

# Theodosia and its *Chora* in Antiquity

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The mastering of south-eastern Crimea by the Greeks, which manifested itself in the foundation of the city of Theodosia in the second half of the 6th century BC, coincided with the final stage of the great wave of Greek colonisation.<sup>1</sup> Probably, the majority of the migrants who aspired to the establishing of a new city far from the other Greek *apoikiai* of the Kimmerian Bosporos, were citizens of Miletos, which was destroyed by the Persians. The fact that by the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century BC the most fertile lands of the eastern Crimea were already occupied by other Greek colonies could be one of the reasons for the founding of Theodosia at a distance from the other Greek cities of the region.

The site of ancient Theodosia was identified long ago and its location is not doubted even today.<sup>2</sup> It is situated on the shore of a large bay at the foot of the mountain ridge of Tepe-Oba, occupying the so-called “Quarantine Hill” on the southern outskirts of the modern town of Feodosija, not far from the Il’ja Cape. The eastern and north-eastern sides of the height slope down towards the sea as the sides of an amphitheatre would and to the south it is limited by a ravine where a brook flowed. Its northern slopes are relatively gentle and it is probably here that the suburbs of the ancient city were situated. Along the eastern and southern slopes of the hill run the walls reinforced by towers of a medieval citadel. Modern buildings now occupy part of the citadel’s inner space.

The literary evidence for this *polis* is scarce and fragmented shedding fairly little light on the date of its foundation. Thus, Arrianos and the sixth-century-AD anonymous author of the *periplous* of the Pontos Euxeinos note that the Theodosia was established by Milesians (Arr. *P.P.Eux.* 30; Anon. *Peripl.P.Eux.* 77.51), but their narratives do not say anything about the city’s independent period of existence during the whole of the 5th century BC, apart from a problematic remark found in the *periplous* that Bosporan exiles had taken shelter in the city of Theodosia (Anon. *Peripl.P.Eux.* 77.51). It is probably these exiles that Isokrates mentions in his *Trapezitikos* (Isoc. 17.3-5).

The early-fourth-century war between the Bosporan rulers and Theodosia also appears in Ulpianus’ commentary on Demosthenes’ *Against Leptines* as well as by Harpokration (Ulp. *ad Demosth. c. Lept.* 20.33, *s.v.* Θεοδοσία; Harp., *s.v.* Θεοδοσία). According to this evidence, the Bosporan ruler Satyros I died during the siege of Theodosia. Moreover, Ulpianus records that the city (*empo-*

*rion*) was named after the sister or wife of Leukon I, although this information is open to dispute. From the speeches of Demosthenes (35.32 and 20.33), as well as from Ulpianus' commentary, one can draw some conclusions about the wealthy landowners living in the *polis* as well as about the (re)organisation of the seaport of Theodosia, which was undertaken by Leukon I perhaps immediately after the annexation of the city by Bosporos.

Some events in the war between Theodosia and the Bosporan rulers, namely Herakleia's assistance with the supplying of food as well as the military operations against Leukon I at Theodosia and in the Bosporos, are described in Polyainos' *Strategemata* (5.23.6, 9.3-4) and Aristoteles' *Oikonomika* (1347b). The position of Theodosia on the frontier between Bosporos and the Taurians, with control over a fertile *chora* and a well-appointed sea port from which a great volume of grain was exported, is testified by Strabon (7.4.4.).

Such authors as Ps.-Skylax, Pomponius Mela, Ammianus Marcellinus and Orosius (Ps.-Skyl. *Peripl.* 69; Mela, *Chorogr.* 2.3; Amm.Marc. 22.8.35; Oros. 1.2.4-5) simply mention Theodosia, without providing any valuable information on the history of the city. Plinius and Ptolemaios record the location of the city, the latter author giving its coordinates (63°20' -47°20') and the length of the longest summer-day (15 h 50 min). While Ulpianus, Harpokration and Ps.-Skylax knew Theodosia as a *polis* situated in the land of the Scythians, Marcellinus notes that it was one of the cities of Taurica where human sacrifices were practiced (22.8.36).

The events of the city's history in the 1st century BC are conveyed by Appianus, who describes the defection of Theodosia from Mithridates VI and the capture of the town by Pharnakes supported by Scythians and Sauromatians. He also notes the strategic position of the *polis* (App. *Mith.* 108, 120). The city's close relations with Herakleia are testified to by Memnon (*FGrHist* 434F34.3), in his description of the siege of the latter town by the Roman commander Aurelius Cotta in 72-70 BC.

The city of Theodosia and some events in its history also appear in the epigraphic material found in the sites of the Kerch and Taman' Peninsulas,<sup>3</sup> as well as in the well-known Chersonesean decree in honour of Diophantos, a general of Mithridates VI (*IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>, 352). The inscriptions from Theodosia itself are mostly limited to lists of personal names and epitaphs on grave-stones (*CIRB* 947-951). An epitaph mentioning a Theodosian citizen by the name of Philoxenes was found in the necropolis of Pantikapaion (*CIRB* 231). Finally, the city-name was recorded in an inscription from Miletos dating to about 200 BC.<sup>4</sup>

The insufficient archaeological investigation of Theodosia, compared to other Greek sites on the northern Black Sea coast, is explained by the thickness of the later medieval layers and largely by the fact that the modern city is built on top of the ancient remains. In the 1850s, I.K. Ajvazovskij, A.A. Sibirskij, E. de Villeneuve, and A.E. Ljucenko undertook excavations of the tumular necropolis of the 5th through 3rd century BC situated on the ridge of

Tepe-Oba.<sup>5</sup> In 1894, further work was conducted by A.L. Bertier de la Garde, and during 1978-1995 by E.A. Katjušin and other investigators.<sup>6</sup> Most of the burials excavated in the city's necropolis were cremations, and a few tombs contained weapons. These details set the necropolis significantly apart from other Bosporan cemeteries reflecting its primarily Greek character.<sup>7</sup> The fact, however, that a comprehensive study of the necropolis of Theodosia still awaits its publication prevents us from solving many problems of the city's and the region's history.

In the second half of the 19th century, the first publications of archaeological material, in particular of coins<sup>8</sup> and jewellery from the Theodosia necropolis<sup>9</sup> appeared. In 1891-1895, in connection with a reconstruction of modern Theodosia's seaport, extensive earthworks were made under the supervision of A.L. Bertier de la Garde in the territory of the city. At that time, the north-western part of the Quarantine Hill was levelled to the ground and various archaeological materials from the Graeco-Roman period were collected. Unfortunately, it was published only selectively, most of the finds remaining undescribed.<sup>10</sup> During dredging work in the area of the seaport the remains of an ancient, probably Greek, pier made of c. 4000 pine piles hammered into the seabottom and guarding a rectangular harbour, were found at a depth of c. 10 m.<sup>11</sup>

In 1949 and 1951-1952, archaeological work on the Quarantine Hill, inside of the medieval citadel, was conducted by I.B. Zeest and later on, from 1974 to 1977, by B.G. Peters.<sup>12</sup> These excavations unearthed the Greek layers of debris, in places up to 5 m thick. The thickness of the cultural layers is larger in the north-western than in the eastern part of the site and they lie at a depth of 2 m below the modern surface. The preservation of the deposits of the Roman period is much poorer due to medieval building work. The excavations have revealed a strong layer of fire datable to the beginning of the 4th century BC, which Zeest links to the war with the Bosporos. The Greek layers contained building remains of the 5th through 3rd centuries BC as well as the material of the 1st through 4th centuries AD. Worthy of note are remains of a fifth-century-BC building made of carefully trimmed blocks, with plastered inner walls painted in red and yellow. Another unearthed building with adobe walls on stone socles belonged to the 4th century BC. The houses were roofed with tiles, their floors were adobe, strewn with sandstone gravel or paved with limestone or pebbles. Hearths constructed of stone slabs heated the rooms. The dwellings were equipped with utilities such as gutters and pavement. The water supply was assured by wells, cisterns and water-piping running from natural springs, etc. The excavations also revealed remains of a metallurgical workshop – a blowing hearth from the 1st century AD accompanied by various archaeological remains.

The limits of the ancient town are not yet determined. Based on the closest analogies, *viz.* Kerkinitis,<sup>13</sup> Tyras, and Euesperides in Libya,<sup>14</sup> we may assume that the area of Theodosia at different stages of its history could have varied

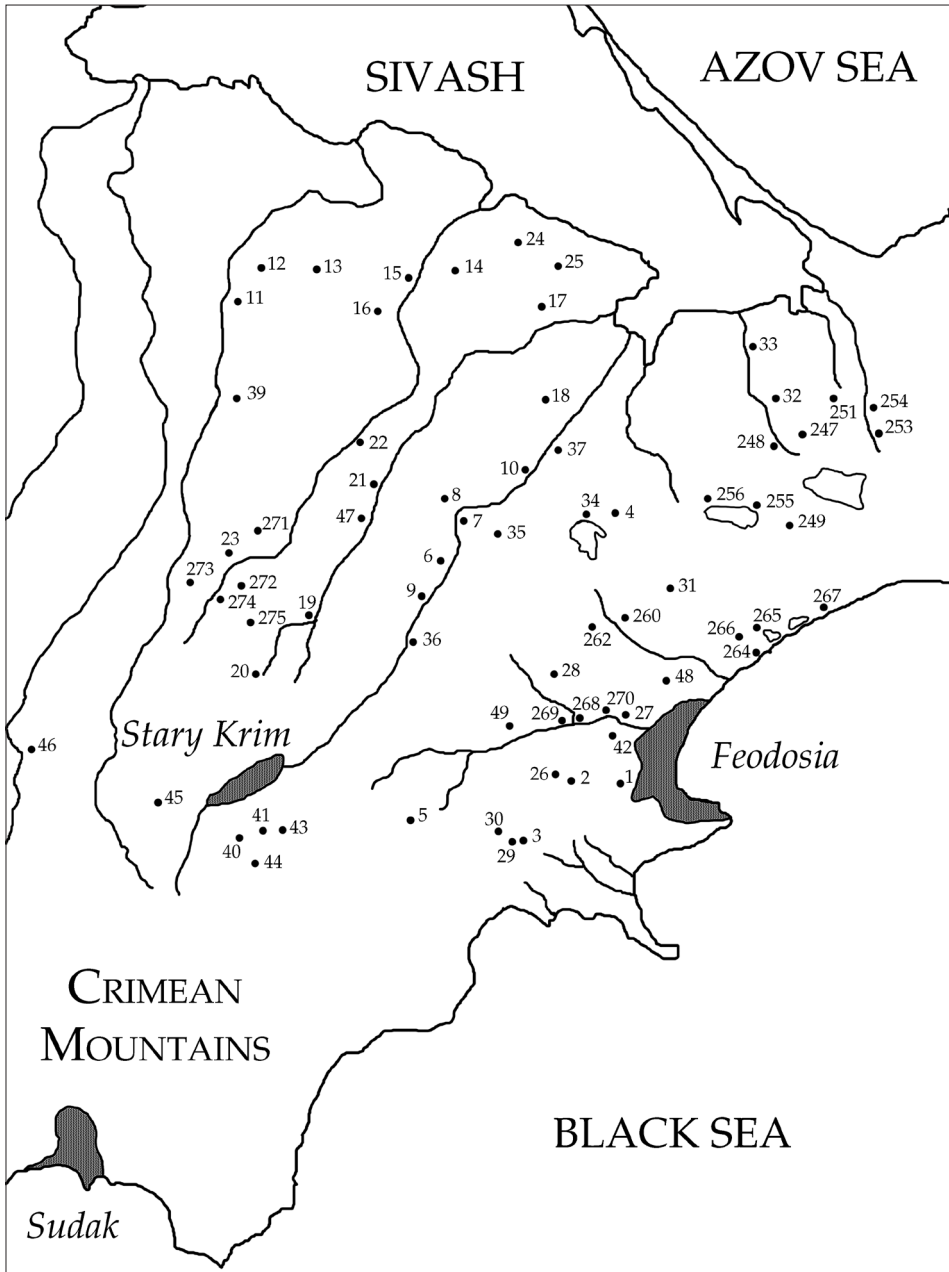


Fig. 1. Map of the settlements of the Graeco-Roman period in the south-eastern Crimea.

1) Tepe-Oba	28) Blišnee 5	247) Frontovoe I
2) Kuru-Baş	29) Uzun-Syrt (foot)	248-249) Frontovoe II
3) Bijuk-Janyšar	30) Uzun-Syrt (top)	251) Cholmogorka II
4) Vladislavovka 3	31) Raz'ezd 107 km 1	254) Jačmennoe III
5) Sary-Kaja	32) Korpeč'	255) Vladislavovka I
6) Žuravki 1	33) Tulumčak 2	256) Vladislavovka II
7) Žuravki 2	34) Vodočranilišče	257) Tambovka I
8) Novopokrovka 1	35) Novopokrovka 3	258) Tambovka II
9) Makovka	36) Sadovoe 2	259) Tambovka III
10) Novopokrovka 2	37) Vasil'kovoe	260) Tambovka IV
11) Il'ičevo 2	38) Pljaž "Dinamo"	262) Tambovka VI
12) Orečovka 1	39) Nadežda	264) Beregovoe I
13) Sofievka	40) Alan-Tepe 1	265) Beregovoe II
14) Šubino 1	41) Alan-Tepe 3	266) Beregovoe III
15) Šubino 3	42) Blišnee 6	267) Dal'nie Kamyši
16) Mučnoe	43) Karasan-Oba	268) Blišnee I
17) Krasnovka 1	44) Mačuk	269) Blišnee II
18) Ostrovnnoe	45) Jaman-Taš	270) Blišnee III
19) Babenkovo	46) Bor-Kaja	271) Donskaja
20) Krinički 1	47) Partizany 3	272) Romanovka
21) Partizany 1	48) Dači	273) Gogolevka
22) Partizany 2	49) Lesopitomnik	274) Ajvazovskoe
23) Privetnoe		275) Abrikosovka
24) Sinicyno	The sites found by V.V.	
25) Krasnovka 2	Veselov; the numeration is ac-	
26) Nasyjnoe	cording to Kruglikova 1975,	
27) Blišnee 4	275-277:	

between 5 and 20 ha.<sup>15</sup> It has been suggested though that the city might even have occupied an area of about 30 to 40 ha.<sup>16</sup> The centre of the ancient town occupied the Quarantine Hill, which probably accommodated the *akropolis*, *temenos*, *agora*, theatre, public buildings and houses of the citizens. At the foot of the north-eastern slope of the hill, practically on the site of the modern seaport, the ancient harbour with harbour installations such as docks, stalls, and storage, was situated. The entire Quarantine Hill was surrounded by walls reinforced with towers.<sup>17</sup> At present, due to natural (the rising of the sea level) and anthropogenic factors (the filling up of the coastal part of the sea bottom during the construction of the port at the end of the 19th century, as well as dense modern building) the archaeological study of the ancient suburb and harbour area of the city is practically impossible.

Because of the lack of systematic archaeological excavations, the material culture of the town is incompletely studied, and for a long time has been characterized simply by finds made during the construction of the modern seaport and from the necropolis.<sup>18</sup> In the middle of the 20th century, the materials

found earlier as well as more recent finds including coins,<sup>19</sup> red-figured pottery,<sup>20</sup> inscriptions,<sup>21</sup> terracottas,<sup>22</sup> jewellery,<sup>23</sup> and glyptics were published.<sup>24</sup> The new finds of Theodosian coins originating from the rural settlements of the *chora* and from other sites were published, too.<sup>25</sup> The published material from the town excavations also includes tile and amphora stamps,<sup>26</sup> graffiti and dipinti,<sup>27</sup> grave reliefs<sup>28</sup> and red-figured pottery.<sup>29</sup> These finds form the basis for a reconstruction of various aspects of the life of the *polis* and its citizens.<sup>30</sup> On the whole, the archaeological evidence available characterises Theodosia as a typical Greek city that, despite its relative remoteness and barbarian surroundings, for a long time maintained its original character.

Of the rural territory of Theodosia, the distant part inhabited mostly by a heterogeneous population is better studied.<sup>31</sup> Its examination was begun in the middle of the 1950s by I.T. Kruglikova and it continues presently.<sup>32</sup> This territory is limited by the Ak-Monaj Isthmus in the east and the steppe River Indol in the west; the southern border is formed by the spurs of the Crimean Mountains: Tepe-Oba, Uzun-Syrt and the mountain-mass Agarmyš. This territory also includes the south-eastern part of the Crimean Mountains to the seacoast; in the north the territory is limited by the salty Lake Sivaš. 60 unfortified settlements, two shepherd stations, one town site, one fortified settlement, four small fortresses, necropoleis with and without tumuli as well as remains of ramparts were found in this territory. A rampart, fortifications, settlements and one highland farmhouse from between the 2nd century BC and the middle of the 3rd century AD were found in the valley of Staryj Krym and its surroundings (Fig. 1).<sup>33</sup> It is worthy of note that the barbarian settlements and burial grounds from the 5th to the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC were also found in the Central Crimean steppe, west of the Indol River to the River Salgir,<sup>34</sup> suggesting that this territory was within the sphere of political and economical interests of the Bosporos. In terms of classical sites, this territory is as yet poorly studied archaeologically thus necessitating closer attention in the future which should allow a better-based judgement of its role in the history of the Crimean Scythia and the Bosporos.

The chronology of the unfortified rural settlements in the steppe zone of the region is based on finds of transport amphorae and amphora stamps, Attic black- and red-figured pottery, and coins. This material allows the assignment of these settlements' founding to the beginning of the 5th century BC whereas their downfall can be dated to the end of the first third of the 3rd century BC.<sup>35</sup> By that time one portion of the settlements was destroyed by the forays of the Sarmatians,<sup>36</sup> while the remainder were simply deserted by their inhabitants and the Theodosian *chora* as a whole declined considerably. At that time the Crimean steppes also became desolated as suggested by the absence of any Scythian burials which could postdate the middle of the 3rd century BC.<sup>37</sup> Still, there were a few Theodosian rural sites that apparently remained inhabited. The rest of the population moved to the foothills where small fortresses were built with villages around them.

Based on amphora and coin finds, the existence of two fortified sites in the foothills near Theodosia is dated within the following chronological limits: Bijuk-Janyšar – from the second third of the 3rd to the end of the 2nd century BC, with a few finds from the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD; Kuru-Baš – from the 4th century BC through the third quarter of the 3rd century AD. The fortifications on the mountain Sary-Kaja are datable to the middle of the 3rd century BC through the 1st century AD, and those of Beregovoe 1 situated on the shore of the Feodosija Bay – to the 4th century BC through the 1st century AD.<sup>38</sup> In some of these areas, however, life was periodically interrupted due to an unstable political situation on the western borders of the Bosporos.

Thus, probably during one of the nomadic raids of about 180 BC the fortified site of Bijuk-Janyšar was burnt down and destroyed. In the late 2nd century BC, it was ruined for a second time, probably in connection with the campaign of Diophantos against Saumakos in the spring of 107 BC.<sup>39</sup> It has to be noted that the destruction of certain city blocks in Theodosia also dates to the same time.<sup>40</sup> This military campaign seems also to have touched the settlement of Sary-Kaja and a fortified site near the village of Vinogradnoe (Kuru-Baš) where also Pontic garrisons were probably installed.<sup>41</sup> Similar garrisons were likely established in the fortified settlement of Frontovoe as suggested by the gravestones of Greeks from Asia Minor found reused in the necropolis from the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD.<sup>42</sup>

In the initial stage of its existence, Theodosia possessed only a home *chora*, which was situated just outside the city walls.<sup>43</sup> Based on parallels from the northern Black Sea coast, its area can be estimated at approximately 300-400 hectares.<sup>44</sup> At present, modern buildings occupy all of this territory. Simultaneously with the formation of the *polis*, the mastering of nearby territories and the strengthening of relations with the native barbarian population took place.

In the steppe part of the region we know of 16 settlements (Tepe-Oba, Uzun-Syrt [foot], Nadežda, Partizany 1 and 2, Novopokrovka 1 and 3, Žuravki 1 and 2, Ajvazovskoe, Krinički, Šubino 1, Il'ičevo 1, Sinicyno 1, Vladislavovka 1 and 2), the foundation of which goes back to the beginning of the 5th century BC and which, together with the city's home *chora*, formed the agricultural basis of the independent Theodosia. In the 4th century BC, owing to various reasons but most importantly to settling of Scythians, the number of settlements increased to 60. This was the period when the Theodosian *chora* reached its maximum size.

The settlements formed comparatively compact groups gravitating towards rivers, springs and fertile lands. On the surface they remain as ashy spots of 30 to 70 m in diameter, the remains of ancient refuse dumps thus indicating now the location of dwelling-and-household assemblages. These spots yield most of the archaeological material such as fragments of transport amphorae including those with stamps, black-glazed and handmade pottery, coins, millstones, bones of animals, etc.

The spatial distribution of artefacts and the quantity of ashy spots point to the lack of any system in the disposition of the houses. The latter were placed at some distance from one another forming clusters in which each group of dwellings was surrounded by household units. In this respect the settlements of the Theodosian *chora* resemble the early rural sites of the Bosphoros and Olbia.<sup>45</sup> The borders of the settlements are indistinct, being usually determined by the area of the casual finds' spread. This varies from 0.42 to 10 hectares. Based on this criterion, three typological groups of sites have been distinguished: 1) small farmsteads with an area of up to 0.5 ha; 2) sites of medium size with an area from 1 to 10 ha, which represent the majority of uncovered sites; 3) seasonal shepherd stations situated in the steppe zone near the Sivaš Lake characterised by a small area of use and poor cultural deposits. The thickness of the layers on the sites of the steppe zone varies from 0.4 to 1.2 m.

The dwelling and household structures are represented by semi-pithouses, wattle-and-daub and stone-adobe buildings<sup>46</sup> with earthen floors and thatched or reed roofs. For heating, open hearths and braziers were used. Among objects investigated on the sites of Orechovka 1 and Novopokrovka 1<sup>47</sup> were a clay-plastered platform, a well, a dump of amphorae, grain and household pits. The above-mentioned platform was situated on the southern side of the house and probably served as a threshing-floor. The well was shaped as a cylindrical pit and probably had a wooden framework. The grain- and household pits, which constitute one of the essential attributes of the farmhouse, can be divided into five main types differing by shape and capacity. Some pits were used for dumping refuse and probably as cellars.

The material from the Novopokrovka-1 settlement shows that the imported wheel-made ware made up only 0.5% of the pottery found. It includes the following three groups: 1) household coarse ware (cauldrons, mortars, pans); 2) fine kitchen- and tableware – pots, bowls, various kinds of Attic red-figured and black-glazed pottery (*kylikes*, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi*, kraters, bowls, fish-plates, salt-cellars, *lekythoi*) – 3) ware for special uses (*oinochoai*, lamps, *unguentaria*, miniature votive pottery, and loom weights). All the wheel-made pottery is datable to within the 5th through the first third of the 3rd century BC. The majority of the above-mentioned pottery types were also found in the other settlements.

The handmade pottery from the Novopokrovka-1 settlement makes up 11.5% of the ceramic assemblage and can be divided into three main groups: 1) kitchenware (cauldrons, pots, pans, frying pans); 2) tableware (jugs, bowls, cups, scoops, salt-cellars, strainers, *gutti*); 3) storage jars. Some of the kitchenware has an ornamentation characteristic of Scythian pottery: finger or nail indentations on the rim, shoulders or edge of the base. The surface of some of the tableware is polished and ornamented with an incised linear-and-geometrical decoration distinctive of the Kizil-Koba culture. The vessels of the latter group were found in practically all the sites of the region's steppe zone.<sup>48</sup>



To the group of terracotta objects made for special usages belong spindle-whorls, loom weights, handmade figurines and votive miniature loaves, as well as articles made from recycled amphora fragments. In practically all settlements coins minted at Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Chersonesos, Phanagoria and Kolchis as well as graffiti were found. Also among the finds are glass beads, bronze bracelets, finger rings, pendants, mirrors, arrow-heads, hand-bells, lead spindle-whorls as well as bronze details of a horse harness made in the Animal Style. Iron wares are represented by ploughs and knives; bone ones – by rasps, needles, pricks, polishers, arrow-heads, beads, etc.; the stone ones are mainly represented by pull-and-push mills, whetstones, sling stones, weights, etc.

In approximately the second half of the 4th century BC, the material culture of the whole territory of the European Bosporos including the region of Theodosia became uniform owing to the political stability which occurred after the city was subdued by the Bosporan Kingdom. Broad inter-ethnic contacts and a farming uniformity, mostly connected with a primary orientation towards grain production and cattle-breeding also contributed to the standardization of the material culture.

The palaeobotanical finds from these settlements prove that they cultivated soft wheat (*Tr. aestivum*), one- and two-rowed barleys, beans, lentils, peas, bitter vetch, chickpea, rye and millet. The presence in the finds of weed seeds also testifies to the long-term usage of fields for the cultivation of cereals. In accordance with this, the fallow system as well as winter and spring cropping seem to have been employed. Tillage was carried out with wooden ploughshares with iron points. Such an implement was found in the settlement of Novopokrovka-1. Harvested grain was usually stored in pits that are found in abundance. The eventual milling of grain for sale was carried out by means of massive levered millstones, while small millstones were probably used for domestic needs.<sup>49</sup> As evidenced by a find of a limestone wine-pressing platform in the fortified settlement of Kuru-Baş, the population of the sites closest to the city cultivated vines, probably for domestic use, in the 2nd to 1st centuries BC.

Cattle-rearing was probably connected to individual farms, however, the shepherd stations in the steppe near the Sivaš Lake also point to the usage of distant pastures. The palaeozoological material from the Novopokrovka-1 settlement proves the rearing of neat cattle, horses, sheep and goats, pigs, hens and ducks. This type of animal husbandry was oriented towards breeding draught cattle and producing meat and milk as well as skins and wool. The bones of wild fauna such as deer, roe, fox, badger, marten, hamster, heron, wild duck, etc. clearly evidence hunting, which, however, seems not to have been of major importance, being irregular, and aimed mainly at acquiring fur, skins and meat.

Handicrafts in the settlements aimed at satisfying the personal needs of the inhabitants for tools and other household wares. There was a manufacture of handmade pottery, small tools, articles of stone, bone, wood and

leather as well as wool-spinning, weaving and skinning. In the fortified settlements handmade pottery, loom weights, bone articles, limestone mortars and wine-pressing platforms were the main items of manufacture.

In the pottery assemblages from fortified sites of the second half of the 3rd to 1st century BC appears handmade pottery ornamented with applied relief decoration in the shape of waves, volute curls, knobs, stylised human faces, etc., which is characteristic of the Late Scythian culture of the Crimea.<sup>50</sup> The vessel shapes are represented by large storage jars, pots, deep bowls, thin-walled cups and mugs. Of special note are the handle fragments of handmade mugs, which are made of three plaits twisted like a rope and sometimes decorated by a knobbed stick in their upper parts. This type imitates the wheel-made ware and dates to the 2nd through the 1st century BC. Such pottery is recorded in the fortress of Kutlak (Athenaion of written sources), which dates to the 1st century BC through the 1st century AD, and in the other fortified sites (Karasan-Oba, Sary-Kaja, Bijuk-Janyšar) and farmhouses (Mačuk) of the Theodosian *chora*, where it is connected with the native barbarian population (the Scythians or Tauro-Scythians).<sup>51</sup>

Handmade pottery from the upper layers of the fortified (Kuru-Baš) and unfortified settlements (Alan-Tepe 1) is represented by fragments of pots, *oinochoai*, mugs and bowls. Characteristic of this assemblage are also the pot fragments with applied attachments shaped like arched handles, omega-shaped extensions in the lower parts of handles and knob- or spur-like decorations on the upper parts of the handle. This kind of ornamentation is usually connected with the Sarmatians and dated to the 2nd to 3rd century AD. There are very few specimens of polished pottery in these layers.<sup>52</sup>

The wheel-made table ware from the upper layers (2nd to 3rd centuries AD) of Kuru-Baš is represented by red- and brown-glazed jugs and bowls, red-clay mugs, red-glazed bowls with semi-spherical bodies and vertical rims, red-glazed heavy-walled storage jars, *louteria*, cups, plates, lamps with horizontal handles, plates with out-turned horizontal rims and stamped decorations on their floor. Fragments of *lagynoi* with twisted handles, mould-made bowls and black-glazed pottery of the 4th to 3rd centuries BC occur more often in the lowest layers of the 3rd-1st centuries BC.<sup>53</sup> The fortified sites Kuru-Baš and Bijuk-Janyšar also revealed special ceramic shapes: fragments of terracotta, roof tiles and loom weights. The metal finds are represented there by bronze nails, rings, buckles, fibulae, led pot-repair clamps, iron knives. On the sites Sary-Kaja and Kuru-Baš beads were also found.<sup>54</sup>

The mastering of the rural territory ensured a surplus of agricultural production that enabled the *polis* to establish intensive trade relationship with other Greek centres overseas. The main cash crop was certainly wheat, the production of which in the 4th century BC had already become market oriented. Into this same period falls the peak of trading activity in the rural territory of Theodosia, when, according to Strabon, the export of wheat from the seaport of Theodosia was especially intensive. The increase in the volume

of trade operations stimulated the rise of new settlements and the further development of agriculture.

The early amphora and black-glazed pottery finds from Theodosia testify to close trade relations primarily with the Ionian centres and Athens during the initial stage of the city's existence. As material from the rural settlements shows, import of Attic black-glazed pottery was uninterrupted during the whole 5th century BC, notably increasing in the final third of the century. Wine, oil and handicrafts were brought from the town to the settlements. In particular, millstones made of trass, fragments and intact specimens of which were found in the rural settlements not only of Theodosia, but of the other Bosporan *poleis* as well.<sup>55</sup> This rock originates from a deposit situated 18 km south-west of Feodosija on the slopes of the Svjataja Mountain, part of the mountain chain of Kara Dag, where the ancient quarry was situated.<sup>56</sup> In the same region, near modern Koktebel', the salt Lake Barakol' is located where salt-works might have existed in antiquity.<sup>57</sup>

The chronology of the transport amphorae and amphora stamps reflect the dynamics of Theodosia's trade relations with various Greek centres.<sup>58</sup> The examination of amphora fragments from the settlements of the steppe zone has made it possible to identify those centres which had been exporting goods to the region since the beginning of the 5th century down to the first half of the 3rd century BC. At the initial stage of the *chora's* existence, pottery from Miletos, Samos, Lesbos and Chios predominates among the imports, while in the second half of the 5th century BC it is surpassed by production from Chios, Thasos and Mende. In the 4th century BC, the southern Pontic cities of Herakleia and Sinope, as well as Kolchis, also started to export to the region. Most remarkable was the wine import from Herakleia which surpassed by far imports from the other cities. At the same time, although in smaller quantities, the wine imports from Chios, Thasos, Mende, Samothrace, Rhodos and Peparethos also continued. In the final third of the 4th century BC, Herakleian wine lost its leading position in the markets of the south-eastern Crimea, being replaced mostly by Sinopean imports, which in turn reached their peak in the last quarter of the same century and dominated the export of the other cities. In the late 4th and beginning of the 3rd centuries BC, wine from Chersonesos and Knidos was also imported.

Some steppe settlements have yielded a few Koan and Sinopean amphora stamps and fragments from the second half of the 3rd century BC, as well as Bosporan coins from the early 2nd century BC, thus documenting some form of small-scale human habitation. The wheel-made kitchen- and tableware were brought to these late settlements in a smaller quantity. In the lowest layers of the fortified settlements were also found fragments of Rhodian amphorae and stamps from the second half of the 3rd to the second half of the 2nd centuries BC, Kolchian amphorae from the 3rd-2nd century BC, Sinopean amphorae from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC, and Herakleian amphorae of the 3rd century BC.

On the whole, 1262 complete and fragmented amphora stamps from 29 sites of Theodosia's *chora* were recorded. They are distributed as follows according to production centres:<sup>59</sup>

Herakleia - 700	Rhodos - 12
Sinope - 446	Mende - 5
Thasos - 51	Knidos - 2
Centres of the "Thasian circle" - 3	Kos - 1
Chersonesos - 19	Unidentified centres - 13
Chios - 10	

The occurrence of similar stamps from Herakleia and Sinope in assemblages of one and the same settlement testifies to a contemporary purchase of fairly large consignments of wine or other products shipped in amphorae.

Wine jars from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD are represented by the following fragments: light-clayed amphorae with wide neck and double-barrel handles (Type C I according to S.Ju. Vnukov); light-clayed, wide-necked amphorae with elaborated handle profiles (Vnukov's Type C III); red-clayed wine jars with double-barrel handles as well as those with pseudo-double-barrel handles. In the upper layers of these settlements, the amphora fragments of the 2nd to the first half of the 3rd centuries AD occur more frequently: pink-clayed with a wide neck; red-clayed with a riffled rim; Myrmekian and Phanagorian types with a flat base and ribbed handles; red-clayed with a funnel neck; the so-called type "with high rising handles"; light-clayed narrow-necked of D.B. Šelov's types C and D. In other words, at this time imports from the Bosporan and South Pontic centres dominate in the region.

Already by the late 5th century BC and even more so in the 4th-3rd centuries, this exchange of goods required monetary interactions, as is suggested by finds of coins in practically all the settlements of the region.<sup>60</sup> Some of the sites revealed finds of the earliest coins from the local Theodosian mint, which was established in the city in the last quarter of the 5th century BC and continued working, with some interruptions, striking silver and bronze coins until the middle of the 3rd century BC.<sup>61</sup> The Theodosian coins were found in both neighbouring and distant (as much as 50 km inland) sites such as Tepe-Oba, Vinogradnoe, Novopokrovka 1 and 3, Nasypnoe, Bližnee 1 and 3, Lesopitomnik, Uzun-Syrt (foot), Ajvazovskoe, Krinički 1 and Nadežda. Taken together with the amphora material these finds indicate the size of the *chora* of that period.<sup>62</sup> After the annexation of the city by the rulers of Bosporos, the coins of Pantikapaion became an integral part of the coin market of both the city and its *chora*.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, the finds of Pantikapaian coins in the farther western and interior regions of the Crimean Peninsula enable us to conclude that they were included in the sphere of the Bosporan Kingdom's

economical and political interests. The majority of these finds belong to the bronze specimens struck in Pantikapaion in the second half of the 4th to the first third of the 3rd centuries BC and intended for the home market. The existence of retail trade in the countryside is testified by the find of a measuring *oinochoe* and a stone weight in the settlement of Novopokrovka 1. In the early 1st century BC, the Mithridatic bronze coins struck in the cities of the southern Pontos began to circulate in the neighbourhood of the *polis*, but were replaced later by the royal Bosporan and Roman Provincial coins. The finds of coins of Mithridates VIII in Staryj Krym and the village of Sennoe near the city of Belogorsk suggest that also in the 1st century AD the distant *chora* of Theodosia was in possession of the Bosporan rulers.<sup>64</sup>

The finds of handmade pottery decorated with applied flanges, tools made of stone, flint and bronze in some of the settlements and seasonal stations demonstrate that already in the Late Bronze Age these places were inhabited by representatives of the Belozerskaja archaeological culture. According to an increasing number of recorded sites of this culture, the density of population was then fairly high.<sup>65</sup> Neither in the classical settlement nor in the seasonal sites, however, has this population left any solid cultural layers. In fact, this culture served as a substrate on the basis of which the Kizil-Koba culture and that of the Taurians of the Crimean Mountains was later on formed.<sup>66</sup> The contacts between the latter cultures and the Scythians, which go back to the second half of the 7th century BC,<sup>67</sup> resulted in the development of the mixed Scythian and Kizil-Koba *ethnos* that occupied mainly the foothills and partly the steppe zone of the Crimean Peninsula.<sup>68</sup> Due to a semi-nomadic way of life, caused by the specialisation of its economy (cattle-breeding and primitive agriculture), this population was constantly migrating, and one may assume its political dependence on the Scythians. This dependency, however, cannot necessarily be posited for the highland tribes, who probably remained independent and soon were given the collective ethnic name "Taurians".

Finds of handmade pottery of both Scythian and Kizil-Koba types are reported from a number of rural settlements and necropoleis, as well as from Greek cities of the Crimean Peninsula,<sup>69</sup> where they serve as a further indicator of inter-ethnic contacts within particular sites.<sup>70</sup> To such a mixed Scythian and Kizil-Koba population can seemingly be ascribed the necropolis near the site of Frontovoe I,<sup>71</sup> while the necropolis of the settlement of Krinički 1 may belong to its descendants.<sup>72</sup>

The settling of the mixed Scythian and Kizil-Koba population in the south-eastern Crimea had started in the late 6th to early 5th centuries BC after the arrival in the region of Greek colonists, a process in which the newly established city of Theodosia might have played the role of catalyst. At any rate, the archaeological evidence available suggests that the mixed Scythian and Kizil-Koba population made up the majority of inhabitants of the earliest Theodosian *chora*.

In the late 5th to early 4th centuries BC this mixed population was con-

siderably “thinned” and in the long run assimilated in the course of settling of the proper Scythian tribes. This had an effect on the material culture of the settlements, whose appearance from this point on became mostly Scythian, with only burial rites and handmade pottery testifying to the former heterogeneity of the *ethnos*. After life in the settlements of the plain died out at the end of the first third of the 3rd century BC, some of these settlements’ inhabitants seemingly moved to fortified sites in the foothills. The inheritance of ancient traditions, in particular, those of handmade pottery and burial rites, can be observed here for a fairly long period spanning to the early 1st century AD.<sup>73</sup> Later on, from the second half of the 1st to the middle of the 3rd centuries AD, the region was inhabited by the Sarmatian population, as evidenced by handmade pottery and grave material.

Yet, the intensive interrelations between Greeks and barbarians promoted the formation of a mixed Greek-barbarian population. The Greek component among the population of the *chora* becomes evident as early as the 5th century BC and is testified to by finds of early types of terracotta figurines, graffiti, above-surface stone-and-adobe buildings, by cultivating cash crops typical of Greek agriculture, and in the later period also by the necropolis material (Krinički 1 and Frontovoe II).<sup>74</sup>

Unfortunately, we know very little about the history of Theodosia during late Antiquity. The coin finds<sup>75</sup> and lapidary inscriptions from Staryj Krym<sup>76</sup> and Sudak<sup>77</sup> confirm that at the end of the 2nd-beginning of the 3rd century AD the jurisdiction of Bosporos stretched over the whole mountainous part of Taurica.<sup>78</sup> To this period dates the fortified settlement situated in the centre of the isthmus of Akmonaj, among the inhabitants of which were the Sarmatians.<sup>79</sup> In the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD the Sarmatians are also attested at the site of Kuru-Baş.<sup>80</sup>

In the 250s AD, the Bosporos was invaded by the Germanic tribes of Goths and Borans. Even though the European part of its territory did not suffer from that invasion, Bosporan control over its western border was weakened.<sup>81</sup> At this point, Kuru-Baş – the last outpost guarding the western approaches to Theodosia – finally ceased to exist.

It seems that the final destruction of Theodosia took place during the wars between Chersonesos and Bosporos about which Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos tells us.<sup>82</sup> The second war (328-330 AD), the actions of which are linked to the locality named “Kafa”, ended with the defeat of the Bosporan army. To this same period date the coin hoards found in the surroundings of Theodosia and in the south-eastern Crimea.<sup>83</sup> The details of this campaign, described by Konstantinos, suggest that Kafa which became the borderland between Chersonesos and the Bosporos was a mountainous area, the characteristics of which correspond best to the region to the south-west and north-west of the modern town of Feodosija. The third war had an especially negative effect on the fate of Theodosia, as the border of the Bosporan territory was moved further east and re-established at the so-called Uzunlar Rampart.<sup>84</sup>

As a result of these events, the area of Kafa (the region of Theodosia) came under Chersonesean control.<sup>85</sup> In an anonymous geographical source from 360-386 AD Theodosia is lumped together with Chersonesos.<sup>86</sup> Once again, Theodosia found itself in the role of a frontier town, in which a placid life could only be attained under the conditions of a strong state, secured borders and stable political situation. At that time, neither Chersonesos nor Bosporos could ensure the city such conditions, which resulted in its final destruction. The invasion of the Huns in the late 4th-early 5th centuries AD drew a final line under the fate of ancient Theodosia.

## Notes

- 1 Kallistov 1949, 60; Gajdukevič 1949, 22, 58, 192; Šelov 1950a, 168; Žebelev 1953, 64; Roebuck 1959, 121; Blavatskij 1981, 21; Peters & Golencov 1981, 68; Vinogradov Ju.G. 1983, 368, 370; Ehrhardt 1988, 82; Košelenko & Kuznecov 1990, 35; Petrova 2000, 47.
- 2 Kačarava & Kvirkvelia 1990, 294.
- 3 CIRB 6-6a, 8, 36, 64, 1111; Blavatskaja 1993, 34.
- 4 Wiegand, Kaverau & Rehm 1914, 215, no. 75.
- 5 Peters 1984, 63; Katjušin 1998, 31-32; Petrova 2000, 19.
- 6 Katjušin & Ajbabina 1978, 328; Katjušin 1979, 335; 1980, 274; Beysens, Gioda, Morel, Katjušin & Evseev 1997, 54; Ajbabin 1978, 80.
- 7 Petrova 2000, 98.
- 8 Kene 1857, 271; Buračkov 1884, 15, 19, 30; Giel 1891, 347.
- 9 Tolstoj & Kondakov. 1889a, 59, 61, 64-65; 1889b, 155, 157.
- 10 Jurgevič 1895, 87-174; Derevickij, Pavlovskij & Štern 1897, 21-28, pls. VI-X; 1898, 44, pl. XVIII; Štern 1897, 163-199; 1906, 91; 1911, 18.; Waldhauer 1906a, 203-213; 1906b, 191-202; Varneke 1906, 232-235; Kibal'čič 1910, 30, pls. I-VIII, X-XIV, XVI-XVII.; Bertier de la Garde 1912, 39-52.
- 11 Kolli 1909, 125-137.
- 12 Zeest 1951, 185-190; 1953, 143-148; Peters, Ajbabina & Katjušin 1976, 327; Peters et al. 1977, 353; 1978, 373; Peters 1979, 326; 1984, 63; Peters & Golencov 1981, 68.
- 13 Kutajsov 1992, 100.
- 14 Bezručenko 1999, 86.
- 15 Petrova 2000, 102.
- 16 Chalpachč'jan 1976, 37.
- 17 Petrova 2000, 65.
- 18 Latyšev 1909; Minns 1913; Rostovcev 1925; Maksimova 1949, 312-313; Kallistov 1949; Gajdukevič 1949.
- 19 Šelov 1950b; 1956.
- 20 Kobylina 1951, 136-170.
- 21 CIRB 947-952.
- 22 Kobylina 1970, 78-82.
- 23 Maksimova 1958, 62-66.
- 24 Neverov 1973; 1977; 1978, 178-179; 1979, 95-103; 1983.
- 25 Belova 1977, 144-151; Zolotarev 1984, 89-92; Vinogradov, Ju.A. 1985, 266; Anochin 1986; 1999; Mel'nikov 2000, 208-218; Frolova 2000, 302-313; Gavrilov 2001a, 185-206; 2003, 22-24; Šonov 2002, 327-332; 2003, 351-365.

- 26 Badal'janc 1970, 53-58; Avdeev & Peters 1987, 214-219.
- 27 Emec & Peters 1993, 77-83.
- 28 Ajbabin 1974, 248-249.
- 29 Petrenko 1994, 147-153; Vdovičenko 1996, 147-154.
- 30 Jajlenko 1988, 128-215; Petrova 2000, 150.
- 31 Gavrilov 1999b.
- 32 Bader 1940, 150-174; Schulz 1953, 5-124; Kruglikova 1959, 64-73; 1975; Machneva 1988, 208-209.
- 33 Gavrilov 1998, 105; 2001b, 10.
- 34 Ščepinskij 1972, 326; Gavrilov & Toščev 1999, 166; Kolotuchin 2000, 65; Gavrilov, Kolotuchin & Koltuchov 2002, 108.
- 35 Gavrilov 1999a, 95.
- 36 Puzdrovskij 1994, 397; Maksimenko 1997, 47; Moškova 1997, 75-76; Vinogradov, Marčenko & Rogov 1997, 101.
- 37 Maslennikov 1993, 61-62.
- 38 Gavrilov 2002b, 159-192.
- 39 Petrova 2000, 101; Katjušin 1998, 44.
- 40 Zeest 1953, 147.
- 41 Koltuchov 1999b, 23; Gavrilov 2002a, 66.
- 42 Korpusova 1972, 48; 1980, 148.
- 43 Kruglikova 1984, 160; Petrova 1996, 147.
- 44 Jajlenko 1982, 128; Zubar' 1993, 8; Bezručenko 1999, 83, 114.
- 45 Kruglikova 1975, 54, 58, 108; Kryžickij et al. 1989, 25-31. *See also the contribution by S.D. Kryžickij in this volume. Eds.*
- 46 Beysens et al. 1997, 56; Katjušin 1998, 24; Gavrilov 1997a, 69; 1999b, 77.
- 47 Gavrilov 1999b, 79.
- 48 Kruglikova 1959, 72; 1975, 75; Gavrilov 1994, 67; Katjušin 1998, 24.
- 49 Gavrilov & Paškevič 2003, 61.
- 50 Katjušin 1998, 41; Gavrilov 2002a, 64-65.
- 51 Lancov & Juročkin 2001, 263.
- 52 Gavrilov 2002a, 64.
- 53 Gavrilov 2002b, 168; 2002a, 64-65.
- 54 Malenko 1990, 147; Gavrilov 2002b, 167-168.
- 55 Kruglikova 1972, 28; 1975, 228.
- 56 Petrun' 1963, 128.
- 57 Petrova 2000, 40.
- 58 Gavrilov 1999a, 93.
- 59 Gavrilov & Fedoseev 2002, 44-59.
- 60 Gavrilov 2001a, 185.
- 61 Anochin 1999, 44; Mel'nikov 2000, 214; Frolova 2000, 302; Šonov 2002, 327.
- 62 *See also the contribution by T.N. Smekalova & S.L. Smekalov in this volume. Eds.*
- 63 Gavrilov 2001b.
- 64 Gavrilov 2001a, 193.
- 65 Kruglikova 1975, 32, 38, 49, 60, 69; Kolotuchin 1997, 153.
- 66 Kolotuchin 1996, 87-88.
- 67 Skoryj 1977, 281; Čerepanova 1985, 65.
- 68 Ol'chovskij 1991, 167; Chrapunov 1993, 7; Maslennikov 1995, 61; Koltuchov 1999a, 91.
- 69 Korpusova 1967, 39; 1972, 43; Kruglikova 1975, 66, 77, 82; Kutajsov 1987, 35.
- 70 Gavrilov & Kramarovskij 2001, 23.



- 71 Korpusova 1966, 63-64; 1972, 41; Sorokina & Sudarev 2001, 379.  
 72 Gavrilov & Kramarovskij 2001, 35.  
 73 Katjušin 1996, 28; Lancov & Juročkin 2001, 264.  
 74 Korpusova 1980, 148; Gavrilov 1997b, 142; 1997a, 69; 1998, 114; 1999a, 86.  
 75 Golenko 1963, 110; Gavrilov 2001a, 193.  
 76 Kulakovskij 1898, 11.  
 77 Saprykin & Baranov 1995, 138.  
 78 Zubar 1998, 373.  
 79 Korpusova 1973, 18; 1980, 148.  
 80 Kruglikova 1966, 105.  
 81 Ajbabin 1996, 297.  
 82 Konstantin Bagrjanorodnyj 1989, Chapter 53.  
 83 Steven 1909, 99; Šelov 1950b, 134; Kruglikova 1966, 188; Golenko 1978, 11.  
 84 Konstantin Bagrjanorodnyj 1989, Chapter 53; Golenko 1999, 47; Trufanov & Juročkin 1999, 247; Lancov et al. 1999, 111.  
 85 Juročkin 1999, 281.  
 86 Šangin 1938, 255.

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## Abbreviations

<i>AIK</i>	Archeologičeskie issledovanija v Krymu. Simferopol'.
<i>AIU</i>	Archeologičeskie issledovanija na Ukraine. Kiev.
<i>AO</i>	Archeologičeskie otkrytija. Moskva.
<i>BI</i>	Bosporskie issledovanija. Simferopol'-Kerč'.
<i>ChSbor</i>	Chersonesskij sbornik. Sevastopol'.
<i>CIRB</i>	V.V. Struve et al. (eds.), <i>Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani</i> . Moskva-Leningrad 1965.
<i>DSPK</i>	Drevnosti stepnogo Pričernomor'ja i Kryma. Zaporož'e.
<i>IKOGO</i>	Izvestija Krymskogo otdela geografičeskogo obščestva Sojuza SSR.
<i>ITUAK</i>	Izvestija Tavričeskij učenoj archivnoj komissii. Simferopol'.
<i>KSIIMK</i>	Kratkie soobščeniya Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury AN SSSR. Moskva-Leningrad.
<i>KSOGAM</i>	Kratkie soobščeniya Odesskogo gosudarstvennogo archeologičeskogo muzeja. Odessa.
<i>MAIET</i>	Materialy po archeologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii. Simferopol'.
<i>OOID</i>	Odesskoe obščestvo istorii i drevnostej.
<i>PIFK</i>	Problemy istorii, filologii i kul'tury. Moskva-Magnitogorsk.
<i>SAI</i>	Svod archeologičeskich istočnikov. Moskva.
<i>SoobGE</i>	Soobščeniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža. Leningrad/St Peterburg.
<i>TrudyGE</i>	Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža. Leningrad/St Peterburg.
<i>ZRAO</i>	Zapiski imperatorskogo Rossijskogo archeologičeskogo obščestva. Moskva.
<i>ZOOID</i>	Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej. Odessa