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A GREEK EPISODE
The Early Hellenistic Settlement on the Western Crimea

by

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1. INTRODUCTION

... the city, the territory, and the fortified sites. I shall help safeguard and keep the State and its citizens free, and I shall not surrender Chersonesos, Kerkinitis, or Kalos Limen ... either to Greeks, or to Barbarians ...

(From the "Oath of the Citizens of Chersonesos", an inscription; beginning of the third century B.C.)

As one travels through the Crimea, from the tree-clad mountains in the south to the torrid plains of the north, which seem to merge at the cliffs and the beaches with the liquid steppe, the Black Sea, one's eyes take in the serene beauty of a simple and remote world. In the hot summer sunshine, little appears to have changed for more than two thousand years since the Tarkhankut Peninsula, devoid of any other people, saw the first Greek settlers arrive from the great city of Olbia on the estuaries of Bug and Dnepr to the north-west across Karkinitskij Bay (Figs. 1–2). A little later, a new and much more substantial wave of farmers appeared, this time from Chersonesos, history's contested Sevastopol in the south-west, no doubt in connection with the expansion of the economy and territory of the city in the fourth century B.C. This development, and events further north, soon attracted the steppe Scythians to the area. To the far east was, since 480 B.C., the Bosporan state centered on Pantikapaion (Kerč), at the so-called Cimmerian Bosporos Strait opposite the Taman Peninsula on the Asian side, with Phanagoria, Gorgippia (Alekseeva 1991), and other Greek cities and towns (cf. Fig. 3).

The Tarkhankut area offers superb conditions for

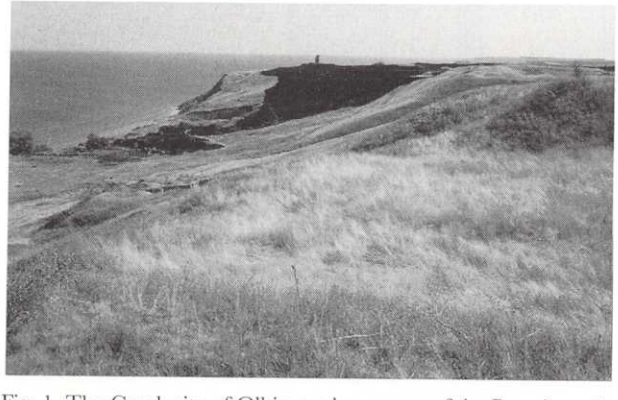


Fig. 1. The Greek city of Olbia on the estuary of the Bug river, the Ukraine (photo author).

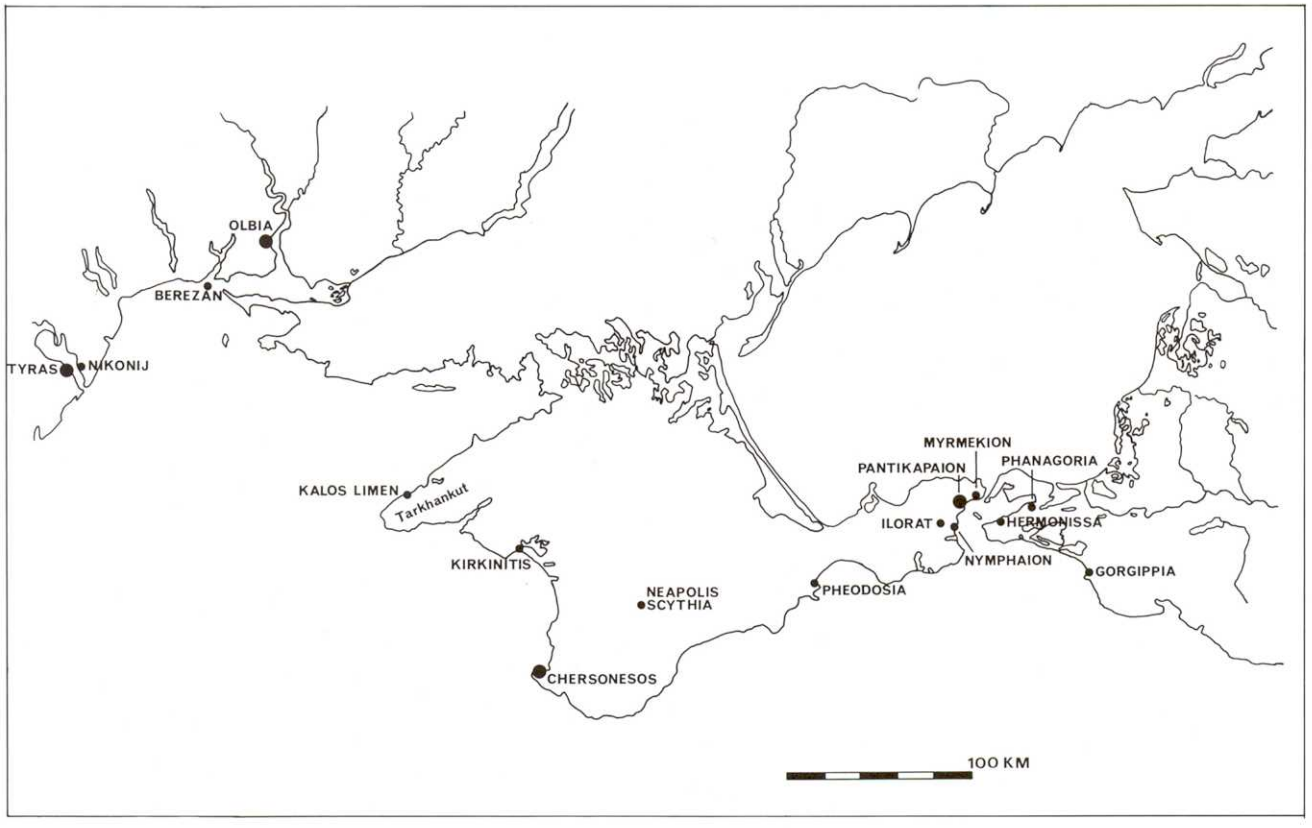


Fig. 3. The northern Black Sea region with major Greek colonial settlements.

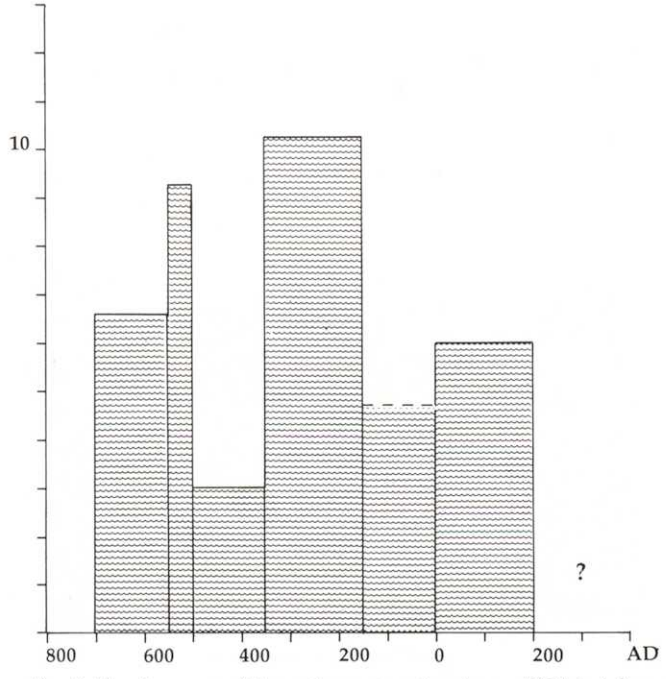


Fig. 2. Development of the settlement on the chora of Olbia (after Randsborg 1993).

preservation (little cultivation has taken place between the days of Classical antiquity and the twentieth century). It holds significant remains of a relatively short-lived settlement that pushed Mediterranean cultural norms and the petty world-system of the early Hellenistic period into a no-man's-land, only to be conquered soon after by the nomad Scythians (Fig. 4). In addition, an unusually close link can be forged between the supposed political history of the area and the archaeological remains, energetically excavated, especially during recent decades, and studied with a particular stress on economics. Taken together, this work is very impressive.

The Crimea as a whole is a very well investigated part of the antique world, with a finely tuned chronological framework and highly interesting finds of great historical significance, for instance whole landscapes of farmsteads and fields (Fig. 5) unmatched in the Mediterranean (cf., e.g., Dufková & Petčirka 1970), except perhaps for Metapontion in southern Italy (Carter 1990). The data are of a quality and degree

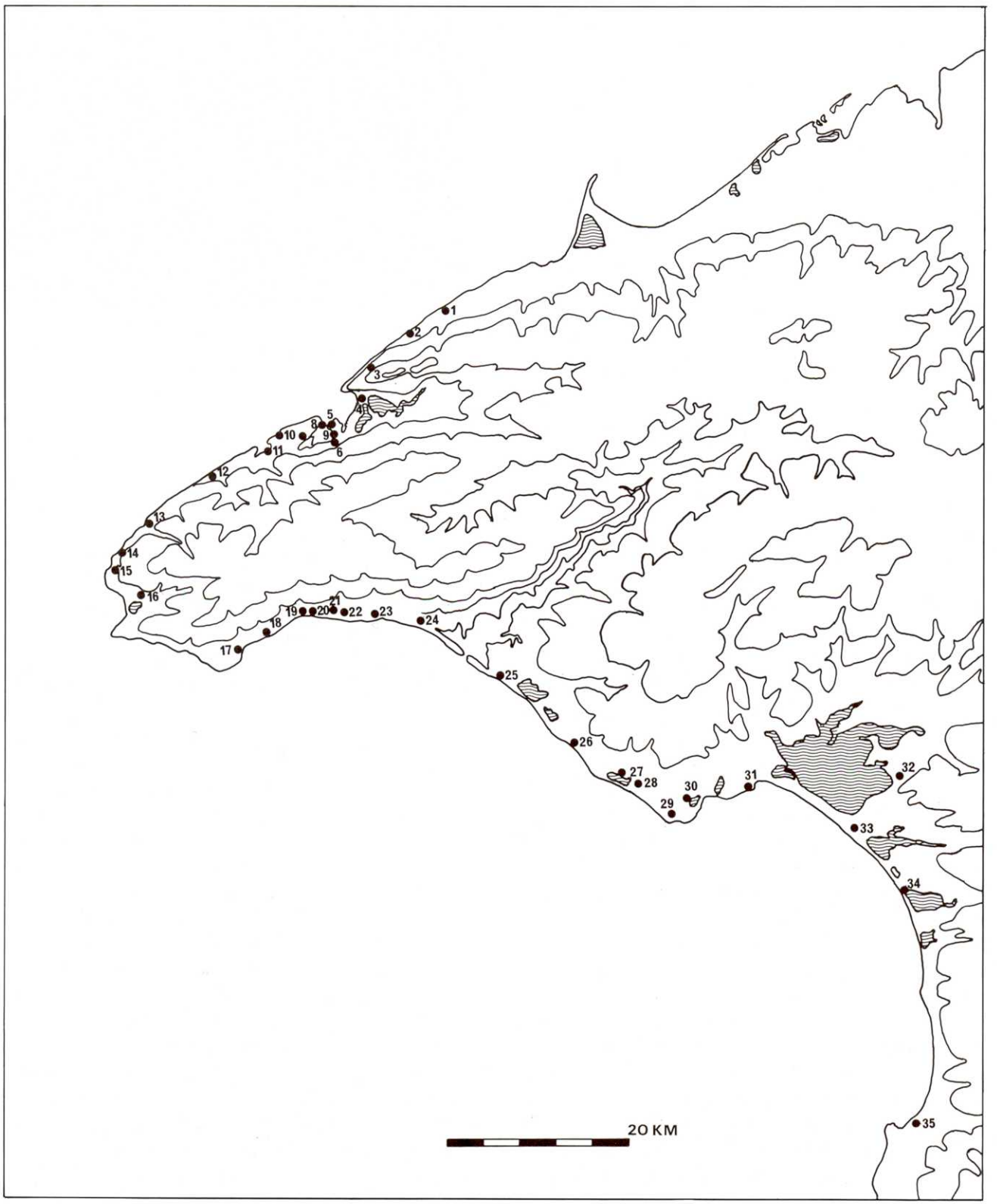


Fig. 4. Northwestern Crimea (Crimea region, the Ukraine) with the towns of Kirkinitis and Kalos Limen, and rural settlements of the late Classical/early Hellenistic period.

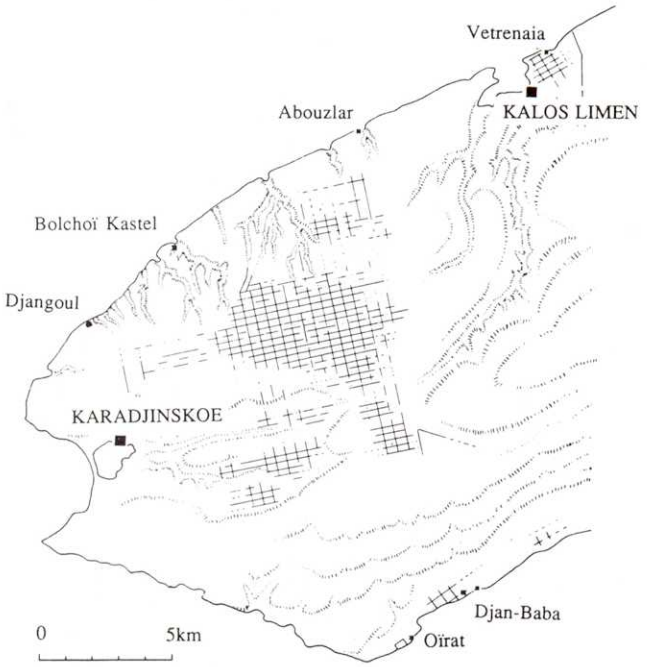


Fig. 6 (above). Site (1). Vladimirovka (Maslini), the northeasternmost Greek settlement, fortified. Wild olive (still) grows on the site (photo author).

Fig. 5 (to the left). Grid field-systems on Tarkhankut peninsula, northwestern Crimea. After Chtcheglov 1992.

of detail very rarely surpassed in the Aegean corelands, or in Magna Graecia. The Crimea has, however, in reality been almost inaccessible to western scholars due to the languages of publication and, until recently at least, the difficulties of getting to sites near naval stations, military radar, etc.; the important area of Sevastopol (Chersonesos) is still more or less closed off. Problems of transportation and the general atmosphere of national antagonism and uncertainty about relations with the larger world (potentially even questions of personal security) have proved yet another obstacle. Nevertheless there is an improvement in communication.

In the following, a summary interpretation is presented of the archaeological settlement evidence from the Tarkhankout Peninsula and the adjacent areas to the south, indeed right to the city of Chersonesos itself. The rest of the antique Crimea (and the northern Black Sea coast) are only summararily presented. For the western Crimea, one is referred especially to Chtcheglov 1992, with further references. (A.N. Ščeglov is at the same time one of the main contemporary investigators of the settlements of Tarkhanhout.) The find picture is finally discussed in the light of the larger late Classical and early Hellenistic history of politics, economics, and culture.

2. GREEK SETTLEMENT SITES ON THE COASTS OF THE WESTERN CRIMEA

The settlements in question are almost all situated on the very coast and concentrate on the best agricultural soils, for instance the mild southern Tarkhankut Peninsula and on the lands further to the south. There cereals were grown, in particular various types of winter wheat, but also a little barley, and even some remarkably early rye, in addition to wine and various vegetables. The grain found is almost free from weeds. Fishing was also very important, as the common finds of brass hooks and net sinkers of lead show, along with the many remains of mullets, crucian, brill, sturgeon, and many other fish. Mussels and crabs were also collected, and dolphins hunted. The growing of cereals and the fishery were probably both for domestic consumption and for export. Sheep/goat, to judge from the frequency of bonefragments, were the commonest domestic animals of economic importance, followed by some cattle; there was little pig. Domestic goose was also known, as was the dog.

The major Greek phase on Tarkhankut, linked with the colonization from Chersonesos, starts in the middle of the fourth century B.C., except for Panskoe I (initial colonial settlement from Olbia), Kalos Limen, perhaps Karadsha (on Karadjinskoe), Čajka,

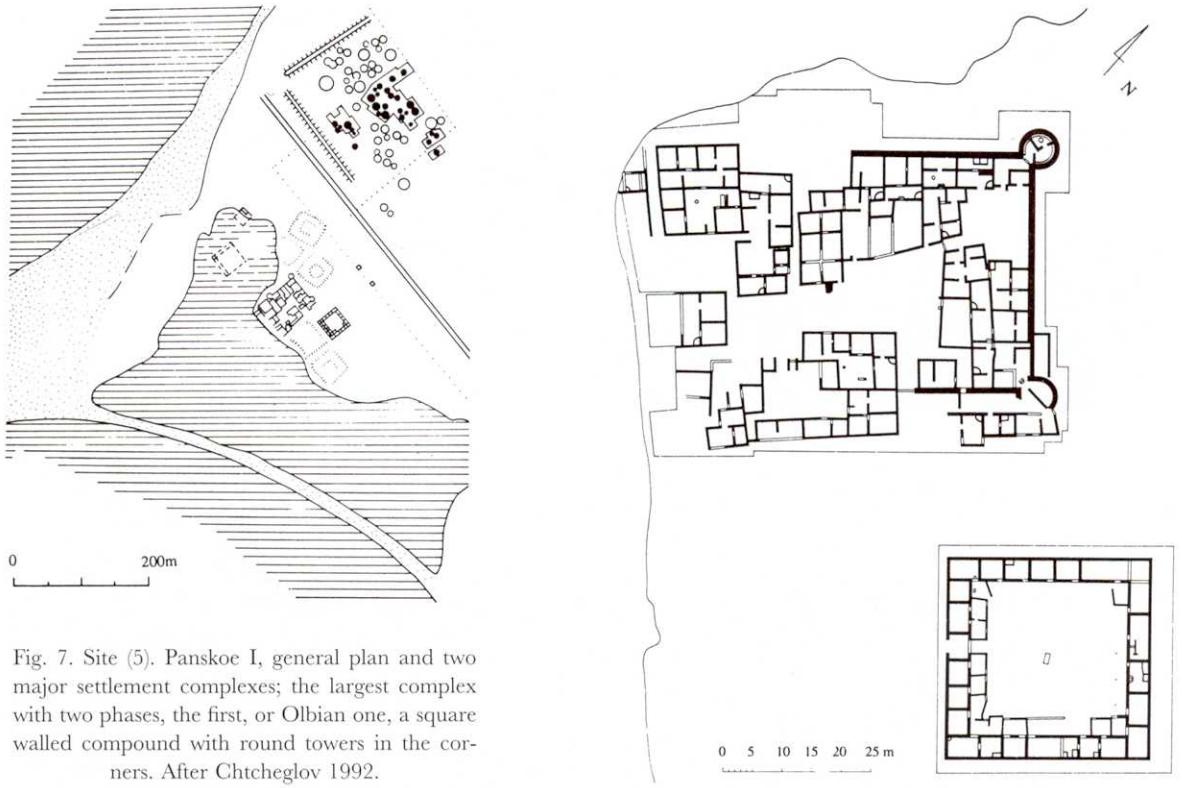


Fig. 7. Site (5). Panskoe I, general plan and two major settlement complexes; the largest complex with two phases, the first, or Olbian one, a square walled compound with round towers in the corners. After Chtcheglov 1992.

and Kerkinitis, which were, or probably were, occupied already in the early fourth century. The first Chersonesos phase ended in the first third of the third century B.C. with widespread destruction. The sites were, however, not taken over by the Scythians or any other group except, perhaps, for large Belaus (below, no. 23), which has Barbarian third century B.C. burials. Several settlements were reoccupied in the late third century B.C. (the second Chersonesos phase), but again destroyed in the early second century B.C. This time, many of the settlements were occupied by the late Scythians, most probably till the end of the first century B.C. or into the first century A.D. Incidentally, at the base of the Crimea peninsula is a powerful wall (more than 10 m wide, and with a moat on the northern side) running for about eight kilometres across the entire isthmus from bay to bay. The first phase of the wall dates to the Bronze Age, the last to the Second World War; it is mentioned by ancient Greek authors.

The distribution map (Fig. 4) and the discussion and list of settlements below have been produced by the author on the basis of several personal visits to most of the sites, interviews with the excavators and other archaeologists, and bibliographical references mainly in Košolenko et al. 1984; Chtcheglov 1992; and Kryjitskij 1993. Page numbers without author refer in the following to Chtcheglov 1992; this work is, however, apart from a long postface, basically the translation of a book from 1976, and much information and many dates have since been altered. Nevertheles it represents the main introduction in a western language and may even be consulted for data pertaining to the discussions below. Furthermore, the further south, the less complete is the picture. Within each sub-area, the archaeological significance of the sites can be judged by the space and effort given to their presentation and discussion, and to comparative information.

The list is more than a mere catalogue of finds, the important sites yielding a surprising wealth of cultural, social and historical detail.

Fig. 8. Site (5). Panskoe I, necropolis (with excavated and recently plundered graves, some used for toilets by campers). – Round corner tower of the Olbian colonial complex (photos author).

A. NORTHERN TARKHANKUT

(1) *Vladimirovka (Maslini).* Compact fortified complex of four farmsteads with interior courtyards (Fig. 6). There is one big tower. This site constitutes the settlement furthest from Chersonesos. It was occupied from 350/325 to 300/265 and again around 200 B.C.; also a late Scythian phase (to about 0). Several pit-houses nearby are probably from a dependent native settlement. In the vicinity, Greek (and Roman) imports are found in Scythian barrows. Wild olives grow on the site, as at Kalos Limen (below, no. 11).

(2) (*Unknown locality name.*) Hoard only, probably indicating a settlement. Scattered Greek sherds in the general area, e.g. from the excavation of a Bronze Age settlement.

(3) *Groty.*

(4) *Mejvodnoe.* Small isolated farmstead (p. 151). Only initial phase (till about 300 B.C.).

(5) *Panskoe I.* A large, very well preserved site (of about 6 ha, but without a defensive wall) with several fortified and other complexes and a large fenced cemetery of about 50 rather richly equipped dependent kurgan barrows with inhumations of a, thus non-Greek, dependent hellenized population (Figs. 7–8). The graves are in part excavated, in part recently plundered (seemingly by mafia campers), and date from the beginning of the settlement in 400 B.C. to about 200 B.C.; there are, however, no burials from the beginning of the third century B.C. (A large published sample of graves is, with a few graves from,

Fig. 9. Sites (5) to (9). Panskoe, surveying the fields and hinterland of the settlements (photo author). – Site (5). Panskoe I, recent excavation in foreground (photo author).

respectively, around 400 or around 300 B.C., of the fourth century B.C. only (Monachov & Rogov 1990).) Early fourth century B.C. sherds are seen on the surface near two isolated barrows in the extreme south. Cenotaphs equipped with weapons seem to have been constructed for warriors dead abroad.

Some of the house structures, of unbaked tiles on a base of stone, are rural and some of urban type. No third century interregnum has been detected at Panskoe I, the largest Greek complex north of Kerkinitis (Evpatoria). Parts of the complex are submerged, due to the rise of the water-table since the (globally) cool early Hellenistic period (Randsborg 1991, 27). Extensive excavations have been carried out.

A square ("Olbian", cf. below) fortified complex ($41^1/_2$ by $41^1/_2$ m) with round corner-towers and an interior courtyard was founded in the early fourth century B.C.; this was rebuilt, after a major fire, on a larger scale in the first Chersonesos-phase (after c. 350 B.C.).

Another square but only lightly fortified complex ($34^1/_2$ by $34^1/_2$ m) in two storeys and also with an interior courtyard, facing about 25 rooms (others were added later), was built in the late fourth century B.C. but burned down after only a generation or two, probably during an attack, as the many arrowheads on the northeastern side of the construction, facing the open ground in the direction of the cemetery, might indicate (the latests pottery is from the early third century; a Megarian beaker stems from a later occupation). The finds from this Pompeii-like fire site are very rich indeed and include pottery, caches of grain, fine jewellery, a remarkably early example of blown glass, and even human corpses; two small sanctuaries, the one for Heracles, the protector of society's underdogs, the other for Demeter, the goddess of agriculture, and Sabazios, an oriental god of viticulture, have also been established. Parallels to this construction are found at Chersonesos, but also at Olbia.

Parts of other contemporary complexes have also been excavated. The botanical evidence points to wheat and wine as the major crops; fishing was also practised. (There have been saltworks at Panskoe in recent periods.)

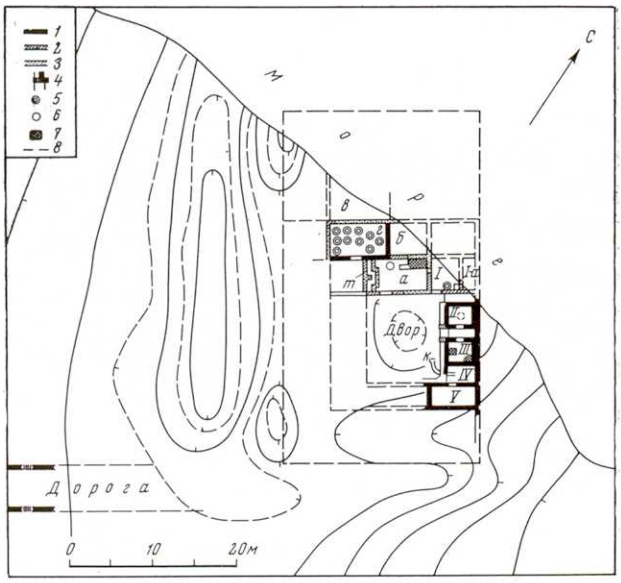
The identification of the origins of the settlers rests with, for example, the burial rites and the common ceramic wares: those of Olbia are grey, Chersonesos' a light reddish-brown. Roof-tiles, most common in the early phases, were imported from Chersonesos and even Sinope on the coast of Asia Minor (cf. Akurgal & Budde 1956, 34f.); imported amphorae from Sinope date from 380 to 180 (the end of the site), those from Heraklea, also on the coast of Minor Asia, from c. 400–300; there are also amphorae from other places of origin, in addition to many Attic Black Glaze finewares.

(6) *Panskoe II*, a small (p. 151 "big") site, destroyed; later partly excavated. "Remnants of a tower c. 10 metres square" (p. 151); a few ashlar blocks can be seen on the surface. Nearby are field-systems.

(7) *Panskoe III*, a small site, excavated. Square complex.

(8) *Panskoe IV*, a submerged site.

(9) *Panskoe, New site.* Situated between Panskoe I



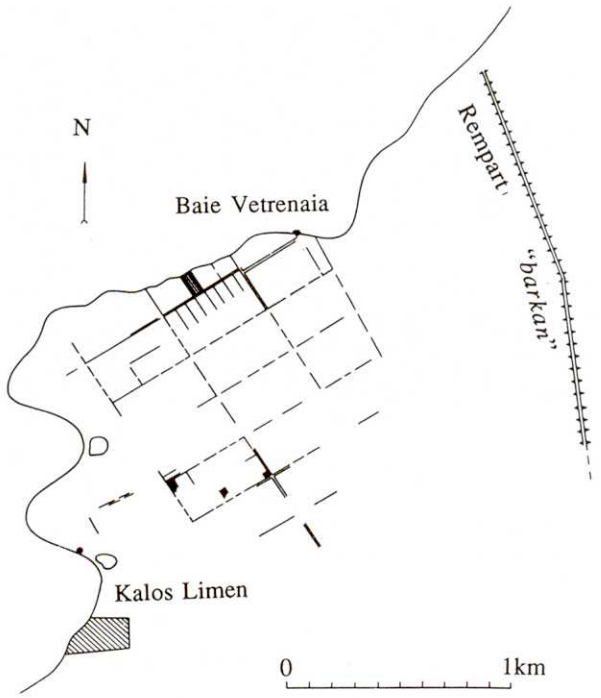


Fig. 10. Site (10). Vetrenoj baj, the settlement complex and surroundings (after Ščeglov 1967; Chtcheglov 1992).

and II (but nearest to II); located 1993 in connection with a five-man survey (Fig. 9) following lines across Panskoe I & II in their near- and middle-range surroundings (up to one or two kilometres from the sites); Greek sherds in this whole area, but to a highly variable degree, mostly near or at settlements.

(10) *Vetrenoj Bay*, excavated (Ščeglov 1967; Košolenko 1984, Tab. XXIII;1 & 5–6). A well-preserved square complex with an inner courtyard, built of unbaked tiles on a stone base and with a tile roof (Fig. 10). There are many fine details, including a cistern, a wine-press, a room of huge storage-pithoi, three for wine (2,600 litres, equivalent to 5–6,500 vines or $1^1/_2$ hectares of land) and seven for grain ($5^1/_2$ tonnes, equivalent to about six hectares of land), originally from Sinope in Asia Minor, a kitchen with a heating system in the walls, a bath, and a mosaic floor in beach-pebbles. The pottery found includes Scythian and Taurian (south Crimean) hand-made vessels, perhaps belonging to farm-hands. The settlement starts in the late fourth century B.C. and was burned down around 300/265 B.C., perhaps during fighting, as the find of arrowheads on the site may indicate. The adjacent field-systems have plots each of c. 9 ha (about 200 by 400 m), or twice the size of the fields of "Ancient Chersonesos", but only a third of those of Chersonesos itself (cf. below no. 35 and remarks in connection with Kalos Limen no. 11 just below). A nearby two-kilometre-long cross-country wall (however undated) runs roughly perpendicular to the coast, perhaps fencing the chora of Kalos Limen on this side.

(11) *Kalos Limen* (Chernomoskoe), Greek for "Beautiful Harbour", 140–160 km from Chersonesos by ship as the crow flies and some 200 km from Olbia (Fig. 11). This small site of only a few hectares begins early in the fourth century (cf. Panskoe I, no. 5). It was fortified in the late fourth century (in a Chersonesos type of walling), possibly during the period 350–325 B.C., as part of the expansion by Chersonesos; new towers and walls were constructed c. 250 B.C. and again (early) in the second century B.C. At the end of the third century B.C. the citadel was of about 3 ha; there are Scythian fortifications of the first century B.C., too.

An excavated small farmstead was built towards the inner side of the citywall (Košelenko et al. 1984, Tab. XXXIII;2–4). In all, hardly more than 100 or 150 such complexes can be housed within the walls,

Fig. 11. Site (11). Kalos Limen, wall and tower with later strenghtening of the base (photo author).

equivalent to a population of about 1,000. Recent excavations have revealed lanes leading towards the bay and both Greek and later, more irregular, Scythian structures. There is much evidence of agriculture, fishing, and of weaving. The first phase of the settlement ends c. 300/265 B.C., the second in the second century B.C. The ultimate antique abandonment of the town seems to have taken place in the third century A.D., but there are traces of occupation in the middle Byzantine period too and even later, till the arrival of the Tartars. Wild olives grow at the site, which is also a partly preserved battlefield from the Second World War.

Under this number (11) are also two Greek farmsteads about $^1/_2$ km to the north-east of Kalos Limen, a third one at about the same distance, but across a cove. Another two farmsteads are $1^1/_2$ km to the west, also across a cove (cf. Ščeglov 1980; Košolenko et al. 1984, Tab. XXIII;1). The entire field system around Kalos Limen (cf. no. 10 above) is of at least 60 plots with their vineyards and other fields, each plot requiring the work of about seven farm-hands, (cf. Košolenko et al. 1984, Tab. XXIII;1). Thus, about half the population of Kalos Limen was actively engaged in agriculture. To judge by some large kurgan burials on the chora, part of the population may have been dependent natives. The total annual production of wine at Kalos Limen, using the data mentioned under no. 10 above, can be calculated to have been 150–300,000 litres; this covers the personal consumption of a population of about 1,000. The grain production, however, is so high (up to 4–6,000 tonnes) that a substantial percentage must have been available for export.

(12) *Abouzlar.*

(13) *Bolchoi Kastel.* A major, fortified, two-storey square complex of about 600 sq.m with a powerful tower (of 9.5 by 9.5 m) and c. seven units/families of almost equal size (Fig. 12); well excavated but awaits publication. The entrance, close to the tower, leads to an interior court. The common ashlar walls are more than one metre thick. There are some outer buildings (and walls) too. The site was occupied from 350/325 to 300/265 and again around 200 B.C.; no late Scythian phase. The area around the settlement is stony steppe, but there are cadastres on better soils some kilometres away.

From the position and character of this site, it is

Fig. 12 (above and previous page). Site (13). Bolchoi Kastel. General view (amidst campers), and details of the fortified settlement (photos author).

obvious that the control of the coastal traffic was an essential.

(14) *Diangul*, shrine 200 B.C. on in a highly conspicuous and wildly beautiful landscape (Fig. 13). Inscriptions (to an Iranian god) have been found, but most finds are Greek; there is no adjacent settlement.

(15) *Čorotaj* (p. 143, 150). Non-Greek village of the fourth/third century B.C. with simple stone structures.

(16) *Karada*, on Karadjinskoe, a major site with heavy deposits, even larger than Kalos Limen (above, no. 11), but not mentioned in the list of towns of the "Chersonesos Oath", including Kalos Limen, Kerkinitis, and Chersonesos. The site awaits (modern) excavation, "perhaps it resembles Čajka" (below no. 20, cf. p. 144). The settlement was perhaps already founded in the early fourth century B.C.; there is certain occupation from 350/325 to 300/265 and again around 200; a late Scythian phase (to about 0) concludes the sequence. Various small sites have been recorded from the area, cf. Čorotaj (above no. (15) and p. 144, 263).

B. SOUTHERN TARKHANKUT

(17) *Cape Ojrat* (at Morskoe). Greek farmstead by a Bronze Age settlement (cf. Wąsowicz 1972, Fig. 6). Nearby is a field system with 21 km of walls in a plot of 13 ha (about 390 by 270 m), including a vineyard on 70% of the area. More than 40,000 vines would have produced about 20,000 litres of wine annually

Fig. 13. Site (14). Open-air shrine at Diangul (photo author).

Fig. 14. Site (23). Belaus, Greek tower with later strenghtening of the base (left) (photo author).

or more than 1,000 Chersonesos amphorae; still, this high production may only have been for domestic use. The complex is not later than 300/265 B.C.

(18) *Djan-Baba.* Combination of Greek farmstead and native dependent settlement (cf. no. 20 below) (p. 147). (Wąsowicz 1972, Fig. 12;IV.)

(19) *Ak-Čokrak.* (=Akči-Saraj (?), cf. Wąsowicz 1972, Fig. 6, which may also indicate the existence of one more site between Djan-Baba (no. 18) and Tarpanči (no. 20)).

(20) *Tarpantči* (at Okunivka) (p. 146). To the east is a very small farmstead, which came to an end around 200 B.C. To the west is the "Scythian" fortress (initially 45 by 40 metres) of Tarpantči, which was erected on a (fortified) Greek farmstead of the late fourth century B.C. Next to the farmstead was a large complex, probably a native dependent settlement, of "Grubenhäuser", about 8 m long, and other huts. An excavated sunken structure with both Greek and Scythian pottery had a large pit for grain. The late Scythian (to about 0) fortress, from which agriculture (with wheat and barley) was carried on, exhibits several stages, including one with a powerful fortified base, towers, and a broad and deep moat. Greek field-systems with a plot of 18 ha are seen nearby. (Wąsowicz 1972, Fig. 12;V.)

(21) *Lasurnoe.* Founded in the late fourth century B.C.

(22) *Kalčukskoe*/Kulchuk/Kultschukskoje/Koulitchoukoe (at Lazournoe?), the "Red Kurgan"; excavations. Major fortified site, "perhaps resembling Čajka" (below no. 30, cf. p. 144). Tower of the late fourth century B.C., walls of the early second century B.C.; there are also Scythian walls; the earliest structures are "Grubenhäuser". Adjacent field-systems. The site was occupied from 350/325 to 300/265 B.C. and again around 200 B.C.; late Scythian phase (to about 0). A cemetery is found and a field-system noted nearby (p. 155).

(23) *Belaus* (p. 144f.); excavated (Figs. 14–15). Major fortified complex of three farmsteads; large towers, the most powerful (11 m^2) one, in marginally drafted ashlar, on the very beach; a shrine; later Scythian houses and a rampart with a short bridge over a

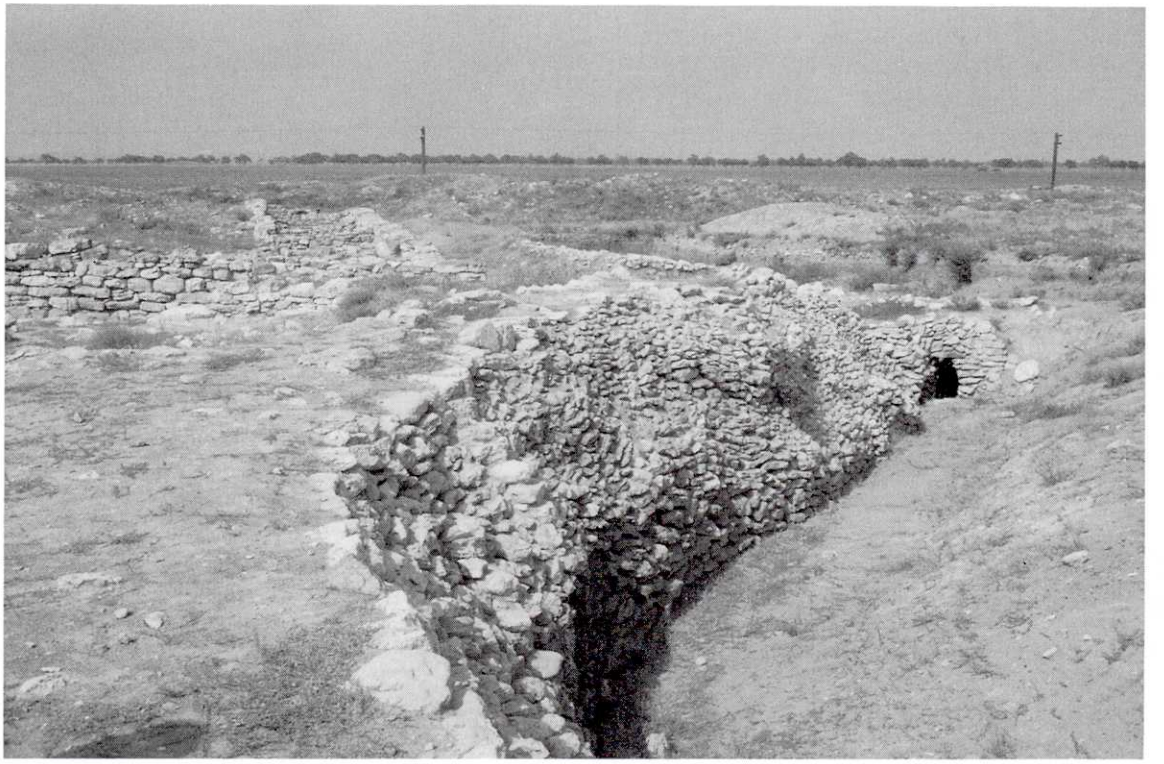


Fig. 15. Site (23). Belaus, Scythian wall, ditch and bridge plus other constructions (photo author).

moat. The site was occupied from 350/325 to 300/265 and, after partial destruction, again around 200 B.C. when the large tower was equipped with a fortified, anti-ram, collar (cf. 11, (Fig. 11), and 36, near chora of Chersonesos below); there is also a late Scythian phase (to about 0). There are also earlier Scythian graves (even earlier than at Scythia Neapolis/Simferopol), p. 266f. Only about 500 m to the east of this site is an un-fortified farmstead of the same age (p. 146). There are seemingly also one or more farmsteads still further east, near Lake Donuslav, "destroyed in a fire around 200 B.C." (p. 146).

(24) *Sapadno*(North)-*Donuslavskoe* (at Siamenskoe on the northern shores of Lake Donuslav). Large fenced plot with a small fortress-hamlet "as at Vladimirovka" (above no. 1, cf. p. 267), made up of four farmsteads with interior courtyards and one big tower; not excavated but clearly visible on air-photographs. Similar plot nearby. Finds of Chersonesos amphorae from the late fourth to the second century B.C. (p. 139). There is a wreck off the coast with amphorae from Heraclea on the northern coast of Asia Minor.

C. EVPATORIA AND VICINITY

(25) *Ujno*(South)-*Donuslavskoe* (at Popovka, on the southern shores of Lake Donuslav). Group of farmsteads, or hamlet, founded in the late fourth century B.C. Scythian fortress on the site from the middle of the second century B.C.

(26) *Airči* (near Uutnoe). Large farmstead with a nearby field-system of even 50 ha; later burned down and turned into a Scythian fortress. (Wąsowicz 1972, Fig. 12;III.)

(27) *Beregovoe.*

(28) *Moločnoe.*

(29) *Maak*, (Maiak, p. 257, 262.). Square double farmstead with two interior courts. Occupied till about 300/265 B.C.

(30) *Čajka.* Major fortress; extensive excavations. A modest construction is seen already in the early fourth century B.C.; the major square fortress in ashlar, with as many as six towers (80 by 53 m) and an interior court with "apartments" of equal size (two phases of rebuilding in the third century B.C.), is dated from the period 350/325 to 300/265 B.C. The third

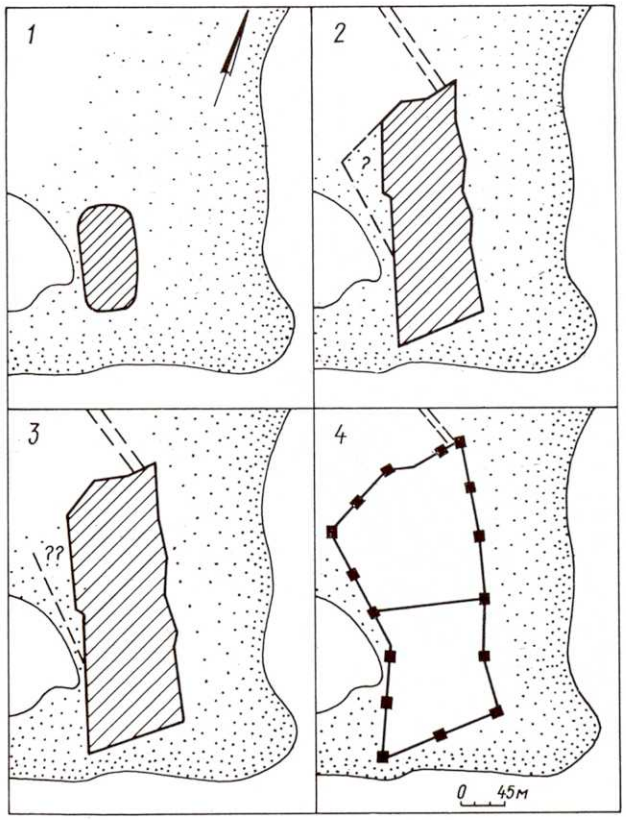


Fig. 16. Site (31). Kerkinitis (Evpatoria), development of the town: 1=Mid-sixth to early fifth century B.C.; 2=Fortified town at c. 470–460; 3=End of fifth century to c. 350 B.C.; 4=C. 350 to second century B.C. (after Kutajsov 1992).

period is around 200 B.C.; a late Scythian phase runs from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. The third period comprises a much smaller building (27 by 16 m) with an interior courtyard; in this was later built a tower about 10 m^2, which was destroyed by a fire. The small finds of the major fortress primarily refer to agriculture and viticulture; among the imports are pithoi from Sinope, Asia Minor; Taurian pottery is also found. (Not far from Čajka are contemporary non-Greek and non-Scythian kurgan burials in an abandoned quarry.) Thus the fortress resembles a very large farmstead, the centre of an estate. Expansion of the territory is noted in the second phase (field-systems). Nearby Greek "village".

(31) *Kerkinitis* (Evpatoria), Ancient Greek for "Crab town", 60–70 km from Chersonesos by sea as the crow flies; comprehensive excavations (Fig. 16). The settlement was founded c. 550 B.C. and fortified in the early fifth century B.C.; new fortifications with ashlar walls of 1.2 km were built in the late fourth century. The town was destroyed around 300/265 B.C., but resettled at the end of the third century B.C.; there are also claims to continuity through the third century (Kutajsov 1992). A mint was established in the fifth century, but also in the middle and the end of the late fourth as well as in the late third century B.C., local coins were issued. (The coins of the mid-fourth century, with near parallels in Chersonesos, celebrate a "victory", possibly the integration of the town in the Chersonesos state. Other emissions, with pictures of a horse, probably refer to the steppes.)

The very first settlement of Kerkinitis, to judge by its small size, probably had less than 100 (free) inhabitants, but already at the end of the sixth century the settled area of 0.8–1.0 ha and about 200 structures, had 300 (free) inhabitants. At the beginning of the fifth century, the town had grown to 3.2–3.7 ha in extent, with about 170 structures and a (free) population of 1,300. Around 400 the town was of 4.2–4.3 ha, about 225 structures and a (free) population of 1,700. After c. 350 B.C. and in the third century B.C., the area of the town (with new fortifications) was 5.3 ha, about 280 structures and probably more than 2,000 (free) citizens.

Payment of tribute to the Scythians, including salted fish, is documented from at least the end of the same century (traditionally Evpatoria is known for its saltworks). Seven or more Greek farmsteads are situated near Lake Mojnak and about a couple of kilometres from the town on what must have been its small chora, where remnants of irregular cadastres are also found. At least one of the farmsteads has a unique small round tower seeminhly dated to before 350 B.C. (Košolenko, et al. 1984, Tab. XXII,1). In the late fourth century, square complexes with interior courts appear in the vicinity of Kerkinitis and Čajka (above, no. 30), e.g. Maak (above, no. 29; cf. Košolenko et al. 1984, Tab. XXII,7: Farmstead no. 2 at Lake Mojnak). In one locality, a small farmstead was replaced around 300 B.C. by a large square complex, in turn destroyed during the second century B.C.

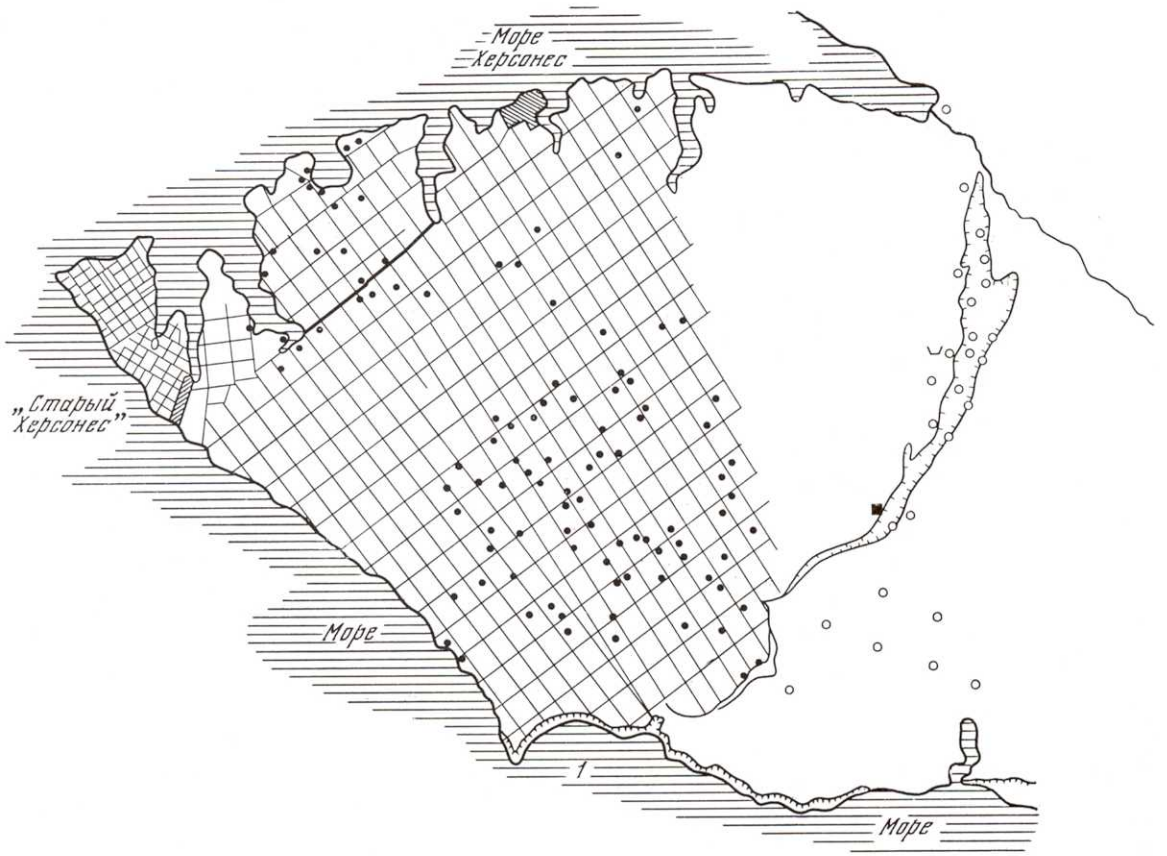


Fig. 17. Overall grid field-systems (with tracks) at "Ancient Chersonesos" and Chersonesos (Site (36)). The towns are densily striated, the farmsteads marked by dots, adjacent native establishments by rings (along notorious Balaklava valley). After Košolenko et al. 1984 (with further references).

(32) *Garchino* (northeastern shore of lake Sasyk, the farmstead furthest from the sea); occupied till 300/265, p. 137 & 273.

(33) *Kara-Tobe.* Fortress; later conquered by Scythians, p. 137.

(34) *Kisil-Ar.* To the south of Saki, site of 1.5 ha., cultural layers of 1.2 m, two phases; the first one from the second half of the fourth century B.C. to the third/second century B.C., the second (a late Scythian settlement) from the second century B.C. to the second/third century A.D. (Lantsov 1989).

(The area to the south of Evpatoria and Saki was traditionally far more forested than the areas to the north, in particular the dry steppe Tarkhankut Peninsula, and belong in the narrow forest-steppe region of the Crimea.)

D. SEVASTOPOL AND VICINITY (registration incomplete)

(35) (*No locality names.*) Various (new) Greek sites further to the south of Saki, and to the north of Sevastopol. At the estuary of the River Alma there is a Scythian fortress (Dandaka (?), cf. p. 200).

(36) *Chersonesos and its near chora.* The settlements on the near chora of Chersonesos (Sevastopol), include the city itself (very many excavations, cf. below) and the fortified "Ancient Chersonesos" (also excavations), in fact two lines of walls with towers across the base of the peninsula of Cape Chersonesos (with a cadastre of about 100 units of equal size for the same number of families) in the far west, some 10 km from Chersonesos itself (Figs. 17–18). The foundation of the fortress of "Ancient Chersonesos" took place towards the middle of the fourth century B.C.; it was

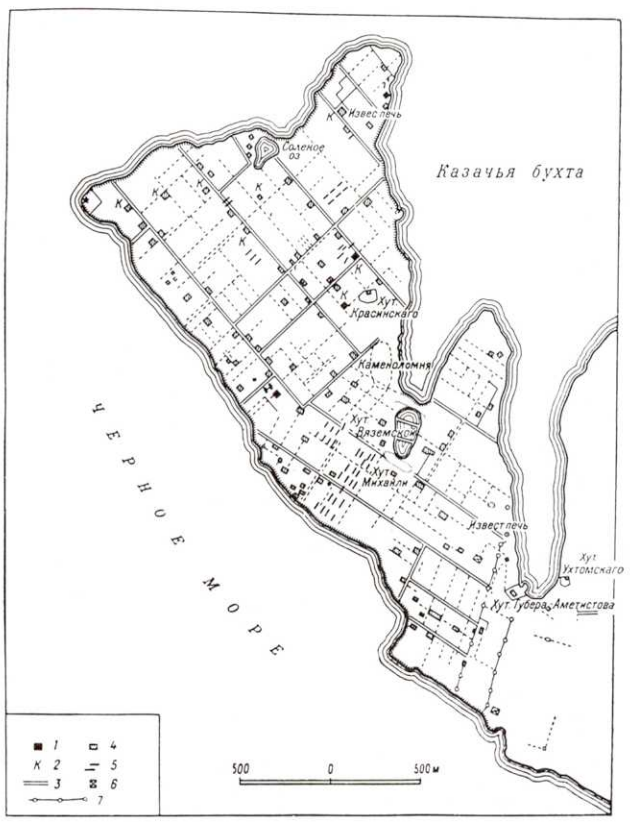


Fig. 18. Grid field-systems at "Ancient Chersonesos" (Site (36)). The walled town sits across the root of the peninsula, controlling access from land. Farmsteads are marked by small striated squares. After Wąsowicz 1972, with original references.

destroyed around 300/265 (a major fire even occurred at the end of the second century B.C.).

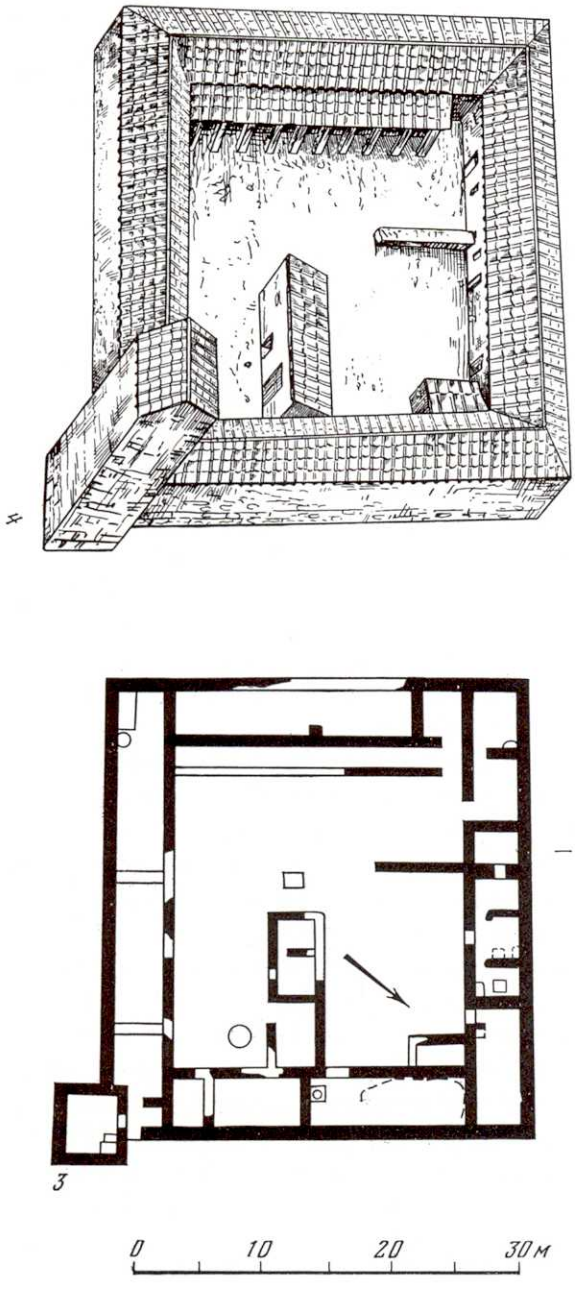
Near Chora: First of all, the vicinity of Chersonesos (with cadastres everywhere from the middle of the fourth century B.C. on), contains about 150 farms, often lightly fortified (interior court and tower). Adjacent to the farmsteads are fields, nearly identical in size. In all, about 2,400 basic units each of c. $4^1/_2$ ha on some 100 sq.km have been recorded. To the east of the cadastres is a series of partly hellenized native, most probably dependent, settlements dated to at least the mid fourth century B.C., perhaps supplying workers for the farms and their vineyards (cf. below). Excavations and surveys reveal that the preservation of both farms and fields is, or, rather, was superb, as much of the area has since been destroyed, less by the heavy fighting during the Second World War than by a more recent expansion of the naval base and city of Sevastopol (Dufková & Pečirka 1970).

A couple of these farmsteads may serve to illuminate the patterns. The well-known no. 25, situated on a plot of $30^1/_2$ ha, is made up of a complex of 21 rooms about 35 m square with a corner tower (6 m square) and an inner courtyard (Fig. 19). It was destroyed by fire. The pottery is dominated by farm utensils such as amphorae (64%) and pithoi (6%) rather than by kitchen wares (with bowls, only 7%); jugs constitute 17%. The imported amphorae are mainly from Sinope in Asia Minor and Thasos in the northern Aegean. Fine Black Glaze pottery (1%) is quite rare compared with Chersonesos. These observations may imply that both the owner and the other occupants of the farm resided mainly in the town. Similar data are, however, not available from the other settlements listed here (but see, for example, no. 10 above). During periods of unrest the near chora may have been worked entirely from Chersonesos itself.

Also the neighbouring farmstead no. 26, similar in lay-out to 25 but with, for example, a large winepress, was burned down. It was replaced, however, around 200 B.C. by a much smaller complex of a heavy tower, with fortified base against even siegerams, of almost 10 m square, with walls more than 2 m thick. Even this complex was destroyed by fire at the end of the second century B.C. The pottery is in composition similar to no. 25.

By contrast, the small farmsteads on the peninsula behind "Ancient Chersonesos" (in fact its chora), were not fortified. Here no. 3, for instance, was a complex of only 21 by 18 m (including the courtyard), but posessed a floor-mosaic in beach-pebbles. No. 1 was of a different lay-out, a powerful two-storey building of 9 by 10 m.

The above farmstead No. 26 was situated on a square plot of about 700 by 400 m (or 29 ha) bordering the road between Chersonesos and "Ancient Chersonesos". The plot is divided into 22 square fields of very different size, including large walled vineyards (three quarters of the entire area), orchards and fields, no doubt, as the finds in general show, for the growing of wheat, barley, millet, peas, vegetables, gourds, onions, cucumbers, and melons. The vineyards have had about 5,000 vines per hectare, at



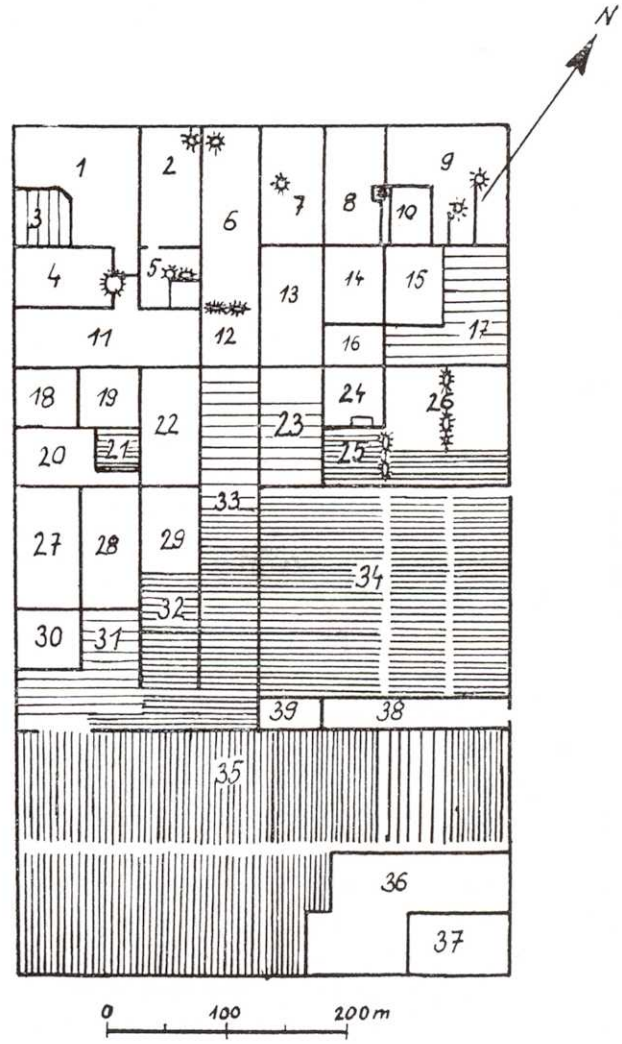


Fig. 19. Site (36). Chersonesos, Farm no. 25 of the chora and the structures of the complex (fortified). On the plan of the fields dense striating indicates vineyards (13.4 ha=44%), less dense indicates orchards (4.2 ha=14%); areas with no lines are fields (11.1 ha=37%), except for no. 39, where the farm complex is (0.2 ha=1% (3% are ancillary areas, tracks etc.)). After Dufková & Pečirka 1970 and Košolenko et al. 1984 (both with further references).

farmstead no. 26 requiring 25 or more slaves or workers, and an annual output of about 90,000 litres, with the majority, or about 3,500 amphorae, a medium ship-load, for sale or export.

The total output of wine of the garden-like near chora of Chersoneos was probably in the order of 20–25,000,000 litres annually, requiring a substantial production of transport amphorae, which, according to the series of more than 120 different annual magisterial stamps, seem to have been produced in Chersonesos from the end of the fourth till the beginning of the second century B.C. The Chersonesos am-

phorae are common on all of the lands of the Scythians and well known also in the Greek cities of the northern and western Black Sea, from Olbia to Odessos (Bulgarian Varna). Only a very few of these amphorae are found in the eastern Crimea or in the Mediterranean.

The domestic animals of the Chersonesos farms no doubt comprised sheep/goat, some cattle, and a little pig and horse. (For comparison, at Nikonij, at 400 B.C., however on the fertile Dnestr estuary, the bone-frequency of the main domestic animals was 59% (cattle), 31% (sheep/goat), 10% (pig), and 8% (horse), cf. Sekerskaa 1989, 116f.)

Chersonesos city: The oldest Greek finds at Chersonesos (ancient Greek for "Peninsula") itself point to a settlement of perhaps 10 ha on the cape of Quarantine Bay (the inlet to the east of the city) from the end of the sixth century (cf. Kerkinitis, above no. 31), founded from Heraclea in Pontos (on the northern shores of Asia Minor). Ostraka (voting-ballots) from the whole of the fifth century B.C. point to the existence of an autonomous (and in this case democratic) polis-organization; adjacent (?) native settlements near the city belong to the pre-Scythian Taurian Kisil-Koba culture. The later (fortified) city of "Chersonesos", also based on units of $4^1/_2$ ha (farmsteads may originally have occurred inside the walls), was founded at the latest around 400 B.C. The city saw much manufacturing and trade, including, as in other Black Sea centres like Nikonij (Sekerskaa 1989, cf. above), a substantial import of Athenian fine-ware ceramics. An expansion occurred after c. 350, when the city grew from about 20 to about 40 ha and contained, for example, a theatre of the third/(second) century B.C, for 3,000 spectators, and a colossal statue by a Polykrates. There is a mint from the beginning of the fourth century B.C., but most emissions are later, including a series of coins issued just after 350 B.C., to judge from the motives celebrating a "victory", perhaps the contemporary conquest of the northwestern Crimea (Fig. 20). As at Olbia and Pantikipaion, destruction and decline in the (mid-) third century B.C. is noted, including loss of the major part of the territory, north of the Taurus Mountains. In this period, an addition to the fortification of Chersonesos was hastily built, even re-using polychrome stelae from the city cemetery.

3. TARKHANKUT TO CHERSONESOS

> *The grain imported from the plain I shall not sell, nor export it from the plain to any other place than Chersonesos ...*
>
> (From the "Oath of the Citizens of Chersonesos", an inscription; beginning of the third century B.C.)

The Tarkhankut Peninsula was apparently at first an interest sphere of the Greek colony and city of Olbia, founded in the sixth century B.C. (Figs. 1–2). A number of Archaic and Classical finds in the western Crimea can be ascribed to the activities centered on this town (or even its seventh century B.C. predecessor, an emporium on the small offshore island of Berezan (cf. Solovov 1993)). Kerkinitis (Evpatoria) was no doubt originally an independent foundation, probably from the eastern Aegean, which only submitted to Chersonesos (founded in the sixth century and re-founded at about the end of the fifth century B.C.) in the second half of the fourth century, when also the nearby fortress of Čajka was constructed, or perhaps reconstructed.

Olbia's Classical phase is less pronounced than the Archaic one, but by the mid-fourth century B.C. the city was once more in the middle of a strong phase of growth, as reflected by, for example, the size of the settlement on the chora (similar to what was happening around Chersonesos on the Crimea). Thus, it is no great surprise that the first Greek settlement (of the early fourth century B.C.) at Panskoe I on the northeastern shores of the Tarkhankut peninsula most probably emanated from Olbia and took the form of a fortified rural complex of a regular, obviously quasi-military nature (housing "Soldatenbauern"). Also nearby Kalos Limen, starting at the same time, may have its origins in Olbia. It was established as a fortified town in the late fourth century B.C.

By about 350 B.C., settlers from Chersonesos and dependent sites had established themselves in numbers on the coasts of the Tarkhankut Peninsula, and this time not just at Panskoe (or Kalos Limen). Large parts of the peninsula and adjacent lands to the south, as well as around Chersonesos, were registered in cadastres. The production of grain in the larger chora of Chersonesos at the end of the fourth century B.C. was probably of the order of at least 20,000 tonnes for normal years and 30–37,000 tonnes for peak ones, thus allowing for a substantial export. Apart from the

settlements in the vicinity of Chersonesos, the larger ones fortified, the sites were situated on the very coast, enabling easy transportation and utilization also of the marine resources. In the hinterland, the establishment of large field-systems might have brought the agriculturalists into potential conflict with arriving nomad groups. However, the nomads might also have benefited from the close neighbourhood of the Greeks for exchange, various supplies, and the opportunity of being hired for labour. At any rate, the period around 300 B.C. is also the final phase of the Scythian hegenomy of the steppes in southern Ukraine (and Russia) (Marčenko & Vinogradov 1989; Vinogradov & Marčenko 1989).

The Greek settlement on Tarkhankout and further south, right to the gates of Chersonesos near the foothills of the southern Taurus Mountains of the Crimea, fell, however, into disuse (perhaps apart from Panskoe I) in the early third century B.C., but was then not taken over by the nomads. In the late third century, a Greek reoccupation of most of the northern sites took place; this second Greek phase lasted only a few decades. The nomad or rather semi-nomad steppe Scythians, driven from most of the southern Ukraine and areas to the east by the Sarmatians (who started to arrive on the steppes shortly before 300 B.C.), established themselves in the Crimea. In the early third century B.C., the fortified hilltop capital of Neapolis Scythia was founded at present day Simferopol a mere 60 km from Chersonesos. In the early second century B.C., the Scythians were settled at or around many of the formerly Greek farmsteads in the northwestern Crimea. Shortly before 100 B.C., Pontos, a kingdom then under King Mithridates VI Eupator, on the northern coast of Asia Minor, was called upon by the Bosporan state to support Chersonesos against the Scythians, an event well documented by the written sources. This in fact led to the incorporation of the southwestern Crimea into the Bosporan state from which Mithridates requested a huge annual tribute; on the acropolis of Pantikapaion (Kerč), eastern Crimea, he built a palace.

The start of Pantikapaion dates to the early sixth century B.C., and adjacent towns such as Myrmekion to the east and Nymphaion to the south were founded at about the same date, although there are also a few late seventh century B.C. finds from the region. Also Feodosia (Theodosia) further to the

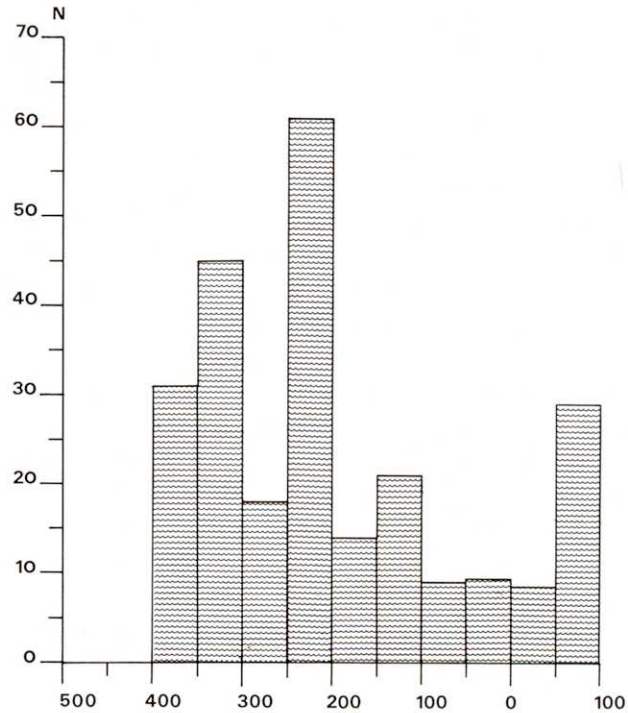


Fig. 20. Frequency of coin-types issued by the city of Chersonesos (data, Anokhin 1980).

west was founded in the sixth century B.C. As far as can be established, the eastern Crimea follows the same main development as the western part of the peninsula. There are destructions and unrest in the early fifth century B.C., while the fourth century B.C. is a phase of expansion and prosperity. The annual supply of grain to Athens from the Bosporan state by the middle of the century was even 16,000 tonnes. A tenuous link with Ptolemaic Egypt can be placed in the third century B.C.

In the first third of the third century B.C., the eastern Crimean region, like the chora of Chersonesos, was sacked (the chora of Olbia had the same fate). Also the second phase of unrest in the early second century B.C. (after about 180 B.C.) was common to Chersonesos and the Bosporan state, as were the late second century B.C. wars with the Crimean Scythians. Still, some prosperity remained, allowing King Mithridates VI of Pontos to request 7,000 tonnes of grain. Across the Cimmerian Bosporos, settlement data from the Taman peninsula, also part of the Bosporan state, allow for a long-term perspective underlining the vigour of the Hellenistic period (cf. Paromov 1992).

4. THE WIDER STAGE

Apart from the initial expansion of eastern Greek settlement in the Black Sea basin, lasting till the early part or middle of the fifth century B.C., Athens was the great early power in the area. It had alliances with many of the cities and states and is known to have acquired grain from, for example, the Bosporan state in the eastern Crimea, at least till the middle of the fourth century B.C. A close link was also formed with Olbia, a power even in the northwestern Crimea in the early fourth century B.C. The city of Nikonij on the Dnestr Estuary, which declined in the third century B.C., has provided a well-studied sequence of imported Aegean ceramic fine-wares which clearly shows the rising importance of Athens in the region during the Classical period (Sekerskaa 1989):

Late VI century: 3% Attic, 97% Eastern Greek
Early V century: 34% Attic, 66% Eastern Greek
Late V–375 B.C.: 95% Attic, 5% Eastern Greek

The Greek cities on the northern Black Sea, rich in grain, wine, fish, and hides (the latter perhaps ultimately from the Scythians, along with furs), would, however, have been in need of oil, which would have had to be brought from the Bosporos area, the Mediterranean, or, more likely, from the eastern stretches of the northern coast of Asia Minor, from Sinope, the city of Diogenes, and east (here olives readily ripen, while the northern coast of the Black Sea is usually too cold). The Crimea may have received its iron from the lower Dnepr basin, where Scythian Kamenskoe was a large-scale producer. The Scythians would also have provided gold (which in turn came from rich mines in Kazakhstan). Copper and silver, however, would have had to be imported from the Balkans or eastern Asia Minor. In addition to these basics and the mentioned ceramic fine-wares and other luxuries, very many other things, including bulk-goods, also travelled; for instance, Sinope delivered many of the common roof-tiles in Chersonesos and its rural settlements.

During the period between 350 and 275 B.C., a significant import in the western part of the Black Sea region was fine wines from the island of Thasos in the northern Aegean (perhaps, however, with a slack period after the death of Alexander) (Kats 1992). This might be an economic indication that other Aegean powers and regions now began to make themselves felt in the Black sea, notably ascendant Macedonia, which weakened the Scythians and under Alexander even attempted to conquer Olbia, the antagonist of Chersonesos.

Unfortunately, there is little indication of political and economic alliances in the Greek coin-hoards of the Black Sea region, which are strikingly provincial in composition (cf. Fig. 21). Almost all the coins in the hoards are of local type from the late Archaic period to the arrival of the Romans (data in Thompson et al. 1973). In addition, northern Black Sea coins only very rarely indeed travel outside the area. Rather, the frequency of the coin-hoards over time reflects the phases of expansion and contraction of the region with the first group of coin-hoards from around 500 B.C., the second, and by far the largest, around 300, and the third around 100 B.C. Shortly after 100 B.C., the first hoards composed of Roman coins begin to appear in the Crimea and in neighbouring regions to the west (Crawford 1969).

The coinage of the city and state of Chersonesos (Fig. 20) starts in the early fourth century B.C., at the time of the noted expansion (Anokhin 1980). A large number of different coin-types is known from the fourth century, in particular the middle and latter half of that century; by contrast a decline in emission is seen in the early third century (especially the second quarter) corresponding, among other things, to the period of contraction of the chora settlement. The late third century has very many emissions, while a second and very marked decline is noted for the early second century B.C.; the level of minting rises slightly at the end of the second century, shortly before the loss of autonomy, while relatively few coin-types are known for the first century B.C. and early first century A.D.

Already in the sixth century B.C., the northern, forest-steppe Scythians (to the south of the latitude of Kiev and north of the steppe belt proper) received countless Greek imports, commonly found in their princely graves. Around 500 B.C., Scythians, who were employed as police in Athens, are depicted on Attic ceramic fine-wares; from the fifth century B.C. comes Herodotos' famous decriptions of the Scythians. In the fourth century B.C. most, and often very costly, Greek luxuries went to the realm of the south-

ern steppe Scythians in which the northern Black Sea Greek settlements were but tiny "pockets". In the fourth century B.C., the steppe Scythians, living in a kind of symbiosis with the Greeks, were united into a confederate empire, led in its heydays by King Atheas. The daughter of this Scythian ruler may have been married to King Philip II of Macedonia, the father of Alexander, who actually had beaten Atheas in his drive for Macedonian control of the Danube Estuary. Atheas seems to have died in 339 B.C., after which the Scythian empire disintegrated. This general period sees great prosperity at Olbia and in the Bosporan state, while at Chersonesos the expansion towards the north-west of Crimea was under way.

In 331 and 330 B.C., one of Alexander's generals, with Thracian troops, laid siege to Olbia, an ally of the Scythians, but was heavily defeated. In 310 and 309 B.C. the army of the Scythian king Agaros took part in the dynastic struggles of the Bosporan state. Another nomad group, to judge by the name of their leader, which seems to be Sarmatian, also took part in this conflict. The Sarmatians, having previously stayed on the eastern side of the River Don, now appeared on the northern Black Sea stage in force. Around 300 B.C., and thus after Chersonesos' expansion into the northwestern Crimea, the Scythians were compelled to transfer their centres from the Dnepr to the Crimea (although they still held lands on the lower Dnepr). The famous royal kurgan burials of the steppe Scythians with costly Greek imports also disappear in this period, as well as Scythian centres such as Kamenskoe (Rolle 1989, 120) on the Dniestr and Elizavetovka (Marčenko 1986), the major emporium on the Don Estuary. In the Crimea the Scythians created a barbarian version of a Hellenistic kindom or empire, centered in the third and second centuries B.C. on Neapolis Scythia at present-day Simferopol (Fig. 22) in the fertile lands between the Taurus Mountains in the south and the northern steppes, and not far from Chersonesos. The ramparts of Neapolis are dated to the early third century B.C. This new highly centralized Scythian realm was particularly powerful in the second century B.C.

To this development apply the attacks on the possessions of Chersonesos in the northwestern Crimea in the early third century B.C. Also the myth about the Sarmatian queen Amage, de facto supreme ruler

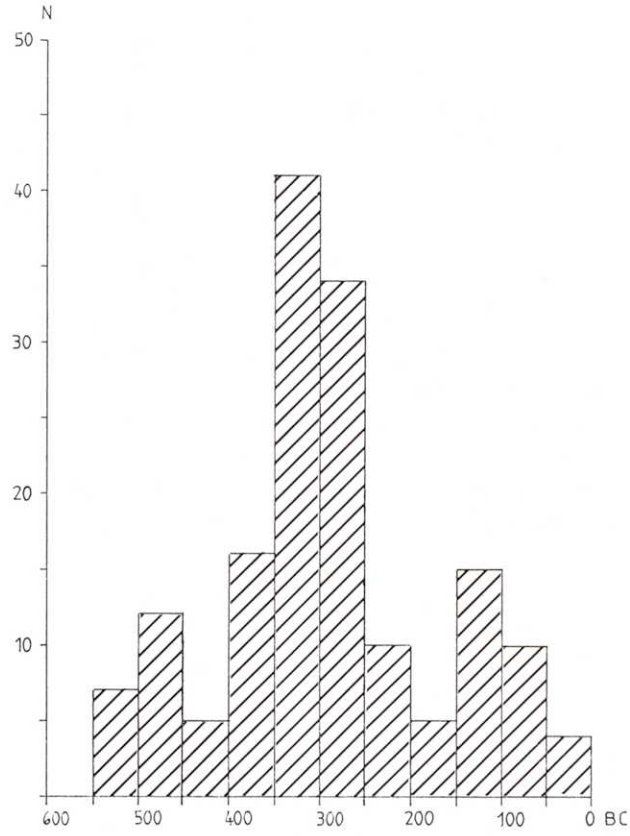


Fig. 21. Frequency of Greek coin-hoards in the southern part of the FSU (former Soviet Union). Data, Thompson et al. 1973.

of the whole region, who in the late third (or early second) century B.C. ordered the Scythians to stop their attacks on Chersonesos, belongs here. It is in this period that the second short-lived phase of Greek settlement in the northwestern Crimea was taking place. In the late Hellenistic period, Scythians were unequivocally in possession of all Chersonesos farmsteads, fortresses and towns in the area. Characteristically, the coins of Chersonesos after c. 180 B.C. circulated only in the city and its near chora.

At about the same time as the first Sarmatians, the Celts made their presence felt in the Black Sea region, not least as mercenaries of the Greeks (Treister 1993). Around 200 B.C., seemingly Central European, perhaps Germanic groups appeared in the western Black Sea area (cf. Hoddinott 1981).

In 179 B.C., a king of Pontos in Asia Minor created an anti-Roman alliance comprising the Sarmatians

and Greek cities in the region, including Chersonesos. This, however, did not beat the aspirations of the Crimean Scythians, who in the late second century even laid siege to Chersonesos. A Pontos general, Diophantos, was dispatched in 107 B.C. by the equally anti-Roman king Mithridates VI Eupator. The Pontos army succeeeded in relieving the city and winning a battle over the Scythians, who, incidentally, had coins minted in Olbia, their possible ally. Diophantos now "founded Evpatoria" and pressed forward to the Tarkhankut, where a battle with the Scythians and the Roxolanes, a new nomad group, was won. However, the sad outcome for Chersonesos was loss of independence and integration into the Bosporan state, which now saw a final phase of stability after, in the second century B.C., having been compelled to pay tribute to the Scythians. The Romans controlled the area from the 60s B.C. on.

5. EXPLANATIONS

The Greek colonial settlements in the northwestern Crimea around 300 B.C. were an important part of the expansion of the state of Chersonesos. This conspicuous development, paralleled in Olbia, as well as in the Bosphoran state with Pantikapaion and the other cities in the eastern Crimea and the Taman Peninsula, was furthermore contemporary with the rise of Macedonia and subsequent empires and economies in the eastern Mediterranean and beyond. Thus, it is but reasonable to search for a link between these very significant developments in politics as well as in economics (Randsborg 1993). Nevertheless, the northern Black Sea coast was never a direct part of the Macedonian kingdoms.

Thus the great period of expansion around 300 B.C. corresponds to the era of Macedonian control of the Bosperos. It is hardly a presumption to suppose that the rise of Macedonia required large amounts of foodstuffs, and that the creation of the new Chersonesos may be linked with this development. In the first third of the third century B.C., probably towards 280/270 B.C., the Greek settlements disappear on the entire chora of Chersonesos, from Vladimirovka in the north to the gates of the city in the south. This highly remarkable decline is usually explained in terms of pressure on the Scythians from the Sarmatian nomads, supposedly forcing the Scythians to settle in the Crimea and in turn to put pressure on the Greeks. No one doubts the reality of this chain of events. But the notion of nomadic threats and attacks, just as the changes in fortune of the Greek settlements in the northern Black Sea, must also be seen in the larger context.

The political history may give us some clues to work from. In the early third century, control over the Bosporos was lost to a series of independent powers (Hammond 1989, 295f.). The Crimea found itself situated in an almost self-supplying regional network comprising the states in northern Asia Minor, notably Pontos and the great city of Sinope, which supplied oil and other products. The most noteworthy external link, at least culturally, was, once again, to the eastern Aegean. However, the powerful trading state of Rhodos did penetrate the system with its high-quality wine (cf. Lund 1991), the import of which peaked at Olbia and Patikapaion in the period between "220" and "180 B.C.", (cf. Kats 1992). A conflict between Rhodos and Byzantium stemmed from an attempt by the latter to tax this Rhodian trade.

More important, the decades around 200 B.C. also saw a series of major and decisive wars, the Second Punic one between Rome and Carthage over the control of the western Mediterranean and the first and the second of the Macedonian wars over the Aegean. In the second Macedonian War Rome and, among other powers, Athens and Rhodos, fought the Macedonians. Closely linked with this conflict are the struggles between the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic kingdom over the eastern Mediterranean. The Ptolemies were in control not only of the grain of Egypt, but initially also of Aegean islands and cities right up to the Bosporos. It might be significant that Macedonia, an ally of the eastern Seleucids, in this period gained temporary control over access to the Black Sea. And perhaps these happenings even made an impact on the politics and economy of the Crimea. Could, for instance, Macedonia and other regions, certainly cut off from potential supplies from Egypt, not have turned once more towards the Black Sea for grain and perhaps other supplies, even if we lack written sources to support the suggestion? Alternatively, the Rhodian trade may be seen as the important factor, Rhodos and other Aegean powers being short of

Fig. 22. From Neapolis Scythia (at Simferopol), main house structures (photo author).

grain. At any rate, the years of intensive campaigning in the Aegean would certainly have called for extra resources, food as well as others, for the warring parties.

The greater Chersonesos chora was briefly re-established in the period around 200 B.C., probably in some accordance with the Scythians, who were now settled in the Crimea in numbers, with their new main centre Neapolis Scythia at later Simferopol. From Olbia we know of a tribute of as many as 900 gold pieces paid in the name of the city to the nomad King Saitafarnes in about 200 B.C. (or slightly earlier) by a very wealthy Greek, Protogenes, who was probably a trader, perhaps in slaves, and a landed proprietor, hailed by a well-known honorary decree (Skydsgaard 1993).

During the period between "146" and "114 B.C.", a marked though limited import of fluid foodstuffs in amphorae from Aegean Knidos (near Rhodos) to western Crimea is revealed (Efremov 1992). This reflects an economic link that may also have had political overtones. The trade was taking place with an area already under Roman control and after the beginning of the decline of Rhodos from the 160s B.C. on. Still, it may also be seen as a continuation of the eastern Aegean trade that earlier Rhodos had been heading. It can even be suggested that slave-trading is involved, in particular since Rome's demand for manpower grew insatiably from the mid-second century B.C. on. For instance, the western Black Sea and adjacent regions in the Balkans are a known prime region of slave-trading in the second and especially the first century B.C. Slave-gathering and -trading, in particular if run by warrior-élites, may in fact have substituted for part of the cash-crop subsistence economy on the fringes of the antique world in the late Hellenistic period, thus possibly explaining some of the decline in agriculture in peripheral regions such as the Crimea.

Soldiers from Pontos fought the nomads shortly before 100 B.C., when King Mithridates VI of this kingdom, an opponent of Rome, who also employed Celtic mercenaries, was called upon by the Bosporean state for support. But relatively soon after, the ex-

Fig. 23. The Roman fortress of Ilorat, eastern Crimea (photo author).

panding Roman Empire changed all political and a lot of the economic configurations of the entire Black Sea area. Chersonesos saw a Roman garrison to the east of the city in Charaks, while other troops were garrisoned near Olbia and, from about 50 B.C., at the fortress of Ilorat to the south of Pantikapaion (Fig. 23).

In conclusion, the patterns of political (and economic) alliances and sympathies from about 400 to about 100 B.C. in the areas in question may thus, tentatively, be outlined as follows:

(A) Around 400 B.C., most cities in the Black Sea region are sympathetic to Athens. Chersonesos is still relatively insignificant.

(B) Around 300 B.C., a link may have been forged between Macedonia and Chersonesos, which expanded into Olbian territory in the northwestern Crimea. Macedonia's relationships with the Scythians and with Olbia are strained. The Sarmatians, antagonists of the Scythians, appear on the stage.

(C) Around 200 B.C., Macedonia and the Seleucid empire are fighting the Ptolemies of Egypt, Rhodes and other powers (including Rome). Chersonesos seeks Sarmatian support against the Scythians. There is a possible link between the Bosporan state and Egypt.

(D) Around 100 B.C., the Greek Crimea is dominated by anti-Roman Pontos (Asia Minor). In the 60s B.C., Pompeius secured Pontos for Rome, and the Bosporan state became a vassel kingdom.

Throughout, peripheral Crimea, and in particular Chersonesos, seems to have sided with the strongest regional power of the period, from Athens over Macedonia, possibly Rhodos, to Pontos, and finally Rome: the fate of clever peripheries.

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