

Coin Finds from the Kuru Baš Fortified Settlement and Some Questions Concerning the History of Theodosia in the Late 2nd and 1st Centuries BC

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In 2003 V.V. Sadovskij, an inhabitant of the village of Nasypnoe in the Feodosija administrative zone, found the remains of a nearby ancient settlement and gathered some ancient coins there. Various collectors of antiquities from Feodosija and Staryj Krym have found a number of similar coins at the site (see catalogue).¹ The present author has summarized all of the accessible information on these coins and prepared casts and photos of some of them.² In addition, the site itself and its environments have been surveyed, its boundaries identified and the surface materials collected. The site was provisionally named “Kuru Baš fortified settlement” and the site will be referred to under this name below. This paper presents all the information now available on the numismatic finds from the site. These materials yield new and important data for studies of the history of the Bosporos and Theodosia during the period from the end of the 2nd to the first half of the 1st century BC.

The site of “Kuru Baš fortified settlement” is situated 0.3 km northeast of the north-eastern limit of the village of Vinogradnoe in the Feodosija administrative zone and 0.7 km east of the fort of Kuru Baš (Figs. 1-2).³ It is located on a spur of the ridge of Tete-Oba, on a hill 197.5 m high. The territory of the site is partly covered by turf (mostly on the hill) and partly by a vineyard adjoining the hill to the southeast and west. Accordingly, this latter part of the territory is occasionally ploughed. No outer signs of the existence of any long-term buildings have been found on the hill but possibly they were destroyed in antiquity. From the foothills of this elevation, the steppe down to the Ak-Monaj Isthmus and the shores of the Gulf of Feodosija are easily observable. Visual communication from that part of the site is possible with the site of Sary-Kaja, the fortified settlement of Beregovoe I and Theodosia (which is visible 6 km to the southeast). Close to the settlement, the roads connecting Theodosia with the western territories of the peninsula ran along the northern foothills of the Tete-Oba ridge. Even now the roads follow the same routes, which are the most convenient for communication. Places situated similarly to our site were frequently used as sentry posts with watchtowers as a common feature.⁴ Judging by the concentration of surface finds and the topography of the site



Fig. 1. Schematic map of the south-eastern Crimea: 1) Kuru Baš settlement; 2) Frontovoe II necropolis.

Fig. 2. Topographic map of the north-eastern suburbs of Feodosija and adjoining areas: 1) Kuru Baš settlement; 2) fort of Kuru Baš. Scale 1:250.



situated on the hill, it seems that there really was a wooden watchtower here (as indicated by relatively numerous finds of bronze nails) as well as some other structures attached to it. In the south-western and western foothills (in the territory now occupied by vineyards) there was possibly a village. The surface finds come from a fairly large territory measuring about 200 x 200 m and are represented by fragments of amphorae, *lagynoi* with twisted handles, Sinopean tiles, querns made from Karadag trass, bronze nails and fibulae, and lead biconical sling shot weighing 58-60 g or occasionally 96 g (Fig. 3).⁵

Between the fort of Kuru Baš (194.1 m above the sea) and the fortified settlement of Kuru Baš (197.5 m above the sea), remains of the stone fences, which demarcated rectangular land-plots have been revealed on the north-

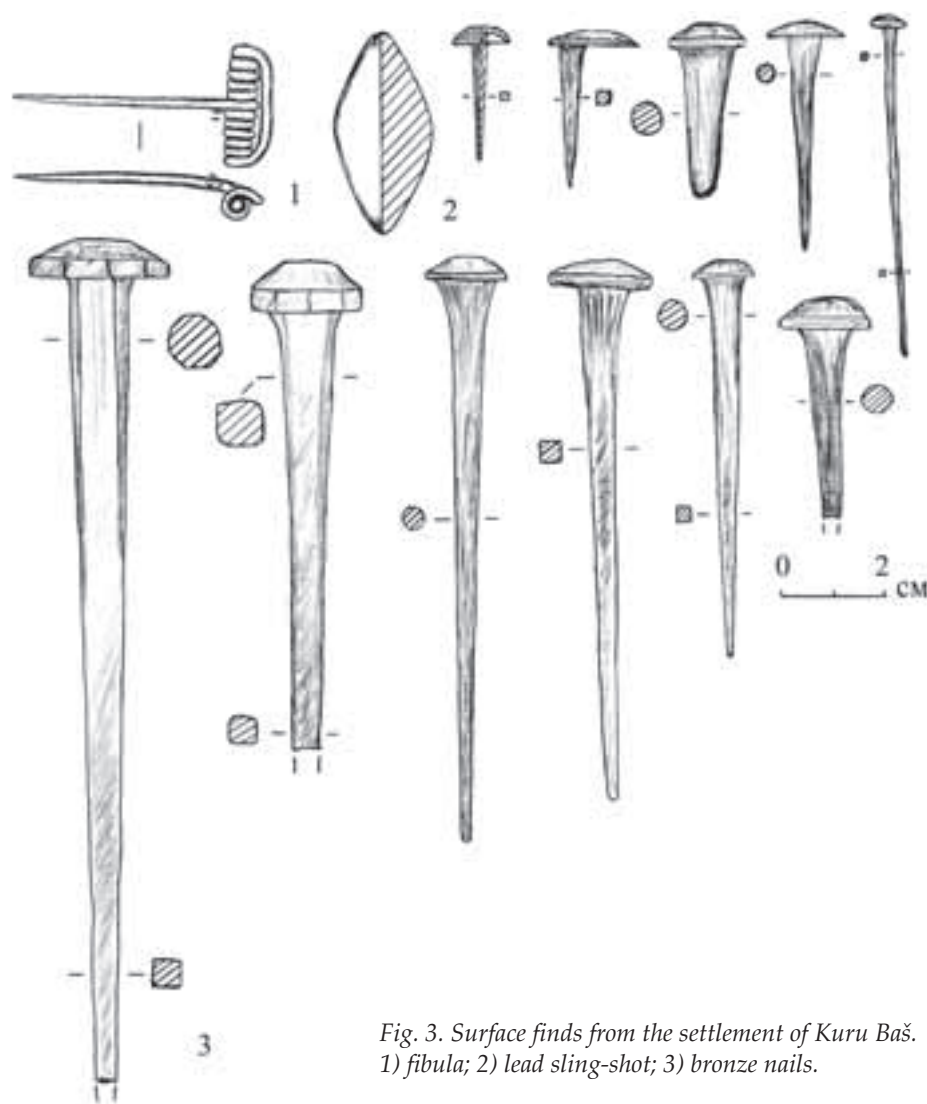


Fig. 3. Surface finds from the settlement of Kuru Baš.
1) fibula; 2) lead sling-shot; 3) bronze nails.

ern, relatively gentle slopes of the hill spur. These are preserved within a fairly small area in the form of strips (up to 2.5 m wide) of collapsed pieces of medium size, limestone rubble. The height of the ruins is not great, amounting to 0.3-0.4 m. Their orientation is south–north and east–west with slight deviations. The layer of *chernozem* inside the rectangles demarcated by the masonry is at present eroded and almost completely washed away, but it is possible that in antiquity it was brought to the plots from elsewhere. The land-plots proper may have been used for vine-growing since the slopes of the spur and the rocky soils are especially propitious for these crops. The land-plots revealed belonged probably to residents of the two settlements and are dated to the time of the quartering of the Pontic garrison here *i.e.* to the late



Fig. 4. Coins from the settlement of Kuru Baş. Mints: 1-6) Pantikapaion; 7) Rome; 8-20) Amisos; 21-23) Sinope; 24) Gazioura; 25) Pantikapaion; 26-29) Amisos; 30) Sinope; 31) Amisos; 32-35) Kappadokia.

2nd and early 1st century BC. Generally, the archaeological evidence shows that we are dealing with an unusual site on the northwestern approaches to Theodosia. The most ample information on the site is yielded by the coins found here – mostly in the foothill vineyards i.e. within the territory of the

ancient village. According to the finders of the coins, they were distributed rather sporadically throughout the territory, except for the obols “Dionysos/bowcase” that were concentrated in two spots: at the top and on the western slope of the hill (height 197.5 m).

The numismatic finds are represented by silver and bronze coins struck in Pantikapaion under the later Spartokids Peirisades IV and Peirisades V, by Roman Republican coins of the same period, by issues from the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator, as well as by bronzes of Sinope, Amisos, Amastris, Pharnakeia, Gazioura, Komana Pontike, Phanagorea and Kappadokia from the 2nd half of the 2nd to the 1st half of the 1st century BC.

The earliest coins from the site under consideration are those of the coinage of Pantikapaion testifying that the settlement arose in the second half of the 2nd century BC. In particular, there are tetrobols of the “Head of Apollon/forepart of a horse” type (Fig. 4.1), obols “Head of Apollon/bowcase” (Fig. 4.2-3), quadruples “Head of Apollon/bow and arrow” (Fig. 4.4-5) and a dichalcon “Head of Satyros/pilei” (Fig. 4.6), which are attributed to the reign of Peirisades IV (c. 155-125 BC). We know furthermore that a diobol of the “Apollon/kithara” type⁶ and a pentobol of the “Apollon/tripod” type⁷ have also been found here. A Roman denarius (Fig. 4.7) of approximately the same date, may have come to the site slightly later.

The history of the appearance of these coins at the site seems to be as follows. Despite the upheavals, which took place in the northern Black Sea area in the second quarter of the 3rd century BC, Theodosia with its reduced *chora* continued, after a short interruption, to be part of the Bosphoran Kingdom.⁸ As in earlier times, the *polis* functioned as a frontier city, since one could always expect attacks of nomads from the steppes – the Sauromatians and Sarmatians – while the nearby mountains of southeastern Crimea were settled by the sporadically unfriendly tribes of the Taurians and Scythians. That is why the defence of the possessions of the *polis* and the town itself became the primary task of the citizens and the Bosphoran authorities. To counter this situation some already existing settlements were strengthened and new fortresses were built near the town. As a rule, the latter were situated at points, which had a favourable strategic position and were thus enabled to maintain control over the roads to the city. Apparently, construction of these fortresses situated in the royal lands around the perimeter of the city's *chora* was carried out by the Bosphoran administration headed by the governor. The fortification at Kuru Baš, it seems, was no exception.

After the abandonment of the settlements in the steppe zone of the region, the *chora* of Theodosia came to be limited by the ridge of Tete-Oba and the coastal lands around the Gulf of Feodosija. This line of defences is indicated by fortified settlements (Bijuk Janyšar, Kuru Baš, Beregovoe 1 and Frontovoe 2) located along the perimeter.⁹ Archaeological finds suggest that the settlements of Beregovoe 1 and Kuru Baš were founded as early as the 4th century BC, seemingly as settlements without defence works, and that they were fortified

already by the 1st half of the 3rd century BC. Thus mercenaries were probably quartered in the fortress of Bijuk Janyšar. These mercenaries received payment from the Bosporan kings on condition that they fulfilled their military service and they were allotted land-plots adjoining the settlement.¹⁰ Even today, the demarcating earthen banks made in the immediate vicinity of the settlement in the late 4th-early 3rd century BC in the northern foothills of the Bijuk Janyšar ridge are still traceable. These banks were constructed partly from the cultural layer of the settlement forming square land-plots distinctly discernible on the surface. In my opinion, these *kleroi* belonged to the inhabitants of the fortified settlement of Bijuk Janyšar since they are located so close to this settlement.

This system of defences at the approaches to Theodosia, on the western frontier of the Bosporan Kingdom, retained its importance and functioned with brief interruptions until the middle of the 3rd century AD. Moreover, finds of coins of the last Spartokids from the village of Kuru Baš along with other archaeological evidence suggest that the Theodosian line of defences was controlled by the Bosporan royal administration also prior to its inclusion in the Pontic Kingdom at the end of the 2nd century BC.

It is obvious, that the fort and the settlement of Kuru Baš situated close nearby constituted a single complex (Fig. 2). In addition, from the fort of Kuru Baš come numerous finds from the second half of the 3rd-1st century BC and the composition of the coin assemblages from the settlement and the fortress are similar, dating from the second half of the 2nd-1st century BC.¹¹ This fact suggests that in the second half of the 2nd-1st century BC the two sites both were occupied as a single interrelated complex. Protected by natural obstacles, Kuru Baš was excellently suited for a fortification, while the nearby village of Kuru Baš served as the residential area. The limited area of the fortress could hardly have had room for the community living there. All this obviously resulted in the synchronous occupation of the two sites during this period. It is appropriate to mention here that certain finds (tiles, fragments of painted stucco and a lamp-statuettes in the form of a satyr) from the fort of Kuru Baš suggest the existence of administrative buildings in the late 2nd-1st century BC.

During the same period, similar fortifications and farmhouses arose in the mountains and foothills of southeastern Crimea on the territory traditionally inhabited by the Taurians (Sary-Kaja, Karasan-Oba, Jaman Taš, Agarmyš, Mačuk etc.). Some of these were similarly constructed as refuges situated on heights difficult to access with nearby villages.¹² They were probably occupied predominantly by the local barbarian (Tauro-Scythian) population ruled by the *ethnarchoi*. Their population, apparently, was organised into rural communities, which controlled and cultivated the adjoining lands.

Another large group of coins found at the site are those of the Pontic Kingdom. Their appearance here was due to the following events. Tetrachalks of Amisos, Sinope, and Gazioura, particularly those of the "Ares/sword" type (Fig. 4.8-24) dated 111-105 BC; obols of Amisos of the "Athena/Perseus" type and quadruples of Sinope and Amisos "Aigis/Nike" (Fig. 4.26-31) dated 105-90

BC may have penetrated the settlement of Kuru Baš after the campaign of Diophantos against Bosporos in the beginning of the spring of 108/107 BC (*IOSPE* I², 352). During this campaign, Diophantos probably had to seize Theodosia by force and some fortifications on the borders of its *chora*.¹³ It is possible that during these events the Pontic army had a camp at the settlement of Kuru Baš that led to the appearance of relatively large quantities of these coins. It must be noted that the tetrachalks of Amisos of the "Ares/sword" type were minted during a fairly long period (111-90 BC), and, accordingly, they may be divided into an early and a late group. A wire fibula with a broad spring of 11 coils (Fig. 3.1) found at the site also belong to this period. Similar fibulae are usually dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC.¹⁴

Probably, the *polis* of Theodosia, ruled by one of the members of the reigning house of the Spartokids, did not recognize the new authority and supported Saumakos in his struggle for the Bosporan throne. This fact may have led to a confrontation between the Pontic expeditionary forces and the citizens of Theodosia. But even after the city fell, opposition to the authority of Mithridates VI was fairly strong and steady and continued throughout his entire reign as may be judged from the written tradition (App. *Mith.* 107-111). In addition, the barbarian threat and the frontier status of the *polis* compelled the king to keep some military forces in the region. In light of the circumstances, it would have been dangerous to base all of the military units within the town, wherefore certain points in its nearest neighbourhood were chosen for their disposition. The fort and the settlement of Kuru Baš obviously was one such point in the nearest *chora* of Theodosia. Such a practice of disposition of military forces outside rebellious cities was not uncommon. After the defeat at Tenedos for example, Mithridates VI quartered his army for winter not in Herakleia itself, but at the mouth of the Hypios River due to the presence of forces in the city dissatisfied with the policy of the king.¹⁵

After the inclusion of the area into the military and administrative system of the Pontic Kingdom, Theodosia probably housed the military governor of the district (*strategos*) and part of the garrison.¹⁶ A similar situation existed in Olbia, where the royal governor was simultaneously the *strategos* and the mayor of the city.¹⁷ The fort of Kuru Baš and the village of Kuru Baš supported the royal power and resisted the Theodosians' tendencies towards autonomy and self-government as these citizens, apparently, had not abandoned their attempts at liberation. Another mission was to secure the *chora* of the *polis*. In this way Theodosia was kept under military control while its *chora* and the royal lands were protected from invasions of the Taurians and Scythians.

It should be mentioned that also in Pontos itself similar fortifications usually were placed in royal lands near towns as for example in Amaseia and Amisos. Here the cities' territories were surrounded by royal fortresses, which were used to limit the growth of the possessions of those *poleis*. The royal power controlled the *poleis* using the commanders (*phourarchoi*) of the garrisons and

special officials (*epistates* and *episkopes*) who supervised the execution of royal edicts, laws and payment of taxes. The residents of the fortified sites had been organized into economic and military communities according to the ethnic or tribal situation even before Mithridates VI came to power. They were probably independent in terms of their organization and administration acting as separate taxable units. Later, the inhabitants of the fortifications were included in the centralized administrative and territorial structure of the kingdom as military settlers. They owned land plots, which were taxed for the royal treasury. The Mithridatids made them their supporters in the struggle against other tribes; their fortifications became military and administrative centres. This centralized semi-military system of organization of land was established by Mithridates in other regions of the state and continued under his successors under the names of *strategiai*, *eparchies* or *dioikesiai*.¹⁸ Theodosia with its well-developed system of organization and administration probably was incorporated as a separate *strategia* into the administrative and territorial structure of Pontos.

It is known that the citizens of the Greek *poleis* included in the Pontic Kingdom were allowed to own lands. This right however depended on the king as the supreme landowner within the state. The sovereign could, if he wished, take away a land-plot from a citizen or, on the contrary, register a land-plot in someone's favour. This happened for example in Sinope, where Pharnakes I limited the area under the jurisdiction of the city to a narrow strip of land adjoining the city walls. The same also took place in Kabeira, Zela, and Komana Pontike.¹⁹

After the annexation of the Bosporos by Mithridates VI, those lands of Theodosia that had belonged to the royal house of the Spartokids (γῆ βασιλική) continued to be controlled by the royal administration. Thus the foundation of settlements and fortifications for Pontic soldiers on the royal lands was quite natural. One of such sites in the close vicinity of Theodosia, where Pontic detachments were quartered was evidently the already existing fort of Kuru Baš. This fact is an indirect indication that the *chora* of the *polis* of Theodosia (γῆ πολιτική) occupied only the area adjoining the ancient city.²⁰ The Theodosians probably continued to possess their private lands, which lay directly beyond the city walls.²¹ It is noteworthy, that the remains of some poorly discernible demarcation banks and terraces are traceable in the immediate proximity of the Quarantine Hill (the site of ancient Theodosia) near Cape Il'ja (in the area between the lighthouse and the water treatment plant).

The fact that Herakleia during the Roman siege of 72-70 BC sent embassies to Theodosia and Chersonesos with a request for food supplies (Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 1, 34.3) suggests that Mithridates VI Eupator had left a certain autonomy and the city's *chora* to the civic community of the *polis*.²² Apparently, even these minor rights were controlled by the Pontic garrison, detachments of which were deployed in the fortress and settlement of Kuru Baš. Since the *polis* was not entirely loyal to the king, it was granted no political privileges; in particular, it lacked its own coinage.

Archaeological finds suggest in addition that detachments of Pontic troops were settled in the fort of Frontovoje 2 situated on the Ak-Monaj Isthmus, in the fort of Beregovoe 1 on the coast of the Gulf of Feodosija, and at the settlement of Sary-Kaja.²³ The materials (fragments of Kolchian amphorae, a *lagynos* etc.) from the site of Beregovoe 1, in particular, are dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC.²⁴ It is worth noting that in the late 2nd-early 1st centuries BC the quantities of amphorae and coins from Kolchis increased also at other sites on the northern Black Sea littoral.²⁵ This fact testifies to the intensification of trade between these regions and possibly to movements of military units within the Mithridatic state. Probably, a Pontic garrison was deployed in the same period at the fortified site of Frontovoe 2 since the finds from its necropolis of the 2nd-1st century BC include gravestones of earlier periods re-used for Greeks from Asia Minor – presumably soldiers of the Pontic garrison.²⁶ Pontic garrisons were also stationed at other strategically important points on the Crimean coast and in the inland areas of the peninsula.²⁷ The sites mentioned may be termed *phrourioi* – “fortresses with a garrison or guard” governed by a *phrouarchos*, who also controlled the adjoining territory.²⁸ It is noteworthy that Sinopean coins of the “Zeus/eagle” type have also been found at the site of Mazanskoe.²⁹ This may suggest the presence of Pontic detachments even at a site situated in the foothills in the centre of the peninsula.

The drachms of the “Apollon/bowcase” type with the monogram Π (ca. 107-100 BC) belong to the first Pantikapaeian issues of Mithridates (Fig. 4.25). The two coins were both minted with a stamp previously unknown for this type of drachms.³⁰ Apparently, these drachms were brought to the site when it had already been used for several years by the Pontic garrison as a settlement and as a base in the region of Theodosia.

The drachm of Ariarathes VII Philometor (a nephew of Mithridates VI) (Fig. 4.32) was apparently minted in the last decade of the 2nd century BC. The drachms of the Kappadokian rulers Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopator (son of Mithridates VI) (Fig. 4.33-34) and Ariobarzanes I Philorhomaos (Figs. 4.35, 5.36) were issued, obviously, in the early 1st century BC before the beginning of the first Mithridatic War against Rome (89-85 BC) after which Kappadokia fell completely under the rule of Pontos.³¹ In the course of this war the state treasury of Kappadokia was probably seized by Mithridates VI and used for the maintenance of his armies and for payments to the mercenaries. At the settlement of Kuru Baš, these coins probably appeared slightly later – in the second half of the 80’s or beginning of the 70’s BC – as payment to servicemen settled there or they were brought by these from elsewhere. They probably testify that among the inhabitants of Kuru Baš there were soldiers from the armies, who had participated in the first war against Rome and later were relocated to the neighbourhood of Theodosia. The cast lead bi-conic sling-shots suggest the presence of a military division armed with slings (Fig. 3.2). Finds of similar sling-shots are well known in the northern Black Sea region; their weights vary from 25 to 234 grams and they bear inscriptions naming the slingers.³²



Fig. 5. Coins from the settlement of Kuru Baš. Mints: 36) Kappadokia; 37) Pantikapaion; 38) Gorgippia; 39) Pantikapaion; 40-41) Amisos; 42-62) Pantikapaion; 63-65) Amisos; 66-69) Sinope.

In the 80's and 70's BC, coins of Amastris and Pharnakeia were becoming ever more widespread in the Bosphoros, but the Sinopean tetrachalks of the "Zeus/eagle" type still dominated.³³ Relatively large numbers of the latter have been found at the settlement of Kuru Baš (Figs. 5.66-69 and 6.70-77). The numismatic evidence from the site thus testifies indirectly to the increased



Fig. 6. Coins from the settlement of Kuru Baš. Mints: 70-77) Sinope; 78) Amastris; 79) Pharnakeia; 80-83) Pantikapaion.

volumes of provisions and other supplies sent (*inter alia* from Theodosia) to Sinope for the troops of Mithridates.

The tetrachalks of the “Dionysos/tripod with thyrsos” and obol of “Men/standing Dionysos” types minted by Pantikapaion (Fig. 5.39), tetrachalks “Dionysos/tripod with thyrsos” of Gorgippia (Fig. 5.38), obols of Amisos “Perseus/Pegasus” (Fig. 5.40-41), as well as tetrachalks of Amisos (Fig. 5.63-65), Sinope (Figs. 5.66-69 and 6.70-77), Amastris (Fig. 6.78) and Pharnakeia (Fig. 6.79) of the “Zeus/eagle” type current in the 80’s and 70’s BC suggest that the settlement continued to fulfil the same functions as before. In the 80’s-70’s BC, a number of monograms similar to those on coins of Amisos and Sinope are found on Bosporan coins. The most diverse examples were on obols of the “Dionysos/bowcase” type (Fig. 5.42-62). These monograms probably represented the names of the royal officials responsible for issuing coins in the Bosporos. Correspondingly, the entire series of the “Dionysos/bowcase” obols was of royal minting. In the Bosporos, large numbers of obols were issued, and therefore the requirements of the monetary market for larger denominations of copper were satisfied and accordingly imported Amisean obols of the “Perseus/Pegasus” type are rare.³⁴

During the last years of the reign of Mithridates VI and the beginning of the rule of Pharnakes II, mass overstriking of Pantikapaeon tetrachalks of the “Apollon/tripod” type upon Sinopean tetrachalks “Zeus/eagle” and of the “Apollon/eagle upon thunderbolt, star” obols (Fig. 6.80) upon anonymous obols “Dionysos/bowcase” was conducted in the Bosporos.³⁵ The reason for the overstrikes was evidently the fact that the newly re-minted coins were intended for circulation exclusively within the Bosporan market since Herakleia, Sinope, and Amisos by 70 BC had been taken by the Romans and had

lost their intermediary trade functions in the region. This situation disrupted established economic relations stirring up discontent among the Bosporan population and causing attempts to secede from Mithridates. Theodosia, however, remained under his rule until 63 BC and continued to be part of the Bosporos during the reign of Pharnakes II.

In 85-83 or in 83-81 BC the Bosporos was governed by Mithridates the Younger.³⁶ In 81/80 BC, after the end of the second war against Rome, another son of Mithridates VI – Machares was sent to the Bosporos and Kolchis as governor. During his government independent coinages in cities of the northern Black Sea littoral ceased.³⁷ During this period, the military settlers continued to occupy Kuru Baš receiving payment for their services. On account of the large number of the so-called anonymous obols “Dionysos/bowcase”³⁸ found (about 300 specimens according to the finders, Fig. 5.42-62), the garrison’s treasury may have been somewhere on the site.³⁹ Most of the finds were concentrated within two areas: on the top of the hill and on its western slope. The issue of these obols is dated rather loosely to 100-75 BC.⁴⁰ V.A. Anochin, however, dated this coinage to 80-65 BC, i.e. to the time of the rule of Machares – son of Mithridates VI – in the Bosporos.⁴¹ Judging by the quantity of the unspent obols, the settlement was abandoned possibly in the second half of the 60’s BC. This may have taken place after the treason of Machares and his escape from the Asiatic part of the Bosporos to the European side in 65 BC, after the garrisons supporting him had been defeated by Mithridates VI. Probably, the garrison of Kuru Baš along with Theodosia was faithful to Machares, and functioned as a base for the oppositional forces in that remote region of the kingdom. In 65 BC, the *stratego*i of the king had to seize Theodosia by military force (App. *Mith.* 107-108).⁴² These events determined the destiny of the fortress and settlement of Kuru Baš and they were destroyed (with part of the garrison treasury still intact). In my opinion, this is a plausible explanation for the great quantity of “Dionysos/bowcase” obols found within the limits of the site. However, the site was not abandoned completely. Kuru Baš continued to be occupied although on a much smaller scale.

During the rule of Asandros (46/45-17/16 BC) the Bosporos regained its power. Its swift economic advances are attested by regular gold minting, and by reconstruction of the military and administrative districts with corresponding fortresses in the royal lands. It is possible that the settlement of Kuru Baš was part of this process. The finds of “Apollon/drinking Pegasos” tetrachalks of Pantikapaion (Fig. 6.82) from the end of Asandros’ rule suggest that there were still dwellers at the site.

Nevertheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that the situation developed according to another scheme. In 48 BC, Pharnakes II, departing to Asia Minor for a campaign against the Romans, left as governor in Bosporos his trusted *ethnarchos* Asandros, who later usurped power. In 47 BC, Pharnakes, having been defeated by Caesar, returned to the Bosporos with a small contingent consisting of Scythians and Sarmatians. Having restored his power

within the territory of the European Bosphoros, he was killed towards the very end of 47 or in the beginning of 46 BC in a battle with the forces of Asandros. To judge from the fact that only a single obol “Male head/prow, trident” struck over that of an “Apollon/eagle seated upon thunderbolt” type belonging to the period of the archonship of Asandros (Fig. 6.81) has been found at the settlement, its destruction must be dated to 47 BC. This possibly took place after the return of Pharnakes from Pontos after his defeat at Zela, when he was forced to seize Theodosia and Pantikapaion by force. Probably during these events the settlement of Kuru Baš was also destroyed, its garrison having been devoted to Asandros. Apparently, the so-called anonymous obols of the “Dionysos/bowcase” type continued in circulation during the reign of Pharnakes and the beginning of the rule of Asandros, who both for various reasons did not coin small denominations. Therefore, the presence of a series of these obols at the settlement can indirectly attest its functioning even after the death of Mithridates VI. The fact that the obol of the “Male head/prow, trident” type has been found only as a single example suggests a short duration for and a small volume of that coinage. If so, these coins are not expected to be numerous anywhere. Thus, the settlement of Kuru Baš possibly survived until 47 BC. Which of the variants described is more preferable can be shown only by archaeological studies of the site.

It should be noted, that two coin hoards (with 66 and 1140 coins respectively) of similar composition have been found at the settlement of Poljanka on the coast of the Azov Sea on the Kerch Peninsula. This settlement was founded during the reign of Mithridates VI and flourished during the reign of Pharnakes II and the archonship of Asandros. Golenko and Maslennikov proposed that the hoards were the unpaid salary of the military settlers who lived there and were defeated during the raid of Pharnakes II from Theodosia to Pantikapaion.⁴³

The coin finds described suggest that Theodosia and its *chora* continued to be an important area of the Bosphoros both during the reign of the last Spartokids and under Mithridates VI. In the 2nd and 1st century BC, the territory controlled by the *polis* was relatively small being limited to a number of fortifications including the fortress of Kuru Baš and the nearby settlement. Apparently, the Theodosian fortified district continued to function up to the end of the 1st century BC when it was destroyed along with other cities of the Bosphoros during the short reign of Polemon I.⁴⁴ Possibly the abolishment of the *polis* was due to its relative remoteness, its frequent use by oppositional forces during the 5th and 1st century BC, and the continued aspiration of its citizens for independence. First to be demolished were the city’s fortifications, which potentially could have been utilised by opponents of the central authorities. Then the fortifications in the city’s territory suffered the same fate. The residents of the city were also annihilated or sold into slavery. For that reason nothing is known about Theodosia after the 1st century BC, and the written sources of the 3rd century AD refer to it as an abandoned town (Arr.

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|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| № 1 本 | № 2 長 | № 3 月 | № 4 賣 | № 5 風 | № 6 風 | № 7 風 | № 8 百 | № 9 用 |
| № 10 風 | № 11 雨 | № 12 Δ | № 13 下 | № 14 賣 | № 15 Δ | № 16 風 | № 17 賣 | № 18 賣 |
| № 19 風 | № 20 風 | № 21 風 | № 22 風 | № 23 風 | № 24 賣 | № 25 賣 | № 26 風 | № 27 風 |
| № 28 賣 | № 29 風 | № 30 全 | № 31 賣 | № 32 本 | № 33 風 | № 34 賣 | № 35 本 | № 36 全 |
| № 37 Δ | № 38 Δ | № 39 賣 | № 40 賣 | № 41 風 | № 42 賣 | № 43 風 | № 44 賣 | № 45 風 |
| № 46 賣 | № 47 風 | № 48 風 | № 49 賣 | № 50 本 | | | | |

Fig. 7. Monograms on coins from the settlement of Kuru Baš.

Per. 30).⁴⁵ Since Arrianos used information about Theodosia from an earlier source, his statement is additional evidence that the end of the *polis* Theodosia came in the 1st century BC. Undoubtedly, the site of Theodosia (on the hill called now Karantinnaja Gorka) continued to be occupied and used as a port and a marketplace for the population, which remained in its neighbourhood. However, the upland of the city for a long period continued to be part of the structure of the Bosporan Kingdom as the administrative district of Theodosia-Kafa with its own royal governor. However, the questions as to where the residence of the governor was, in which way the region was managed, where its borders lay and how they changed during the first centuries AD are still awaiting answers. It is obvious that these important problems can only be solved in the course of intensive archaeological studies of the “key” sites of that period in southeastern Crimea.

List of coins from the settlement of Kuru Baš

| # | Attribution | Quantity | Date | Description and analogies |
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| 1. | Pantikapaion Tetrobol Silver | 1 | 155-145 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Apollon right. Rev.: ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΑΙΤΩΝ. Forepart of galloping horse right. 2.62 gr. Anochin 1999, 96, fig. 25.4. |
| 2. | Pantikapaion Obol Bronze | 2 | 155-145 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Apollon right. Rev.: ΠΑΝ. Bowcase. 2.50 gr; 2.82 gr. Anochin 1999, 96, fig. 25.6. |
| 3. | Pantikapaion Tetrachalcon Bronze | 2 | 155-145 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Apollon right. Rev.: ΠΑΝ. Bow with an arrow beneath right. 1.60 gr; 2.00 gr. Anochin 1999, 96, fig. 25.7. |
| 4. | Pantikapaion Double Bronze | 1 | 135-125 BC | Obv.: Head of beardless satyr wearing wreath, right. Rev.: ΠΑΝΤΙ. Pilei with two stars above. 2.50 gr. Anochin 1999, 96, fig. 25.12. |
| 5. | Rome Denarius | 1 | 132-105 BC | Obv.: COSO. M. F (M. Fabrinus?). Male head in winged helmet, circle of dots. Rev.: Two-horse chariot driven by standing warrior with spear and shield. Head of dragon above. CCN-ROM in exergue. Circle of dots. 3.82 gr. Mattingly 1960, 282-283, pl. VII.2, VIII.11, X.5. |

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| 6. | Amisos Tetrachalkon | 12 | 111-105 BC | Obv.: Head of young Ares in helmet, right. Rev.: AMI-ΣΟΥ. Sword in sheath with belt. No monograms. One of the specimens is overstruck. 6.80; 6.95; 6.96; 7.20; 7.45; 7.50; 7.54; 7.68; 7.90; 8.44 gr. RGAM, 54, pl. VII.20; Imhoof-Blumer 1912, 184; Zograph 1951, 237, pl. XVIII.21; Malloy 1970, 9, fig. 30-31; Golenko 1966, 143. |
| 7. | Sinope Tetrachalkon | 4 | 111-105 BC | Obv.: Head of young Ares in helmet, right. Rev.: ΣΙΝΩ-ΠΗΣ. Sword in sheath with belt. 6.60; 8.08; 9.45 gr. RGAM, 196, pl. XXVI.16. Rev. of the specimen weighing 9.45 gr: vine branch to the right of sword and "un aplustre" left. RGAM, 196, pl. XXVI, fig. 18. |
| 8. | Gazioura Tetrachalkon | 1 | 111-105 BC | Obv.: Head of young Ares in helmet, right. Rev.: ΓΑΖΙ-ΟΥΡΩΝ. Sword in sheath with belt. 6.61 gr. RGAM, 83, pl. XII.14; cf. Saprykin 1996, fig. 2.2. |
| 9. | Amisos Tetrachalkon | 2 | 111-105 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Zeus right. Rev.: AMI-ΣΟΥ. Eagle with opened wings seated upon thunderbolt, head to right, monogram no. 1 in the left field (an unclear monogram on the second specimen). 8.00; 9.00 gr. RGAM, 51, pl. VII.8, VII.9; Malloy 1970, 8, fig. 14. |
| 10. | Amastris Tetrachalkon | 1 | 111-105 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Zeus right. Rev.: ΑΜΑΣΤΡ[ΕΩΣ]. Eagle with opened wings seated upon thunderbolt, head to right, monogram no. 2 in the left field. 7.60 gr. RGAM, 195, pl. XVIII.13; cf.: Saprykin 1996, fig. 2.8, 2.8a. |

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| 11. | Pharnakeia Obol | 1 | 111-105 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Zeus right. Rev.: [Φ]ΑΡΝΑΚΕΙΗ[Σ]. Eagle with opened wings seated upon thunder- bolt, head to right, unclear mono- gram in the left field. 8.20 gr. RGAM, 99, pl. XIV.18. |
| 12. | Pantikapaion Drachm | 1 | 107-100 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Apollon right. Rev.: ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑ-ΠΑΙΤΩΝ. Bowcase, spearhead down to the left, mono- gram no. 3 below (previously un- known coin type). 3.44 gr. Anochin 1999, 106, fig. 27.1. |
| 13. | Amisos Tetrachalkon | 4 | 105-90 BC | Obv.: Aigis with Gorgon's head. Rev.: ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ. Nike walking with palm branch right. 6.35 gr, monogram no. 4 at the wing in the left field. 6.68 gr, monogram no. 5 at the knee in the right field. 7.46 gr, monogram no. 6 at the knee in the right field. 7.63 gr, the monogram is unclear. RGAM, 57, pl. VIII.1-4; Malloy 1970, 22, fig. 45d. |
| 14. | Sinope Tetrachalkon | 1 | 105-90 BC | Obv.: Aigis with Gorgon's head. Rev.: ΣΙΝΩ-ΠΗ. Nike walking with palm branch right. Monogram no. 7 at the knees in the right field. 7.05 gr. RGAM, 195, pl. XXVI.13; Malloy 1970, 22, fig. 45d. |
| 15. | Amisos Obol | 2 | 105-90 BC | Obv.: Head of Athena in helmet right. The helmet is decorated with flying Pegasos. Rev.: ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ. Standing Perseus with the club and head of Medusa in his hands. The body of Medusa below. Monogram no. 8 at the legs in the right field. 16.85 gr. On the second specimen the monogram is unclear, the weight is unknown. RGAM, 51, pl. VII, fig. 10; Malloy 1970, 8, fig. 16. |

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| 16. | Kappadokia Drachm | 1 | 112/111- 101/100 BC | Obv.: Diademed head of Ariarathes VII right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΠΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ. Athena standing left holding Nike and leaning on shield with the left hand. Letters ΓΛΙ in the left field. 4.10 gr. Head, 1963, 751. |
| 17. | Kappadokia Drachm | 2 | 101/100- 97/96 and 89/88-87/86 BC | Obv.: Diademed head of Ariarathes IX right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΠΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ. Athena standing left holding Nike and leaning on shield with the left hand. 1. Monogram no. 9 in the right field; no. 10 in the left field; letters ΓΛ in the lower field. 2. Monogram no. 11 in the right field; no. 12 in the left field; letters ΓΛ in the lower field; monogram no. 13 in the right field near the legs of the goddess; monogram no. 14 in the left field near the legs of the goddess. Head 1963, 751. |
| 18. | Kappadokia Drachm | 2 | 96/95-93/92 BC | Obv.: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes I right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ Athena standing left holding Nike and leaning on shield with the left hand. Monograms in the lower fields: no. 15 right and no. 17 left. 3.97 gr; 4.20 gr (the monograms are unclear). Head 1963, 751. |
| 19. | Pantikapaion Tetrachalkon | 4 | 90-83 BC | Obv.: Head of Dionysos wearing wreath, right. Rev.: ΠΑΝ-ΤΙΚΑ-ΠΑΙ-ΤΩΝ. Tripod and thyrsos. Monogram no. 18 in the right field. 6.80 gr. Overstruck on a tetrachalkon "Ares/sword" of Amisos. Saprykin 1996, fig. 2.3; Anochin 1999, 107, fig. 27.18. |

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| 20. | Gorgippia Tetrachalkon | 1 | 90-83 BC | Obv.: Head of Dionysos wearing wreath right. Rev.: ΓΟΡ-ΓΙΠ-ΠΙΕ-ΩΝ. Tripod and thyrsos. Monogram no. 18 in the right field. 9.30 gr. Anochin 1999, 107, fig. 27.21. |
| 21. | Pantikapaion Obol | 1 | 90-83 BC | Obv.: Head Men right. Rev.: ΠΑΝ-ΤΙΚΑ-ΠΑΙ-ΤΩΝ Standing Dionysos with thyrsos and grape in his hands; a panther left of Dionysos. Unclear monogram in the right field. 17.75 gr. Overstruck on obol of "Po- seidon/prow" type (or type 201 over type 191 according to Anochin, 1986). Anochin 1999, 106, fig. 27.12. |
| 22. | Amisos Obol | 2 | 80-70 BC | Obv.: Helmeted head of Perseus right. Rev.: ΑΜΙ-ΣΟΥ. Drinking Pegasos. Two monograms in exergue. 12.50 gr, monogram no. 19. 12.70 gr, monogram no. 20. RGAM, 55, pl. VII.27; Malloy 1970, 21, fig. 33; Saprykin 1996, fig. 2.4. |
| 23. | Pantikapaion Obol | about 300 | 89/88-75 BC | Obv.: Head of Dionysos wearing wreath. Rev.: Bowcase. Anochin 1986, 146, 212, pl. 40; Smeka- lova & Djukov 2001, 72. The weight of the coins varies from 12.61 to 17.70 gr; diameter 2.4-2.5 cm. Monograms are placed either in the left or right field. Presented below are the weights of and monograms on some specimens. Monogram no. 28 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 14.90 gr. Monogram no. 29 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 15.09 gr. Monogram no. 30 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 15.32 gr. Monogram no. 31 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 15.34 gr. Monogram no. 32 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 15.40 gr. Monogram no. 33 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 15.80 gr. Monogram no. 34 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 16.10 gr. Monogram no. 35 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 16.20 gr. |

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| | | | | <p>Monogram no. 21 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 12.61 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 22 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 13.45 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 23 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 13.62 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 24 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 14.00 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 25 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 14.30 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 26 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 14.80 gr., 17.20 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 27 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 14.80 gr, 15.09 gr, 15.70 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 36 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 16.50 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 37 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 16.60 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 38 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 16.80 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 39 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 17.27 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 40 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 17.52 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 41 in the left field; torch above the bowcase. 17.61 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 42 in the left field; sword above the bowcase. 13.10 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 43 in the left field; sword above the bowcase. 14.95 gr, 17.80 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 44 in the left field; sword above the bowcase. 16.70 gr.</p> <p>Monogram no. 45 in the left field; sword above the bowcase. 17.70 gr.</p> |
| 24. | Sinope Denomination? | 13 | 75/74 BC | <p>Obv.: Head of bearded Zeus or Apollon right.</p> <p>Rev.: ΣΙΝΟΠΙΗΣ. Eagle with opened wings seated upon thunderbolt.</p> <p>Monograms nos. 46-50 in the left field. Most of the coins have a star in the right field.</p> <p>The weight varies from 4.4-8.4 gr.</p> <p>RGAM, 194, pl. XXVI.6; Zograph 1951, pl. XVIII.22; Karyškovskij 1988, 104, fig. 13, 18; Anochin 1999, 107, fig. 27.24; Frolova & Ireland 1999, 236, pl. XV, XVI.</p> |

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| 25. | Pantikapaion Obol | 1 | 65-63 BC | Obv.: Head of Zeus or Apollon. Rev.: ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΠΑΙΤΩΝ. Eagle seated upon thunderbolt. 20.55 gr. Anochin 1999, 107, fig. 27.24. |
| 26 | Bosporos, Asandros Obol | 1 | 50/49-48/47 BC | Obv.: Male head right. Rev.: Prow, trident in the right field. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Counter- marked by star on both sides. 16.92 gr. Overstruck on "Apollon/ eagle upon thunderbolt" obol (on type 214 according to Anochin 1986, 146-147). Anochin 1999, 118, fig. 29.2. |
| 27. | Pantikapaion Denomina- tion? | 2 | 37-27 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Apollon right. Circle of dots. Rev.: Feeding Pegasos left. Circle of dots. ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑ-ΠΠΑΙΤΩΝ 6.80 gr. Anochin 1999, 118, fig. 29.9. |
| 28. | Pantikapaion Denomina- tion? | 1 | 27-21 BC | Obv.: Wreathed head of Apollon right. Rev.: Prow. ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΠΑΙΤΩΝ 4.90 gr. Overstruck. Anochin 1999, 118, fig. 29.10. |

Notes

- 1 On 2 July 1998 Ukraine signed the European Convention on the preservation of our archaeological heritage, but illegal plundering of archaeological sites and antiquities still continues. Most archaeological sites are open to anyone who wishes to explore them with metal detectors. This situation has led to the fact that at practically every archaeological site metal objects have been removed from their contexts (the upper layers of the cultural level) going to the illegal market in antiquities. The site-preservation organisations and state administration bodies are taking only declarative measures on paper, and hardly promote real preservation of archaeological sites. Moreover, within the *chora* of Theodosia (modern Feodosija) for example, the local administration annually carries out unapproved earthworks heavily injuring archaeological objects. The legal base is poor and inefficient containing no clear wording of law, which would forbid such activities. Unfortunately, it is absolutely justified to claim that during the recent 15 years, archaeological science has been deprived of enormous amounts of important evidence, which could have served as the scientific base for reconstruction of many historical events. In other words, the scientific research base of historians and archaeologists has been severely harmed, and the destruction of our archaeological heritage continues both in the Ukraine in general and in Crimea in particular.

- 2 Gavrilov 2004b, fig. 104-105; Gavrilov & Šonov 2005, 392-398.
- 3 Gavrilov 2003; Gavrilov 2004a; Gavrilov 2004b, 175.
- 4 Bujskich 1991, 88; Maslennikov 1998, 111.
- 5 Gavrilov 2004b, fig. 75.16-28.
- 6 Anochin 1999, 96, fig. 25.5.
- 7 Anochin 1986, 143, fig. 5.172.
- 8 Recently new numismatic evidence has been obtained giving us grounds to state that in the early 260's Theodosia for a short span of time (ca. 15 years) restored its independence and a democratic form of rule. The city became an independent *polis* with its own coins circulating in its *chora*, see Gavrilov & Šonov 2007, 346-357.
- 9 Gavrilov 2004b, 29-33.
- 10 Katjušin 1999, 41; Gavrilov 2004b, 99.
- 11 Gavrilov 2004b, 32, 198-199.
- 12 Gavrilov 2004b, 27-29, 177.
- 13 Zeest 1953, 147; Katjušin 1998, 40.
- 14 Zajcev & Mordvinceva 2003, 152.
- 15 Saprykin 1986, 233.
- 16 Saprykin 1996, 220-221.
- 17 Krapivina & Diatroptov 2005, 69.
- 18 Saprykin 1996, 226, 241, 285.
- 19 Saprykin 1996, 218-219.
- 20 Gavrilov 2004b, 20.
- 21 Cf. Saprykin 1996, 243, 280.
- 22 Vinogradov 1991, 26.
- 23 Koltuchov 1999, 23; Gavrilov 2004b, 37.
- 24 Gavrilov 2004b, 34, fig. 79.1-8; cf. Cecchladze 1992, 103, fig. 7.1-5.
- 25 Vnukov & Cecchladze 1991, 175.
- 26 Korpusova 1972, 48; 1980, 148.
- 27 Lancov 2003, 47.
- 28 Maslennikov 1998, 180.
- 29 Communication of I.V. Šonov.
- 30 Anochin 1999, 108.
- 31 Saprykin 1996, 191.
- 32 Cf. Hellmann 1982, 75; Anochin & Rolle 1998, 837.
- 33 Saprykin 1996, 171, 180-181.
- 34 Golenko 1964, 61.
- 35 Saprykin 1996, 182.
- 36 Saprykin 1996, 177.
- 37 Saprykin 1996, 179.
- 38 Anochin 1986, no. 212.
- 39 Cf. Saprykin 1996, 217, 227.
- 40 Frolova & Maslennikov 1994, 186; Saprykin 1996, 179.
- 41 Anochin 1999, 109.
- 42 Saprykin 1996, 182, 244.
- 43 Golenko & Maslennikov 1987, 51-52; Maslennikov 1998, 128.
- 44 Cf. Saprykin 1996, 318; 2002, 219.
- 45 Golenko 1966, 142, 149; Zograph 1951; Karyškovskij 1988; Frolova & Ireland 1999; Imhoof-Blumer 1912, 169-192; Malloy 1970; Head 1963.

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Abbreviation

- IOSPE B. Latyshev 1885-1916. *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*. Petropolis (reprint Hildesheim 1965).
- RGAM W.H. Waddington, E. Babelon, & Th. Reinach 1904-1912. *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*. Paris.