

# A Silver Rhyton with a Representation of a Winged Ibex from the Fourth Semibratniy Tumulus

Cultural Influences in Sindike in the Fifth to Fourth Century BC

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In archaeological studies of the territory of the Bosphoran Kingdom, finds directly or implicitly related by their provenance to the Achaemenid state are fairly uncommon. Almost without exception, when found these are objects of prestige, particularly cylindrical seals and carved stones of the fifth to the early fourth century BC (Fedoseev & Golenko 1995, 51-52). There is, however, also a rare example of toreutic work – a huge silver rhyton from the fourth Semibratnee (Seven Brothers) tumulus – one of a well-known group of early burials of chiefs of the tribe of the Sinds (Fig. 1). During the period under consideration, the Sinds proved to be in the borderland between the Greek and Scythian worlds and established their kingdom here.

This situation is clearly reflected in the composition of grave offerings from a burial found here in 1875. The burial dates from the period not later than the mid-fifth century BC. It was partly looted, but, along with horses buried in a special mud-brick chamber and parts of horse gear in the Scythian animal style, it still contained numerous Greek imports: a silver kylix with a magnificent engraving and a gilded representation of the winged Greek goddess of victory, Nike, sitting on a chair and performing the rite of libation; a golden bracelet woven from wire with sculptural snake heads at the terminals; a set of scale armour with a large bronze plate representing the head of Medusa; a black-glazed Attic lekythos with a depiction of an athlete; and many other objects.

In particular, near the head of the deceased was a silver rhyton with a remarkable representation of a protome of a winged mountain goat (Figs. 2, 3). Its length is 63cm, the diameter of the upper body is 14.6cm and the diameter of the lower part is 4cm. The outer edges of the broad wings bend forwards, the long ends of the feathers and the beard of the goat are decorated with gold mounts fixed with small nails. Around the upper edge of the rhyton there is a frieze composed of a guilloche, lotuses and palmettes. At the junction with the tip there is a belt of small globules inserted between two rows of notched wire (Artamonov 1966, 108, pls. 117, 119; Anfimov 1987, 94-97, 106-107). Note-



*Fig. 1. Excavations of the Semibratnie (Seven Brothers) barrows. Lithograph of 1875.*

worthy is the gracefully bent horn of the rhyton with broad horizontal flutes paralleled in Iranian art. The goat figure is rendered with the forelegs bent beneath the body, but the main attention of the artisan was focused on the head. The latter is separated from the neck by peculiar whiskers divided by parallel deep depressions. The eyes and eyebrows above them are represented in a stylized form. Beneath the eyes there are similar thin arc-like ledges reflecting the aspiration of the craftsman to render the head plastically within a single decorative scheme. The nostrils and mouth are clearly outlined, as is the wedge-like projection of the beard. The geometricity of the wings is intensified by the stylized treatment of the feathers. Between the horns and eyes, the mane is shown schematically in bulging relief lines, as on many Iranian rhyta (Marazov 1978, 54). Another motif typical of Achaemenid art is the strictly symmetrical positions of once fairly long horns. This fact additionally suggests a provenance in a region tied closely with the traditions followed by ancient Persian craftsmen. In this case, the traditional Indo-European image of a winged goat as a zoomorphic symbol of lightning and thunder must have complied with the tastes of the semi-nomadic Sindian elite.

It is difficult to judge how this precious object could have come to a Sindian ruler: as a trophy, a diplomatic gift or through trade (cf. Kisel' 1995, 44). However, it cannot be ruled out that it was simply included in the number of offerings regularly received by the king from the town situated 3km east of the Semibratniy barrows and which existed simultaneously with the lat-



*Fig. 2. Silver rhyton with the figure of a winged goat from the fourth Semibratniy tumulus.*

ter. Only about 20 years ago, this town restored its historical name of Labrys; previously it was called Semibratnee urban site. It seems that the particular objects brought to Sindike were selected so as to correspond to scenes of fine art to which their new owners were accustomed, since they were acquainted with images of Scythian and Iranian mythology. In this respect, two golden rhyta, which were manufactured by Greek craftsmen and found close to the silver one, are of interest. One of these was tipped with a ram's head, the other one with the forepart of a dog. The upper parts of the rhyta, which were made of horn, are not preserved, but five triangular plates with rounded corners remain, and two of them, in their style and scenes, are considerably closer to Iranian traditions than to Greek ones. It cannot be ruled out that these plates, dismounted from some Achaemenid object which had become worthless, were used as an example for similar ornamentations and afterwards, secondarily, for decoration of a vessel copying the original prototype. On one, there is a lion tearing a deer (Fig. 4.1), on the other a senmurv (Artamonov 1966, 37): a sharp-toothed, winged dog with a tail in the form of birds' heads (Fig. 4.2). In these two cases we see the characteristic flatness of the figures and spiral volutes, while of note for the senmurv are the same whiskers and beard as on the winged ibex of the silver rhyton.

What was Labrys during the period when the independent Sindian Kingdom existed and the Semibratnee kurgans were constructed? The first excavations of the townsite, 28km northeast of the city of Anapa, were conducted by Vladimir G. Tiezenhausen as early as 1878, soon after he had finished his investigation of the nearby kurgans. Trenches sunk at the edges of the townsite revealed the remains of defensive structures about 3.2m high. However, the director of the excavations put forward no suppositions concerning their date, except to mention that a handle of a stamped Greek amphora and a corroded copper, probably Bosporan, coin were found during the excavations (OAK 1878-1879, 8-9). Regular investigations began there only 60 years later. These



*Fig. 3. Detail of the silver rhyton. Protome of a winged goat.*



Fig. 4. Mounts decorating the edge of the horn part of the golden rhyton: 1 – depiction of a lion tearing a deer; 2 – depiction of a sennur.

were conducted during nine field seasons until 1955 by an expedition under Nikita V. Anfimov from the Krasnodar Museum of History and Regional Studies (Anfimov 1941, 258-267; Anfimov 1951, 238-244; Anfimov 1953, 99-111). It was established that the total thickness of the cultural deposits at the townsite extended to 3.3m. On the basis of the evidence yielded by excavations in the northern area, Anfimov dated these deposits as follows.

He dated the most ancient layer to the late sixth to the fifth century BC, and to that layer he attributed the remains of a defensive wall, 2.4-2.45m thick, of the early fifth century BC with rectangular towers at intervals of 15-18m. Supposing that the town was in the earlier stages of its existence, connected closely with the history of the Sindian Kingdom, Anfimov had no doubt that its appearance resulted from the rapid social and economical advances of the Sinds (cf. Šelov-Kovedjaev 1985, 132-133), who had proved to be close neighbours of the Greek *apoikai* of the Cimmerian Bosphoros. According to Anfimov, a thick ashy layer formed by fires and destruction dates to the beginning of the fourth century BC and was possibly connected with the war-like events in Sindike known from Polyens' story about the Sindian king Hekataios and his Maiotian queen Tirgatao (Polyen 8.55). Anfimov further supposed that at the end of the same century another devastation of Labrys and the final annihilation of its earlier defences took place. The third building period was dated to the late fourth to the first half of the third century BC and the last one in the history of the town to the second half of the third to the early second century BC. At the end of the first century BC, when the city

was already lying in ruins, a small settlement arose which was occupied for about a century. The chronological scheme of Anfimov and his ethnocultural interpretation of this archaeological site remained immutable for a long time until amended as a result of the resumption of excavation of the townsite in 2001 by the Bosporos Expedition of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences. By that time, the above-mentioned name of the city, reconstructed hypothetically as Labrys, was already known after a chance find of an inscription of the Bosporan king Leukon I. The inscription narrates that the king dedicated here a statue to Phoebus Apollo after the battle against Oktamasades, son of Hekataios, the king of the Sinds (Blavatskaja 1993, 34-48; Tochtas'ev 1998, 286-302; Vinogradov 2002, 3-22; Jajlenko 2004, 425-445; Tokhtas'ev 2006, 2-22). In the further description of the field investigations of the Bosporos Expedition, including those of a non-intrusive character (geomagnetic surveys), it is implied that a number of observations and conclusions proposed here are only preliminary and require further confirmation by extensive studies of the various stages of the existence of Labrys.

The main studies of the Bosporos Expedition concerned primarily the previously uninvestigated northern part of the townsite which, as geomagnetic surveys have shown, has the form of a trapezium, with a base length of about 200m and with lateral sides of approximately 100m and 130m (the total area is ca. 2.5 hectares). The northern area facing the ancient riverbed of the Hypanis (River Kuban) is an oval of a considerably greater size. These differences, under the condition of a fairly even locality (the drop of height throughout the site does not exceed 4m), are not fortuitous but reflect particular stages in the development of the urban territory. The shape of the riverside part of Labrys probably resulted from the stabilization of the limits of the initially fairly irregular layout after the construction of the defences. Sometime ago, Martin established that the layout systems of peripheral Greek centres depended directly on their economic orientations (Martin 1973, 87-112). Early Labrys corresponds entirely in these terms to an *emporion* – a predominantly trade-based settlement founded in order to establish exchange with an indigenous community on which it wholly depended, being immediately surrounded by a barbarian milieu (Valle 1973, 54, 65-66; Bravo & Chankowski 1999, 275-295.<sup>1</sup> The main trade route was the river, although it is not yet quite clear where the port was situated. Geomagnetic surveys of an area of about 0.08 hectares (18m by 45m = 810m<sup>2</sup>) near the ancient riverbed of the Kuban, in a grassy lowland area beyond the northern wall of the town, have demonstrated the absolute absence of any harbour constructions. Possibly they were located northwest of Labrys, where, judging from the relief of the locality near the mouth of the Shakon river, now almost extinct, one may suppose the presence of a fairly large bay in antiquity.

The foundation of Labrys in the land of the Sinds as an *emporion* of the port-of-trade type, in the terminology of Karl Polanyi (Kozlovskaja 1984, 40), may be dated on the basis of the pottery from the northern area of the

townsite. The oldest fragments of amphorae and painted ware yield one and the same date – not earlier than the very beginning of the fifth century BC (cf. Kamenetskij 2003, 72; Vdovičenko 2006, 32).<sup>2</sup> Hence, the initial defensive walls, by which a fairly large area of ca. 8.5 hectares was soon synchronously encircled, must have been erected during the period very close to a date extremely momentous for the Bosporos – 480 BC. Was it not, furthermore, one of the first actions of the *symmachie*, established then with the Sinds as one of the allies for the repulsion of the Scythian threat? (Tolstikov 1984, 32-39; Šelov-Kovedjaev 1985, 77). This action, moreover, must have been a very serious and expensive one, because, for the Bosporan cities at the beginning to the first quarter of the fifth century BC, a fortification system, rather than isolated defences, is known only at the acropolis of Pantikapaion (Tolstikov 2001, 397-398).

It is quite probable that the local ruler, who had fixed all aspects of the mutually profitable political, military and economic relations with the Bosporan cities in a special agreement, had his permanent residence in Labrys.<sup>3</sup> This may have defined afterwards a peculiar role for the city, both in the formation of an early type of state structure by the Sinds not later than the mid-fifth century BC (Tochtas'ev 2001, 66) and in the events of the military and political history of Sindike.<sup>4</sup> The rich burials from the nearby group of the Great Semibratnie barrows, the first of which were constructed not later than the fifth century BC (barrow nos. 2 and 4), are one of the indicators of the significance of that centre. The tradition of building kurgans vanished here simultaneously with the fall of the independent Sindian Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> A gradual rise of Greek influence on the culture of Sindike by the early fourth century BC is vividly demonstrated by the increase of Greek imports among the funerary offerings of the Sindian chiefs, not to mention the use of Greek names, for example Hekataios, among the ruling strata. Indicative is an un-rifled burial at kurgan VI where, in a stone tomb, a wooden carved sarcophagos stood on chiselled legs with a two-sloped roof upholstered with a cover probably of Bosporan provenance. The cover was made of thin woollen cloth with mythological scenes, depictions of animals and birds and ornamental motifs (Gerciger 1973, 73-78). Alongside tokens of barbarian life (a fur cap and boots, golden clothing mounts), the burial contained silver kylikes with engraved and gilded representations (Gorbunova 1971, 20-22, 29-33), three golden seal-rings, bronze and black-glazed vessels, and even an ivory box with representations of Aphrodite and Eros (Anfimov 1987, 96).

In the southern part of Labrys, the oldest cultural deposits were excavated within an area of 120m<sup>2</sup> (Excavation Area I) adjoining the internal face of the eastern fortification line. The latter included an inner rectangular gate-tower constructed on the bedrock (its excavated part measuring 6.5m by 4.9m) with the walls up to 0.85m thick and a preserved height of up to 0.94m. A staircase was added to the tower (Fig. 5). Judging by fragments of Chian amphorae with bulging necks, one of which was found in the masonry of the tower, the



*Fig. 5. Foundation of the staircase and gate-tower of the fifth century BC (view from the south).*

urban territory here was occupied from the second quarter of the fifth century BC. The walls of the tower had a three-part structure with two armour faces constructed of coarsely hewn flattened blocks of limestone. The interstice between the faces was filled with densely packed clay mixed with fine rubble. The internal room probably served to house standing guards over the entrance to the city. The long-term presence of people here is suggested by a baked spot from a two-chambered rectangular fireplace measuring 0.6m by 0.55m which is preserved on the adobe floor in the southwestern corner of the tower. Above the level of the foundation of the fireplace, ashy intercalations up to 0.37m thick were noted. These layers, along with pieces of charcoal and fired bones of domestic animals, contained mussel shells and sturgeon scutes. Broken wares used for cooking and domestic refuse were thrown out – over the wall into the corner between the tower and the staircase. The base of the staircase was 5.4m long and about 2m wide. The four lower footsteps showed an incline at an angle of  $30^\circ$  suggesting that the exit onto the upper platform of the gate-tower was at a height of about 3.5m. Its masonry was irregular with the limestone blocks laid flat and measuring on the face from 0.16m by

0.1m up to 0.92m by 0.16m. An analogous original construction, with a rather low gate-tower and adjacent staircase, is known only in the defensive wall of Pistiros – a Greek *emporion* founded in the fifth century BC in Thrace on a riverbank more than 300km inland from the sea (Domaradzki 1996, 18-19, figs. 1.4, 1.8, 2.2; Bouzek 2006, 34-35). The similarity with Pistiros extends further though. Indeed, the gate in its defensive wall had on the outer side only one tower to which the assaulters would have to turn with their sides unprotected by a shield. As shown by the evidence of magnetic surveys, the Labrys towers, destroyed by fire, which defended the fortress gates facing the south and west were arranged in a similar way. “Gaps” about 5m wide in the protracted positive anomalies of the magnetic map correspond to these gates. Moreover, there are two gaps of this kind in the southern line of defences, probably to allow the possibility of sudden sallies in the case of an attempt to seize the city from this side. It is of note here that the thick positive magnetic anomaly is present only in the southern and western lines of defences, where, as mentioned above, the locality is fairly even. Probably, this latter fact necessitated the construction of obstacles to attackers on the external line of the ditch, dug here about 13m wide, and perhaps in the ditch itself. Such an obstacle may have taken the form of a wooden stockade, which, after having been burnt, left a strong magnetic vestige. Further to the south, along the western edge of the modern forest-belt where some low hills are traced at intervals, a weak winding magnetic anomaly with rectangular protrusions at intervals of 14m is “readable” in the magnetic map. These protrusions may be interpreted as towers.

Jan Bouzek, in comparing the defences of Pistiros with the fortification structures of northern Greece, arrived at the conclusion that the former are most similar to the city walls of Thasos. The impulse for sending a party of colonists to the barbarian interior may have been the defeat of the revolt of the islanders against the rule of Athens in 465 BC (Bouzek 1996, 44). Construction of analogous fortification elements in the land of the Sinds within the same chronological span seems to be not fortuitous. There is the probability that either a Thasian architect who chanced to find himself in the Bosphoros took part in that construction, or a group of natives from Thasian possessions on the Thracian coast was present among the new colonists. Indeed, the outcome of the urban building to the south (beyond the line of the former gated walls which are fairly well readable on the map of the geomagnetic surveys) was quite probably related to the arrival of a small group of *epoikoi* on the banks of the Hypanis. The new quarters of the city inscribed into the trapezoid of additional defensive structures came to occupy an area of about 2.5 hectares. Taking into account the average density of the buildings yields us a number of about 130-150 house owners. It cannot be ruled out that with the influx of Greek colonists, Labrys, in its further development, acquired the status of a polis although remaining under the control of the tribe of the Sinds in the person of their chief. The latter, it seems, received initially from their Greek



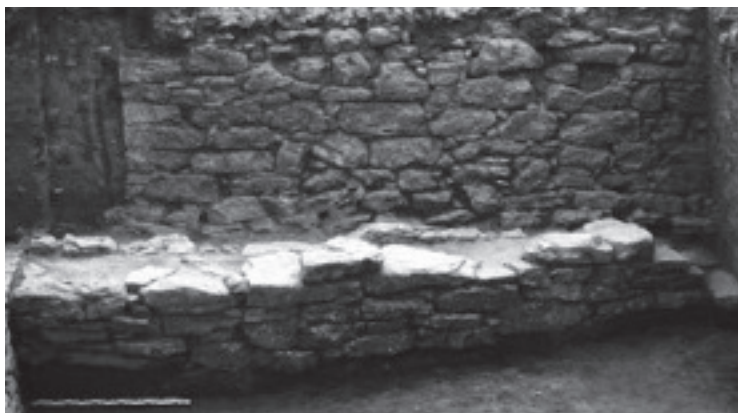
subjects sporadic gifts of expensive weapons, adornments and luxury objects, and later a fixed tribute in gold and silver (cf. Zlatkovskaja 1971, 127).

This situation is pretty reminiscent of the position of the Hellenes within the Odrysian Kingdom in the early fifth century BC. There, the Greek poleis founded on the Thracian coast as early as the seventh to sixth century were not only subject to the Odrysian rulers but, in fact, were incorporated into the structure of their state (Vysokij 2003, 53). We know that the citizens of the poleis and residents of the *emporion* in the heart of the barbarian territory paid duties to the Thracian king, as did his other subjects, at least from the rule of Sitalkes (431-424 BC) (Thuc. 2.97.3). In this connection, of particular note is an inscription of the mid-fourth century BC from the already mentioned *emporion* of Pistiros (Domaradska 1991, 7-8; Domaradski 1991, 9-10; Domaradzki 1993, 37-43) – a treaty between its residents and the Thracian king, one of the successors of Kotys I (383-359 BC). The latter's agreement with the Pistirians is mentioned as the precedent one in the inscription. In the text, the rights of the Thracian king concerning the Greek city subject to him are mentioned in the form of a casual prohibition of new rights, i.e. they were limited to those that had been practised before the registration of the agreement: the king was empowered to judge and to cancel debts, he had the right to take away from or to grant to somebody lands, pastures or a homestead, to alter the size of land lots or to pass them to some other person, to take away any other possessions of the *emporion's* inhabitants, to leave a garrison in the city, to raise road duties and, finally, to arrest or put to death any person. Thus the inscription attests that at the earlier stage of the town's existence the Thracian rulers were considered as the supreme owners of the land and even controlled the rights and liberties of the Greek settlers (cf. Her. 7.137). Similar norms were extended probably over poleis too. Rights, or, rather, the possibility to avoid the controls listed above, were granted to the Pistirians in return for their services. From the text of the inscription we are able to form some ideas about the dynamics of the granting of these rights: under Kotys I the integrity of the life of the *emporitai* and protection of their property were guaranteed. Under his successor, the political status of the city was raised: the right of the inviolability of the Pistirians' lands was granted, the supreme judicial authority now belonged to the commune of the citizens and the quartering of a Thracian garrison within the limits of the city was prohibited. This agreement was very specific, concerning no other *emporion* in Thrace (Vysokij 2003, 56-57).

It is difficult as yet to judge much about the ethnic situation of the original settlement at the site of Semibratnee, but anyway, at least from the second quarter of the fifth century BC, the city was seemingly a Greek centre in Sindike. It is not fortuitous that Igor S. Kamenetskij noted a "specifically Classical Greek assemblage of pottery" in the Semibratnee townsite (Kamenetskij 2003, 71). In this respect, of interest also are Irina I. Vdovičenko observations. Examining the collection of Attic painted pottery from the excavations of

Anfimov, she noted that “the majority of the finds” is dated from the fifth century BC” and that among them we encounter “very refined ware painted by the best Attic artists”, while typologically the examples available are close to those characteristic of the urban centres of the Bosporos (Vdovičenko 2006, 35). Analysis of the finds from the recent excavations shows the following situation for the fifth century BC: they include fairly considerable amounts of fragmentary black-glazed and painted pottery (up to 7.5 % of the entire collection of pottery except for amphorae), a number of letter graffiti, including Θε, as well as broken shells of mussels that were traditionally present in the diet of the Greeks. Contacts with the local population are reflected in the fact that up to 24 % of the ceramic assemblage (again without taking amphorae into account) are made up of fragments of handmade vessels.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, in the late fifth to the first quarter of the fourth century BC, the situation changed drastically: the portion of handmade pottery decreases to 16 %, that of the black-glazed and painted pottery increases sharply to 30 %.

Serious ordeals befell Labrys not later than the beginning of the 360s BC, when its defences were demolished. The ashy layer in Excavation Area I, with its inclusions of charcoal, is probably related to these events, which, in turn, are evidently related to the war between Leukon and Oktamasades. This layer frequently yielded rounded sea pebbles, which may have been used as sling shots. At the same level, 12m to the west of the defensive wall, a lenti-form lead sling-shot weighing 55.6g was found.<sup>7</sup> Later, possibly after Labrys and the Sindian lands became part of the Bosporos Kingdom, the remains of the old fortifications were used as the foundations for a new defensive line (Fig. 6).<sup>8</sup> The gate-tower with staircase then came to be unnecessary and was dismantled. In the course of clearing the eastern edge of Excavation I, the internal face of the defensive wall of the fourth century BC was uncovered to a length of 5.3m and it was preserved here to a height of 1.6m. Certain grounds for its dating were yielded by an ancient pit sunk from the level of its foot. The pit contained the necks of Heracleian amphorae bearing examples of the



*Fig. 6. Staircase of the fifth century BC with the defensive wall of the fourth century BC erected over it.*

early ceramic stamps of the fabricants Dionysios, Kerkinos and Damaphon dated from the 370s to the first half of the 360s BC: one rhombic Διονυσιο; another in the form of an ivy leaf with the retrograde names Κέρκιν[ος] and Δαμοφω[ν] inscribed into it (cf. Monachov 1999, 252-253, 307).

The results obtained during recent years allow us to hope that in the near future the archaeological studies of Labrys will yield essentially new information on the earlier phase of Graeco-Sindian relations and their influence on the development of Sindike in the fifth to fourth century BC.

## Notes

- 1 Anna S. Rusjaeva supposed earlier that Labrys may have been founded by Bosporean Greeks in the Sindian territory under the aegis of Phoebus Apollo (Rusjaeva 2003, 225-230). Anyway, judging by the dedication of Leukon I, at least by the time of the events described in it, Phoebus Apollo was already the divine protector of Labrys.
- 2 Moreover, Igor S. Kamenetskij notes a "specific assemblage of pottery of the Greek Classical period" for the Semibratnee townsite (Kameneckij [or 'Kamenetskij' as in bibliography?] 2003, 71).
- 3 An example of relations of this kind is the situation established in Olbia where the Scythian king Skyles had "a house of spacious dimensions and richly arranged" (Her. 4.78-79).
- 4 Possibly, it was in Labrys that Greek craftsmen started Sindian coinage (Smekalova et al. 2007, 34-36). Since very diverse denominations, including minor ones, are represented among these coins, it seems justified to suppose that they were minted to satisfy the needs of the internal market, i.e. for everyday circulation. Previously, from Aleksandr N. Zograf onwards, it had been supposed that these coins were produced at the Pantikapaion mint (Zograf 1951, 168; Tereščenko 1999, 84-89; Tochtas'ev 2001, 68; Tereščenko 2004, 18). However, this hypothesis runs contrary to the evidence of the metallurgical analysis of Sindian coins, which differed in the composition of the silver from issues of other Bosporean centres (Smekalova 2000, 268). Anyway, taking into account the general analysis of the situation, the dating of the beginning of their emission to the first half of the fifth century BC, or even earlier, as proposed by N.A. Frolova (Frolova 2002, 73), seems to be groundlessly shifted backwards. Narrower dates for the issues of Sindian coins have been proposed by Dmitriy B. Šelov – the last quarter of the fifth century BC (Šelov 1956, 45); by Vladlen A. Anokhin – 433-403 BC or 430-400 BC (Anokhin 1986, 137-138; Anokhin 1999, 43); and by A.E. Tereščenko – 431/430 to the early fourth century BC (Tereščenko 2004, 19).
- 5 Chronologically, the burial complexes of other kurgans are distributed as follows: no. 5 – middle to third quarter of the fifth century BC; no. 1 – late fifth to early fourth century BC; no. 6 was constructed possibly in the first decade of the fourth century BC; nos. 7 and 3 in the first quarter of the fourth century BC. Kurgan no. 3 was probably the last to be constructed since it was erected in a hurry and was literally squeezed-in between kurgans 2 and 4 (cf. Butjagin 1996; 44-45; Vinogradov 2005, 252-254; Vlasova 2005, 71). Recently, additional information has been gained concerning kurgans 4 and 6. A combined radiocarbon date for the first complied fairly exactly with the other archaeological evidence: that the kurgan

was constructed within the period between 520 BC and 400 BC; the second one has a *terminus post quem* of 400 BC (Alekseev et al. 2005, 190-191).

- 6 In the Archaic complexes of the Bosporan cities this value sometimes amounted even to 35 % (Butjagin 2005, 83). However, the level of reliability of these data for the quantitative characterization of the percentage of the barbarian population among the inhabitants of the city must here be taken into consideration (Kryžickij 2006, 234). Firstly, the statistical sample available is still not sufficiently large. Secondly, at the initial stage of the occupation of the city, handmade pottery was possibly manufactured by the poorer families of the colonists. The analysis of the finds of handmade pottery from the Semibratnee townsite, made by Igor S. Kamenetskij, attests in favour of the latter hypothesis, demonstrating "a deliberate choice of forms close to Classical Greek ones" (Kameneckij 2003, 72).
- 7 In this connection, of note is the chance find of about ten lead sling-shots without any inscriptions or marks near the Semibratnee townsite (Skobelev 2003, 102).
- 8 Sometime ago, V.P. Tolstikov, based on the analysis of details of a military-engineering character, supposed that the earliest defensive system of the Semibratnee site was constructed not earlier than the first quarter of the fourth century BC (Tolstikov 1985, 356-358).

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### Abbreviations

DB = *Drevnosti Bospora*. Moscow.

KSIIMK = *Kratkie soobščeniija Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury AN SSSR*. Moscow.

MKIN = *Meždunarodnyj kongress istoričeskich nauk*. [add place of publication?]

OAK = *Otchet Imperatorskoj Arkheologičeskij Komissii*, St. Petersburg.

PIFK = *Problemy istorii, filologii i kul'tury*. Moscow-Magnitogorsk.

