV. 64
- B. 42
- B. VIII. 20
- B. I. 102
- B. IX. 31
- B. VIII. 151
- B. X. 35
- O. B. 172
- C. P. X. 9
- B. VIII. 178
- P. X. 19
- B. I. 183
- B. X. 20
- B. X. 20
- B. 192
- B. 105
- B. VIII. 68
- B. IX. 24
- TRAS, v. 4
- TRAS, v. 3
- P. XIII. 6
- B. 212
- P. XIII. 9
OLBIA

PLATE III

Ordinary Coins (pp. 459, 473 seq., 485, 486): Native Kings (pp. 119, 121, 487)
PLATE IV. CHERSONESE.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Wt. grn.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>2747</td>
<td>Artemis l. in cow.</td>
<td>Fish and club: XEP.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XIX. 25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>E.</td>
<td>1416</td>
<td>Jupiter: Artemis l. bearded</td>
<td>Lion attacking deer r; XEP.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XII. 68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>E.</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>Artemis; above, HP.</td>
<td>Bull butting l over club: XEP.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>1025</td>
<td>Artemis (Amphitrite?) l. in cow.</td>
<td>Lion's head full and club: XEP.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XIX. 50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>E.</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>Artemis kneeling r. on r. knee; holding bow in r. hand and picking up arrow in l.</td>
<td>Griffin l. above ΣΤΙΕΙΟΣ, below, XEP.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>B. XIV. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>E.</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>Artemis r. laur.</td>
<td>Deer kneeling l. : XEP above, below ΕΝΩΚΑΛΕ.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>E.</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>Artemis l. slaying deer with spear in r. hand; she wears short chiton and endromides, has a quiver on her shoulder and string bow in l. hand.</td>
<td>Bull butting l. over club: below, quiver: between, ΤΙΑΜΟΡ.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>14.</td>
</tr>
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ANCIENT COINS (pp. 522, 523, 549-550)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1154</td>
<td>Ani.</td>
<td>Mill-sail incuse square with star centre: ΠΑΝΤΙ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>2931</td>
<td>Ani.</td>
<td>Incuse square cut into four.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Lion’s scalp facing.</td>
<td>Rude incuse square.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Same.</td>
<td>Mill-sail square, two quatrefoils on sails.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>Same, less rude.</td>
<td>Same, not so clear: ( \Delta ) A on sails (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1096</td>
<td>Same.</td>
<td>Ram’s head l. below, sturgeon above, ( \text{[ΠΑΝΤΙ]} ) all in incuse square (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>( \text{[ΠΑΝΤΙ]} ) l., straight hair and beard, pointed ears.</td>
<td>Horned griffin with lion’s head passant gardant L., a spear in his mouth, ear of bearded wheat below: ( \text{ΠΑΝ} ).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>Pan ( \frac{1}{2} ) L., curly hair and beard.</td>
<td>Same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>Pan r., straight hair and beard.</td>
<td>Lion’s head r.: [ΠΑΝΤΙ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1345</td>
<td>Pan L., straight hair and beard.</td>
<td>Fore-part of lion galloping L., crescent l. below, ΠΑΝΤΙ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>Pan ( \frac{1}{2} ) r., straight hair and beard.</td>
<td>Lion walking r.: below, ΠΑΝΤΙ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>Pan ( \frac{1}{2} ) L., beardless, straight hair.</td>
<td>Lion passant regardant l., holding spear in mouth: below, [ΠΑΝΤΙ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>Pan ( \frac{1}{2} ) L., almost facing, bearded, ivy-crowned.</td>
<td>Lion tearing deer r.: above, [ΠΑΝΤΙ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>Pan ( \frac{1}{2} ) L., beardless, ivy-crowned.</td>
<td>Lion head facing: below, [ΠΑΝ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>Pan as 3.</td>
<td>Ox head L.: [ΠΑΝ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>Pan l., ivy-crowned, macaroni hair and beard.</td>
<td>As 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Pan L., ivy-crowned, beardless, macaroni hair.</td>
<td>As 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Pan r., macaroni hair and beard.</td>
<td>Demi-griffin l., sturgeon below: [ΠΑΝ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pan l., as 16.</td>
<td>Bow and arrow : below, ΠΑΝΕΙ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Pan L., as 17.</td>
<td>Lion’s head l., sturgeon below: [ΠΑΝ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Same with countermark of star.</td>
<td>Same, countermark bow-in-case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Pan r., beardless, macaroni hair.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>Similar.</td>
<td>Demi-griffin r.: [ΠΑΝ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Male head r., beardless.</td>
<td>Bow in case: ΠΑΝΕΙ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>Apollo (?) l., laur.</td>
<td>Gerytus. Monogram: ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑ ΠΑΙΤΩΝ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>Horse grazing L.: below, ΠΑΝΕΙ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>String bow in case: ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΤΩΝ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>Fore-part of horse galloping r.: ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΑΙΤΩΝ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>ăr.</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Poseidon r., filleted.</td>
<td>Trident l.: ΠΑΝ ΤΙΚΑ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Earlier City Issues (pp. 627–631)
PLATE VI. PANTICAPAEUM. BOSPORUS KINGS B.C.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Wt. grm.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pan L., ivy-crowned, bearded.</td>
<td>Cornucopia between two starred</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XIX. 55-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>piles.</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>R. XXI. 117-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Eight-rayed star: ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΤΕ.</td>
<td>Dolphin r.: ΠΑΝ.</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>B. 130-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Griffin's wing.</td>
<td>Tripod-lebes.</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>B. 131-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Same, struck on coin of Asander,</td>
<td>Tripod-lebes: ΠΑΝ.</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>B. 132-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. 24.</td>
<td>Quiver with strap and bow.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Bust of Artemis r., bow and quiver.</td>
<td>Pegasae pasturing r.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>B. XXXII. 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>3/56</td>
<td>Same, struck on coin of Asander,</td>
<td>Deer pasturing r.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>T. R. 45-</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. 24.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>104/9</td>
<td>Dionysus r., wreathed.</td>
<td>Ivy-wreath encircling ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑ</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 180-</td>
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<td>6/-8</td>
<td>Same head.</td>
<td>ΚΑΤΕΤ ΤΩΝ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Same, struck on coin of Asander,</td>
<td>Thrusus leaning against tripod-</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XXXII. 122</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>cf. 24.</td>
<td>lebes.</td>
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<td>Α.</td>
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<td>Bust of Men or Meheres r., in laur.</td>
<td>Dionysus standing r.,</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 179-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Phrygian cap with crescent and</td>
<td>in L. hand thrysus, in L. hand</td>
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<td>star on forehead.</td>
<td>grape-cluster, at his feet.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
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<td>Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>Eagle displayed upon thunderbolt.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>B. 144-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>struck upon B. XXIII. 25, cf. inf.</td>
<td>Monogram.</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>B. 133-</td>
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<td>IX. 21.</td>
<td>Prox r. ΠΑΝ.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>B. 176-</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poseidon filleted r.</td>
<td>Same; countermark, Pallas</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>B. 176-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>helmed r.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Same; countermark, Pallas</td>
<td>Prox r. ΠΑΝ.</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>B. 176-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>helmed r. as countermark of 13.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td></td>
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### BOSPORUS. KINGS.

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<th>No.</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>SPARTOCUS</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>1193</td>
<td>Filleted hd of Spartocous r.</td>
<td>Bow case: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΠΑΡΤΩΝΟΥ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XXIV. 4-</td>
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<td>777</td>
<td></td>
<td>ΣΠΑΡΤΩΝΟΥ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>LEUCON</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>1193</td>
<td>Head r., filleted.</td>
<td>Club and bow: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΕΥΚΩΝΟΥ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 2-</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>125/8</td>
<td>Head r., filleted.</td>
<td>Thunderbolt: do.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 9-</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>Oval shield, spear behind diagonally.</td>
<td>Digger (?): quiver (?): do.</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>B. 10-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>HYGIATON</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>8/38</td>
<td>Hd of Hygiaeton (?), r., filleted.</td>
<td>Athena seated L, Nike on r. hand,</td>
<td>Prove.</td>
<td>Oréshnikov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>spear against r. shoulder, l. arm</td>
<td></td>
<td>(w. p. 503)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>on shield with gorgoneion. in</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>exergue trident L, flanked by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dolphins. ΑΡΧΗΝΤΟΣ ΥΓΙΑΙΝΤΟΣ. Under Nike</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ν, under seat Ν.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>PAHRADSES</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>Head r., filleted.</td>
<td>Same, worn side: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΡΣΑΔΙΟΥ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>Hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>8/44</td>
<td>Head r., filleted.</td>
<td>Under Nike (?), under seat Ν.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Pl. XLV. 5-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>SAUMACSUS</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>125/8</td>
<td>Head r., filleted.</td>
<td>Same, worn, under Nike K, under</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>(v. p. 584)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>815</td>
<td>Rayed head facing.</td>
<td>seat Ν.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>879</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XVI. p. 3-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>ASANDER</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>Beardless hd r., Asander (?): re-</td>
<td>Throne Apollo L, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>TRA. V. 62-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archon</td>
<td></td>
<td>803</td>
<td>struck on coin of Amias. BMC. Punit III. 6-</td>
<td>bay-wreath on ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>Same hd but wreathed r.: re-</td>
<td>ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ towards lebes-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>803</td>
<td>struck on VI. 17, itself on IX. 21.</td>
<td>ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ tripod, left arm rests on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lyre in field I, ivy-leaf (?): 2r.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>5415</td>
<td>Asander filleted r.</td>
<td>ΣΜΣ = 547, B. C. 51.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. XXV. 47-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>POLEMO L.</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>Bust of Polemo r., filleted.</td>
<td></td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 45-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>PYTHOIKES</td>
<td>Α.</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>Hid of Augustus r., filleted.</td>
<td></td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>B. 45-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>335</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>B. 55-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Later City Issues (pp. 628–632). Kings B.C. (pp. 582–586, 590–595, 611)
PLATE VII. BOSPORUS KINGS 1ST CENTURY A.D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Wt. grm.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Date A.D.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>121[8]</td>
<td>As above.</td>
<td>Same head.</td>
<td>E, T 305 = 8</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>KLB. V.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>75[6]</td>
<td>Head of Tiberius, r., new type; circle.</td>
<td>Gaius (?) r.; circle.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gennaeus</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>32[6]</td>
<td>Bust of G., draped and diademated r.</td>
<td>Female bust drapèd, in calathos, and veil r. (Livia as Aphrodite).</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Polemo I</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>32[6]</td>
<td>[BASIAIACUS]</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Polemo and Tryphaena</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>51[7]</td>
<td>Similar.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Bearded male bust r., wearing rayed crown; dot-border.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Bearded hd. r., helmeted (cf. 5).</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Similar head.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Hd of Apollo r., laurel, within bay-wreath; dot-border.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Hd. r., long hair, beard, diadem, trident; king as Poseidon (?); dot-border.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Male head rayed r.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Cotta I</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Head of Claudius r., laurel: Ti KALAIATOU SEBASTOU KAIARPO.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>78[5]</td>
<td>Curule chair, on it crown, on r. sceptre surrounded by human head: B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>122[8]</td>
<td>Hd of Claudius r., laurel; circle.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Rhescuporis</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>122[8]</td>
<td>Hd of Vespasian r., laurel; circle.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>121[3]</td>
<td>Bust of Rhescuporis r., draped and diademated; dot-border.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>121[3]</td>
<td>Round shield, behind it spear, above to r. horse-hd L, to r. rayed hd L; below to l. helmet r., to l. shieled sword: B.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>112.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>121[3]</td>
<td>Round shield, behind it spear, above to l. horse-hd L, to r. rayed hd L; below to l. helmet r., to l. shieled sword: B.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>114.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>121[3]</td>
<td>Round shield, behind it spear, above to l. horse-hd L, to r. rayed hd L; below to l. helmet r., to l. shieled sword: B.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>112.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kings 1st Century A.D. (pp. 595–604, 611, 622, 633)
PLATE VIII. BOSPORUS, LATER KINGS
Later Kings (pp. 604–611, 632, 633)
PLATE IX. SMALLER STATES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>Hdr of Tyche (Artemis?) l., wearing</td>
<td>Horseman galloping r., with spear and</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>XIII. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mural crown, bearing O between</td>
<td>bowcase: below, KAPRI; above</td>
<td></td>
<td>Or. Mat for Num. 1. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>two palmettes: dot-border.</td>
<td>horse's croup HPAK sideways</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>Bearded figure l., seated on rock,</td>
<td>Horse walking L, off fore-leg raised</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>holding axe (?); to left sideways,</td>
<td>below, KALIAIA.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Or. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>Artemis l., in earrings and necklace:</td>
<td>Deer in same pose: above, ΓE.</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>above KEP.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Or. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>Hdr of Pallas r., helmed.</td>
<td>Bacranium with hanging garland.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>XVII. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>Beardless head l.</td>
<td>ΘΕ-ΟΔ-ΕΙ.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>TRAS. v. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>Similar</td>
<td>Bull butting r.; above, ΘΕ.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>TRAS. v. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>Pallas helmed r.</td>
<td>Similar: ΘΕΟΔΟΣ(Σ)</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bow-case and club: below, ΘΕΥ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>Similar</td>
<td>above, NY.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar: NYN in incuse square.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>Lion-scap.</td>
<td>Incuse square in four compartments:</td>
<td>FW.</td>
<td>KLB. III. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΑΠΟΛ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>Simias,</td>
<td>Incuse square: in compartments ΦA</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Cf. B. XIX. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and pellets.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>Hdr of Phanagoras l., in pilenus.</td>
<td>Bull butting r.; above, ΦΑΝΑ; in</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>XXIII. 5 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>exergue grain of corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>Hdr of Artemis r., quiver behind.</td>
<td>Rose: ΦΑΝΑΓΟ-ΡΙΤΩΝ.</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>6 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Star with small crescent.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>Rose,</td>
<td>Bow and arrow: ΦΑ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>10 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Pan bearded r., restruck on coin of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Panticapu, countermark star (?).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>Dionysus r., laur.</td>
<td>Filleted thyrsus: ΦΑΝΑΓΟ-ΡΙΤΩΝ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>1 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tripod, thyrsus, ΦΑΝΑΓΟ-ΡΙΤΩΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>against it: ΡΙΤΩΝ tol. ΜΕ. tos.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>12 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Dionysus r., laur.</td>
<td>Kneeling deer ΦΑΝΑΓΟ-ΡΙΤΩΝ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>21 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l., below, ΡΙΤΩΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Artemis r., quiver behind.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>(Female bust r., in veil and calathos:</td>
<td>Sceptre: ΚΑΙ-ΣΑ; below, Η;</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>1 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ПΕ-ΟΝΝ. dot-border.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Bust of Livia veiled, stephan.</td>
<td>Prow L, ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙ-ΠΕΙΝ, Η; dots.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>1 f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Dionysus r., in ivy-wreath.</td>
<td>Bow-case and quiver.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>25-30 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Helios r., in rayed crown.</td>
<td>Cernuncopia betw. two stars: ΠΟΡΓΙΠ.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>TRAS. v. 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>As 16.</td>
<td>Stag running r.; behind, a filleted</td>
<td>BM.</td>
<td>2 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>As 17.</td>
<td>thyrsus: ΠΟΡΓΙΠ-ΠΕΙΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Heracles hd r., in lion-skin.</td>
<td>Horse-head in incuse square: above,</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>7 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΣΙΝΔΩΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Griffin seated r., before him ear of corn.</td>
<td>As 25.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Heracles kneeling r., stringing bow (?).</td>
<td>Owl displayed in incuse square: above,</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>5 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΣΙΝΔΩΝ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pl. 1. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>Male head r.; dotted border.</td>
<td>Bull's head r.; line-border.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>BMG. p. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Pl. 1. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cercinitis (pp. 491, 492), Theodosia (pp. 555, 559), Nymphaeum (p. 561),
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Cambridge: Printed by John Clay, M.A. at the University Press.