

The Greeks and Romans in  
the Black Sea  
and the Importance of  
the Pontic Region for the Graeco-  
Roman World (7th century BC-  
5th century AD): 20 Years On  
(1997-2017)

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dedicated to Prof. Sir John Boardman to  
celebrate his exceptional achievements  
and his 90th Birthday

edited by

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and James Hargrave

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## Principal Editor's Preface and Acknowledgments

First of all, may I express my gratitude to all the participants in the Constanța Congress for presenting papers (oral and poster). The Proceedings have been a challenge to assemble thanks to the sheer quantity of papers. Let me thank all those participants who have provided papers for publication. The editing of contributions to achieve (it is hoped) a high degree of consistency takes time, bearing in mind the need to unify styles, check footnotes and bibliographies, seek clarifications from authors and to make suggestions for the improvement of particular papers, etc. My co-editors deserve thanks for shouldering a large burden. We are sincerely grateful to David Davison, Rajka Makjanić and their colleagues at Archaeopress for agreeing to publish these Proceedings, for their technical help and their speedy production of the printed volume. It was a great pleasure that David Davison was able to attend in person and display a selection of Archaeopress's publications.

Much hard work goes on behind the scenes, both before and during the Congress. Thanks are due and most willingly given for their assistance, participation and support to Dr Traian Cliante (the then Director of the Museum of National History and Archaeology at Constanța), Dr Irina Sodoleanu (from the Museum, who cheerfully bore day-to-day responsibility for events in Constanța), Prof. Mircea Dumitru (Rector of the University of Bucharest, who provided a stimulating defence of a Liberal Arts education during the opening proceedings), Prof. Vlad Nistor (President of the Senate of the University from Bucharest), Assoc. Prof. Emanuel Plopeanu (Dean of the

Faculty of History and Political Sciences of Ovidius University in Constanța, which played host to the congress) and Dr Mircea Angelescu (Ministry of Culture and Archaeological Institute at Bucharest). In this regard, I should also like to thank my co-editors Prof. Alexandru Avram and Dr James Hargrave (both of whom read papers on behalf of absent colleagues and helped in numerous other ways), to the teams of student helpers from Ovidius University, and to the representatives of Expolitoral Turism (who organised accommodation and excursions).

Although the volume contains contributions in French and German, English predominates, thus various English-language typographical practices have been employed throughout. I hope that the authors of papers in other languages will show their forbearance.

The appendices contain the programme and the abstracts submitted. Inevitably, there are minor differences between some of the titles given there and those of the final version of the papers published in the body of the volume, just as some of those who sent abstracts were ultimately unable to attend, and some of those who attended and gave papers did not submit them for publication in this volume. The published papers have been arranged to accord with the Congress sessions, giving some structure to this large volume and easing cross-referencing with Appendix 1; the abstracts in Appendix 2 are strictly alphabetical by principal author.

Gocha R. Tsetsckhladze

## Message from the President of the International Organising Committee

It would be fair to say that the virtual explosion of interest in Black Sea studies which scholars have enjoyed over the last generation owes much if not everything to the series of conferences and many publications inspired by the organisation which brings you together here today, and notably to Gocha Tsetskhladze, whose foresight and tireless energy have ensured that knowledge of the archaeology of Black Sea countries and their neighbours is as well documented as most in the classical world and outside it. And to this he has added the remarkable journal, *Ancient West and East*, which is by now a worldwide treasure for its articles and reviews, as well as the *Colloquia*.

My first visit to Romania was many years ago, under a different regime. It was a magnificent opportunity to travel the country and its archaeological sites in the company of Sir Ian Richmond and local scholars. Then, and in later visits to conferences, we were regaled with scholarly papers on archaeology and visits to memorable sites. It certainly expanded and concentrated my knowledge of the area and must have done the same for many scholars. Archaeology today has learned not to be too parochial, and we learn both from what has been found in distant places

and from the techniques of scholarship that have been employed to publish and explain them. At last we view Eurasia as an entity and can see what the steppes and the East have contributed to European civilisation and what we fondly call Classical culture. By now neither Scotland nor China seem totally irrelevant, and the Black Sea is an important pivot. Yet the old disciplines are still important – classification by style or subject, accurate reproduction by whatever means of appearance – scientific analysis. The computer age has added possibilities of universal record undreamed of in earlier years, but also, by its very richness, the possibility of confusion. Most of all, ease of travel (though times are difficult today) has opened the world to personal inspection.

Unfortunately I cannot be with you today, but can envy you the possibility of renewing friendships, making new ones, and enjoying together the satisfaction that sharing knowledge, proposing new solutions, and the many other advances in scholarship always bring.

Personally, I am deeply honoured by finding that this Congress has been dedicated to me. I am indebted to you all.

John Boardman



## Welcome by the Secretary-General

It is a great pleasure to see that we are still meeting, now 20 years since the first of these congresses.

It was in 1995, during my first visit to Bucharest, that in discussion with Prof. A. Avram, with whom I was staying (we had corresponded but hitherto not met), conversation turned to the possibility of organising some event in which all Black Sea scholars from West and East could participate. These discussions continued the following day in the office of the late Prof. P. Alexandrescu, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest. The idea of holding a Black Sea congress, or Pontic congress as it was first called, was born there.

I shared this idea with Prof. Sir John Boardman upon my return to Britain. He showed a keen interest and promised to support it in any way he could. Moreover, he willingly agreed to become President of the International Organising Committee. Step by step prominent Black Sea scholars from West and East supported the idea and joined the committee.

Of course, we wanted to hold the first congress in Romania, but circumstances did not permit it. Instead, at the suggestion of the late Prof. A. Fol and through his enormous help and energy, it took place in 1997 in Varna, Bulgaria. The enthusiastic response of the many people who attended that congress suggested that we should hold more: the committee met and decided that future congresses should be held every four years, each in a different country. Archaeopress in Oxford agree to publish the volumes of proceedings,

I am sure that many believed that the first congress would be the last. Even I had my doubts. But four years later we met

again in Ankara, then in 2005 in Prague, 2009 in Istanbul and 2013 in Belgrade.

I hope that we shall be able to come together to celebrate 40 years of the congress, not a mere 20. In those 20 years we have lost several Black Sea colleagues who were members of the initial committee and instrumental in getting the congress off the ground: first of all, Prof. Alexandrescu, then Prof. Fol, without whom the idea would have been stillborn; and Dr M. Lazarov, Dr J. Hind, Prof. H. Heinen, Prof. A. Wasowicz and Prof. O. Lordkipanidze (and latterly Prof. J. Bouzek, in October 2020). They were not just fine scholars but caring individuals. We all are very grateful to them.

With the present congress we are celebrating not only 20 years, and finally holding it in Romania, but the 90th birthday of our President, Prof. Sir John Boardman. Unfortunately, he cannot be present. Sir John was one of the first Western Classical scholars to visit Eastern Europe in the 1950s, leading to a number of friendships with scholars, especially Prof. Alexandrescu and people at the Hermitage. He contributed a survey of 'Greek Archaeology on the Shore of the Black Sea' to *Archaeological Reports for 1962-63*. No words of gratitude are sufficient to express our debt for his help. As with all new projects, the road was sometimes rocky. His support was strong and his advice unfailingly wise.

We chose the subject of this conference deliberately to be the same as the that of the first, enabling us to focus on what has happened in the years since Varna, and to see what positive input the existence of this series of congresses has made.

It is my great pleasure to welcome all of you to our sixth congress. I wish you a successful time, and a pleasant stay in our host city, beautiful Constanța.

Gocha R. Tsetsckhladze

# Strabo's 'Old Chersonesus' in historiography and in the light of current research

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## Abstract

The city of Chersonesus and especially its *chora* render the research of this *polis* imperative. A comprehensive description of the *chora*'s sites makes possible the presentation of Chersonesus as a model of the Greek city-state. 'Old Chersonesus' mentioned by Strabo is a specific object of the ancient *chora* and to a certain extent appears to be key to understanding its structure. This paper deals with the main problems of the historiography of 'Old Chersonesus' and offers a solution to a number of controversial issues related to the structure and purpose of this site.

Chersonesus as a city is one of the many significant sites of the ancient world, but it is its *chora* that makes Chersonesus particularly interesting. The agricultural territory of Chersonesus remained intact up to the 1990s. The study of the *chora* of Chersonesus is particularly important because acquiring control over territory and dividing it among the citizens was the most important stage in establishing *apoikiai*. If the sites and monuments of the *chora* are going to be studied and described in detail, Chersonesus can be regarded as the epitome, the ideal model of the Greek *polis*.

Strabo (7. 4. 2) gives the following account of 'Old Chersonesus' (ἡ παλαιὰ Χερρόνησος):

...next in order as one sails along the coast is a great cape which projects towards the south and is a part of the Chersonesus as a whole; and on this cape is situated a city of the Heracleotae, a colony of the Heracleotae who live on the Pontus, and this place itself is called Chersonesus, being distant as one sails along the coast four thousand four hundred stadia from the Tyras. In this city is the temple of the Parthenos, a certain deity; and the cape which is in front of the city, at a distance of one hundred stadia, is also named after this deity, for it is called the Parthenium <...>. Between the city and the cape are three harbours. Then comes the Old Chersonesus, which has been razed to the ground; and after it comes a narrow-mouthed harbour, where, generally speaking, the Tauri, a Scythian tribe, used to assemble their bands of pirates in order to attack all who fled thither for refuge. It is called Symbolon Limen. This harbour forms with another harbour called Ctenus Limen an isthmus forty stadia in width; and this is the isthmus that encloses the Little Chersonesus, which, as I was saying, is a part of the Great Chersonesus and has on it the city of Chersonesus, which bears the same name as the peninsula.

In this text the term χερρόνησος refers to three geographical locations. 'The Great Chersonesus' or 'Chersonesus as a whole' (ἡ μεγάλη χερρόνησος) is the entire Crimean Peninsula; the 'great cape' (ἄκρα μεγάλη) or the 'Little Chersonesus' (ἡ μικρὰ χερρόνησος), i.e. the Heracleian Peninsula (μέρος... τῆς ὅλης χερρονήσου) is one of its parts (Figure 1). Chersonesus, the city of the Heracleotae and the 'Old Chersonesus that has been razed to the ground' (ἡ παλαιὰ Χερρόνησος κατεσκαμμένη)

were located here. The latter site came to be called Strabo's Chersonesus (Figure 2).

Although the existence of the 'Old Chersonesus' can be confirmed archaeologically, Strabo does not explain what 'Old Chersonesus' used to be; nor does he mention the time of its foundation and destruction, or its relationship to the other Chersonesus, i.e. the city of the Heracleotae. Consequently, issues such as the localisation of 'Old Chersonesus', its chronology and purpose, the temporal relationship between the two Chersonesuses (which was founded earlier, or whether they were founded simultaneously) arose. These issues make up the problem of Strabo's 'Old Chersonesus'.<sup>1</sup>

In the historiography of Chersonesus, it was assumed that the localisation of Old Chersonesus was established by Pallas in 1794.<sup>2</sup> However, the interpretation of Strabo's account of the two Chersonesuses was first given by Hablitz in 1786.<sup>3</sup> He considered it noteworthy that Strabo mentioned two cities, of which the one located closer to Symbolon Limen was already destroyed in his time, whereas the second, still existing at the time, was situated in the place that was being described.<sup>4</sup> By the early 20th century, based on studies by A.L. Berthier-Delagarde,<sup>5</sup> Old Chersonesus came to be identified as the fortification on the isthmus of Lighthouse/Mayachnyi Peninsula/Promontory, which resolved the issue of the localisation of Old Chersonesus. During the 20th century, the problem of Old Chersonesus was touched upon in a number of studies.<sup>6</sup>

Old Chersonesus is a series of constructions – the Stronghold – on the Lighthouse Promontory, which is the south-western end of the Heracleian Peninsula (Figure 3). The Lighthouse Promontory was linked to the mainland by an isthmus ca. 760 m wide, rising over surrounding territory. The Stronghold on the isthmus is a prime example of how ancient Greeks chose

<sup>1</sup> Zedgenidze 2015a.

<sup>2</sup> Shcheglov 1995, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Hablitz 1803. This study was presented to Catherine II in 1786 but was not published at once because of the war with Turkey. It was published in 1803 (see Zedgenidze 2014; 2015b, 50).

<sup>4</sup> Hablitz 1803, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Berthier-Delagarde 1907, 190.

<sup>6</sup> Strzhletsy 1953; Shcheglov 1993, 14; 1994: 8-14; Rogov 2005, 148-54; Zubar and Buiskikh 2006; Zedgenidze 2016.

Figure 1: Great Chersonesus, Crimean Peninsula. Smaller Chersonesus, Heracleian Peninsula.

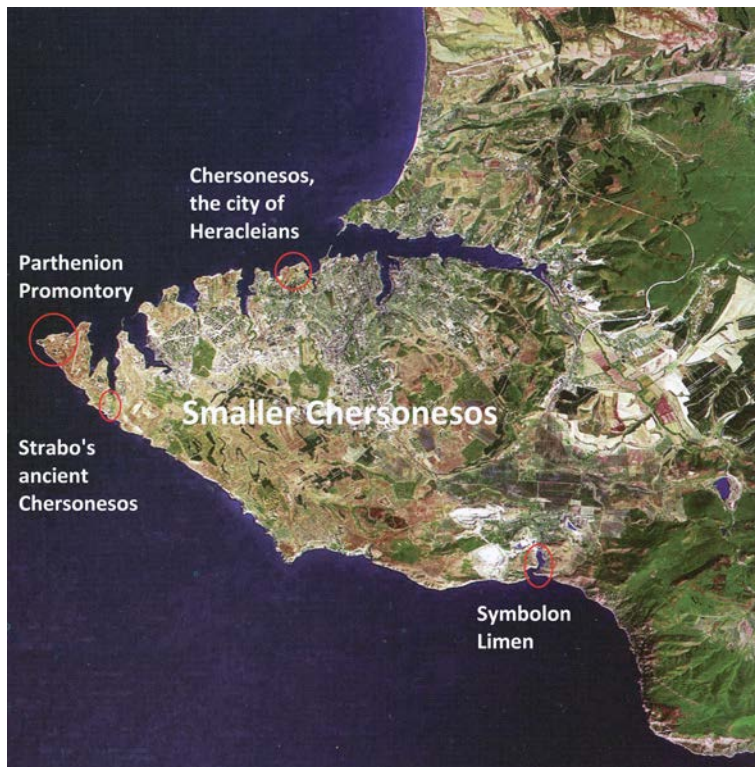


Figure 2: Heracleian Peninsula.

a strategically important location. Its eastern wall faces the Heracleian Peninsula with its towers, while the western one faces the Lighthouse Promontory. The area within these walls is 17.5 ha. The fortification walls, partly excavated, look like moderate elevations now. Nevertheless, the entire Heracleian Peninsula can be overlooked from one of them in clear weather; the Lighthouse Promontory is visible up to the lighthouse at its north-western extremity from the other. Beyond the western wall of the Stronghold is a territory of ca. 430 ha, which in antiquity was divided into land plots. Chersonesus, 'the city of Heracleotae', was situated 8.5 km straight ahead from the Stronghold.

Another issue is the purpose of the ancient constructions on the isthmus. According to J. Hind, this is one of the most complicated matters in the study of ancient Chersonesus.<sup>7</sup> There exist a number of hypotheses as to the purpose of the Stronghold. These can be grouped as: 1) a city;<sup>8</sup> 2) a fortified urbanistic settlement/a city-like settlement;<sup>9</sup> 3) the first outlying *teikhos*, outpost of Chersonesus;<sup>10</sup> 4) a military fortress with a settlement;<sup>11</sup> 5) a refuge for the rural population of the Heracleian Peninsula and the Lighthouse Promontory in case of attack;<sup>12</sup> 6) a *saster*;<sup>13</sup> 7) a stronghold to guard the nursery gardens on the peninsula;<sup>14</sup> 8) a stronghold to guard the lighthouse.<sup>15</sup>

These conjectures may create the impression that the site has been studied sufficiently; however, some of them were proposed before a solid factual base was obtained. The first and second hypotheses are untenable because they contradict the analysis of the spatial organisation of the Stronghold and the results of excavations. A city, among other things, is a centre of trade,

<sup>7</sup> Hind 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Hablitz 1803, 11; Berthier-Delagarde 1907, 190; Strzhletsii 1961, 41; Shcheglov 1976, 42; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 1991, 90; Rogov 2005, 151; Nikolaenko 2017, 186.

<sup>9</sup> Zubar and Buisikh 2006, 24.

<sup>10</sup> Shtern 1896, 99; Shcheglov 1986, 157; Vinogradov and Shcheglov 1990, 318; Saprykin 1994, 79.

<sup>11</sup> Demyanchuk and Nessel 2011, 65.

<sup>12</sup> Gaidukevich 1949; Zherebtsov 1985, 44; Hind 1998, 150.

<sup>13</sup> Hind 1998, 150.

<sup>14</sup> Nikolaenko 1997, 80.

<sup>15</sup> Nikolaenko 1996, 32; 2001, 191.





Figure 3: Lighthouse Peninsula (aerial photograph, 2000). Stronghold on the isthmus: 1. Western wall; 2. Eastern wall, 3. Excavation site.

craftsmanship and commerce,<sup>16</sup> whereas this Stronghold does not exhibit sufficient features that would make it possible to distinguish it as a centre of industry and trade and to contrast it with an agricultural territory. Shcheglov, who first supported this hypothesis, later rejected the definition of the Stronghold as a 'small town'.<sup>17</sup>

The hypothesis that the Stronghold represented the *saster* from the Oath of Chersonesites can be rejected in light of the recent study by I.A. Makarov.<sup>18</sup> This term, which is a *hapax*, occurred in the Oath in acc. sg. ΣΑΣΤΗΡΑ (*IOSPE* 1<sup>2</sup> 401). Makarov considers it to be a phonetic variant of the noun σακτήρ 'sack' in Hesychius (σακτήρος · θυλάκου) and relates it to the verb σάττω 'to fill, to stuff'.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the reconstructed meaning of σαστήρ in the Oath is 'sack for storing valuables' = 'polis treasury'.<sup>20</sup> Compared with the previous etymologies of this word, Makarov's solution looks more plausible, since it is based on attested Greek words, which, in turn, allows him to provide an etymology that follows the Greek language itself and avoids far-fetched reconstructions. One might wonder why such a rare word was used to refer to 'polis treasury' (rather than, for instance, κοινόν); in this case it is probably a term specific to the dialect of Chersonesus.

The idea about the guarding of gardens cannot be accepted, even as a very tentative hypothesis, because it is not supported by any factual material or analogies from Greek agricultural practice in other parts of the ancient world.<sup>21</sup> The guarding of the lighthouse is an explanation of one unidentified item through another, because a lighthouse dating back to ancient times has never been discovered on the Lighthouse Promontory.

Having considered all the hypotheses, one comes to the conclusion that the only satisfactory interpretation of the Stronghold on the isthmus is as a military settlement. An outpost, a fortress and a refuge can be regarded as hypotheses specifying this interpretation.<sup>22</sup> The existence of contradictory conjectures shows that a detailed study of the site was, and still is, necessary. The situation is complicated by the construction of a large coastal battery on the isthmus in the early 20th century and by the heavy damage that the isthmus suffered during the Second World War. The chaotic construction of residential cottages in the 1990s worsened the state of the site even further. No systematic study that would provide an integrated picture of ancient monuments of the isthmus was carried out up to the start of our excavations in 1985.

The central part of the Stronghold is the least studied, which is why it was decided to conduct there the archaeological investigation on which this research is based. In the course of excavations carried out in 1985-90, a stretch of the western fortification wall was discovered, and the date of its erection was established: the late 5th-early 4th century BC (Figure 4.5). The western façade of the wall consists of orthostates. As a result of the excavations, new data for the simultaneous construction of the eastern and western fortification walls was obtained, as well as about their loss of fortificatory significance by the late 4th century BC.<sup>23</sup> These dates are also supported by results of excavations carried out by S. Demyanchuk and V. Nessel on the isthmus. They have discovered a stretch of the eastern fortification wall that dates back to the late 5th-first half of the 4th century BC.<sup>24</sup> Earlier it was believed that the eastern fortification wall, i.e. the wall that defended the isthmus from the Heracleian Peninsula, was built first, and the western one, which

<sup>16</sup> Koshelenko 1979, 15.

<sup>17</sup> Shcheglov 1976, 44; 1994, 10.

<sup>18</sup> Makarov 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Compare κρατήρ and κεράννυμι, ζωστήρ and ζώννυμι.

<sup>20</sup> Makarov 2014, 23.

<sup>21</sup> Zubar 2007, 220.

<sup>22</sup> Zedgenidze 2015a, 51.

<sup>23</sup> Zedgenidze 2016, 599.

<sup>24</sup> Demyanchuk and Nessel 2011, 67, 70.

Figure 4: Western fortification wall. Internal façade. Empty space. View from the East.



Figure 5: Western fortress wall. Exterior façade. View from the west.

separated the isthmus from the Lighthouse Promontory, later.<sup>25</sup>

Next to the western wall an adjoining complex of constructions (Figure 6.1.2) was discovered. It consists of two blocks — northern and southern — each of which included a farmhouse and an empty space. The construction of this complex is dated to the beginning of the 4th century BC, and its destruction to the end of the same century. The structure of the excavated area points to its strategic function. The empty spaces in the northern and southern blocks can be explained as refuges for the occupants of the Lighthouse Promontory in time of danger (Figure 6.2).<sup>26</sup>

The data obtained in the excavations have helped us to understand the purpose of the Stronghold. They also

<sup>25</sup> Nikolaenko 1997, 79.

<sup>26</sup> My arguments in this regard, as well as a description of the materials discovered, are presented in Zedgenidze 2016.

demonstrated that the Stronghold could defend the land plots of the Lighthouse Promontory. Thus there was no need to build fortified farmsteads there, in contrast to the rest of the Heracleian Peninsula. However, it is likely that this was not the only purpose of the Stronghold. It had a strategic function in the course of the Chersonesite *polis*' acquiring control over the Heracleian Peninsula and served as an outpost of the *polis*, allowing it to encompass the territory between the Lighthouse Promontory and the city. There existed the task of describing the spatial organisation of the Stronghold and drawing up its plan. In the historiography of Chersonesus, a number of important observations as to the 'Old Chersonesus' were made by A.N. Shcheglov.<sup>27</sup> However, my excavations contradict some of his conclusions, particularly his explanation of the spatial structure of the Stronghold. The most recent plan of the Stronghold is his.<sup>28</sup> He drew on the sketches by Pechenkin of 1910 and 1911, Pechenkin's plans, both published and archival, the compass survey by S. Nekrasov, the plan drawn by Raevskii in 1911 and the aerial photograph of 1961.<sup>29</sup> In some studies

Shcheglov's plan is accepted without demur;<sup>30</sup> however, it needs certain refining. It shows the Stronghold on the isthmus made by two parallel lines of fortification walls with towers and divided into four sections by transverse walls. Excavated structures are mapped with definite and approximate locations. One should note that initially Shcheglov described the Stronghold on the isthmus as a city and wrote about its three parts, not indicating the transverse walls that divided these parts.<sup>31</sup> This division was quite natural: the elevated western part was the Acropolis, the middle part was a housing area and the Eastern part — near the bay — was a harbour. Later, Shcheglov came to the conclusion that the Stronghold was divided into four, not three, sections. This was because

<sup>27</sup> Shcheglov 1993; 1994.

<sup>28</sup> Shcheglov 1994, fig. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Shcheglov 1994, 17.

<sup>30</sup> Nessel *et al.* 2008, fig. 1; Zubar 2007, fig. 113; Demyanchuk and Nessel 2011, figs. 1, 2; Nessel and Demyanchuk 2015, 56.

<sup>31</sup> Shcheglov 1976, 42.



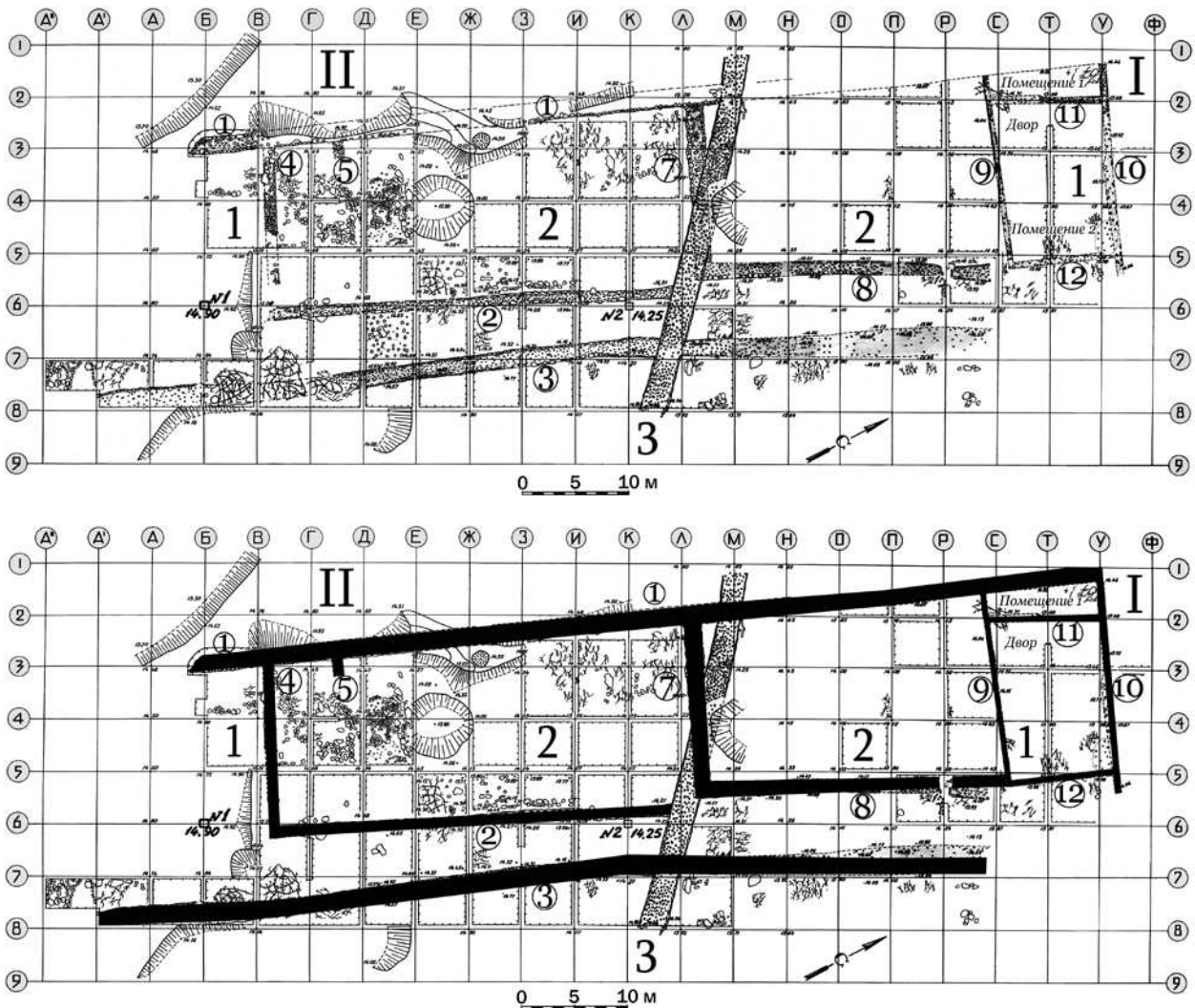


Figure 6: 1. Strabo's 'Old Chersonesus'. Excavations of 1985-90. General plan. 2. Reconstructed plan of complex of buildings of the late 5th-4th centuries BC. I. Northern block; II. Southern block. 1. Farmsteads; 2. Empty spaces; 3. Road of the 19th centuries; ①, ②, ③ etc. Wall numbers.

of his new interpretation of the purpose of the second and third sections as standard agricultural plots (similar in size: 4.5 ha), as well as the presence of farmhouses on the plots into which the territory of the Lighthouse Promontory was divided. According to Shcheglov, the transverse walls of the second and third sections were the continuation of the dividing walls of the peninsula.<sup>32</sup> The result of this view was one more interpretation of the Stronghold, namely the use of its central part as an agricultural territory.

Because the basis of this study does not coincide with the interpretation of the Stronghold as an agricultural territory, maps, plans and aerial photographs of the Heracleian Peninsula, particularly the maps of 1786 (which were drawn in the period when the monuments of the Heracleian Peninsula were in their best condition) were addressed; later, the territory of the peninsula became gradually covered with housing and military developments, which more and more obscured the system of ancient remains, inevitably making all later plans more distant from the original state. First, one should take into account the map kept in the archive of the

Museum of Chersonesus. It is marked: 'Drawn and compiled by Surveyor Second Lieutenant Anany Strulov' (Figure 7.1). The next map, drawn by Pepelev and signed by Hablitz was published by I.V. Tunkina<sup>33</sup> (Figure 7.2). Metropolitan Evgenii (Bolkhovitinov)<sup>34</sup> is credited with the publication of one of the maps of 1786 (Figure 7.3).<sup>35</sup> This map shows the remains of the ancient system of land division; it became the base for all subsequent archaeological studies of the Heracleian Peninsula. Its quality is very high; its tenability was confirmed in the 20th century. Thus, S.F. Strzheletskii pointed out its precision in indicating the land-division scheme. This scheme was checked in an area of ca. 2000 ha between Streletskaia Bay and Lighthouse Promontory and was used as a basis for the plans published by Strzheletskii.<sup>36</sup> The map of 1786 was also checked against the aerial photograph of 1961.<sup>37</sup>

These early maps – Strulov's, Pepelev's and that published by Metropolitan Evgenii – show the ancient system of land

<sup>32</sup> Shcheglov 1994, 17-22.

<sup>33</sup> Tunkina 2002, 485, fig. 126.

<sup>34</sup> Evgenii 1822, 145-57; 1828 (supplement).

<sup>35</sup> Zedgenidze 2014, 156; 2015b.

<sup>36</sup> Strzheletskii 1961, 7, 181-82, figs. 19-20.

<sup>37</sup> Shcheglov 1993, 52.



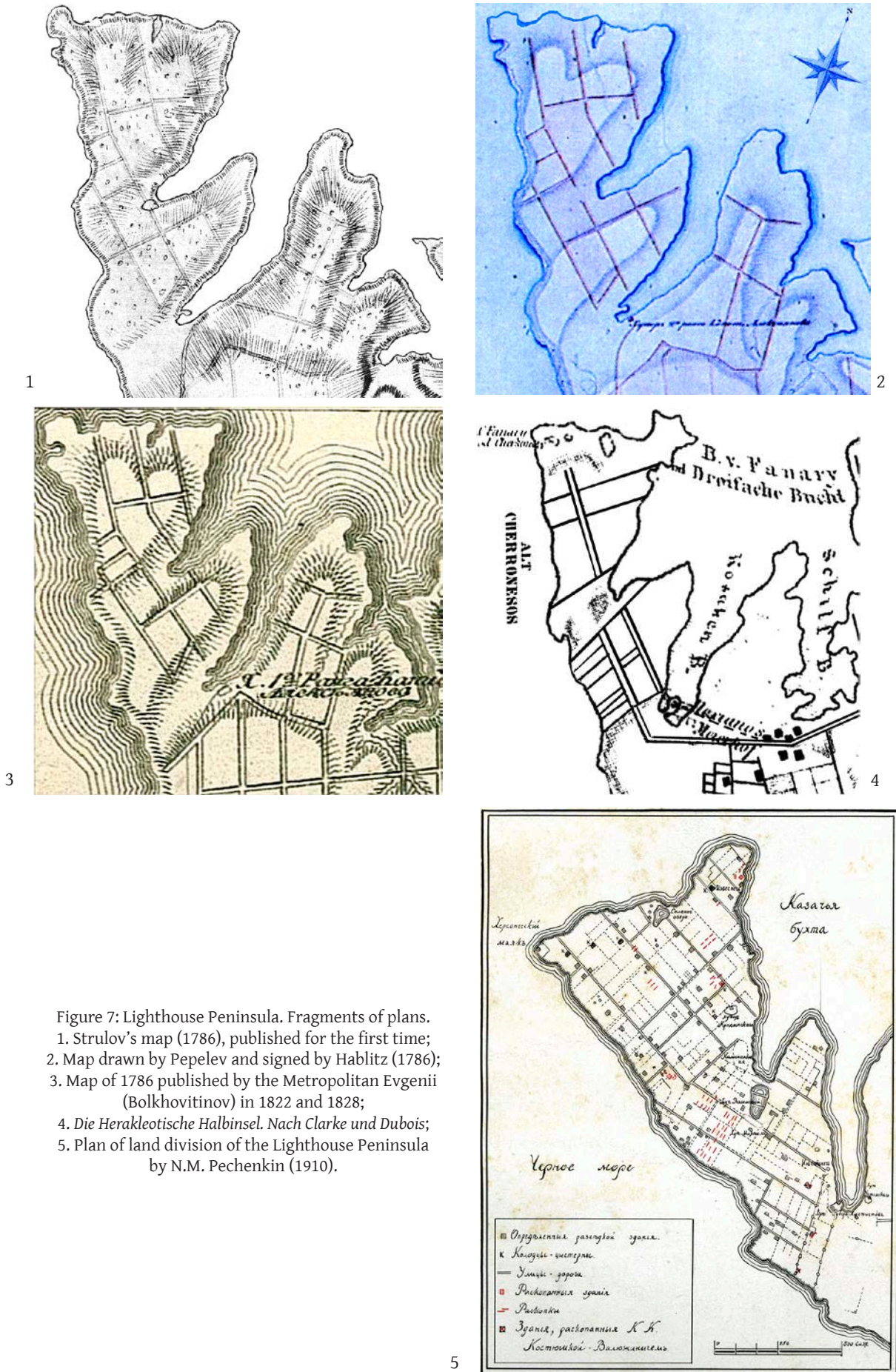


Figure 7: Lighthouse Peninsula. Fragments of plans.  
 1. Strulov's map (1786), published for the first time;  
 2. Map drawn by Pepelev and signed by Hablitz (1786);  
 3. Map of 1786 published by the Metropolitan Evgenii (Bolkhovitinov) in 1822 and 1828;  
 4. Die Herakleotische Halbinsel. Nach Clarke und Dubois;  
 5. Plan of land division of the Lighthouse Peninsula by N.M. Pechenkin (1910).





Figure 8: Southern part of the Lighthouse Peninsula. Aerial photograph, 1943.

division of the Heracleian Peninsula, which was divided into plots by a network of intersecting lines. However, in none of the maps do these lines spread onto the isthmus of the Lighthouse Promontory, i.e. onto the territory of the Stronghold. In a later map – *Die Herakleotische Halbinsel. Nach Clarke und Dubois* – the dividing lines reach the isthmus, but do not continue onto its territory (Figure 7.4).<sup>38</sup> The plan of land division of the Lighthouse Promontory was published by N.M. Pechenkin (Figure 7.5).<sup>39</sup> It shows the fortification walls on the isthmus (western and eastern) as well as the towers. Within the walls dotted lines are drawn, one of which continues the main road, while the other connects the towers of the walls and is not parallel to the road. It is clearly visible that the plots on the promontory reach the western wall and stop there. Very good preservation of the walls dividing the plots is shown in the aerial photograph of 1943, where it is again seen that these walls do not cover the isthmus (Figure 8). In light of this data, it is impossible to hold with Shcheglov's statement that the central part of the Stronghold was an agricultural territory divided into land plots.

Let us now turn to the results of the excavations. In 1911, Pechenkin excavated a complex of constructions near Tower V of the western fortification wall, so-called House 5. Shcheglov claims that the compartment of the Stronghold where House 5 was situated (in Shcheglov's plan, compartment no. 2) was covered by vineyard walls common to the Heracleian and Lighthouse Peninsulae, while the second and third compartments made up an agricultural territory, and each of these compartments had one complex of constructions, a 'farmhouse'.<sup>40</sup> However, in the course of excavations in 1985–90, two blocks of constructions were discovered (see above) in compartment no. 2 (in Shcheglov's numbering); each of them comprised a farmhouse and an empty space (Figure 6.1-2).<sup>41</sup> The excavated remains in compartment no. 2 as well as House 5 discovered by Pechenkin allow us to identify three adjacent complexes of buildings situated along the fortification wall. This contradicts Shcheglov's claim that this compartment represented an agricultural territory with one farmstead, vineyard walls and partition walls of internal land division. V.M. Ivanov also disagrees with Shcheglov's explanation of the purpose of the second and third compartments as

<sup>38</sup> Neuman 1855, plan between pp. 386 and 387.

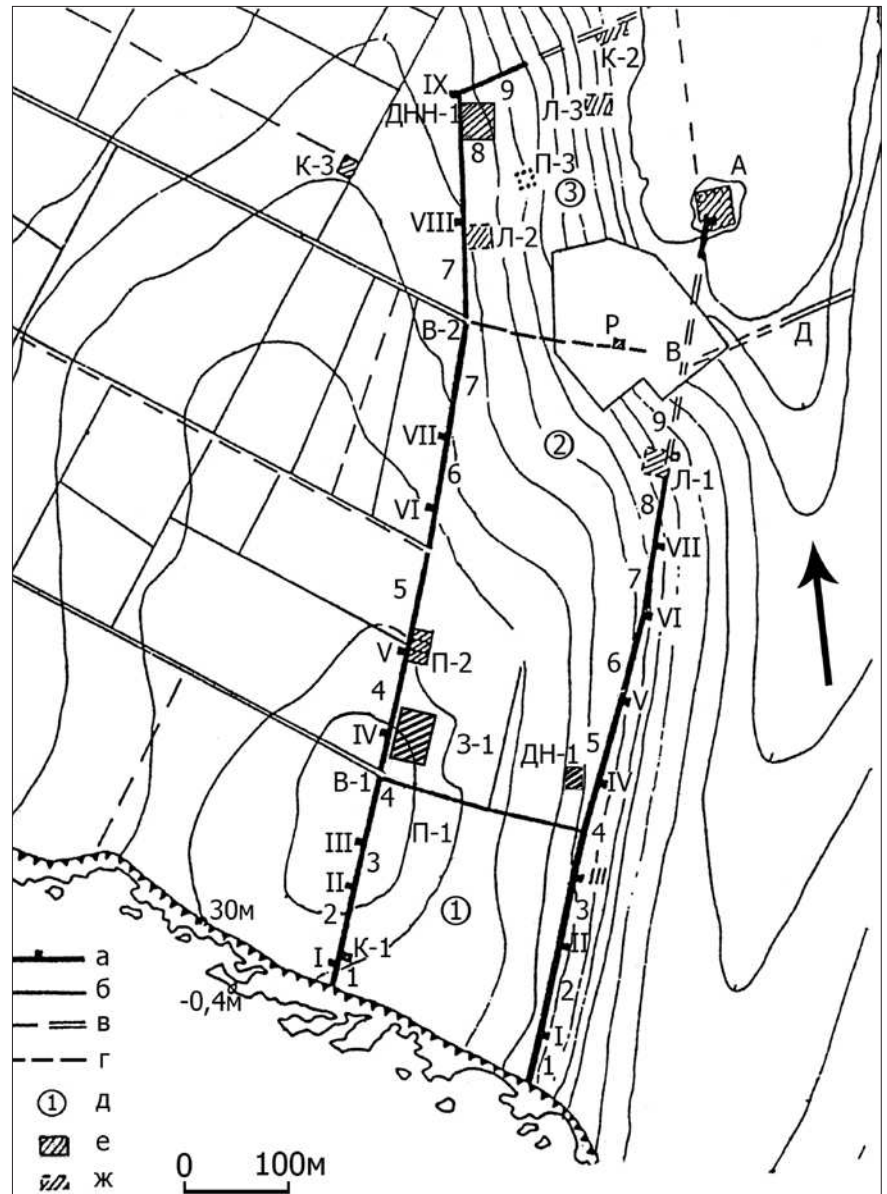
<sup>39</sup> Pechenkin 1911, table III.

<sup>40</sup> Shcheglov 1994, 19, 22.

<sup>41</sup> Zedgenidze 2016, 606.



Figure 9: Plan of the Stronghold on the isthmus of the Lighthouse Peninsula. a – fortification walls (Eastern and Western); б – transverse wall; в – land-division walls; г – roads; д – ①: Acropolis, ②: central part, ③: harbour area; е, ж – excavated complexes of constructions with definite (е) and approximate localisations (ж). Capital letters refer to places of excavations: Д Н Н – Demyanchuk, Nessel, Nikolaenko; 3 – Zedgenidze; К – Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich; Л – Loeper; П – Pechenkin.



agricultural areas and points out that if the Greeks had allotted half the territory of the Stronghold to vineyards (as Shcheglov thought), this would have clearly contradicted the principles of Greek fortification.<sup>42</sup>

The accumulated evidence shows that only the south-western elevated part of the isthmus was separated by a transverse wall. This wall was integrated into the fortification system of the Stronghold and separated the Acropolis from the territory below (which had habitable buildings and other constructions). The bay below the Acropolis was suitable for use as a harbour, which was one of the factors in choosing this area by the polis for building the Stronghold.

In drawing up the current plan of the Stronghold (Figure 9) the plan by Shcheglov discussed above was used and refined in the light of recent research. The plan developed in this study shows the system of fortifications located in the territory

between the most elevated part of the isthmus, which is constituted by the steep coastline in the south-west (25-30 m above the sea) and the upper end of the Cossack Bay in the north-west. Two parallel lines of fortification walls described above defend the Stronghold. The distance between the walls is ca. 210 m. The minimum length of the Stronghold from open sea in the south-west to the upper end of the bay in the north-west is ca. 740 m; the maximum length along the axis is 900 m; the overall surface is ca. 17.5 ha; the area separated by the transverse wall, i.e. the Acropolis, is 4.5 ha.

The date of construction of the fortification system of the Stronghold is the late 5th-early 4th century BC. The walls of the Stronghold are built along the edges of the commanding heights of the isthmus of the Lighthouse Promontory; this follows the general logic of fortification. The territory within the walls comprised several zones that had different functions. The Acropolis, free from habitable buildings, was defended by walls on three sides and by the coastal precipice on the fourth. The space below the Acropolis was used for dwellings.

<sup>42</sup> Ivanov 2005, 110.

Due to the lack of systematic excavations in the central part of the Stronghold, it is impossible to estimate the density and pattern of the buildings here and to gain an impression of other elements of the infrastructure. The harbour area was sufficiently defended against wind and wave; besides, the port was strengthened by a wall on a dam and by a tower on the islet in the upper end of the bay (Figure 9).

In the harbour area of the Stronghold, building remains have been excavated since 1996 under the guidance of G. Nikolaenko. This complex of constructions was named by its researchers the 'ancient settlement on the western coast of the Cossack Bay'; the site is important because of its well-preserved condition. Demyanchuk and Nessel have made public the coins and ritual constructions of this 'settlement';<sup>43</sup> however, a detailed description of the site, with a comprehensive plan and a summary of its stratigraphy and chronological periods as well as its material culture, is still missing. Such a study would be very desirable for a comparison of it with the contemporary complexes of the Stronghold and the *chora* of Chersonesus in general.<sup>44</sup> Excavations of the 'ancient settlement' have confirmed the assumption about a dense concentration of buildings in the harbour area of the Stronghold. It is now evident that the built-up area spread from the ninth stretch of the western fortification wall in the north-west to the road of the Stronghold that joined the main road leading to the city of Chersonesus (Figure 9).

Now there arises a question about the strategy that determined the layout of the Stronghold. One should pay attention to the transverse wall linking the eastern and western fortification walls. Its function was not restricted to the mere partitioning of the internal space of the Stronghold. The occupants of the 'Old Chersonesus' made use of a fortification layout, which allowed them to find refuge in the most elevated area of the isthmus; beside its elevated position, the coastal precipice defended this area.<sup>45</sup> Another advantage of this location is that it made it possible to keep in sight not only the whole territory of the Stronghold but also the plain of the Heracleian Peninsula on one side and the Lighthouse Promontory with its land plots and farmsteads on the other. The extent of this walled-off area within the Stronghold was ca. 4.5 hectares. Finally, the remarkable natural beauty of the location, with the elevation commanding the whole surrounding territory – majestic precipices, the steep coastline running up to the horizon, the mighty expanse of sky and sea – made the choice of this area as the Acropolis quite understandable.

As for the purpose of the Stronghold, the conclusion was reached that its Acropolis could house a garrison; in this case the Stronghold can be defined as *φρούριον*, i.e. a fortified area situated outside the city whose aim is to secure control over the territory originally occupied by barbarians, in this particular case by Tauri. Besides, this area could serve as a refuge for occupants of the Lighthouse Promontory in case of danger.<sup>46</sup> In this regard one should cite the honorific inscription (IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 418) that mentions the arrangement of a garrison by Agasikles (εἰσαγησαμένωι τὰν φρου[ρά]ν καὶ κατασκευάξαντι). Though this inscription is dated to

the late 4th-early 5th century, i.e. somewhat later than the construction of the Stronghold (which is the late 5th-early 4th century BC), the mention of *φρούριον* seems significant in the light of our hypothesis. The construction of the Stronghold on the isthmus of the Lighthouse Promontory allowed the *polis* to control the territory of the Heracleian Peninsula and marked the north-western boundary of the near *chora*. In the following period, when both the Heracleian and Lighthouse Peninsulae became covered by a network of land plots with farmhouses, the initial purpose of the Stronghold as a *φρούριον* could not remain, because there was no longer any need for an extensive system of fortifications within territory which was already under sufficient control (one should take into account the fact that farmhouses themselves were also fortified). This may be the reason for its state of destruction in Strabo's time: the constructions of the Stronghold might have been dismantled or had become dilapidated by then. In order to obtain a more detailed picture of the layout and fate of the Stronghold, excavations on the whole of its territory are necessary. However, it must be noted that the site was already derelict in antiquity. Study of the Stronghold in the system of the *chora* of Chersonesus will continue.

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<sup>43</sup> Demyanchuk et al. 2005; Nessel et al. 2006; 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Zubar 2007, 124.

<sup>45</sup> For similar fortification layout found in Greece, see Lawrence 1979, 32.

<sup>46</sup> For Greek parallels, see Lawrence 1979, 137-39.

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