

THE NORTHERN BLACK
SEA IN ANTIQUITY

NETWORKS, CONNECTIVITY, AND
CULTURAL INTERACTIONS

VALERIYA KOZLOVSKAYA



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107019515

DOI: 10.1017/9781139094702

© Valeriya Kozlovskaya 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Kozlovskaya, Valeriya, 1972–

Title: The Northern Black Sea in antiquity: networks, connectivity, and cultural interactions / Valeriya Kozlovskaya

Description: Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017003094 | ISBN 9781107019515 (hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: Black Sea Region – Antiquities. | Black Sea Region – History.

Classification: LCC DJK64 .N669 2017 | DDC 939/.5–dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017003094>

ISBN 978-1-107-01951-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Color Plates</i>	page ix
<i>List of Figures</i>	xi
<i>List of Maps</i>	xvii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xviii
<i>Preface</i>	xxi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxiv
INTRODUCTION: "PONTIC NETWORKS"	1
Valeriya Kozlovskaya	
1 THE GREEKS AND THE BLACK SEA: THE EARLIEST IDEAS ABOUT THE REGION AND THE BEGINNING OF COLONIZATION	7
Askold Ivantchik	
PART I	
HARBORS	
2 ANCIENT HARBORS OF THE NORTHWESTERN BLACK SEA COAST	29
Valeriya Kozlovskaya	
3 THE GEOLOGICAL CONTEXT FOR COASTAL ADAPTATION ALONG THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA (700 BCE–500 CE)	50
Ilya Buynevich	

PART II

OVERSEAS TRADE (BASED ON AMPHORA STUDIES)

- 4 OVERSEAS TRADE IN THE BLACK SEA REGION FROM
THE ARCHAIC TO THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD 59
Sergey Ĭ. Monakhov and Elena V. Kuznetsova
- 5 OVERSEAS TRADE IN THE BLACK SEA REGION AND
THE FORMATION OF THE PONTIC MARKET FROM
THE FIRST CENTURY BCE TO THE THIRD CENTURY CE 100
Sergey Ĭ. Vnukov

PART III

POLITICAL CULTURE

- 6 POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE CITIES OF THE
NORTHERN BLACK SEA REGION IN THE "LONG
HELLENISTIC AGE" (THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE) 141
Angelos Chaniotis

PART IV

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

- 7 THE LANGUAGE(S) OF IMAGES IN THE ARTS OF THE
BOSPORAN KINGDOM 169
Maya Muratov
- 8 LOCAL ARCHITECTURAL STYLES IN THE NORTHERN
BLACK SEA REGION (WITH A PARTICULAR FOCUS
ON THE IONIC ORDER) 192
Alla V. Buiskikh

PART V

THE SARMATIANS

- 9 THE SARMATIANS IN THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA
REGION (ON THE BASIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL) 233
Valentina I. Mordvintseva

Notes 284

References 318

Index 361

ANCIENT HARBORS OF THE NORTHWESTERN BLACK SEA COAST

Valeriya Kozlovskaya

“If we imagine a cartography based on the degree and nature of connectivity experienced by localities at a given time, tracing lines of equal connectivity in the manner of contours, and so delineating ‘connectivity gradients’, it would map a universe of waterborne communications comprising the Mediterranean and extending along rivers and through lagoons as coherent territory.”¹ This striking image drawn by Nicholas Purcell represents an approach to the study of coastal communities that reveals the interconnections within the complex system of micro- and macro-environments in a region. Recent scholarship on the ancient Mediterranean has increasingly adopted this approach;² but for some other parts of the ancient world, where the relevant evidence is less abundant, similar studies have yet to be undertaken.

The present chapter is an overview of what we currently know about ancient harbors on the Northwestern Black Sea coast and an attempt to reconstruct one part of the North Pontic regional maritime (and, to some extent, riverine) network. The overview considers not only large harbors associated with major coastal settlements, but also smaller ones and those that lay farther inland. However, it should be noted that the available evidence for the smaller harbors is very limited, mostly confined to stray archaeological finds, and rarely supported by any information from literary sources. Therefore, some of the inferences presented below are partly based on analogies and comparisons, and partly on general topographical and geological data and some other evidence

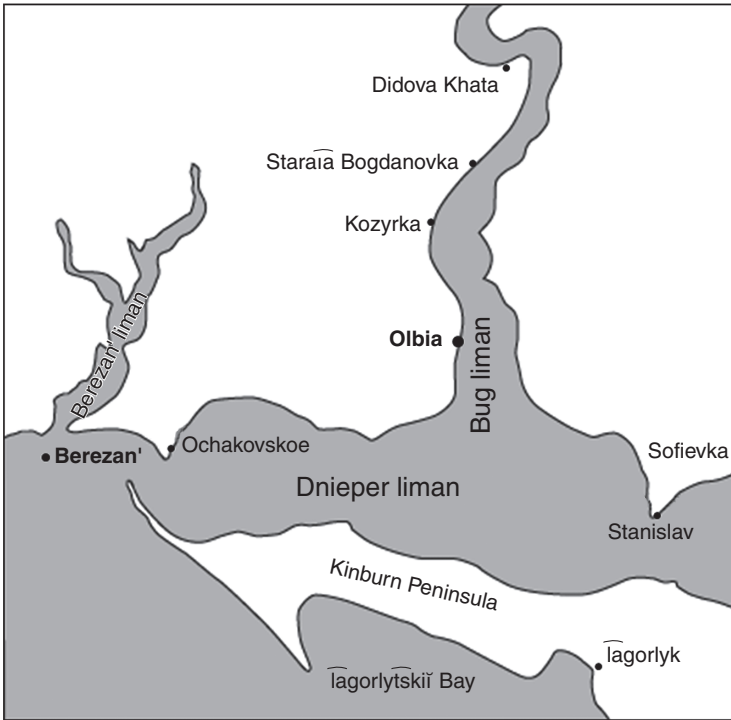


Fig. 2.1. The Lower Bug area (after Kryzhiŭskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, figs. 4, 9, 14).

that is often incomplete. Nevertheless, our conclusions demonstrate clearly and unequivocally that ancient harbors in the Northern Black Sea, very much like those in the Mediterranean, did “obey a regional logic” and “cannot be understood as solitary and fixed points.”³

The scope of this chapter does not allow a detailed presentation of the entire North Pontic coast; it focuses only on its northwestern part, examining local harbors in their relation to each other within the regional system of short- and long-range communications and in the broader context of the development of the entire Northern Black Sea littoral. The northwestern part of the Northern Black Sea provides a perfect case study, in this respect, partly because it has proven rather suitable for underwater investigations,⁴ but mostly because it has been explored more thoroughly and systematically than many other parts of the North Pontic coast.

The most prominent ancient site in the Northwestern Black Sea region is the site of Olbia, a Greek colony founded on the right bank of the Bug liman (ancient Hypanis), near its confluence with the Dnieper liman (ancient Borysthenes) (Fig. 2.1) no later than the second quarter of the sixth century BCE, but possibly as early as the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth centuries BCE.⁵ For most of its existence, Olbia was the center of the larger Olbian *polis*. As previous research has shown, the city of Olbia had a

harbor that during the Classical and, especially, Hellenistic periods must have been comparable to major contemporaneous Mediterranean harbors, both in terms of structure and organization.⁶ The harbor of Olbia was undoubtedly the most important in the region, but there were numerous other, smaller harbors, which lacked any kind of special installations – a phenomenon well known throughout the Greco-Roman world.⁷ Most of these smaller harbors were linked to sites that were part of the Olbian *polis*, located not only in the immediate rural surroundings of Olbia (such as settlements of Olbia's *chora* and extra-urban sanctuaries under Olbia's patronage), but also in the more distant territories that may have been under Olbia's control at some point in antiquity.

HARBORS OF OLBIA'S *CHORA*

Waterways were essential for Olbia's communication with its *chora*. The earliest evidence for this is a graffito on a fragment of an amphora in the Fikellura style (inv. no. 0-69/232), dated from the middle to the third quarter of the sixth century BCE. This graffito attests that both people and materials (such as wood) traveled to a place called Hylaia and to other destinations in the Lower Dnieper area and back to Olbia by means of water.⁸ The rural settlements around Olbia were primarily situated on the shores of the limans or on the banks of the rivers.⁹ They formed a local network of waterborne communications, which, in turn, was a part of a larger regional network. Some places within Olbia's *chora* may have had special harbor facilities, such as moles, although the present evidence is rather scarce. The possible remains of ancient jetties have been found underwater near the sites of Staraiâ Bogdanovka and Kozyrka, and traces of a reportedly ancient pier made out of stone blocks have been detected near the site of Ochakovskoe (Fig. 2.1).¹⁰ The topography of the site of Sofievka also suggests that the ancient settlement located there consisted of two parts – the upper fortified one (Sofievka 2/Glubokaia Pristan') and the lower one with a harbor (Sofievka 1).¹¹ A stone anchor was found during a test excavation of this site, and two more during the excavations of the ancient settlement on the site of Stanislav 2, the last site on the right bank of the Dnieper liman before Sofievka (Fig. 2.1).¹²

While Olbia's harbor undoubtedly was the focal point of the local network, the statuses of the smaller harbors, the purposes they served, and the importance attached to each of them must have varied significantly. Many of them were probably used mainly for fishing, but some participated in commercial activities. Among the latter, the production center of Źagorlyk stands out (Fig. 2.1). It began to function in the early sixth century BCE, even before the first rural settlements emerged at the mouth of the Berezan' liman during the second quarter of the sixth century BCE.¹³ Conveniently located on the shore of Źagorlytskii Bay, the site must have offered excellent harboring opportunities

for Greek ships that were passing by. On the basis of the archaeological finds from Ĭagorlyk, it has been suggested that its advantageous location prompted the emergence of trade or exchange between local craftsmen and Greek merchants.¹⁴ The nature of this enterprise, however, was different from that of many other rural settlements in the area, because the local people who benefited from the natural setting of the production center were also the ones involved in the manufacturing of the items used in trade or exchange. In this case, the manufacturing component of the small harbor associated with the production center of Ĭagorlyk clearly prevailed over the service component. Once the production center stopped functioning (around the beginning of the fifth century BCE, at the latest),¹⁵ the commercial aspect of the harbor also lost its importance, which indicates that this particular harbor probably always played a subsidiary role in the local and, especially, regional network, despite its very favorable location.

The situation must have been completely different – if not indeed the opposite – in the case of settlements and their harbors that functioned as gateways, i.e., those that “controlled the point of contact between two rather strongly contrasted economic and social systems.”¹⁶ The site of Sofievka/GlubokaĬa Pristan’, already mentioned above, probably belonged to this category. It was the largest settlement of Olbia’s *chora* throughout the period from the end of the fifth to the third centuries BCE,¹⁷ located on the right bank of the Dnieper liman, near the mouth of the Dnieper, at the most eastern boundary of the Olbian *polis* and in the border zone between the territories of the latter and those of the barbarians (Fig. 2.1). This location and the fact that the site of Sofievka was the only fortified rural settlement of Olbia’s *chora* suggest its special status.¹⁸ Whether this status was in any way manifested in the appearance and structure of the harbor, we will never know; but the site clearly played a major role in the contacts between the Greeks and the barbarians.¹⁹ So, in this particular case “we can detach the idea of a gateway from that of a settlement,”²⁰ in the sense that the function of the site as a gateway and its contacts with the barbarians were primary, while the settlement itself was secondary. This may also explain why the site of Sofievka continued to function for almost another century (and so did the site of Stanislav, the second-most-distant point of Olbia’s *chora*, located on the right bank of the Dnieper liman just before Sofievka), after the majority of the rural settlements in the territory of the Olbian *polis* had ceased to exist around the middle of the third century BCE.²¹ The harbor (or harbors) associated with this site must have also stayed in use during that time, despite what happened to other rural settlements and small harbors in the area.

Koshary

In the other direction along the Northwestern Black Sea coast, to the southwest of Olbia, some remote settlements of Olbia’s *chora* may have been located

as far down the coast as halfway between Olbia and Odessa Bay, such as the ancient settlement excavated on the site of **Koshary** (Pl. I).²² The site is situated on the right bank of the Tiligul'skiĭ liman (ancient Aksiakos), on a high promontory above the silted delta of the liman, and encompasses the remains of a fortified settlement, accompanied by a necropolis and an open-air cult-complex, all dating from the end of the fifth to the second quarter of the third centuries BCE. In antiquity, a lower part of the city probably also existed outside the city walls, with a small harbor at the foot of the promontory. The excavated parts of the settlement display clear evidence for city planning, with the majority of the streets going towards the liman.²³ Amphora fragments comprise 70 to 80 percent of all the ceramic finds and represent primarily the production of Black Sea centers (mostly Herakleia, but also Sinope and Chersonesos) and Thasos, but also of other centers in the Aegean (Chios, Mende, Kos, Peparethos, Knidos, Akanthos, and Rhodes). A large number of pits used for grain-storage were also discovered in the territory of the settlement, both inside and outside the city walls.²⁴ The presence of these storage pits and the predominance of transport amphorae over any other category of ceramics indicate that the settlement was actively involved in trade. In this respect, the location of the site was most convenient: it gave access to the sea and was connected to the inland territories both via waterways, since it was situated on a river, and via land-routes, the existence of which has been deduced from aerial photographs.²⁵

Remains of other ancient settlements were discovered in the area,²⁶ including a fortified site located farther inland, also on a high promontory, on the same side of the Tiligul'skiĭ liman as the settlement of Koshary and contemporaneous with it. This site was briefly investigated in the 1950s, but since then it has been destroyed by natural causes, and its ruins are now submerged. According to the excavation reports, amphora fragments were the predominant category of the ceramic finds there as well.²⁷ These settlements may all have been involved in trade, one way or another: underwater explorations of the seabed along the opposite shore of the liman also revealed a concentration of Hellenistic amphora fragments and sherds of hand-made pottery near the mouth of the liman.²⁸ The harbor of Koshary probably served as the main harbor in the area and a transit point from where goods traveled farther inland along the river and land-routes. Moreover, it must have been the most important harbor in the entire territory between Olbia and Odessa Bay, where the next cluster of settlements was located.

HARBORS IN THE ODESSA BAY AREA

In his book on Odessa, Charles King wrote that around the city, “the water does not so much meet the land as complete it” and “the sea floor ... forms a continuation of the steppe.”²⁹ He was actually drawing an image of the

city of Odessa of more recent times, but it could be an equally perfect description of **Odessa Bay** in antiquity. He also wrote that “other modern cities on or near the Black Sea ... all have ancient pedigrees. Beneath modern concrete and asphalt lie Greek, Roman, and Byzantine ruins. But Odessa has none of this.”³⁰ This latter statement, however, is only true to a certain extent: ancient settlements and harbors located on the site of modern Odessa may or may not have been important regional centers, such as Olbia was, but the territory around Odessa Bay was, in any case, relatively densely populated. The remains of at least eight settlements dated to the Archaic period and at least twelve settlements dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods have been discovered in the area.³¹ Not all these sites have been equally well excavated, and much data is still missing, but some preliminary conclusions can be drawn at this point.

The first excavations in the area took place on the site of **Luzanovka**, located in the northern part of Odessa Bay at the mouth of the Kuīāl’niĭskii liman, on its left bank (Pl. I). Archaeologists established that the ancient settlement, discovered there in 1929, must have been in existence by the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century BCE, at the latest, and functioned until at least the second half or the end of the third century BCE. The excavations revealed considerable architectural remains, including those of walls and buildings with stone foundations.³² Amphorae comprised the absolute majority of finds from this site, and their numbers exceeded by many times the second-most-numerous group of ceramics, i.e., local hand-made pottery. According to Valentin Selinov, who excavated the site from 1937 to 1940, amphorae of the fourth to third century BCE were found *in situ* in several rooms.³³ On the basis of these finds, Selinov identified some structures as storage facilities for amphorae (excavations of 1930, 1937, and 1938) and grain (excavations of 1930 and 1938).³⁴ He also pointed out that a number of other ancient settlements must have existed on both banks of the Kuīāl’niĭskii liman, in close proximity to Luzanovka.³⁵

Some other sites have been excavated in the area, such as the remains of an ancient settlement (or settlements) on the **Primorskiĭ Boulevard in modern Odessa**³⁶ and a settlement (roughly contemporaneous with that at Luzanovka) located on the **eastern slope of Mount Zhevakhova** between the Khadzhibeĭskii and Kuīāl’niĭskii limans (Pl. I).³⁷ As in Luzanovka, fragments of amphorae and locally produced hand-made ware were the most numerous finds among the ceramic material from the site at Mount Zhevakhova.³⁸

Although the remains of possible storage facilities have been found only at Luzanovka, and no signs of harbor structures have been discovered at any of these sites, there is no doubt that more than one harbor must have functioned in the area. It is clear that virtually all these settlements were located either directly on the sea coast or on the shores of the two limans – Kuīāl’niĭskii and

Khadzhibeiskii.³⁹ Presently, these and other limans in the vicinities of Odessa, including the Tiligul'skii liman where the site of Koshary is located, are completely separated from the sea, but in antiquity this was not the case. Selinov discussed in his notes several sources that reported discoveries of ancient anchors in the waters of the Khadzhibeiskii and Kuial'nitskii limans. In particular, he quoted a report by Ernst fon-Shtern saying that "at some time in the past an ancient anchor was found in the Khadzhibeiskii liman, but its location is now unknown" and concluding that "this discovery proves that in antiquity Greek ships were able to sail into the liman."⁴⁰ Selinov also referred to a publication by Nikolaï Zagorovskii, who mentioned that several anchors had been found in the Khadzhibeiskii liman (the dates of the anchors are not specified) and that an anchor of a "Genoese" type had been recovered from the silt on the seabed of the Kuial'nitskii liman.⁴¹ Zagorovskii studied limans around Odessa in the 1920s and pointed out in another of his articles that a channel connecting the Tiligul'skii liman with the sea was still visible on some nineteenth-century administrative boundary maps of the region. He also drew attention to the presence of several small lakes and channels in the areas between the Tiligul'skii, Kuial'nitskii, and Khadzhibeiskii limans and the sea, which, according to him, was another indication that in the past these limans had been connected with the sea.⁴² In addition, Zagorovskii maintained that the entire steppe zone of this region had once been permeated by small rivers that no longer existed during his time.⁴³

Thus, in antiquity the Tiligul'skii, Kuial'nitskii, and Khadzhibeiskii limans had access to the sea and to the cabotage sea-route along the western coast that connected the southern shores of the Black Sea with the northern. We also know that even small rivers were navigable in antiquity and could have been used for transporting goods farther inland.⁴⁴ This means that in antiquity the limans in question were also part of the riverine network that provided direct access to local inland markets.⁴⁵ Therefore, the settlements and the harbors located on the shores of these limans must have served not only local traffic, but also as transit points and redistribution centers within the regional and interregional trading networks: they were not the final point of a cargo's destination – the goods were either transported farther inland or continued their way to other destinations along the Black Sea coast. It seems, however, that none of the settlements in the Odessa Bay area grew to become large harbor cities, despite their favorable location and the important role they played.⁴⁶ A number of factors may have been accountable for this. First of all, although several small rivers connected these settlements with their hinterland, as demonstrated above, there were no major rivers in the area, comparable to the Borysthenes, the Hypanis, or the Ister (modern Danube). Secondly, the nature of the relations between the settlements around Odessa Bay and the larger Greek cities farther north and south along

the coast is also not quite clear. For example, we still cannot be sure whether in antiquity the area in question was under the protectorate of Olbia or Tyras, another important Greek colony located farther down along the western Black Sea coast (Map 1). The widely accepted view that it was part of Tyras' territories has been repeatedly challenged; instead, it has been suggested that during the fourth to third century BCE and during the Roman period this area was under the direct control of Olbia.⁴⁷ In either case, the settlements around Odessa Bay were probably located in a buffer zone between the spheres of influence of the two major Greek colonies that contested the ownership of these territories. Such instability may have been another reason why many of the settlements established in the area only functioned for a rather short period of time, i.e., from the end of the fifth to the third centuries BCE. And finally, the fact that there were many coastal settlements and several harbors in this area must have stimulated competition between them for the same hinterland, thus preventing any specific settlement from becoming a major local or regional center.

Also, local harbors did not necessarily have to be associated with particular settlements. We find indirect evidence for this in ancient literary sources from the later period. Several of them mention the toponyms "harbor of the Istrians" and "harbor of the Isiakoi." Thus, Arrian in his *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, written during Hadrian's reign, describes the Black Sea coast between Olbia and the mouth of the Ister as follows (20.2–3):

On the Borysthenes, upstream, a Greek city, called Olbia, has been built. From the Borysthenes to a small island, deserted and nameless, is 60 stades. And from there to Odessos, 80. In Odessos there is a mooring for ships. After Odessos comes the harbour of the Istrians. It is 250 stades to there. After there comes the harbour of the Isiakoi. It is 50 stades to there. And from there to the mouth of the Ister called Ppsilon, 1,200. The stretch between is deserted and nameless.⁴⁸

The anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini* also mentions the "harbor of the Istrians" and the "harbor of the Iakoi," but indicates the distance between them as 90 stades (13v23–24 Diller = *FGrHist* 2037 F 90). Already in the nineteenth and early twentieth century numerous attempts were made to localize the "harbor of the Istrians" and the "harbor of the Isiakoi" on the coast of the Black Sea between the Tiligul'skii liman and Odessa Bay.⁴⁹ The exact locations of both "harbors" in antiquity are still a matter of dispute, but the majority of scholars place them in the territory of modern Odessa. However, these continuous attempts to identify the "harbor of the Isiakoi" with the settlement on the Primorskii Boulevard, among other sites, and the "harbor of the Istrians" with the settlements at Luzanovka, Mount Zhevakhova, or on the Primorskii Boulevard,⁵⁰ as well as with some other sites in the area,⁵¹ have been criticized as methodologically problematic. Indeed, while it is possible that in antiquity each of the

two toponyms was used in reference to a specific location in the territory of modern Odessa, there is no reason to think that they were necessarily associated with settlements – at least, not for the entire duration of their existence.⁵² It has been repeatedly pointed out that nowhere in the ancient sources are the corresponding locations called anything other than λιμένες, and therefore they should be viewed as such – harbors that were not a part of any particular settlement, but must have been used by everyone, serving the needs of the entire area.

HARBORS ATTACHED TO SANCTUARIES AND CULT SITES

Another category of ancient harbors includes those linked to extra-urban sanctuaries and cult sites. There seem to have been a number of such harbors in the Northwestern Black Sea region, and they too varied in structure, organization, and purposes. Of particular interest, in this respect, are shrines dedicated to Achilles: first of all, because for the entire pre-Roman period this cult is known to have existed in the Pontic region only on the northern coast of the Black Sea, with a particular prominence in its northwestern part;⁵³ and secondly, because of the significance of this cult for the political development of the Olbian *polis*.

Beikush and the Tendrovskaïa Spit

The sanctuary of Achilles at Beikush was probably the earliest in the area around Olbia, functioning from the second quarter of the sixth to the first third of the fifth centuries BCE.⁵⁴ The site is located on a cape at the confluence of the Berezan' and Beikush limans (Pl. I) and has been identified as an Archaic sanctuary of Achilles based on the archaeological material found there (graffiti, votive gifts, structures of a ritual character, etc.).⁵⁵ The data that could possibly shed light on the existence of a harbor at Beikush is very scarce. Underwater investigations suggested that in antiquity the cape probably stretched much farther in the southwestern direction.⁵⁶ Two primitive limestone anchors were found during excavations at Beikush in layers dated from the third quarter of the sixth to the first quarter of the fifth centuries BCE; one of these anchors was part of a small altar (no. 45).⁵⁷ A third limestone anchor was discovered in a pit (no. 97) filled with layers of ash and clay soil. The ash contained numerous fish bones and shells of soft-shell animals. The anchor was found *in situ* in a niche, dug out at the transition of the floor to the wall of the pit. It was placed on the top of a net weight, made out of a polished fragment of a red-clay amphora, bearing a graffito AXI.⁵⁸ The secondary usage of these anchors is similar to that attested in Olbia and Berezan' (although for a slightly later period),⁵⁹ and therefore suggests their sacred function. The

anchor found in a niche may have been used as a votive gift, probably dedicated by a local fisherman, judging from the accompanying fishnet weight. Another relevant group of finds from the site are representations of ships on pottery fragments. Particularly interesting is a depiction on the bottom of a black-glazed kylix from the third quarter of the sixth century BCE discovered during the 1985 excavation of complex no. 5. The graffito shows a ship with a ram and one row of oars and is probably the earliest drawing of a warship found in this region.⁶⁰

Other sites associated with the cult of Achilles may have been located on the Tendrovskaïa Spit and on the Kinburn Peninsula south of Olbia (Pl. I). Scholars almost unanimously identify the Tendrovskaïa Spit with Ἀχιλλεῖος δρόμος mentioned in several ancient literary sources as a place sacred to Achilles.⁶¹ There, the 1824 excavation of an ash hill on the northern tip of the spit revealed fragments of ancient ceramics and marble reliefs, dedicatory inscriptions, and hundreds of ancient coins.⁶² In 1984, underwater visual exploration was conducted along the coast of the spit; the majority of finds, however, still resulted from the surface examination of the shore and consisted mostly of marine-abraded amphora fragments, dating to the period between the sixth to fifth century BCE and the early centuries CE.⁶³ Although the earliest finds are from the Archaic period, everything that can be unequivocally interpreted as evidence for the existence of an extra-urban sanctuary of Achilles (such as epigraphic and numismatic material) dates to the later period – from the second century BCE to the fourth century CE.⁶⁴ The dedicatory inscriptions, in particular, have all been dated to the second century CE: two out of the five inscriptions found in the area mention Achilles (*IOSPE* I² 328; 329), one was dedicated by a κυβερνήτης (*IOSPE* I² 331), one by a ναύτης (*IOSPE* I² 332), and one was a token of gratitude for being rescued (*IOSPE* I² 330).⁶⁵ But even if the sanctuary on the Tendrovskaïa Spit came into existence as early as that at Beikush, it is not clear whether it was established by Olbia, as part of the Olbian *polis*, or emerged spontaneously, as an initiative of passing sailors. The latter seems more likely and must have been prompted by the presence of a convenient anchorage in the area.⁶⁶ Although underwater exploration did not reveal any traces of an ancient harbor there, Strabo mentions a mooring place.⁶⁷ In antiquity, this part of the sea was particularly dangerous,⁶⁸ and it is only natural that seafarers would have used the place in question both as a shelter and as a cult site dedicated to their patron. These functions did not necessarily require any special harbor structures or facilities beyond the presence of a simple anchorage.

The sanctuary at Beikush, on the other hand, must have been of a different nature. It served not only the needs of travelers, but also – or, rather, primarily – those of the local population, judging by the votive graffiti found at Beikush

and on the sites of the ancient settlements around it.⁶⁹ Most importantly, its emergence clearly followed the formation of the Olbian *polis* and roughly coincided with the appearance of other extra-urban sanctuaries, including those of Achilles, in the Northwestern Black Sea region.⁷⁰ Thus, for example, the existence of the cult of Achilles on the island of Berezan' is archaeologically attested from the Archaic period onwards, based on votive graffiti found there, mostly dating from the fifth to fourth century BCE.⁷¹

The Island of Leuke

The most significant center of the cult of Achilles, however, was the island of Leuke, located about 45 km from the mouth of the Danube (Map 1). The evidence for it comes from ancient literary sources, as well as from numerous finds of votive gifts and dedicatory inscriptions.⁷² Graffiti on fragments of East Greek ceramics dating from the second quarter to the middle of the sixth century BCE indicate that during that period the sanctuary must already have been in existence.⁷³ Its main architectural feature – a temple of Achilles – was erected about the middle or the second half of the sixth century BCE. Although no remains of the temple were preserved *in situ*, architectural terracotta pieces and other details, as well as traces of the possible foundations of the temple that were discovered and documented by earlier explorers,⁷⁴ allowed archaeologists to propose tentative reconstructions of this monumental structure.⁷⁵ At least from the sixth century BCE onwards, the island of Leuke was an important point on the maritime routes in the northwestern part of the Black Sea,⁷⁶ and the temple of Achilles, which was apparently built on the only elevated part of the island,⁷⁷ may have served as a navigational mark for the ships or even functioned as a lighthouse.⁷⁸

The underwater investigations undertaken in the vicinity of the island confirmed the existence of numerous ancient anchorages.⁷⁹ In 2011, a shipwrecked commercial vessel was discovered 650 m northwest of the island at depth of 34 m. Its cargo included more than 3,000 amphorae from Peparethos, dating to the fourth century BCE, as well as black-glazed fine wares.⁸⁰ Submerged ceramic material was also found in other places around the island – for example, along the shore of the North Bay. The main concentration of amphora fragments and roof tiles – a so-called amphora field (about 200 × 200 m) – was located in the central part of the area, the earliest pieces dating from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth centuries BCE. Remains of ancient anchors were found there as well.⁸¹ The entire assemblage of anchors recovered in the vicinity of the island is the largest in the North Pontic region.⁸²

Based on the results of these explorations, it has been suggested that in antiquity the island, most likely, had simple anchorages rather than a harbor (or

harbors) with any special facilities.⁸³ At first glance, this assumption seems reasonable, especially if we consider what categories of people visited the island.⁸⁴ According to Arrian, the visitors included, on the one hand, those who came specifically to the sanctuary and brought offerings, and, on the other hand, those who were just seeking a shelter from bad weather.⁸⁵ The needs of all these people could have been satisfied by a number of anchorages and did not necessarily require the existence of a well-equipped harbor. The same can be said for pirates, who either attacked passing ships, while using the island as their base, or plundered the sanctuary on the island, as attested by epigraphic evidence (*IOSPE* 1² 325).⁸⁶

However, the possibility that in antiquity a harbor with special structures and facilities may have existed on the island of Leuke should not be dismissed, for a number of reasons. First of all, one should consider the political significance of the site and the island for the Olbian *polis*. Most scholars agree that at least from the end of the fifth century BCE onwards the sanctuary on the island of Leuke was under the patronage of Olbia. Some suggest that Olbia was actually the founder of this sanctuary in the first place.⁸⁷ In either case, it is beyond doubt that the motives behind Olbia's interest in this sanctuary were political.⁸⁸ The relation between the idea of land possession and the establishment of extra-urban sanctuaries has long been demonstrated, both for Archaic Greece and for Greek colonies elsewhere.⁸⁹ In particular, the establishment of a hero cult in a new geographical area was instrumental in a colony's attempts to assert its sovereignty over the land where the hero supposedly lay buried.⁹⁰ In our case, the early rural sanctuaries of Achilles (along with some sanctuaries of other Greek deities) may have indicated the extent of Olbia's territories and marked the boundaries of the Archaic *polis*.⁹¹ Moreover, all the shrines to Achilles mentioned above emerged in key places that allowed the city to maintain control not only over the surrounding land, but also over local waterways, which, as we know, were vital for Olbia's communication with its *chora*. At the same time, Olbia may have also sought to affirm its presence in the more distant waters, by founding the sanctuary of Achilles on Leuke or extending its patronage to it. Since the island was located on important regional and interregional trade routes that crossed this part of the Pontus, establishing a protectorate over the sanctuary on Leuke allowed Olbia to claim regional supremacy and gain control over these routes and – ultimately – over the entire Northwestern Black Sea.⁹²

These developments took place during the early period in the history of the Olbian *polis*, which was characterized by relative instability, both economic and political, and ended in the disappearance of the majority of rural settlements in the area by the first third of the fifth century BCE.⁹³

Life on Olbia's *chora* resumed at the end of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth centuries BCE and reached its peak during the second half of the fourth to the middle of the third centuries BCE. The total number of known rural sites in the Lower Bug area dating to this period is over 150,⁹⁴ and some others may have been located farther down the Western Black Sea coast, such as the settlement of Koshary, discussed above.⁹⁵ The territorial growth of the rural surroundings, the increase in the number of the sites, and the fact that all but one (Sofievka 2/Glubokaia Pristan') of the settlements were unfortified indicate a rather stable development of the *chora* during this period.⁹⁶ This also suggests that Olbia's connections with its environs were relatively secure and that there was no need for the city to reinforce its position in the area. This may be one of the reasons why the sanctuary of Achilles at Beikush was not re-established after it had stopped functioning in the fifth century BCE. The layer dating to the period of prosperity of Olbia's *chora*, i.e., the second half of the fourth to the middle of the third centuries BCE, was discovered during the excavations in 1986 and 1995 at Beikush, but it did not yield enough evidence to determine the character of the site during this period as exclusively sacred.⁹⁷ In general, the evidence attesting to the significance of the cult of Achilles in the area during this period subsides dramatically, reduced to some pottery fragments with graffiti, dating from the fifth to fourth century BCE, found at a number of sites, including Berezan', and to a single find from the Kinburn Peninsula, located south of Olbia. In 1885, fishermen pulled out of the waters on the western coast of this peninsula a cylinder-shaped altar with an inscription, which later was dated to the period from the fourth to third century BCE. The text of the inscription mentions the dedication of an altar and a pine cone to Achilles (*IOSPE* 1² 327): Ἀχιλλεῖ τὸμ βωμὸν καὶ τὸ κέδρον.⁹⁸ However, this find does not necessarily mean that the altar was either originally located in the territory of the peninsula or that it was part of a larger sacred precinct there.⁹⁹ Other questions that cannot be unequivocally answered at this point concern the dates during which this sanctuary may have existed, as well as the nature of the relationship between the hypothetical sanctuaries on the Kinburn Peninsula and Tendrovskaia Spit, on the one hand, and Olbia and the rural Greek settlements of the Kinburn Peninsula, on the other.¹⁰⁰

The only cult center of Achilles that clearly continued to function during this period was the Panhellenic sanctuary on Leuke, administered by Olbia.¹⁰¹ And this brings us back to the question of the harbor. The sacred character of the island and the fact that its harbors did not have any commercial significance does not necessarily presuppose that none of the special structures existed there, as similar cases from other parts of the ancient Greek

world show. For example, the underwater investigations in the ancient harbor of Panormos near Miletos (which probably was used primarily by visitors to the Didymeian oracle, since no settlement associated with this harbor has been found) produced remains of a wooden jetty at a distance of 80 m from the present shoreline.¹⁰² Remains of ancient ship-sheds were reported to have been found at Cape Sounion in Greece, the location of the famous sanctuary of Poseidon,¹⁰³ where the harbor did not have any commercial significance either. However, the latter must have been of military importance, since the *ephebic* garrison is known to have been stationed at Sounion and remains of defense structures have been discovered there.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, it has been argued that Roman forces were stationed on the island of Leuke in the early centuries CE, as attested by the finds of roof tiles with fragmentary stamps, which were discovered during archaeological work in 1968 and restored as CLASSIS FLAVIA MOESICA and LEGIO V MACEDONICA.¹⁰⁵ It is known that during this period several Roman legions were stationed in Lower Moesia, including *Legio I Italica*, *Legio V Macedonica*, and *Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*. The naval squadron – *Classis Moesica* – was primarily based in Noviodunum on the Lower Danube, but other locations have been also attested elsewhere in the region, including Tyras and Chersonesos. It has been suggested that the island of Leuke may have also served as a base for Roman naval forces, because of its important strategic position on the route between Noviodunum and Chersonesos.¹⁰⁶ If this, indeed, was the case, then it would have been rather unlikely that no harbor structures, such as ship-sheds, existed on the island at least during the Roman period.

As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, the larger part of Olbia's *chora* ceased to exist around the middle of the third century BCE. Only a small number of settlements located immediately around Olbia and on the left bank of the Bug liman continued to function (including the sites of Sofievka/Glubokaia Pristan' and Stanislav, which remained in use until the middle of the second century BCE). No traces of rural settlements from the end of the second to the first half of the first centuries BCE have been found in the Lower Bug area.¹⁰⁷

Cult of Achilles during the Roman Period

The second revival of the *chora* took place around the end of the last quarter of the first century BCE and during the first quarter of the first century CE.¹⁰⁸ Over sixty sites in the surroundings of Olbia yielded material dating to the early centuries CE, and they differed from the sites of the previous periods in several aspects. The most important change in the character of the settlements was the presence of fortifications.¹⁰⁹ The location of these fortified settlements

led some scholars to believe that together they must have formed a continuous defense line.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the fortification complexes discovered at some sites, such as that of **Didova Khata** on the right bank of the Bug liman (Fig. 2.1), have been interpreted as Roman camps, on the basis of the similarities in plan, topography, size and type of the structures, and other archaeological remains.¹¹¹ Therefore, on the one hand, the Roman period witnessed a general decrease in the number of settlements; on the other hand, fortified settlements appeared and possibly formed a system of defense, which encompassed a territory comparable in size to that of the previous periods.¹¹² These facts, together with the Roman presence, indicate that Olbia's position in the area was less secure than during the Hellenistic period.

In addition, Olbia was no longer able to maintain its patronage over the sanctuary of Achilles on the **island of Leuke**; by the end of the first century CE, it seems to have passed to some other West Pontic city, probably Tomis.¹¹³ This switch in sovereignty can only mean that Olbia lost at least some of its former influence in the Northwestern Black Sea, which must have prompted its effort to re-establish control over land and sea, both locally and within the larger region. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that a sudden increase of sites associated with the cult of Achilles occurred, similar to that which took place during the early stages of Olbia's history. During the Roman period, it became one of the main cults in the *polis*. Dio Chrysostom reports in his *Borysthenitic Discourse* that a temple of Achilles was erected in the city, as well as in other places (36.9).¹¹⁴ From the beginning of the second century CE onwards, at the latest, Achilles was particularly venerated as *Pontarches* – the epiclesis attested only for this period and only for the region in question – and with this, the cult seems to have acquired a new dimension.¹¹⁵ Dedicatory inscriptions to Achilles *Pontarches* were found at several sites west and northwest of Olbia, all located near water. The distribution pattern of the epigraphic material corresponds, to a certain extent, to the distribution of the sites associated with the cult of Achilles known from the earlier period, discussed above.

First of all, the site of **Beïkush** was in use once again after a prolonged interruption, and this is probably significant. It is not clear whether the sanctuary was re-established there, but archaeological finds – especially inscriptions – testify that Achilles *Pontarches* was worshipped at Beïkush during the early centuries CE.¹¹⁶ Secondly, as was mentioned above, the Tendrovskâia Spit yielded archaeological evidence for the presence of the cult of Achilles, dating from the second to fourth century CE, with the dedicatory inscriptions, in particular, all dating to the second century CE.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the **island of Berezan** became the new center of the cult of Achilles *Pontarches*,¹¹⁸ and scholars unanimously agree that this development stands in direct connection with Olbia's

loss of its patronage over the sanctuary of Achilles on the island of Leuke at around the same time.¹¹⁹

Thus, after a period of dominance in the Northwestern Black Sea, Olbia found itself in a situation where it no longer had control over this region and probably was under constant threat of becoming a part of the Roman province of Lower Moesia.¹²⁰ As a result, it must have turned its attention to closer waters, and, in particular, to the island of Berezan'. The island was of strategic importance: on the one hand, it guarded the entrance to the Dnieper-Bug estuary, which provided access both to Olbia and to the waterways in the area around it (Fig. 2.1); on the other hand, Berezan' lay on the sea-route that led farther to and along the Northern Black Sea coast and, particularly, to the Crimean Peninsula. In an attempt to secure its positions in the region, Olbia established the cult center of Achilles *Pontarches* on Berezan', which allowed the city to exercise a certain degree of control over both local waters and the interregional sea-routes. It is possible then that there was a harbor functioning on Berezan' during this period, which would have served the needs of visitors to the sanctuary and the inhabitants of the local settlement that came back to life with the revival of Olbia after its destruction in the middle of the first century BCE and may even have experienced a period of relative prosperity in the second to the beginning of the third centuries CE.¹²¹

At the same time, Olbia must have tried to re-establish its position in the larger region and to re-integrate the more distant territories farther down along the Western Black Sea coast into its zone of influence. Several dedicatory inscriptions to Achilles *Pontarches* dating to the Roman period have been found on the left bank and at the upper reaches of the Tiligul'skii liman (at the modern settlement of Sofievka) and in the territory of modern Odessa (Pl. I), which may have constituted Olbia's farthest frontiers in the Northwestern Black Sea region.¹²² The fact that all these inscriptions were found on the coast or along the shores of the limans, and especially the discovery of epigraphic material at the upper reaches of the Tiligul'skii estuary, may be an indication that by establishing cult sites of Achilles *Pontarches* and setting up stelai with dedicatory inscriptions to the Lord of Pontus, Olbia sought not only to reinforce its presence in these distant territories, but also to secure its control over the riverine network in the region, which, in turn, provided access to land-routes. This also means that the local waterways were used to the same extent as before, if not more intensively, and that the network of small harbors in the area must have been as elaborate and diverse as during previous periods.

CONCLUSIONS

The outline of the harbor network in the Northwestern Black Sea region presented in this chapter is still rather general and does not fully reflect the complexity of its structure or the nuances of its development. However, even in the absence of direct archaeological evidence for the existence of specific harbor facilities, the detailed analysis of the available sources allows us to deduce some information about the status of various harbors within local, regional, and, in some cases, interregional hierarchies and to establish certain tendencies in their development.

It is possible that during the early stage of the Greek colonization of the Northwestern Black Sea coast in the last third of the seventh century BCE Greek imports still came to the wooded-steppe zone of this region (such as, for example, the local settlement of Nemirovskoe situated on the right bank of the Dnieper) from the western coast, i.e., via the harbors of Histria and Orgame, as well as from that of Borysthenes.¹²³ But after the foundation of the Olbian *polis*, its harbor became the most prominent in this part of the North Pontic region and remained such throughout the entire period of its existence. It must have had better and larger facilities than any other harbor on the Northwestern Black Sea coast, and, most importantly, it was the major regional and interregional entrepôt and redistribution center.¹²⁴ The latter is especially true for the Hellenistic period, when, at the highest point of its prosperity, the city was intensely involved in maritime trade within the Black Sea region and beyond. A clear indication of the role that Olbia and its harbor played in this interregional trade is the fact that a copy of the Olbian coinage decree – the so-called Kanobos decree on money (*IOSPE* 1² 24), dated to the second or the third quarter of the fourth century BCE – was installed at Hieron, at the very entrance to the Black Sea.¹²⁵

While the dominant position of Olbia's harbor as the central node in the Northwestern Black Sea remained stable, other harbors in the Olbian *polis* were all part of a shifting network. As local harbors appeared and disappeared and their statuses and functions changed from period to period, the "degree and nature of connectivity" within each microregion and between different microregions may have fluctuated significantly. As we have seen above, several types of harbors can be identified even within Olbia's immediate *chora*. Some of them were just small "opportunistic" harbors,¹²⁶ such as that of the production center of Tagorlyk, which emerged spontaneously at a convenient location and probably existed only as long as the settlement and production center did, serving as a stop-over for ships and as a place of small-scale trade or exchange. Others, like the harbors linked to the settlements of Sofievka and

Stansilav, were located at the interface of a network and functioned as gateways. Because of their role, such harbors may have remained in use even after the settlements associated with them went into decline and other settlements in the area ceased to exist.

In addition to these various types of small harbors in the immediate *chora* of Olbia, there were others, located farther away in the territory of the *polis*, such as the harbor at the settlement of Koshary on the right bank of the Tiligul'skiĭ liman. It is not possible to determine whether any special structures were ever built there, but judging by the size of the settlement and the presence of warehousing facilities, its harbor must have been the major hub in the local network (although the settlements that surrounded it probably had their own – smaller – harbors). On the one hand, it lay on the way of those ships that were going to Olbia and other North Pontic cities using the cabotage route along the western coast rather than crossing the open sea. On the other hand, it also had excellent access to inland territories through riverine and land-routes. This exceptional position, in combination with the fact that it was probably the most distant major harbor of the Olbian *polis* in the west, made the harbor of Koshary an important regional transit point and subsidiary redistribution center, secondary to that of Olbia.

The original characteristics of the harbors in the Odessa Bay area farther down along the coast were similar, but the resulting structure of the local network was rather different. These harbors were also located on the shores of the limans, connected with the sea and the hinterland, which made their position advantageous for trade and communication. However, the overall location on the fringes of the territory that may or may not have been under Olbia's control during some periods made the harbor network in this microregion less stable: among the numerous settlements that existed there none seems to have played a dominant role, and the same was probably true for the harbors associated with these settlements. Moreover, it is likely that some harbors, prominent enough to have been mentioned in ancient sources, were not attached to any particular settlement. Placed in a border zone between two or more larger networks, all these harbors must have served, to a great extent, the needs of the local population on the coast and in the immediate hinterland, and although they could have accommodated a certain amount of the intra- and interregional maritime traffic, their role within the larger networks probably remained marginal.

The emerging picture is still rather basic, but even in this simplistic form it appears to be more complex than a two- or three-tier hierarchy constructed out of large harbors and principal entrepôts vs. subsidiary redistribution centers and smaller local harbors. In this respect, it would be possible to apply to the Northwestern Black Sea region various theoretical models of

maritime connectivity and trading routes suggested recently for the ancient Mediterranean.¹²⁷ However, most of these models are based on economic activities and commercial traffic, whereas not all harbors were directly involved in trade, and those that were not, may still have held a prominent place within a multi-level hierarchy. Such harbors included, first of all, those linked to sanctuaries and cult sites: they too were an integral part of the seascape and, therefore, played an important role in maritime communications.¹²⁸

In the Northwestern Black Sea, this category encompassed, in particular, the sites associated with the cult of Achilles, among which the island of Leuke was the most famous. Located in a zone where major long-distance navigational routes converged, this place was central to the regional and interregional communication network, although it had no particular commercial significance. Its harbor – or a cluster of harbors – offered shelter to Olbian and foreign ships that frequented the island. In addition, the island itself – and its sanctuary with a temple, which may have also served as a lighthouse – were used as a point of reference by all seafarers in this part of the Pontus.¹²⁹ At the same time, it probably also marked the extent of Olbia's maritime hinterland during the periods when the sanctuary was under the patronage of the Olbian *polis*.¹³⁰

Already in the early days of archaeological explorations at Olbia and Berezan', it was noted that these sites must have been chosen by the Greek colonists because of their "Milesian topography."¹³¹ Miletos, "the greatest of Greek mother cities,"¹³² had an extremely advantageous position on the coast, at the crossroad of major sea-routes. It also had several natural harbors and was situated at the mouth of the Meander, which provided access to the inland territories and networks.¹³³ These factors clearly contributed to the prosperity of the city during the Archaic period, and when the Milesian colonists went to the Black Sea, they were probably looking for similar settings for their new settlements. However, finding a location that would be conducive to trade and easily defensible was not enough. As the history of Miletos showed, the key to prosperity was an ability to maintain control over the territories around the city at large, which could have been achieved only through dominance over the adjacent sea and local waterways.¹³⁴ And this must have been Olbia's intention when it established and re-established the sanctuaries of Achilles in the early stage of the city's existence and in the later period of instability. These sites may have acted as markers of Olbia's political frontiers not only on land, but also on water, since all of them had access to the sea and many were connected to the inland via rivers. Clearly, all of them had harbors – simple unequipped anchorages or natural harbors with no built structures, which functioned mostly on a local level before and after the emergence of the cult site in the same place. During the existence of the latter, however, these harbors must have played a

more important role in the regional network, owing to the significance of the sites themselves.

These transformations within the multi-level hierarchy of the harbor network relate to the changes that occurred in the socioeconomic and political situation in the Northwestern Black Sea region. As we have seen, they affected both smaller harbors and those associated with large settlements and/or sanctuaries, such as the one on the island of Leuke. In the case of the latter, however, they had to be of a more profound nature than we are able to recognize now. Thus, the status of the harbor (or harbors) at the island of Leuke during the Roman period may have been completely different from that of the previous periods: it has been suggested, for example, that the island served as a base for the Roman navy (which would probably require the presence of a military harbor) and/or that a customs station was located there (which would have been, most likely, reflected in the appearance and the structure of the commercial harbor).¹³⁵ Presently, however, the evidence in this respect is inconclusive.

The general structure of the harbor hierarchy in the Northwestern Black Sea and the particularities of its individual components were, to a great extent, specific to this region. The same can be said about other parts of the North Pontic coast, such as the Western Crimea with Chersonesos, the Northeastern Azov Sea area with Tanais, or the Bosporan Kingdom (Map 1). The latter, situated on both sides of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (modern Strait of Kerch), clearly had a larger and more complex network of waterborne communications, both because of the nature of this polity and the extent of its territories. This implies, first of all, that there was more than one center on both the Kerch and Taman peninsulas (Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Phanagoreia, and others) whose harbors not only played the role of major nodes in this local network, but also were of interregional significance. Secondly, the Bosporan Kingdom exercised a certain degree of control over its harbors and maritime trade, including state-directed transactions, coordinated access to the main ports, and supervision of related facilities. Thirdly, being the largest state on the Northern Black Sea coast, it possessed a relatively substantial navy, which also had to be maintained during peacetime and, therefore, required specially equipped harbors. The topographic diversity of the microregions within the Bosporan Kingdom was another decisive factor. In antiquity, the Taman Peninsula consisted of three islands (one large and two small ones), separated from the mainland by a strait, which, like the Cimmerian Bosphorus, connected the Black Sea with the Azov Sea and was navigable at least until the second century CE.¹³⁶ For these islands, the presence of harbors was essential, because the only way they could have communicated with the rest of the region was via water,¹³⁷ and the same applies, to a certain extent, to the settlements

located on the shores of this second strait. However, among this category of harbors, some must have been more important than others, because of their strategic location at the entrance to the Azov Sea. Even this superficial overview shows that in order to create a more nuanced diachronic reconstruction of the harbor networks in other regions of the Northern Black Sea one would need to take into consideration all the available evidence and perform an analysis similar to that presented here for Olbia and its surroundings, because the structure of such networks and their operational mechanisms can only be understood in the wider context of the development of the entire region.

- 74 It is interesting that these places evoked similar associations in the minds of the Cossacks, who were moved here at the end of the eighteenth century, mostly from the Zaporizhia region. Peter Simon Pallas, who visited Taman in 1794, wrote that the Cossacks living there called Kuku-Oba, the largest mud volcano in the area, “Pekla,” which means “Hell,” and considered it to be hell’s chimney (Pallas 1803, 279). He also provides a detailed description (based on his own experience and the words of other witnesses) of a most violent volcanic eruption, which took place in the same year (1794), and of its aftermath (ibid. 279–89).
- 75 Gerts 1898, 153–6; Tunkina 1993, 12–13, 18–21; for further literature, see the commentaries to inscriptions *CIRB* 1014 and *CIRB* 1015.
- 76 Marchenko 1962; Marchenko 1963, 95.
- 77 Zavoikin 2006, with references to earlier publications.
- 78 The most recent publication of this inscription, based on the study of the original stone, is Tokhtas’ev 1994, with a discussion of the form of the name.
- 79 Marchenko 1960, 101; Marchenko 1962, 121; Marchenko 1963, 86; Marchenko 1977, 122.
- 80 Tokhtas’ev 1983, 115–17. For a different opinion, according to which the story related by Strabo is a version of a local colonial myth, see Koshelenko 1999. The hypothesis advanced by Sergeĭ Tokhtas’ev seems to provide a better explanation of Strabo’s text (in particular, the obvious sexual connotation of the myth), although Strabo’s account does not allow us to identify its source, so that any explanation, in this case, will remain hypothetical. In any case, the two interpretations are not incompatible: the mime suggested by Tokhtas’ev certainly could have (and even must have) employed and parodied elements of the local temple legend – for example, Heracles’ participation in the story. However, the comparison of Strabo’s myth with the myth of Heracles as the progenitor of the Scythians, which is linked to the area of Olbia and is known in several versions (for the most detailed one, see Hdt. 4.8–10), looks artificial, as Tokhtas’ev noted.
- 81 Gruppe 1906, 1525.
- 82 Koshelenko maintains that the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Apatouros* on the Taman Peninsula was the only one and places it “in the *chora* of Phanagoreia” (1999, 148–9). However, Strabo’s text contradicts this assumption: the Apaturum, together with Hermonassa, is situated on the right of those sailing into the Corocondamitis, i.e., in Sindike, whereas Phanagoreia was located on the left, on an island separated from Sindike by the river Hypanis (modern Kuban). Moreover, epigraphical material confirms that sanctuaries where either “Aphrodite *Ourania*, the Mistress of the Apaturum” or Aphrodite *Apatouros* were venerated existed also beyond the Apaturum, in the main Bosporan cities (Pantikapaion, Phanagoreia, and Tanais). These were probably some kind of “branches” of the main sanctuary at the Apaturum.
- 83 Mette 1936, 88, 92–3.
- 84 Rohde 1921, 213, n. 1.
- 85 Cf. Ivantchik 1988, 14–15; Zavoikin 2006, 70, n. 46.
- 86 See also Ramin 1979, 69.
- 87 For more about this text, see Ivantchik 2005, 18–52.
- 88 For Herodotus renouncing the speculative view of the world (and the concept of the Ocean, connected with it) and embracing the worldview that was based on empirical data, see Romm 1989, 99–102; Romm 1992, 32–41, with further references.
- 89 Kopeikina 1972, 156.
- 90 Vakhtina 1998, 122–39; Vakhtina 2000, 209–17.
- 91 About this terror and the association of the Ocean with chaos, see Romm 1992, 15–26.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Purcell 2005, 121.
- 2 See, for example, Robinson and Wilson 2011; Keay 2012.
- 3 Horden and Purcell 2000, 393; also see Karmon 1985.

- 4 The depths of the coastal waters in this area are relatively low – 25–60 m (Bruiako and Karpov 1992, 87; Nazarov 2003, 18, 111). For a general geographical description of the Northwestern Black Sea area, see Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 19.
- 5 For this new – earlier – date of the foundation of Olbia, see Buiskikh 2013a, 28.
- 6 Kozlovskaya 2008.
- 7 See, for example, Casson 1971, 361–2; Rickman 1986; Blitzer 1990, 701; Kingsley 2001, 85.
- 8 Vinogradov 1981, 15; Kryzhitsky 1987, 146; Vinogradov 1989, 65–6; Kryžickiy 2006, 102. The importance of the two main local rivers – the Borysthenes and the Hypanis – for the Olbian *polis* is reflected in the existence of the cults of the personified eponymous deities (Rusiāeva 1979, 23–4; Rusiāeva 1992, 136–8; Buis’kykh 2004, 5).
- 9 Bujskich 2006b, 124. “Limans” is a local word and comes from the Greek λιμὴν, which means harbor. In the Northwestern Black Sea area it stands for estuary. Such estuaries were formed by the inundation of the mouths of the rivers, caused by marine transgression. Presently these limans may or may not be connected to the sea, and therefore not all of them can be referred to as estuaries in geological terms. The Dnieper-Bug and the Berezan’ limans, mentioned in the first part of this chapter, are of the so-called open type, i.e., they are connected to the sea, whereas some other limans discussed further in the chapter are of the closed type, i.e., completely separated from the sea (Zagorovskii 1929, 38). A more elaborate typology and a detailed description of particular limans in the Northern Black Sea region, including their geo-chemical characteristics, can be found in Garkusha and Gozhik 1984 and Moroz 1990. Also see the chapter by Ilya Buynovich in this volume.
- 10 Buiskikh 1991, 112, with the references to Shishkin 1982, 241 and Uvarov 1851, 139, respectively.
- 11 Kryzhiŕskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 72.
- 12 Kryzhiŕskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 70; Shapovalov 1990, 151; Shapovalov 1991, 10; Shapovalov 1994, 149.
- 13 Kryzhiŕskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 42; Bujskich 2006a, 111, with further references.
- 14 Rusiāeva 2006b, 102.
- 15 Kryzhiŕskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 41, with further references. By the end of the first third of the fifth century BCE, the majority of rural settlements in the area had ceased to exist (Kryzhiŕskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 42–3; Bujskich 2006a, 113; Bujskich 2006b, 122).
- 16 Horden and Purcell 2000, 392.
- 17 S. B. Buiskikh 2006, 51.
- 18 Kryzhiŕskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 72; Bujskich 2006b, 125.
- 19 This assumption is supported, to a certain extent, by the graffito ΟΛΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΙ[ΚΟΝ] featured on a wall fragment from a fourth-century-BCE gray burnished vessel of an open shape discovered during the excavation of the site. This ethnicon, probably meant to confirm that the vessel was produced by the community of the Olbiopolitai and/or was made in accordance with the standards of the Olbian *polis*, indicates that the vessel was intended for the trade with the non-Greek neighbors of the *polis* (S. B. Buiskikh 2006, 49–51).
- 20 Horden and Purcell 2000, 393.
- 21 Kryzhiŕskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 69, 76; Bujskich 2006b, 129.
- 22 Buiskikh 1997, 101–2; Rusiāeva 2000, 82.
- 23 Redina et al. 1999, 19–20; Chochorowski et al. 2001; Papuŕsi-Vladyka and Redina 2002; Papuci-Władyka 2004; Papuci-Władyka and Kokorzhitskaia 2004; Papuci-Władyka and Redina 2005; Redina et al. 2008.
- 24 Chochorowski et al. 2001, 149; Papuci-Władyka and Kokorzhitskaia 2004, 316–24; Redina et al. 2008, 149.
- 25 Redina et al. 1999, 23; Papuŕsi-Vladyka and Redina 2002, 56–7.
- 26 Symonovich 1954; Symonovich 1964, 145–6.
- 27 Symonovich 1950, 14; Symonovich 1954, 149. I am extremely grateful to Alexander Kariāka, Junior Researcher at the Department of Ancient Studies and Head of the Academic

- Archives of the Archaeological Institute of the National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, for his assistance with archival research.
- 28 Agbunov 1984, 137.
- 29 King 2011, 24.
- 30 King 2011, 25.
- 31 Okhotnikov 1989; Buiskikh 1999, 85, with further references; Rîedina 2002. For comparison, there were over 100 sites in the Lower Bug area dating from the first half of the sixth to the first third of the fifth century BCE (Kryzhiŭskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 10–41) and over 150 sites dating from the end of the fifth to the middle of the third century BCE (Kryzhiŭskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 44–76).
- 32 Shteĭnvand 1930; Shteĭnvand 1931; Selinov 1939; Selinov 1940; Siniŭsyn 1947; Siniŭsyn 1957; Diamant 1975, 118; Diamant 1976, 205. The dates for the settlement are based on numismatic and ceramic finds (Diamant 1984, 84).
- 33 Selinov 1940, 16, 22, 24, 26, 29, 49.
- 34 Selinov 1940, 15–16, 61.
- 35 Selinov 1940, 57.
- 36 Diamant 1975; Diamant 1976; Krasnozhon 1997; Dobroliŭbskiĭ and Krasnozhon 1998; Dobroliŭbskiĭ 2001; Dobroliŭbskiĭ and Krasnozhon 2002; Dobroliŭbskiĭ, Gubar', and Krasnozhon 2002, 31–128; Dobroliŭbskiĭ and Krasnozhon 2005; Dobroliŭbskiĭ and Krasnozhon 2006.
- 37 Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 1991, 60; Rîedina 2002, 73.
- 38 Diamant 1974; Diamant 1975, 119; “Raskopki Zhevakhovskogo poseleniâ na poberezh'e Odesskogo zaliva,” *AO 1976 goda* (1977), 289–90; Diamant and Kuz'menko 1978; Okhotnikov 1989, 100; Rîedina 2002, 73–4.
- 39 Buiskikh 1997, 101.
- 40 This passage from fon-Shtern's publication (1904, 60–1) is quoted by both Selinov (1939, 5; 1940, 11) and Siniŭsyn (1947, 51).
- 41 Selinov 1939, 29–31 (with the reference to Zagorovs'kiĭ 1930, 7–8); Selinov 1940, 6. The “Genoese” anchor, discovered in 1910, is also described in Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 20.
- 42 Zagorovskii 1929, 43–4, fig. 1. All these conclusions are presently confirmed by geological data (see Buynevich in this volume).
- 43 Selinov 1939, 29–30; Selinov 1940, 59.
- 44 Hanina 1970; Ostroverkhov 1981, 88; Bouzek 1994, 43; Archibald 2002, 55.
- 45 Selinov 1939, 31; Selinov 1940, 61.
- 46 Buiskikh 1997, 101.
- 47 Diamant 1978, 249; Otreshko 1979, 87; Rîedina 2002, 76–7.
- 48 Ed. and trans. A. Liddle, Bristol, 2003. There seems to be a misprint in this edition of Liddle's translation: while the Greek text (20.3) defines the distance between the “harbor of the Istrians” and the “harbor of the Isiakoi” as 50 stades (ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰσθμοῦ ἔχεται Ἰστριανῶν λιμῆν. στάδιοι εἰς αὐτὸν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι. ἐνθὲνδε ἔχεται Ἰσιακῶν λιμῆν. στάδιοι εἰς αὐτὸν πεντήκοντα), the English translation gives 150 stades instead.
- 49 For further information and references, see Diamant 1975, 118; Otreshko 1993, 102; Redina 2006, 185. Ancient Odessos, also mentioned by the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (13v20 Diller = *FGrHist* 2037 F 90), Claudius Ptolemy (as Ἰσθμοσός, 3.5.29), and Pliny (as *portus Ordesos*, *HN* 4.31), has been identified with a number of sites as well, including the ancient settlement of Koshary, discussed above (Symonovich 1954; Symonovich 1964, 153; Agbunov 1981, 132–3; Agbunov 1984, 137; Redina 2006, 185–6, with further references).
- 50 Agbunov 1981, 136–8.
- 51 For a detailed list of bibliographic references, see Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 1991, 59–61.
- 52 Otreshko 1993, 102; Buiskikh 1999, 87; Redina 2006, 186.
- 53 Apart from the Northwestern Black Sea region, there is evidence for the presence of the cult of Achilles in Chersonesos and in the Bosphorus. The fact that it existed in these places

from the fifth century BCE onwards, at the latest, is considered to be an indication of political and cultural contacts between the cities on the northern coast of the Black Sea. The cult of Achilles remained a North Pontic idiosyncrasy for a long time: until the Roman Imperial period, there were no traces of it in the Western, the Eastern, or the Southern Black Sea regions (Tokhtasev 2010, 103–4, 108, with further references).

- 54 Bujskich 2006a, 152. Also, see n. 15 above.
- 55 Bujskich 2006a.
- 56 Nazarov 1987, 629; Nazarov 2003, 53, 55; Bujskich 2006a, 120, 134, n. 197.
- 57 Buiskikh 1988, 259; Bujskich 2006a, 142, n. 248.
- 58 Bujskich 2006a, 136.
- 59 Nazarov 1994, 97; Rusiāeva and Diatroptov 1993, 107; Zolotarëv 2001, 58; Zolotarëv 2002, 35–7.
- 60 Buiskikh 1987, 313; Buiskikh 2001, 522–3; Bujskich 2006a, 138–9, Taf. 29.2, 33.1, 34.17.
- 61 For the list of these sources, see Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 1991, 38–9; Tunkina 2002, 452; Rusiāeva 2006b, 100; Tunkina 2006, 90.
- 62 Shcheglov 1972, 132; Rusiāeva 1979, 137–8; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 1991, 39; Tunkina 2002, 453–70; Rusiāeva 2006b, 99, 108–9; Tunkina 2006, 90–108, all with references to the original publication of the excavation results from 1824; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 22.
- 63 Nazarov 1985; Nazarov and Voronov 2002, 43; Nazarov 2003, 72–4.
- 64 Rusiāeva 2006b, 99, 101.
- 65 Shcheglov 1972, 132; Rusiāeva 2006b, 108–9, 132, both with references to Tolstoï 1918, 56–9.
- 66 Rusiāeva 2006b, 123.
- 67 ἔχουσαν ὕψορον βλέποντα πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον (Strabo 7.3.19).
- 68 Shcheglov 1972, 133.
- 69 Otreshko 1981, 39; Bujskich 2006a, 126–7, n. 134. In the 1970s, traces of thirteen ancient settlements (five from the Archaic period and eight from the Classical and Hellenistic periods) were discovered in the vicinity of the site, near the modern villages of Bol'shaia Chernomorka and Malaia Chernomorka (Kryzhiŭskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 15–17, 47–9; Bujskich 2006a, 119–20, n. 84).
- 70 Rusiāeva 1975, 180; Bujskich 2006a, 147, 150.
- 71 Rusiāeva 1979, 137; Rusiāeva 1992, 71–2, 77; Bujskich 2006a, 144, n. 259, with further references. Presently an island, located about 40 km away from Olbia, at the confluence of the Berezan' and Dnieper-Bug limans (Fig. 2.1), Berezan' is the site of the ancient settlement of Borysthenes, which was also a part of the Olbian *polis*. Eusebius' date for the foundation of Borysthenes has been calculated as 647/646 BCE (*Chron.* 95b Helm). For this date and a brief discussion of the question, see Vinogradov 1989, 33, 36–7, n. 20. The earliest ceramic material from the site dates from the middle to the beginning of the 630s BCE (Kopeikina 1982, 6–8; Kopeikina 1986, 28–9; Il'ina 2000, 201–3; Kerschner 2006, 230–3), and the earliest building remains, to the end of the seventh century BCE (Solovyov 1999, 30; Chistov 2012, 6–7). For Borsythenes/Berezan' as part of the Olbian *polis*, see Vinogradov 1976, 80–2; Buiskikh 2013a, 21–30; Buiskikh 2013b, 229–33.
- 72 Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 23; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 13, 52–9; Rusiāeva 2004a, 15–16; Okhotnikov 2006, 56, 74–5. For the references to ancient authors, see Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 1991, 151; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 20–1; Zubarev 2005, 83–7; Okhotnikov 2006, 50, n. 5.
- 73 Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 105–6; Okhotnikov 1996, 47; Okhotnikov 2006, 76. Also see the chapter by Askold Ivantchik in this volume.
- 74 Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 21–5; Okhotnikov 2006, 59–60.
- 75 Kryzhiŭskii 1993, 20–1, 47; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 25–7; Kryzhiŭskii and Buiskikh 1998, 76; Rusiāeva 2004b, 185–9.
- 76 Okhotnikov 1990, 54; Okhotnikov 1996, 47.
- 77 Rusiāeva 2004b, 185.

- 78 Okhotnikov 1990, 54; Rusiāeva 1990, 46; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 25; Rusiāeva 1992, 48; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 111–12, n. 2; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 2002, 123.
- 79 Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 2002; Okhotnikov 2006, 54; Tereshchenko 2013a, 64.
- 80 Tereshchenko 2013a; Tereshchenko 2013b.
- 81 Okhotnikov 1990, 55; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 24; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 20; Okhotnikov 2001a, 38–9; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 2002, 124; Tereshchenko 2013a, 64–6.
- 82 Okhotnikov 1993a, 104; Okhotnikov 1993b, 105; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 49, n. 1; Okhotnikov 1996, 47; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1999, 27; Okhotnikov 2001a, 39–40, 41; Okhotnikov 2001b, 163; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 2002, 124–8, 130; Okhotnikov 2006, 65–6.
- 83 Nazarov 2003, 35.
- 84 Even if there was a residential community on the island, it must have been very small, consisting of individuals primarily associated with the sanctuary and cult activities – see Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 106–7, with references to Arrian (22.2): ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἐρήμη ἐστίν (ed. and trans. A. Liddle, Bristol, 2003); Ammianus Marcellinus (22.8.35): *insula Leuce sine habitatoribus ullis Achilli est dedicata. In quam si fuerint quidam forte delati, visis antiquitatis vestigiis temploque et donariis eidem heroi consecrates, vesperi repetunt naves* (ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe in the Loeb edition, 1986); and Philostratus (*Her.* 54.6–7): τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον, ὀπόσσην εἶπον, ἀνέφηνεν Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν καὶ Ἑλένη οἰκεῖν, ναύταις δὲ ἴστασθαι καὶ τῷ πελάγει ἐγκαθορμίζεσθαι (ed. and trans. J. K. B. Maclean and E. B. Aitken, Atlanta, 2001).
- 85 ἱερεῖα τοῦς μὲν ἐξεπίτηδες πλέοντας εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπι ταῖς ναυσὶν κομίζουσιν (22.1); τοῦς δὲ τινας ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐξανασθέντας προσέχειν (Arr. 22.2) (ed. and trans. A. Liddle, Bristol, 2003). Cf. Moreno 2008, 667, for a similar situation at the sanctuary of Hieron, where sailors “probably combined the stop with worship at the sanctuary.”
- 86 Ū. G. Vinogradov considers both interpretations to be equally possible and dates the inscription to the period from the 330s to 320s BCE, on paleographical grounds (1989, 164–6, n. 94). Another document – a dedicatory inscription to Achilles on account of a victory over pirates (*IOSPE* 1^a 672) – is also associated by many scholars with the island of Leuke (Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 111, with further references). This inscription, however, was found not on the island, but in the ruins of the ancient city of Scythian Neapolis in a completely different part of the Northern Black Sea region. For more detailed information about *IOSPE* 1^a 672, see Vinogradov 1989, 243–4, n. 63.
- 87 Pfiātsheva 1966, 59, following V. V. Latyshev, *Izslēdovanīa ob istorii i gosudarstvennom stroie goroda Ol'vii* (St. Petersburg 1887); Karyshkovskii 1983, 166; Okhotnikov 1993a, 104; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993a, 106–13; Anokhin and Rusiāeva 1999, 351; Okhotnikov 1996, 47; Okhotnikov 1998, 41; Anokhin and Rusiāeva 1999, 351; Okhotnikov 2006, 77–80; S. B. Buiskikh 2004, 84; Rusiāeva 2006b, 98.
- 88 Rusiāeva 1975, 175; Rusiāeva 1990, 45, 47–8; Okhotnikov 1998, 41; Rusiāeva 2005, 473–4; Buiskikh 2006a, 150; Okhotnikov 2006, 76.
- 89 See Malkin 1993; Polignac 1995, 33, 36–7, 98–105; Moreno 2008, 665.
- 90 Malkin 1993, 226, 231–4. In this context, it is very important that despite the multifaceted character of the cult on Leuke and the variety of aspects in which Achilles was venerated there, he was still worshipped on the island as a hero (Rusiāeva 1975, 175–6; Rusiāeva 2005, 462–3, 470; Okhotnikov 2006, 72, 76), and this made his cult both “public and political” (Malkin 1993, 229).
- 91 S. B. Buiskikh 2004, 84; Buiskikh 2006a, 147.
- 92 Anokhin and Rusiāeva 1999, 351; Okhotnikov 2006, 78.
- 93 Kryzhitskii, Buiskikh, Burakov, and Otreshko 1989, 85; Kryzhitskii, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 42–3.

- 94 Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 44–76; Bujskich 2006b, 125, with further references.
- 95 Buiskikh 1997, 101–2; Rusiĭeva 2000, 82.
- 96 Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 75–6; Buiskikh 1988; Rusiĭeva 2000, 82–3.
- 97 Bujskich 2006a, 144, n. 259.
- 98 Rusiĭeva 1979, 138; Okhotnikov 1998, 39; Tunkina 2002, 471; Rusiĭeva 2006b, 107; Okhotnikov 2006, 78; Tunkina 2006, 89.
- 99 Rusiĭeva 2006b, 107, with further references.
- 100 Rusiĭeva 2006b, 101–4. The ancient sites discovered on the Kinburn Peninsula up to 1990 include the Archaic production center of Ŧagorlyk, discussed earlier in this chapter, seven sites from the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 45, fig. 9), and four sites from the early centuries CE (Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 78, fig. 14). Apart from Ŧagorlyk, none of these sites have been excavated; the majority of them were subject to visual examination and collection of material from the surface; at some, test trenches were laid out.
- 101 Cf. Simon 1986, 8, for the altar on Cape Poseidon that was “apparently not connected to a particular settlement site but served, probably through Milesian administration, the whole sea-faring community, sailors and fishermen.”
- 102 Greaves 2000, 42–3, with further references.
- 103 Du Plat Taylor 1965, 171; Shaw 1972, 92.
- 104 Langdon 1982, 95, with further references.
- 105 Bulatovich 1990, 56; Okhotnikov 1990, 54; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 24–5; Okhotnikov 1993a, 104; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 44–5; Okhotnikov 2006, 84, Taf. 17.28–9. In the latter publication, the authors point out that the stamps were badly damaged: on one, the letters CLA could be seen, whereas the other had only the letter M and the number V preserved. The restorations have been made on the basis of these preserved parts. However, other evidence indicating the presence of the aforementioned forces on the island, such as gems with the names of the legions, supports this conclusion (Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 115).
- 106 Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1991, 24–5; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 114–15; Okhotnikov 2006, 84, with further references.
- 107 Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 69, 76; Bujskich 2006b, 129.
- 108 Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, Burakov, and Otreshko 1989, 155; Bujskich 2006b, 131.
- 109 Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 95.
- 110 Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 96; Buiskikh 1991, 110–12; Bujskich 2006b, 131.
- 111 Kryzhiŕskiĭ, Buiskikh, and Otreshko 1990, 89, 96; Bujskich 2006b, 131.
- 112 Bujskich 2006b, 134.
- 113 Rusiĭeva 1992, 78; Okhotnikov 1993b, 104; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 115, with reference to Rostovtsev 1918a, 184–5; Okhotnikov 1996, 52; Rusiĭeva 2005, 477; Okhotnikov 2006, 85.
- 114 Rusiĭeva 1979, 140; Kurbatov 1982, 92; Rusiĭeva 1990, 47; Anokhin 1999, 389–90. For the dedicatory inscriptions to Achilles from the Roman period found in and around Olbia, see, in particular, Otreshko 1979; Kurbatov 1982, 92; Shelov-Kovediĭev 1990, 49–50, n. 3, 58–9; Nazarov 1997, 18–19. It should also be noted that, in general, the Northwestern Black Sea area produced the largest amount of epigraphic sources associated with the cult of Achilles, in comparison to other parts of the ancient Greco-Roman world (Rusiĭeva 2005, 475).
- 115 Rusiĭeva 1975, 177–8; Rusiĭeva 1992, 77–8, 80; Rusiĭeva 2005, 466, 476, 478.
- 116 Otreshko 1979, 83; Rusiĭeva 1990, 57; Bujskich 2006a, 152, n. 335.
- 117 See nn. 64 and 65 above. The assemblage of over 800 coins, discovered on the site in 1824, is comparable only to the collection of monetary finds from the sanctuary of Achilles on the island of Leuke; the coins come from the entire Black Sea region and beyond and date

- mostly to the Roman imperial period (Zograf 1941, with references to the original publication of the excavation reports).
- 118 Gorbunova 1968; Gorbunova 1971–72, 49; Otreshko 1979, 82; Shelov-Kovediāev 1990, 59; Vinogradov 1994, 19, 21; Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995, 65; Nazarov 1997, 18–19; Nazarov 2003, 44; Nazarov 2006, 173; Okhotnikov 2006, 85.
- 119 First advanced by Michael Rostovtzev (Rostovtsev 1918a, 184–5, 187), this hypothesis has been accepted by many scholars (Rusiāeva 1992, 78; Okhotnikov 1993b, 104; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993, 115; Okhotnikov 1996, 52; Okhotnikov 1998, 44; Rusiāeva 2005, 477; Okhotnikov 2006, 85).
- 120 Rusiāeva 1975, 178–9.
- 121 Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995, 65. For a discussion of the harbor, see Kozlovskaya 2008, 54.
- 122 For the full list of these dedicatory inscriptions, with references to the sites where and the circumstances under which they were found, see Rusiāeva 1975, 179, 181; Otreshko 1979, 81–3, 87; Rusiāeva 1979, 138–9; Rusiāeva 1992, 77, 79; Bujskich 2006a, 152, n. 335.
- 123 Vakhtina 2004, 206; Buiskikh 2013a, 31.
- 124 Kozlovskaya 2008.
- 125 Moreno 2008, 667. For the date of the decree, see Zhebelēv 1953, 297–8; Karyshkovskii 1967, 79–80; Vinogradov and Karyshkovskii 1976, 28; Vinogradov 1989, 27–8; Ivantchik 2004, 4.
- 126 Cf. Leidwanger 2013.
- 127 See, for example, Heinzelmann 2010; Arnaud 2011; Schörle 2011; Boetto 2012; Wilson, Schörle, and Rice 2012.
- 128 Horden and Purcell 2000, 438–42.
- 129 Cf. Gambin 2012, 147–8.
- 130 Cf. Polignac 1995, 103–4.
- 131 Boltenko 1930, 35.
- 132 Graham 1999, 98.
- 133 Greaves 2000, 39–40, 48, 59.
- 134 Greaves 2000, 39, 44, 55–6.
- 135 Bulatovich 1990, 57.
- 136 Zhuravlēv et al. 2009; Kelterbaum et al. 2011.
- 137 Cf. Karmon 1985, 2.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Yanko-Hombach et al. 2007; Buynevich et al. 2011.
- 2 Zenkovich 1960; Shilik 1975; Shuisky and Schwartz 1981; Gozhik 1984; Vykhoanets 1993; Shilik 1997; Dolukhanov and Shilik 2007; Porotov 2007.
- 3 Ievlev 1991; Dolukhanov and Shilik 2007.
- 4 Present = 2013 CE.
- 5 Zenkovich 1969; McBride, Byrnes, and Hiland 1995; Kraft et al. 2003; FitzGerald et al. 2008; Larchenkov and Kadurin 2011.
- 6 Shuisky and Schwartz 1981; Vykhoanets 1993.
- 7 Bruñako and Karpov 1992; Larchenkov and Kadurin 2011.
- 8 Blagovolin and Pobedonoscev 1973; Koral 2007.
- 9 Shuisky and Schwartz 1981; McBride, Byrnes, and Hiland 1995; Buynevich 2007.
- 10 Ievlev 1991.
- 11 Shilik 1997; Porotov 2007.
- 12 Shuisky and Schwartz 1981; Vykhoanets 1993.
- 13 Nevensky 1970; Shilik 1975; Panin 1983; Chepalyga 1984; Yanko 1990; Shilik 1997; Kaplin and Selivanov 2004; Komikov, Likhodedova, and Pedan 2006; Koral 2007; Martin, Leorri, and McLaughlin 2007; Shuisky 2007; Yanko-Hombach et al. 2007; Lericolais et al. 2009; Brückner et al. 2010; Martin and Yanko-Hombach 2011.

REFERENCES

- Abramov, A. P. (2009) “*Amfory VI–V vv. do n.é. v Severnom Prichernomor’e (klassifikatsiia i periodizatsiia)*.” Dissertation abstract. Moscow.
- Abramov, A. P. (2010) “Dinamika torgovykh sviazei Patreiã vo vtoroi polovine VI–V vv. do n.é. po materialam keramicheskoi tary,” *Drevnosti Bospora* 14: 9–28.
- Abramova, M. P. (1961) “Sarmatskie pogrebeniã Dona i Ukrainy. II v. do n. é.–I v. n. é.,” *SovArkh* 1: 91–110.
- Abramova, M. P. (1981) “Materialy po antichnoi geografii Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor’ã,” *VDI* 1: 124–43.
- Abramova, M. P. (1984) “Materialy po antichnoi geografii Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor’ã,” *VDI* 4: 124–41.
- Aktseli, D. (1996) *Altäre in der archaischen und klassischen Kunst: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Ikonographie*. Espelkamp.
- Alekseev, A. Ñ. (2003) *Khronografiã Evropeiskoi Skifii VII–IV vv. do n. é.* St. Petersburg.
- Alekseev, A. Ñ., V. Ñ. Murzin, and R. Rolle (1991) *Chertomlyk. Skifskii tsarskii kurgan IV v. do n.é.* Kiev.
- Alekseeva, E. M. (1997) *Antichnyi gorod Gorgippiã*. Moscow.
- Allen, A. (1993) *The Fragments of Mimnermus: Text and Commentary*. Stuttgart.
- Altekamp, S. (1991) *Zu griechischer Architekturornamentik im sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr.: exemplarische archäologische Auswertung der nicht-dorischen Blattornamentik*. Frankfurt and New York.
- Altmann, W. (1905) *Die Römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*. Berlin.
- Alzinger, W. (1972–5) “Von der Archaik zur Klassik. Zur Entwicklung des ionischen Kapitells in Kleinasien während des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,” *ÖJh* 50: 169–211.
- Andersen, Ø. (1982) “Thersites und Thoas vor Troia,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 57.1: 7–34.
- Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd rev. edn. London.
- Anisimova, L., G. L. Bonora, C. Franchi, L. Karavaeva, and V. V. Plakhov, eds. (2005) *ITesori della Steppa di Astrakhan*. Milan.
- Anokhin, V. A. (1999) “Gosudarstvennyi stroi Ol’vii v pervye veka nashei éry,” in Kryzhiŕskii et al., 380–90.
- Anokhin, V. A., and A. S. Rusiãeva (1999) “Gosudarstvennoe ustroistvo Ol’vii. Istoriã razvitiã gosudarstvennoi vlasti v VI–I vv. do n. é.,” in Kryzhiŕskii et al., 342–80.
- Antonaccio, C. M. (1999) “Colonization and the Origins of Hero Cult,” in R. Hägg, ed., *Ancient Greek Hero Cult: Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult*, 109–21. Stockholm.
- Archibald, Z. H. (2002) “The Shape of the New Commonwealth. Aspects of the Pontic and Eastern Mediterranean Regions in the Hellenistic Age,” in G. R. Tsetskhladze and

- A. M. Snodgrass, eds., *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea*, 49–72. Oxford.
- Arnaud, P. (1989) “Une deuxième lecture du ‘bouclier’ de Doura-Europos,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 133.2: 373–89.
- Arnaud, P. (2011) “Ancient sailing-routes and trade patterns: the impact of human factors,” in Robinson and Wilson, 61–80.
- Arsen’eva, T. M., and S. A. Naumenko (1992) *Usad’by Tanaisa*. Moscow.
- Artamonov, M. I. (1948) “Skifskoe tsarstvo v Krymu,” *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta* 8: 56–78.
- Aubrey, D. G., and A. G. Gaines (1982) “Rapid Formation and Degradation of Barrier Spits in Areas with Low Rates of Littoral Drift,” *Marine Geology* 49: 257–78.
- Avram, A. (1996) *Les timbres amphoriques. 1. Thasos*. Histria 8.1. Bucharest and Paris.
- Badal’ianŭ, ŭ.S. (1986) “Torgovo-ekonomicheskie svyazi Rodosa s Severnym Prichernomor’em v epokhu ėllinizma (po materialam keramicheskoi ėpigrafiki),” *VDI* 1: 87–99.
- Balabanov, I. P. (1984) “Izmeneniia volnovogo rezhima Chĕrnogo Moria v pozdnem Goloŭsene,” *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR (Geographical Series)* 5: 70–81.
- Balabanov, I. P. (2007) “Holocene Sea-Level Changes of the Black Sea,” in Yanko-Hombach et al., 711–30.
- Balabanov, I. P. (2009) *Paleograficheskie predposylki formirovaniia sovremennykh prirodnykh uslovii i dolgosrochnyi prognoz razvitiia goloŭsenovykh terras Chernomorskogo poberezh’ia Kavkaza*. Moscow and Vladivostok.
- Balkanska, A. (1984) “Amfori i amforni pečati,” in T. Ivanov, ed., *Sevtopolis*, vol. 1, 115–58. Sofia.
- Balkanska, A., and C. Tzochev (2008) “Amphora Stamps from Seuthopolis – Revised,” in D. Gergova, ed., *Phosphorion: studia in honorem Mariae Ćiĭkova*, 188–205. Sofia.
- Ballabriga, A. (1986) *Le Soleil et le Tartare. L’image mythique du monde en Grĕce archaıque*. Paris.
- Ballard, R. D., F. T. Hiebert, D. F. Coleman, C. Ward, J. Smith, K. Willis, B. Foley, K. Croff, C. Major, and F. Torre (2001) “Deepwater Archaeology of the Black Sea: The 2000 Season at Sinope, Turkey,” *AJA* 105.4: 607–23.
- Belayche, N., and S. C. Mimouni, eds. (2009) *Entre lignes de partage et territoires de passage. Les identitĕs religieuses dans les mondes grec et romain. “Paganismes”, “judaismes”, “christianismes.”* Paris, Louvain, and Walpole, MA.
- Bell, K. L. C., and S. A. Fuller, eds. (2011) *New Frontiers in Ocean Exploration*. Oceanography 24, Suppl. Washington, DC.
- Bĕrard, C. (1974) *Anodoi. Essai sur l’imagerie des passages chthoniens*. Neuchĕtel.
- Berzeniŭvili, K’., and R. P’ut’uriŭze (1975) “Biĭvintaŭi mopovebuli amp’orebi (katalogi),” in A. Ap’ak’iŭze, ed., *Didi Pitiunti. Ark’eologiuri gat’xrebi biĭvintaŭi*, vol. 1, 252–79. Tbilisi.
- Bessonova, S. S., and D. S. Kirilin (1977) “Nadgrobnii rel’ef is Trĕkhbratnego kurgana,” in A. I. Terenozhkin, ed., *Skify i sarmaty*, 128–39. Kiev.
- Bidder, H. (1889) “De Strabonis studiis homeris capita selecta.” Dissertation. Kĕnigsberg.
- Bidziliia, V. I., and S. V. Polin (2012) *Skifskii tsarskii kurgan Gaımanova Mogila*. Kiev.
- Bingĕl, O. (1980) *Das ionische Normalkapitell in hellenistischer und rĕmischer Zeit in Kleinasien*. IstMitt-BH 20. Tĕbingen.
- Bırzescu, I. (2012) *Die archaischen und frĕhklassischen transportamphoren*. Histria 15. Bucharest.
- Bjelajac, L. (1996) *Amfore gornjo mezijskog Podunavlja*. Belgrade.
- Blagovolın, N. S., and A. N. Shcheglov (1968) “Kolebaniia urovniia Chĕrnogo moria po dannym arkheologo-geomorfologicheskikh issledovaniı v iugo-zapadnom Krymu,” *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR (Geographical Series)* 2: 49–58.

- Blagovolin, N. S., and S. V. Pobedonoscev (1973) "Present Vertical Movements of Black Sea and Azov Sea Coasts," *Geomorphology* 3: 44–55.
- Blavatskaïa, T. V., ed. (1967) *Antichnoe obshchestvo. Trudy konferentsii po izucheniiu problem antichnosti*, 193–204. Moscow.
- Blavatskii, V. D. (1947) *Iskusstvo Severnogo Prichernomor'ia antichnoi epokhi*. Moscow.
- Blavatskii, V. D. (1953) "Novye dannye o stroitel'stve Pantikapeia," *SovArkh* 17: 163–82.
- Blavatskii, V. D. (1954) "Arkhaischeskii Bospor," in M. I. Kobylina, ed., *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkhologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia v antichnuu epokhu*, 7–44. MIA 33. Moscow.
- Blavatskii, V. D. (1957) "Stroitel'noe delo Pantikapeia po dannym raskopok 1945–1949 i 1952–1953 gg.," in I. B. Zeest, ed., *Pantikapei*, 5–95. MIA 56. Moscow.
- Blavatskii, V. D. (1962) "Otchet o raskopkakh Pantikapeia v 1945–1949, 1952 i 1953 gg.," in I. B. Zeest and I. D. Marchenko, eds., *Pantikapei*, 6–85. MIA 103. Moscow.
- Blavatskii, V. D. (1964) *Pantikapei. Ocherki istorii stolitsy Bospora*. Moscow.
- Blitzer, H. (1990) "Κορωνεια Storage Jar Production and Trade in the Traditional Aegean," *Hesperia* 59: 675–711.
- Blondé, F., and A. Muller, eds. (2000) *L'Artisanat en Grèce ancienne. Les productions, les diffusions*. Actes du colloque de Lyon, 1998. Lille.
- Boardman, J. (1959) "Chian and Early Ionic Architecture," *AntJ* 39.3–4: 170–218.
- Boardman, J. (1962–3) "Greek Archaeology on the Shores of the Black Sea," *AR* 9: 34–51.
- Bochkovoi, V. V., N. Iu. Limberis, and I. I. Marchenko (2005) "Pogrebeniia s amforami iz mogil'nika gorodishcha Spornoe," *MIAK* 5: 172–218.
- Boegehold, A. L., and A. C. Scafuro, eds. (1994) *Athenian Identity and Civic Ideology*. Baltimore and London.
- Boetto, G. (2012) "Les épaves comme sources pour l'étude de la navigation et des routes commerciales: une approche méthodologique," in Keay, 153–73.
- Boisacq, E. (1916) *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Heidelberg and Paris.
- Boltenko, M. (1930) "Do pytanniia pro chas vynyknenniia ta nazvu davnishoi ionii's'koï oseli nad Boristenom," *Visnyk Odes'koï Komisii Kraïeznavstva* 4–5: 35–9.
- Bon, A.–M., and A. Bon (1957) *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos*. Paris.
- Bongard-Levin, G. M., and V. D. Kuznetsov, eds. (2010) *Antichnoe nasledie Kubani*, 2 vols. Moscow.
- Boriskovskaïa, S. P., ed. (1999) *Drevnii gorod Nimfeï*. Exhibition catalogue. St. Petersburg.
- Börker, Chr. (1998) "Der Pergamon-Komplex," in Chr. Börker and J. Burow, eds., *Die hellenistischen Amphorenstempel aus Pergamon*, 1–69. Berlin and New York.
- Boschung, D. (1987) *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms*. Bern.
- Bouzek, J. (1994) "Sea and River Transport in Antiquity and its Cost," in M. Lazarov and Ch. Angelova, eds., *Thracia Pontica VI. La Thrace et les sociétés maritimes anciennes*, 43–4. Sozopol.
- Bowersock, G. W., and C. P. Jones (2006) "A New Inscription from Panticapaeum," *ZPE* 156: 117–28.
- Brashinskii, I. B. (1963) *Afiny i Severnoe Prichernomor'e v VI–II vv. do n. é.* Moscow.
- Brashinskii, I. B. (1965) "Novye materialy k datirovke kurganov skifskoi plemennoi znati Severnogo Prichernomor'ia," *Eirene* 4: 89–110.
- Brashinskii, I. B. (1970) "Opyt ekonomiko-geograficheskogo raionirovaniia antichnogo Prichernomor'ia," *VDI* 2: 129–37.
- Brashinskii, I. B. (1976a) "Metodika izucheniiia standartov drevnegrecheskoi keramicheskoi tary," *SovArkh* 3: 87–102.
- Brashinskii, I. B. (1976b) "Nekotorye voprosy metodiki issledovaniia importa tovarov v keramicheskoi tare v antichnoe Prichernomor'e," *KSLA* 148: 10–15.

- Brashinskii, I. B. (1980) *Grecheskii keramicheskii import na Nizhnem Donu*. Leningrad.
- Brashinskii, I. B. (1984) *Metody issledovaniia antichnoi trgovli*. Leningrad.
- Braund, D. (1996) "The Historical Function of Myths in the Cities of the Eastern Black Sea Coast," in O. Lordkipanidzé and P. Lévêque, eds., *Sur les traces des Argonautes. Actes du 6e symposium de Vani (Colchide) 22–29 septembre 1990*, 11–19. Paris.
- Braund, D. (1998) "Writing and Re-Inventing Colonial Origins. Problems from Colchis and the Bosporus," in G. R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area*, 287–96. Stuttgart.
- Braund, D. (2007) "Parthenos and the Nymphs at Crimean Chersonesos: Colonial Appropriation and Native Integration," in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 191–200.
- Bravo, B. (2001) "Un frammento della *Piccola Iliade* (P. Oxy. 2510), lo stile narrativo tardo-arcaico, i racconti su Achille immortale," *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 67: 49–114.
- Brede, K. A. (1960) "Rozkopky Havrylivs'koho horodyshcha rubezhu nashoi ery," *Arkheolohichni pamiatki URSR* 9: 191–203.
- Brélaz, C. (2013) "Les 'pauvres' comme composante du corps civique dans les *poleis* des époques hellénistique et impériale," *Ktema* 38: 67–87.
- Bresson, A., A. Ivantchik, and J.-L. Ferrary, eds. (2007) *Une koinè pontique. Cités grecques, sociétés indigènes et empires mondiaux sur le littoral nord de la Mer Noire (VIIe s. a.C.–IIIe s. p.C.)*. Bordeaux.
- Brockmann, A. (1968) "Die griechische Ante." PhD diss., Philipps University, Marburg.
- Brosseder, U. (2012) "Belt Plaques as an Indicator of East–West Relations in the Eurasian Steppe at the Turn of the Millennia," in U. Brosseder and B. K. Miller, eds., *Xiongnu Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Perspectives of the First Steppe Empire in Inner Asia*, 349–424. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology 5. Bonn.
- Brückner, H., D. Kelterbaum, O. Marunchak, A. Porotov, and A. Vött (2010) "The Holocene Sea Level Story since 7500 BP: Lessons from the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black and Azov Seas," *Quaternary International* 225: 160–79.
- Bruiaiko, I. V. (1999a) "Ot dioramy k panorame. (O perspektivakh na puti resheniia problema severopontiiskogo krizisa III v. do R.Kh.)," *Stratum Plus* 3: 325–32.
- Bruiaiko, I. V. (1999b) "O sobytiakh III v. do n. è. v Severo-Zapadnom Prichernomor'e (chetyre kontseptsii krizisa)," *VDI* 3: 76–91.
- Bruiaiko, I. V., and V. A. Karpov (1992) "Drevniia geografiia i kolebaniia urovniia moriia (na primere severo-zapadnoi chasti Chernomorskogo basseina v antichnuu epokhu)," *VDI* 2: 87–97.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2004) "K probleme dekorativnogo zaversheniia altarei pozdenarkhai-cheskogo vremeni iz Pantikapeia," *Bosporskie issledovaniia* 5: 9–18.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2005) "Nekotorye polemicheskie zametki po povodu stanovleniia i razvitiia Borisfena i Ol'vii v VI v. do n. è.," *VDI* 2: 146–65.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2006) "Arkhiturnye kamennye detali," in Zin'ko, 95–100.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2007) "Novaia kapitel' iz Pantikapeia (k probleme razvitiia arkhiturny ionicheskogo ordena na Bospore)," *Bosporskie issledovaniia* 17: 58–77.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2008) *Prostranstvennoe razvitie Khersonesa Tavricheskogo v antichnuu epokhu*. Simferopol.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2009) *Antichnaia arkhitura*. Catalogue. *Iz sobranii Kerchenskogo istoriko-kul'turnogo zapovednika. Lapidarnaia kolleksiia*, vol. iv.i. Kiev.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2011) "Kapitel' ionicheskogo ordena iz Germonassy (o metodike i metodakh issledovaniia arkhiturny Bospora)," *Drevnosti Bospora* 15: 30–44.
- Buiskikh, A. V. (2013a) "O grecheskoi kolonizatsii Severo-Zapadnom Prichernomor'ia. (Novaia model?)," *VDI* 1: 21–39.

- Buiskikh, A. V. (2013b) *Arkhaicheskaia raspisnata keramika iz Ol'vii*. Kiev.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (1987) "Issledovaniia Beikushskogo poseleniia," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1985 goda* 312–13.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (1988) "Issledovaniia na khore Ol'vii," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1986 goda* 259.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (1989) "Issledovanie v ur. Glubokaia Pristan'," in Iu. G. Vinogradov, ed., *Problemy skifo-sarmatskoï arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Conference paper abstracts, 23–4. Zaporozhia.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (1991) *Fortifikatsiia Ol'viiskogo gosudarstva (pervye veka nashei ery)*. Kiev.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (1997) "Antichnye poseleniia Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia dorimskogo vremeni (opyt kartografirovaniia)," in Okhotnikov, 98–102.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (1999) "Eschë raz o tak nazyvaemoi 'Odesskoï' Istrii," in S. B. Okhotnikov, ed., *Kratkie soobshcheniia Odesskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, 84–91. Odessa.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (2004) "K nachalam istorii Ol'viiskogo polisa," in Zuev, 83–9.
- Buiskikh, S. B. (2006) "Seraia keramika kak ètnopokazatel' grecheskogo naseleniia Nizhnego Pobuzh'ia v VI–I vv. do n. è.," *Bosporskie issledovaniia* 11: 29–57.
- Buiskikh, S. B., and M. M. Ievlev (1986) "O topografii gorodishch Nizhnego Pobuzh'ia pervykh vekov nashei ery," in V. A. Anokhin, ed., *Antichnaia kul'tura Severnogo Prichernomor'ia v pervye veka nashei ery*, 64–76. Kiev.
- Buis'kykh, S. B. (2001) "Viis'kova sprava antychnykh derzhav Pivnichnoho Prychornomor'ia," in P. P. Tolochko, ed., *Istoriia kul'tury davn'oho naselenniia Ukrainy*, vol. 1, 516–27. Kiev.
- Buis'kykh, S. B. (2004) "Sviatylshcha extra-urban i epokhy hres'koi kolonizatsii Nyzhn'oho Pobuzh'zha," *Arkheolohiia* 3: 3–14.
- Bujskich, A. V. (2010) *Die antiken Architekturformen im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet*. AF 26. Wiesbaden.
- Bujskich, S. B. (2006a) "Kap Bejkuš – Kap des Achilleus: eine Kultstätte des göttlichen Heros im Mündungsgebiet des Bug," in Hupe, 111–53.
- Bujskich, S. B. (2006b) "Die Chora des pontischen Olbia: Die Hauptetappen der räumlich-strukturellen Entwicklung," in Guldager Bilde and Stolba, 115–39.
- Bujskikh, A. V. (2007) "The North-Pontic Architectural School: Problems of Genesis," in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 133–9.
- Bujskikh, S. B. (2007) "Der Achilleus-Kult und die griechische Kolonisation des unteren Bug-Gebietes," in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 201–12.
- Bulatovich, S. A. (1990) "Antichnye nakhodki na o. Zmeinyi," in *Problemy arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Conference paper abstracts. Part 2, 56–7. Kherson.
- Bunbury, E. H. (1959) *A History of Ancient Geography*, 2nd edn., vol. 1. London and New York.
- Buniatian, K. P. (2002) "Do rekonstruktsii sposobu zhyttia skotariv stepovoi smuhy Pivnichnoho Nadchornomor'ia," *Naukovi Zapysky Natsional'noho Universytetu 'Kyïvo-Mohylans'ka akademii'* 20: 155–60.
- Burkert, W. (1960/1) "Elysion," *Glotta* 39.3/4: 208–13.
- Burkert, W. (1985) *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*. Oxford.
- Burow, J. (1998) "Die übrigen Stempel aus Pergamon," in Chr. Börker and J. Burow, eds., *Die hellenistischen Amphorenstempel aus Pergamon*, 73–160. Berlin and New York.
- Buschor, E. (1957) "Altsamischer Bauschmuck," *AM* 72: 1–34.
- Buŭiagin, A. M. (2000) "Ranniï Mirmekii," in *Pantikapeï, Bospor, Kerch. 26 vekov drevnei stolise*. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii, 9–14. Kerch.
- Buynevich, I. V. (2007) "Barrier-Fronted Saltponds (Cape Cod, USA) and Limans (NW Black Sea, Ukraine): Comparative Morphostratigraphy and Response to Sea-Level Rise," *Quaternary International* 168: 12–18.

- Buynevich, I. V., V. V. Yanko-Hombach, A. S. Gilbert, and R. E. Martin, eds. (2011) *Geology and Geoarchaeology of the Black Sea Region: Beyond the Flood Hypothesis*. Geological Society of America Special Paper 473. Boulder, CO.
- Buynevich, I.V., S.V. Kadurin, I. A. Losev, E. P. Larchenkov, I. Darchenko, and D. Kolesnik (2012) “Erosional Indicators in Late Holocene Beach-Dune Complexes of Southwestern Ukraine,” in *GSA Abstracts with Programs. 2012 Annual Meeting, Charlotte, NC*, 107.
- Buzoianu, L., and M. Bărbulescu (2008) *Albești. Monografie arheologică* I. Constanta.
- Bylkova, V. P. (1993) “Kompleks sarmatskogo vremeni iz s. Solontsy Khersonskoi obl.,” *SovArkh* 1: 164–8.
- Bylkova, V. P. (2007) *Nizhnee Podneprov'e v antichnuiu epokhu (po materialam raskopok posele-nii)*. Kherson.
- Canali De Rossi, F. (2007) *Filius publicus. Υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως e titoli affini in iscrizioni greche di età imperiale*. Studi sul vocabolario dell'evergesia 1. Rome.
- Canarace, V. (1957) *Importul amforelor ștampilate la Istria*. Bucharest.
- Carlson, D. (2003) “The Classical Greek Shipwreck at Tektas Burnu, Turkey,” *AJA* 107.4: 581–600.
- Carlson, D., and M. Lawall (2006) “Towards a Typology of Erythraian Amphoras,” *Skyllis 2005–2006* (1–2): 32–9.
- Carlsson, S. (2010) *Hellenistic Democracies: Freedom, Independence and Political Procedure in Some East Greek City-States*. Stuttgart.
- Carpenter, R. (1948) “The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea,” *AJA* 52.1: 1–10.
- Carpenter, R. (1956) *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics*, 2nd edn. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Casagrande-Kim, R. (2012) “The Journey to the Underworld: Topography, Landscape, and Divine Inhabitants of the Roman Hades.” PhD diss., Columbia University, New York.
- Casson, L. (1971) *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Baltimore and London.
- Catedra, M. (1991) “‘Through the Door’: A View of Space from Anthropological Perspective,” in D. M. Mark and A. U. Frank, eds., *Cognitive and Linguistic Aspects of Geographical Space*. Dordrecht.
- Cavafy, C. P. (1992) *Collected Poems*, trans. E. Keely and P. Sherrard, ed. G. Savidis, rev. edn. Princeton.
- Chaniotis, A. (1999) “Empfängerformular und Urkundenfälschung: Bemerkungen zum Urkundendossier von Magnesia am Mäander,” in R. G. Khoury, ed., *Urkunden und Urkundenformulare im Klassischen Altertum und in den orientalischen Kulturen*, 51–69. Heidelberg.
- Chaniotis, A. (2004) “New Inscriptions from Aphrodisias (1995–2001),” *AJA* 108.3: 377–416.
- Chaniotis, A. (2005a) *War in the Hellenistic World: A Social and Cultural History*. Malden, MA.
- Chaniotis, A. (2005b) “Griechische Rituale der Statusänderung und ihre Dynamik,” in M. Steinicke and S. Weinfurter, eds., *Investitur- und Krönungsrituale*, 43–61. Cologne and Weimar.
- Chaniotis, A. (2006) “Rituals between Norms and Emotions: Rituals as Shared Experience and Memory,” in E. Stavrianopoulou, ed., *Rituals and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World*, 211–38. Liège.
- Chaniotis, A. (2007) “Theatre Rituals,” in P. Wilson, ed., *The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary Studies*, 48–66. Oxford.
- Chaniotis, A. (2009a) *Theatrikotēta kai dēmosios bios ston hellēnistiko kosmo*. Herakleion.
- Chaniotis, A. (2009b) “European Identity: Learning from the Past?” in A. Chaniotis, A. Kuhn, and C. Kuhn, eds., *Applied Classics: Constructs, Comparisons, Controversies*, 27–56. Stuttgart.

- Chaniotis, A. (2012) "Moving Stones: The Study of Emotions in Greek Inscriptions," in A. Chaniotis, ed., *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, 91–129. Stuttgart.
- Chaniotis, A. (2013) "Paradoxon, *Enargeia*, Empathy: Hellenistic Decress and Hellenistic Oratory," in C. Kremmydas and K. Tempest, eds., *Hellenistic Oratory: Continuity and Change*, 201–16. Oxford.
- Chantraine, P. (1956) *Études sur le vocabulaire grec*. Paris.
- Chantraine, P. (1968) *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, vol. 1. Paris.
- Chepalyga, A. L. (1984) "Inland Sea Basins," in A. A. Velichko, ed., *Late Quaternary Environments of the Soviet Union*, 229–47. Minneapolis.
- Chistov, D. E. (2006) "Raboty na ostrove Berezan' arkheologicheskoiĭ ěkspeditsii Gosudrastvennogo Ėrmitazha v 2004 g.," in Īa. V. Domanskiĭ, V. Īu. Zuev, Īu. I. Il'ina, K. K. Marchenko, V. V. Nazarov, and D. E. Chistov, eds., *Materialy Berezanskoĭ (Nizhnebugskoĭ) antichnoĭ arkheologicheskoiĭ ěkspeditsii*, vol. 1, 57–126. St. Petersburg.
- Chistov, D. E. (2012) "Kompleksy i naplastovaniĭa konĭsa VII–serediny VI v. do n. ě.," in D. E. Chistov, ed., *Materialy Berezanskoĭ (Nizhnebugskoĭ) antichnoĭ arkheologicheskoiĭ ěkspeditsii*, vol. 11, *Issledovaniĭa na ostrove Berezan' v 2005–2009 gg.*, 8–19. St. Petersburg.
- Chochorowski, J., E. Papuci-Władyka, E. F. Redina, T. N. Kokorňickaja, L. V. Nosova, J. Bodzek, and W. Machowski (2001) "The Polish-Ukrainian Excavation at Koshary, Odessa District: 1998–2001," in *Kryzhyt'skyĭ*, 148–50.
- Clinkenbeard, B. G. (1982) "Lesbian Wine and Storage Amphoras. A Progress Report on Identification," *Hesperia* 51: 248–67.
- Clinkenbeard, B. G. (1986) "Lesbian and Thasian Wine Amphoras: Questions Concerning Collaboration," in *Empereur and Garlan*, 353–62.
- Cojocaru, V. (2004) *Populaĭia zonei nordice ŝi nord-vestice a Pontului Euxin ĩn secolele VI–I a. Chr. pe baza izvoarelor epigrafice*. Iaŝi.
- Cojocaru, V. (2009a) "Zur Proxenie in den griechischen Stadten des Pontischen Raumes," *Pontica* 42: 349–74.
- Cojocaru, V. (2009b) "'Fremde' in griechischen Stadten Skythiens und Kleinskythiens auf Grundlage der epigraphischen Quellen bis zum 3. Jh. n. Chr. Forschungsstand und Perspektive," in Coŝkun, Heinen, and Pfeiffer, 143–72.
- Cojocaru, V. (2009c) "Von Byzantion nach Olbia: zur Proxenie und zu den Aussenbeziehungen auf der Grundlage einer Ehreninschrift," *Arheologia Moldovei* 22: 41–56.
- Conovici, N. (1998) *Les timbres amphoriques 2. Sinope (tuiles timbrees comprises)*. Histria 8.2. Bucharest and Paris.
- Conze, A., A. Hauser, and O. Benndorf (1880) *Neue archaologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake II*. Vienna.
- Cook, R. M., and P. Dupont (1998) *East Greek Pottery*. London and New York.
- Corbey, R., R. Layton, and J. Tanner (2004) "Archaeology and Art," in J. Bintliff, ed., *A Companion to Archaeology*, 357–79. Oxford.
- Corsen, P. (1913) "Die Sybille im sechsten Buch der Aeneis," *Sokrates. Zeitschrift fur das Gymnasialwesen*, Neue Folge 1: 1–16.
- Coŝkun, A., H. Heinen, and S. Pfeiffer, eds. (2009) *Identitat und Zugehorigkeit im Osten der griechisch-romischen Welt. Aspekte ihrer Reprasentation in Stadten, Provinzen und Reichen*. Frankfurt.
- Courtills, J. des (1997) "Mouleurs architecturaux en marbre de l'île de Thasos," *BCH* 121: 489–552.
- Cumont, F. V. M. (1925) "Fragment de bouclier, portant une liste d'etapes," *Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archeologie* 5: 1–15.
- Cunliffe, B. W. (1997) *The Ancient Celts*. Oxford.

- Cunliffe, B. W. (2011) "In the Fabulous Celtic Twilight," in L. Bonfante, ed., *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, 190–211. New York.
- D'Ambra, E. (1995) "Mourning and Making of Ancestors in the Testamentum Relief," *AJA* 99.4: 667–81.
- Dan, A. (2007–9) "“Έναν καιρόν κι έιναν ζαμών ...: remarques sur l'antiquité de l'identité grecque pontique,” *Il Mar Nero* 7: 9–65.
- Dan, A. (2014) "Pontische Mehrdeutigkeiten," *eTopoi. Journal for Ancient Studies* 3: 43–66.
- Dana, D., and M. Dana (2001–3) "Histoires locales dans le Pont-Euxin ouest et nord. Identité grecque et construction du passé," *Il Mar Nero* 5: 91–111.
- Dana, M. (2007) "Cultes locaux et identité grecque dans les cités du Pont-Euxin," *LEC* 75: 171–86.
- Dana, M. (2011) *Culture et mobilité dans le Pont-Euxin. Approche régionale de la vie culturelle des cités grecques*. Bordeaux.
- Dana, M. (2012) "Pontiques et étrangers dans les cités de la mer Noire: le rôle des citoyennetés multiples dans l'essor d'une culture régionale," in A. Heller and A.-V. Pont, eds., *Patrie d'origine et patries électives: les citoyennetés multiples dans le monde grec d'époque romaine*, 249–66. Bordeaux.
- Dashevskaiā, O. D. (1991) *Pozdnie skify v Krymu. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov* D1–07. Moscow.
- Davies, G. M. (1978) "The Door Motif in Roman Funerary Sculpture," in H. McK. Blake, T. W. Potter, and D. B. Whitehouse, eds., *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: The Lancaster Seminar. Recent Research in Prehistoric, Classical, and Medieval Archaeology*, part 1, 203–26. London.
- Davies, J. (2001) "Hellenistic Economies in the Post-Finley Era," in Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen, and G. J. Oliver, eds., *Hellenistic Economies*, 11–62. London and New York.
- Davydova, L. I. (2000) "“Bosporan Art’: A Problem of Definition,” *Tamanskaiā starina* 3: 96–8.
- Davydova, L. I. ed. (2004) *Antichnaiā skul’ptura*, vol. 1, *Iz sobranīa Kerchenskogo Gosudarstvennogo Istoriko-Kul’turnogo Zapovednika. Lapidarnaiā kolleksiīa*. Kiev.
- Deopik, D. V. (1981) "Keramicheskiī kompleks i kul’turnyi sloī," in I. D. Koval’chenko, ed., *Matematicheskie metody v soīshal’no-ėkonomicheskikh i arkheologicheskikh issledovanīiakh*, 222–66. Moscow.
- Deopik, D. V., and A. M. Karapet’ianĭs (1970) "Nekotorye printīipy opisaniā primenitel’no k vozmozhnostiām statisticheskogo analiza," in B. N. Kolchin and Ī. A. Sher, eds., *Statistiko-kombinatornye metody v arkheologii*, 100–19. Moscow.
- Deopik, D. V., and O. Ī. Krug (1972) "“ėvoliūtsīiā uzkogorlykh svetloglinīanykh amfor s profilirovannymi ruchkami,” *SovArkh* 3: 100–15.
- Diamant, Ī. I. (1974) "Poselenīa antichnogo vremeni na territorii g. Odessy," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiā 1973 goda*: 270–1.
- Diamant, Ī. I. (1975) "Raskopki poselenīi antichnogo vremeni na poberezh’e Odesskogo zaliva V–III vekov do n. ě.," in *150 let Odesskomu arkheologicheskomu muzėiu AN USSR*. Conference paper abstracts, 117–19. Kiev.
- Diamant, Ī. I. (1976) "Poselenie i mogil’nik V–III vv. do n. ě. na meste Primorskogo bul’vara v Odesse," *Materialy po arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor’iā* 8: 204–14.
- Diamant, Ī. I. (1978) "Monetnye nakhodki Kosharskogo poselenīa. (K voprosu o zapadnoi granitse Ol’viiskogo polisa)," in P. O. Karyshkovskiī, ed., *Arkheologicheskie issledovanīa Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor’iā*, 241–9. Kiev.
- Diamant, Ī. I. (1984) "O datirovke Luzanovskogo poselenīa," in G. A. Dzis-Raiĭko, ed., *Novye arkheologicheskie issledovanīa na Odeschine*, 83–8. Kiev.

- Diamant, È. I., and V. I. Kuz'menko (1978) "Raskopki Zhevakhovskogo poseleniia na poberezh'e Odesskogo zaliva," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1977 goda* 321–2.
- Didyk, V.V. (2011) "Tanaïs'ki amfory lisostepovoho mezhhyrichchâ Dnipro ta Sivers'koho Dintsia: problemy dovozu i datuvanniâ," *Drevnosti* 10: 139–49.
- Diehl, E. (1927) "Review of *Ostrov Belyi i Tavrika na Jevksinskom Ponte* by Ivan Tolstoi (Petrograd 1918)," *Gnomon* 3.11/12: 633–43.
- Diehl, E. (1953) "Pontarches," in *RE* xxii.i, 1–18.
- Dihle, A. (1970) *Homer-Probleme*. Opladen.
- Dimitrova, N. (2002) "Inscriptions and Iconography in the Monuments of the Thracian Rider," *Hesperia* 71.2: 209–29.
- Dmitriev, S. (2005) *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Oxford.
- Dittenberger, W. (1907) "Ethnika und Verwandtes. III," *Hermes* 42: 1–34.
- Dobrofibskii, A. O. (2001) "Gavan' istrian. Otkrytie i perspektivy izucheniiâ," in Kopylov, 34–7.
- Dobrofibskii, A. O., and A.V. Krasnozhon (1998) "Bluzhdaifushshchie gavanii istrian i isiakov," in V. N. Stanko, ed., *Drevnee Prichernomor'e*, 51–6. Odessa.
- Dobrofibskii, A. O., and A. V. Krasnozhon (2002) "Nekropol' antichnogo poseleniia 'Primorskii bul'var' v Odesse," in Zuev, 18–24.
- Dobrofibskii, A. O., and A. V. Krasnozhon (2005) "Topokhronologiiâ, stratigrafiâ i periodizatsiia poseleniia 'Primorskii bul'var' v Odesse," in V. Iu. Zuev, ed., *Bosporskii fenomen: problemy sootnosheniia pis'mennykh i arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*, 172–8. St. Petersburg.
- Dobrofibskii, A. O., and A. V. Krasnozhon (2006) "Sledy tsaria Dariia u dvortsa kniazia Voronsova," in Kushnir, 62–7.
- Dobrofibskii, A., O. Gubar', and A. Krasnozhon (2002) *Borisfen, Khadzhibei, Odessa. Istoriko-arkheologicheskie ocherki*. Odessa and Kishenev.
- Doger, E. (1986) "Premières remarques sur les amphores de Clazomènes," in Empereur and Garlan, 461–71.
- Dolukhanov, P. M., and K. K. Shilik (2007) "Environment, Sea-Level Changes, and Human Migrations in the Northern Pontic Area during Late Pleistocene and Holocene Times," in Yanko-Hombach et al., 297–318.
- Domingo Gyax M. (2016) *The Benefactions and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City. The Origins of Euergetism*. Cambridge.
- Doonan, O. P. (2004) *Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connections in the Black Sea Hinterland*. Philadelphia.
- Dössel, A. (2003) *Die Beilegung innerstaatlicher Konflikte in den griechischen Poleis vom 5.–3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Frankfurt.
- Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, A., and Y. Garlan (1990) "Vin et amphores de Péparéthos et d'Ikos," *BCH* 114: 361–89.
- Dovatur, A. I., D. P. Kallistov, and I. A. Shishova (1982) *Narody nashei strany v "Istorii" Gerodota*. Moscow.
- Drachuk, V. S. (1975) *Sistemy znakov Severnogo Prichernomor'ia: Tamgoobraznye znaki Severopontiiskoi periferii antichnogo mira pervykh vekov nashei ery*. Kiev.
- Dräger, P. (1996) "Ein Mimnermos-Fragment bei Strabon (11/11a W, 10 G/P, 11 A)," *Mnemosyne* 49.1: 30–45.
- Du Plat Taylor, J., ed. (1965) *Marine Archaeology*. London.
- Dubois, L. (1996) *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont*. Geneva.
- Duchemin, J. (1974) *Prométhée. Histoire du mythe, de ses origines orientales à ses incarnations modernes*. Paris.

- Dupont, P. (2011) "Données archéométriques préliminaires sur les amphores du type de Lesbos," in Tzocher, Stoyanov, and Bozkova, 171–8.
- Dupont, P., and V. Lungu (2010) "Erythraea," in Kassab Tezgör and Inaishvili, 39–56.
- Dvornichenko, V. V., and G. A. Fëdorov-Davydov (1993) "Sarmatskoe pogrebenie skeptukha I v. n. è. u s. Kosika Astrakhanskoï oblasti," *VDI* 3: 141–79.
- Dyczek, P. (1996) "Novae. Une forteresse de la Première Légion Italique. Remarques concernant les amphores romaines aux I–III siècles ap. J.-C.," *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 29: 23–40.
- Dyczek, P. (2001) *Roman Amphorae of the 1–3 Centuries AD Found in the Lower Danube*. Warsaw.
- Dzagurova, V. P. (2007) *Geraklêâ Pontiïskââ v period eï avtonomii*. Moscow.
- Dzis-Raïko, G., and E. Sunichuk (1984) "Kompleks predmetov skifskogo vremeni iz s. Velikoploskoe," in I. Cherniakov, ed., *Ranniï zheleznyi vek Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'â*, 148–61. Kiev.
- Ebert, M., and A. Schlitz (1913) "Ausgrabungen auf dem Gute Maritzyn," *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 5.1–2: 1–80.
- Edzard, D. O. (1993) "Meer. A. Mesopotamien," in *RIA* VIII, 1–3.
- Ehrhardt, N. (1983) *Milet und seine Kolonien. Vergleichende Untersuchungen der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen*. Frankfurt.
- Eiring, J., and J. Lund, eds. (2004) *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: Acts of an International Colloquium at the Danish Institute of Athens, 26–29 September 2002*. Aarhus.
- Eiseman, C. J. (1987) *The Porticello Shipwreck (A Mediterranean Merchant Vessel of 415–385 B.C.)*. Texas.
- Eliseev, V. F., and V. N. Klîushentsev (1982) "Novye pamiâtники pervykh vekov n. è. v mezhdurech'e Ingul'tsa i Berezanki," in A. V. Gudkova, ed., *Pamiâtники rimskogo i srednevekovogo vremeni v Severo-Zapadnom Prichernomor'e*, 149–54. Kiev.
- Elsner, J. (2003) "Style," in R. S. Nelson and R. Schiff, eds., *Critical Terms for Art History*, 2nd edn., 98–109. Chicago and London.
- Empereur, J.-Y. (1982) "Les anses d'amphores timbrées et les amphores: aspects quantitatifs," *BCH* 106: 219–33.
- Empereur, J.-Y. (1993) "La production viticole dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine," in M.-C. Amouretti and J.-P. Brun, eds., *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée*. BCH Suppl. xxvi, 39–47.
- Empereur, J.-Y., and Y. Garlan, eds. (1986) *Recherches sur les amphores grecques*. BCH Suppl. XIII. Paris.
- Empereur, J.-Y., and Y. Garlan, (1997) "Bulletin archéologique," *REG* 110: 161–209.
- Empereur, J.-Y., and A. Hesnard A. (1987) "Les amphores hellénistiques," in P. Leveque and J.-P. Morel, eds., *Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines*, 9–72. Paris.
- Escher-Bürkli, J. (1894) "Aietes," in *RE* 1, 942–4.
- Fedoseev, N. F. (1997) "Zum achämenidischen Einfluss auf die historische Entwicklung der nordpontischen griechischen Staaten," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 29: 309–19.
- Fedoseev, N. F. (1999) "Classification des timbres astynomiques de Sinope," in Garlan 1999b, 27–48.
- Fedoseev, N. F. (2004) "O keramicheskikh kleïmakh, 'sravnitel'nykh ob'ëmakh importa' i poselenii 'Baklan'â skala'," *Drevnosti Bospora* 7: 366–404.
- Fedoseev, N. F. (2010) "Keramicheskii kompleks pomeshcheniâ 52 doma 13 grecheskogo ëmporiâ na Elizavetovskom gorodishche," *Drevnosti Bospora* 14: 562–82.

- Fedoseev, N. F. (2012) *Keramicheskie kleïma. Bospor.* Kiev.
- Fedoseev, N. F., A. L. Ermolin, and A. V. Kulikov (2008) “Keramicheskiï kompleks iz raïona rybokonservnogo zavoda v Kerchi,” *Drevnosti Bospora* 12-II: 483–505.
- Fernoux, H.-L. (2005) “L’institution populaire dans les cités d’Asie Mineure sous le Haut-Empire,” in H. Duchêne, ed., *Survivance et métamorphoses*, 19–71. Dijon.
- Ferrary, J.-L. (2001) “Le roi Archélaos de Cappadoce à Délos,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145.2: 799–815.
- Ferrary, J.-L. (2007) “L’essor de la puissance romaine dans la zone pontique,” in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 319–25.
- Fettich, N. (1953) “Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der sarmatisch-dakischen Beziehungen,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 3: 127–78.
- Figueira, T. (1999) “The Evolution of the Messenian Identity,” in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell, eds., *Sparta: New Perspectives*, 211–44. London.
- Filipova-Marinova, M. (2007) “Archaeological and Paleontological Evidence of Climate Dynamics, Sea-Level Change, and Coastline Migration in the Bulgarian Sector of the Circum-Pontic Region,” in Yanko-Hombach et al., 453–81.
- Filis, K. (2012a) “Transport Amphorae Workshops in Macedonia and Thrace during the Late Classical and Hellenistic Times,” in S. Drougou and I. Touratsoglou, eds., *Topics on Hellenistic Pottery in Ancient Macedonia*. Athens, 60–85.
- Filis, K. (2012b) “Iōnikoi emporikoi amforeis sto boreio Aigaio,” in M. Tiverios, V. Misailidou-Despotidou, E. Manakidou, and A. Arvanitaki, eds., *Archaic Pottery of the Northern Aegean and its Periphery (700–480 BC)*, 265–80. Thessaloniki.
- Filis, K. (2013) “Transport Amphorae from Akanthos,” in L. Buzoianu, P. Dupont, and V. Lungu, eds., *PATABS III: Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea*, 67–87. Constanta.
- Finogenova, S. I. (1986) “Nastennye rospisi i poly pantikapeïskogo pritaneïa,” in G. A. Koshelenko, ed., *Problemy antichnoi kul’tury*, 205–9. Moscow.
- Finogenova, S. I. (2010) “Germonassa,” in Bongard-Levin and Kuznetsov, vol. 1, 510–28.
- FitzGerald, D. M., M. S. Fenster, B. Argow, and I. V. Buynevich (2008) “Coastal Impacts Due to Sea-Level Rise,” *Annual Review of Earth and Planetary Sciences* 36: 601–47.
- Fless, F., and M. Treister, eds. (2005) *Bilder und Objekte als Träger kultureller Identität und interkultureller Kommunikation im Schwarzmeergebiet. Kolloquium in Zschortau/Sachsen vom 13.2.–15.2.2003*. Rahden, Westf.
- Fornasier, J., and B. Böttger, eds. (2002) *Das Bosporanische Reich. Der Nordosten des Schwarzen Meeres in der Antike*. Mainz.
- French, D. H. (2004) *The Inscriptions of Sinope. 1. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bd. 64. Bonn.
- Frisk, H. (1960) *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1. Heidelberg.
- Fröhlich, P. (2013) “Funéraires publiques et tombeaux monumentaux *intra-muros* dans les cités grecques à l’époque hellénistique,” in M.-C. Ferrière, M. P. Castiglioni, and E. Létoublon, eds., *Forgerons, élites et voyageurs d’Homère à nos jours. Hommages en mémoire d’Isabelle Ratinaud-Lachkar*, 227–309. Grenoble.
- Fröhlich, P., and Ch. Müller, eds. (2005) *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique*. Geneva.
- Funck, B. (1992) “Die ‘Römerfreundschaft’ in der Titulatur der bosporanischen Könige,” in A. Gavrilov, ed., *Étudy po antichnoi istorii i kul’ture Severnogo Prichernomor’ia*, 74–93. St. Petersburg.
- Gaidukevich, V. F. (1952) “Raskopki Mirmekiia v 1935–1938,” in V. F. Gaidukevich and M. I. Maksimova, eds., *Bosporskie goroda. I. Itogi arkhéologicheskikh issledovaniï Tiritaki i Mirmekiia v 1935–1940 gg*, 135–222. MIA 25. Moscow and Leningrad.

- Gaidukevich, V. F. (1958) "Ilurat. Itogi arkeologicheskikh issledovaniĭ 1948–1953 gg.," in V. F. Gaidukevich and T. N. Knipovich, eds., *Bosporskie goroda. II. Raboty Bosporskoĭ ěkspeditsii. 1946–1953 gg.*, 9–148. MIA 85. Moscow and Leningrad.
- Gall, Ch. von (1997) "Stŕsena poedinka vsadnikov na serebrŕanoi vase iz Kosiki. Istoki i vospriĭatie odnogo iranskogo motiva v ũzhuŕnoi Rossii," *VDI* 2: 174–97.
- Gall, H. von (2002) "Das Motif des 'Reiters mit dem Knappen' auf den bosporanischen Grabstelen," *Archŕologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 34: 397–413.
- Gallotta, S. (2005) "Tra integrazione ed emarginazione: gli indigeni nelle *poleis* greche del Mar Nero," in M. G. Angeli Bertinelli and A. Donati, eds., *Serta Antiqua et Mediaevalia VII: Il cittadino, lo straniero, il barbaro, fra integrazione ed emarginazione nell'Antiquitŕ. Atti del I Incontro Internazionale di Storia Antica (Genova 22–24 maggio 2004)*, 427–36. Rome.
- Gambin, T. (2012) "Central Mediterranean Islands and Satellite Ports for Ancient Rome," in Keay, 147–51.
- Ganzert, J. (1983) "Zur Entwicklung lesbischer Kymationformen," *JdI* 98: 123–202.
- Garbuzov, G. P., and A. A. Zavoĭkin (2009) "Antichnaĭa sel'skaĭa territorĭa: formal'noe opisanie i vozmozhnosti istoricheskoi interpretatsii," *Drevnosti Bospora* 13: 141–76.
- Garbuzov, G. P., and A. A. Zavoĭkin (2010) "O sostoiĭanii khory tsentrov Aziatskogo Bospora v seredine – vtoroi polovine V v. do n.ĕ.," *Drevnosti Bospora* 14: 105–30.
- Garbuzov, G. P., and A. A. Zavoĭkin (2011) "Osvoenie grekami zemel' Tamanskogo poluostrova v poslednei chetverti VI – pervoi polovine V v. do n.ĕ.," *AMA* 15: 194–223.
- Garbuzov, G. P., and A. A. Zavoĭkin (2012) "Sel'skaĭa territorĭa tsentrov Aziatskogo Bospora v period avtonomii (vтораĭa polovina VI–V vv. do n.ĕ.) i v sostave derzhavy Spartokidov (IV–nachalo III v. do n.ĕ.)," *Drevnosti Bospora* 16: 114–50.
- Garbuzov, G. P., A. A. Zavoĭkin, V. L. Strokin, and N. I. Sudarev (2011) "Osvoenie grekami Tamanskogo poluostrova v VI–V vv. do n.ĕ.," *Drevnosti Bospora* 15: 90–173.
- Garkusha, N. A., and P. F. Gozhik, eds. (1984) *Limany*. Kiev.
- Garlan, Y. (1983) "Greek Amphorae and Trade," in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker, eds., *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, 27–35. London.
- Garlan, Y. (1986) "Quelques nouveaux ateliers amphoriques ŕ Thasos," in Empereur and Garlan, 201–76.
- Garlan, Y. (1988) *Vin et amphoras de Thasos*. Athens and Paris.
- Garlan, Y. (1996) "Un nouveau centre de timbrage amphorique: Ouranopolis," *To Archaiologiko Ergo stŕ Makedonia kai tŕ Thrakŕ* 10A [1997]: 347–53.
- Garlan, Y. (1999a) *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, vol. 1, *Timbres Protothasiens et Thasiens anciens*. Paris.
- Garlan, Y., ed. (1999b) *Production et commerce des amphores anciennes en mer Noire*. Aix-en-Provence.
- Garlan, Y. (2000) *Amphores et timbres amphoriques grecs: entre ěrudition et ideologie*. Paris.
- Garlan, Y. (2004) *Les timbres cŕamiques Sinopŕens sur amphores et sur tuiles trouvŕs ŕ Sinope. Prŕsentation et catalogue*. Paris.
- Garlan, Y. (2006) "L'interprŕtation des timbres amphoriques 'ŕ la roue' d'Akanthos," *BCH* 130: 263–91.
- Garlan, Y. (2010) "Poslednie dostizheniĭa grecheskoi keramicheskoi ěpigrafiki na Zapade," *AMA* 14: 371–95.
- Garlan, Y. (2013) "Les timbres amphoriques en Grŕce ancienne. Nouvelles questions. Nouvelles mŕthodes. Nouveaux rŕsultats," *Journal des Savants* 2: 203–70.
- Garlan, Y. (2014) "Mŕtologie et ěpigraphie amphorique grecque. Le cas des timbres akanthiens 'ŕ la roue'," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, Suppl. 12: 185–200.
- Gauthier, Ph. (1985) *Les citŕs grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IVŕ–Ier siŕcle av. J.-C.)*. Contribution ŕ l'histoire des institutions. Paris.

- Gauthier, Ph. (1993) "Les cités hellénistiques," in M. H. Hansen, ed., *The Ancient Greek City-State*, 21–231. Copenhagen.
- Gauthier, Ph. (2005) "Trois exemples méconnus d'intervenants dans des décrets de la basse époque hellénistique," in Fröhlich and Müller, 79–93.
- Gavriľuk, N. A., and M. I. Abikulova (1991) *Pozdneskifskie pamiatniki Nizhnego Podneprov'ia*. Kiev.
- Gavrilyuk, N. A. (2007) "Social and Economic Issues in the Development of Steppe Scythia," in D. Braund and S. D. Kryzhitskiy, eds., *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World: From the Sixth Century BC to the Second Century AD*, 135–44. Oxford and New York.
- Geffcken, J. (1892) *Timaios' Geographie des Westens*. Berlin.
- Gerkan, A. von (1915) *Der Poseidonaltar bei Kap Monodendri*. Milet, vol. 1.iv. Berlin.
- Gerkan, A. von, and W. Müller-Wiener (1961) *Das Theater von Epidauros*. Stuttgart.
- Gërts', K. K. (1898) *Arkheologicheskaia topografiia Tamanskago poluostrova*. St. Petersburg.
- Giosan, L., J. P. S. Donnelly, F. Constantinescu, I. Ovejano, A. Vespremeanu-Stroe, E. Vespremeanu, and G. A. T. Duller (2006) "Young Danube Delta Documents Stable Black Sea Level since Middle Holocene: Morphodynamic, Paleogeographic, and Archaeological Implications," *Geology* 34: 757–60.
- Gisinger, F. (1924) "Geographie," in *RE Suppl.* IV, 521–685.
- Goldhill, S., ed. (2001) *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge.
- Golofast, L. A. (2010) "Amfornaia tara iz raskopok zol'nika rimskogo vremeni u podnozhia gory Mitridat v Kerchi," in A. I. Aibabin, ed., *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* 16, 82–139. Simferopol.
- Gorbulova, K. S. (1968) "Posviatitel'naia nadpis' v chest' Akhilla Geroia s o. Berezan'," in V. F. Gaïdukevich, ed., *Antichnaia istoriia i kul'tura Sredizemnomoria i Prichernomoria*, 96–9. Leningrad.
- Gorbulova, K. S. (1971–2) "Archaeological Investigations on the Northern Shore of the Black Sea in the Territory of the Soviet Union, 1965–70," *AR* 18: 48–59.
- Goroncharovskii, V. A., and A. I. Ivanchik (2010) "Sindy," in Bongard-Levin and Kuznetsov, vol. 1, 218–35.
- Gorre, G. (2007) "Identités et représentations dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *Ktema* 32: 239–50.
- Goshkevich, V. I. (1913) "Drevniia gorodishcha po beregam nizovago Dniëpra," *Izviestii Imperatorskoï Arkheologicheskoi Kommissii* 47: 135–8.
- Gozhik, P. F. (1984) "Istoriia razvitiia limanov," in E. F. Shniukov, ed., *Geologiia shel'fa USSR: limany*, 76–80. Kiev.
- Grace, V. (1949) "Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World," *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear. Hesperia Suppl.* VIII, 175–89.
- Grace, V. (1965) "The Commercial Amphoras from the Antikythera Shipwreck," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 55.3: 5–17.
- Grace, V. (1979) *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*. Princeton.
- Grace, V. (1986) "Some Amphoras from a Hellenistic Wreck," in Empereur and Garlan, 551–65.
- Grace, V., and M. Savvatiadou-Petropoulakou (1970) "Les timbres amphoriques grecs," in *L'ilot de la maison des comédiens*, 277–382. Exploration archéologique de Délos 27. Paris.
- Grach, N. L. (1970) "O mestnoi skulpture Bospora. (K voprosu o statuiakh-polufigurakh)," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock* 19: 589–96.

- Gráfik, I. (2010) "Property Sign Examination through Entropy Analysis," in Pim, Iatsenko, and Perrin, 61–80.
- Graham, A. J. (1958) "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 5: 25–42.
- Graham, A. J. (1983) *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, 2nd edn. Chicago.
- Graham, A. J. (1999) *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, special edn. Manchester.
- Grakov, B. N. (1935) "Tara i khranenie sel'skokhoziaistvennykh produktov v klassicheskoi Gretsii VI–V vv. do n. é.," *IGAIMK* 108: 147–83.
- Grakov, B. N. (1939) "Kleimenaia keramicheskaia tara epokhi ellinizma kak istochnik dlia istorii proizvodstva i trgovli," *Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, R-2, no. 538.
- Grakov, B. N. (1947) "Гυναικοκρατούμενοι (perezhitki matriarkhata u sarmatov)," *VDI* 3: 100–21.
- Grakov, B. N. (1950) "Skifskii Gerakl," *KSIIMK* 34: 7–18.
- Grakov, B. N. (1954) *Kamenskoe gorodishche na Dnepre*. MIA 30. Moscow.
- Grakov, B. N. (1971) *Skify*. Moscow.
- Gramatopol, M., and Gh. Poenaru Bordea (1969) "Amphora Stamps from Callatis and South Dobrudja," *Dacia* 13: 127–282.
- Grammenos, D.V., and E. K. Petropoulos, eds. (2003) *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*. Thessaloniki.
- Grammenos, D.V., and E. K. Petropoulos, (2007) *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2*. Oxford.
- Grandjean, Y. (1992) "Contribution à l'établissement d'une typologie des amphores thasiennes. Le matériel amphorique du quartier de la porte du Silène," *BCH* 116: 541–84.
- Grantovskii, É. A. (1960) *Indo-iranskie kasty u skifov. XXV Mezhdunarodnyi kongress vostokovedov. Doklady delegatsii SSSR*. Moscow.
- Greaves, A. M. (2000) "Miletos and the Sea: A Stormy Relationship," in G. J. Oliver, R. Brock, T. J. Cornell, and S. Hodkinson, eds., *The Sea in Antiquity*, 39–61. Oxford.
- Grieb, V. (2008) *Hellenistische Demokratie. Politische Organisation und Struktur in freien griechischen Poleis nach Alexander dem Großen*. Stuttgart.
- Griffith, M. (2006a) "Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination," *Classical Philology* 101.3: 185–246.
- Griffith, M. (2006b) "Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination. Part Two," *Classical Philology* 101.4: 307–58.
- Gruben, G. (1961) "Beobachtungen zum Artemis-Tempel von Sardis," *AM* 76: 155–96.
- Gruben, G. (1982) "Der Burgtempel A von Paros," *AA*: 197–229.
- Gruppe, O. (1906) *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, vol. II. Munich.
- Guldager Bilde, P., and V. F. Stolba, eds. (2006) *Surveying the Greek Chora: The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*. Aarhus.
- Gutiérrez García-M. A., P. Lapuente, and I. Rodà, eds. (2012) *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone: Proceedings of the IX ASMOSIA Conference (Tarragona 2009)*. Tarragona.
- Haensch, R. (2005) "Rom und Chersonesus Taurica. Die Beziehung beider Staaten im Lichte der Ehrung des T. Aurelius Calpurnianus Apollonides," in V. Cojocar, ed., *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea, from the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Conquest*, 255–68. Iași.
- Hahland, W. (1964) "Didyma im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *JdI* 79: 142–240.
- Hall, J. M. (1997) *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge.

- Hamon, P. (2005) "Le conseil et la participation des citoyens: les mutations de la basse époque hellénistique," in Fröhlich and Müller, 121–44.
- Hamon, P. (2007) "Élites dirigeantes et processus d'aristocratisation à l'époque hellénistique," in H.-L. Fernoux and Ch. Stein, eds., *Aristocratie antique. Modèles et exemplarité sociale*, 77–98. Dijon.
- Hamon, P. (2012) "Gleichheit, Ungleichheit und Euergetismus: die *isotes* in den kleinasiatischen Poleis der hellenistischen Zeit," in Mann and Scholz, 56–73.
- Hanina, O. D. (1970) *Antychmi bronzy z Pishchanoho*. Kiev.
- Hannestad, L., V. Stolba, and A. Ščeglov, eds. (2002) *Panskoye I: The Monumental Building U6*. Aarhus.
- Hansen, M. H., and T. Fischer-Hansen (1994) "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis: Evidence and Historical Significance," in D. Whitehead, ed., *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius: Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis*, 23–90. Historia Einzelschriften 87. Stuttgart.
- Hansen, S. (2002) "'Übersstattungen' in Gräbern und Horten der Frühbronzezeit," in J. Müller, ed., *Vom Endneolithikum zur Frühbronzezeit: Muster sozialen Wandels? Tagung Bamberg 14.–16. Juni 2001*, 151–73. Bonn.
- Harmatta, J. (1970) *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*. Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica 13. Szeged.
- Hayes, J. W. (1983) "The Villa Dionysos Excavations. Knossos: The Pottery," *BSA* 78: 97–169.
- Hedreen, G. (1991) "The Cult of Achilles in the Euxine," *Hesperia* 60.3: 313–30.
- Heinen, H. (2005a) "Die Anfänge der Beziehungen Roms zum nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum. Die Romfreundschaft der Chersonesiten (*IOSPE* 1^o 402)," in A. Coşkun, H. Heinen, and M. Tröster, eds., *Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat*, 31–54. Göttingen.
- Heinen, H. (2005b) "Aus der Geschichte von Tanais in römischer Zeit," *Eurasia Antiqua* 11: 175–82.
- Heinen, H. (2006) *Antike am Rande der Steppe. Der nördliche Schwarzmeerraum als Forschungsaufgabe*. Mainz and Stuttgart.
- Heinen, H. (2008) "Romfreunde und Kaiserpriester am Kimmerischen Bosphoros," in A. Coşkun, ed., *Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr.)*, 189–208. Frankfurt.
- Heinen, H. (2009) "Repräsentation von Identität und Zugehörigkeit. Eine Einführung," in Coşkun, Heinen, and Pfeiffer, 9–33.
- Heinzelmann, M. (2010) "Supplier of Rome or Mediterranean Marketplace? The Changing Economic Role of Ostia after the Construction of Portus in the Light of New Archaeological Evidence," *Bollettino di archeologia on line*. Special volume: *Roma 2008 – International Congress of Classical Archaeology. Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 5–10. www.klassarchaeologie.uni-koeln.de/files/Heinzelmann_Ostia_AIAC%202008.pdf. Accessed January 24, 2017.
- Heller, A. (2009) "Généalogies locales et construction des identités collectives en Asie Mineure," in H. Bru, F. Kirbihler, and S. Lebreton, eds., *L'Asie Mineure dans l'Antiquité: échanges, populations et territoires. Regards actuels sur une péninsule*, 53–65. Rennes.
- Hemingway, S. (2004) *The Horse and Jockey from Artemision*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
- Hiller, S. (1991) "The Mycenaean and the Black Sea," in R. Laffiner and L. Basch, eds., *Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer*, 207–15. Liège.
- Hirschfeld, G. (1896) "Armenion," in *RE* 11.1, 1187.

- Hoepfner, W. (1971) *Zwei Ptolemaierbauten: das Ptolemaierweihgeschenk in Olympia und ein Bauvorhaben in Alexandria*. Berlin.
- Hoepfner, W. (1990) "Bauten und Bedeutung des Hermogenes," in W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, eds., *Hermogenes und die hochhellenistische Architektur*, 1–34. Berlin.
- Hölscher, T. (1967) *Victoria Romana. Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der römischen Siegesgöttin von Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.* Mainz.
- Hölscher, T. (2004) *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, trans. A. Snodgrass and A. Künzl-Snodgrass. Cambridge.
- Hölscher, U. (1988) *Die Odyssee. Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman*. Munich.
- Højte, J. M. (2005) "The Date of the Alliance between Chersonesos and Pharnakes (*IOSPE* 1², 402) and its Implications," in Stolba and Hannestad, 137–52.
- Hommel, H. (1980) *Der Gott Achilleus*. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1. Heidelberg.
- Hordey, P., and N. Purcell (2000) *The Corrupting Sea*. Oxford.
- Humphrey, C. (2010) "Horse Brands of the Mongolians," in Pim, Ĭatsenko, and Perrin, 289–308.
- Hupe, J. (2005) "Der Dedikantenkreis des Achilleus als ein Gradmesser von Akkulturationsprozessen im kaiserzeitlichen Olbia. Ein Beitrag zur olbischen Onomastik," in Fless and Treister, 43–52.
- Hupe, J., ed. (2006) *Der Achilleus-Kult im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum vom Beginn der griechischen Kolonisation bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*. Rahden, Westf.
- Hupe, J. (2007) "Aspekte des Achilleus Pontarches-Kultes in Olbia," in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 213–23.
- Huxley, G. L. (1969) *Greek Epic Poetry*. London.
- Ĭatsenko, S. A. (2001) *Znaki–tamgi iranoĬazychnykh narodov drevnosti i rannego srednevekovĬa*. Moscow.
- Ĭatsenko, S. A. (2009) "Znaki sobstvennosti sarmatskogo oblika (gakk/nishan) v sel'skikh raĬonakh Bosporskogo Ĭarstva I–III vv. n. ě.," *Drevnosti Bospora* 13: 539–52.
- Ievlev, M. I. (1991) "PaleogeograficheskaĬa obstanovka v raĬone Nizhnego PodneprovĬa v IV v. do n. ě.," in A. Ĭu. Alekseev, V. Ĭu. Murzin, and R. Rolle, eds., *Chertomlyk: SkifskĬi ĬarskĬi kurgan IV v. do n. ě.*, 311–18. Kiev.
- Ĭ'ina, Ĭu. I. (2000) "O novykh nakhodkakh vostochno–grecheskoĬ keramiki na ostrove Berezan'," in V. Ĭu. Zuev, ed., *ΣΥΣΤΙΤΙΑ. PamiĬati Ĭu. V. Andreeva*, 201–9. St. Petersburg.
- Ĭ'inskaĬa, V. A., and A. I. Terenozhkin (1983) *SkifiĬa VII–IV vv. do n. ě*. Kiev.
- Ivanchik, A. I. (1988) "O proiskhozhdenii 'kimmeriĬskoĬ' toponimii Bospora," in *V MezhdunarodnyĬ kongress po frakologii / AntichnaĬa balkanistika VI*. Conference paper abstracts, 14–15. Moscow.
- Ivanchik, A. I. (2010a) "Ėpigraficheskie pamiĬatniki," in Bongard-Levin and Kuznetsov, 360–71.
- Ivanchik, A. I. (2010b) "AntichnaĬa literaturnaĬa traditsiĬa," in Bongard-Levin and Kuznetsov, 319–59.
- Ivanova, A. P. (1953) *Iskusstvo antichnykh gorodov Severnogo PrichernomorĬa*. Leningrad.
- Ivanova, A. P. (1961) *Skul'ptura i zhivopis' Bospora*. Kiev.
- Ivanova, S. V. (2000) "O soĬsial'nom ustroĬstve Ĭamnogo obshchestva Severo-Zapadnogo PrichernomorĬa," *Stratum plus* 2: 388–403.
- Ivantchik, A. (1999a) "Eine griechische Pseudo-Historie. Der Pharao Sesostriis und der skytho-ägyptische Krieg," *Historia* 48.4: 395–441.
- Ivantchik, A. (1999b) "Une légende sur l'origine des Scythes (Hdt. IV, 5–7) et le problème des sources du *Scythicos logos* d'Hérodote," *REG* 112: 141–92.

- Ivantchik, A. (2001a) *Kimmerier und Skythen / Kimmeriŭsy i skify*. Moscow.
- Ivantchik, A. (2001b) “La légende ‘grecque’ sur l’origine des Scythes (Hérodote 4.8–10),” in V. Fromentin and S. Gotteland, eds., *Origines gentium*, 207–22. Paris.
- Ivantchik, A. (2004) “Dedication to the Goddess Ma from Olbia (IOlb 74),” *ACSS* 10.1–2: 1–14.
- Ivantchik, A. (2005) *Am Vorabend der Kolonisation / Nakanune kolonisaŭsii*. Berlin and Moscow.
- Ivantchik, A. (2007) “Une nouvelle proxénie d’Olbia et les relations des cités grecques avec le royaume scythe de Skilouros,” in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 99–110.
- Ivantchik, A. (2008) “Greeks and Iranians in the Cimmerian Bosphorus in the Second/First Century BC: New Epigraphic Data from Tanais,” in S. M. R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi, eds., *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters*. First International Conference (Athens, November 11–13, 2006), 93–107. Athens.
- Ivantchik, A. (2011) “The Funeral of Scythian Kings: The Historical Reality and the Description of Herodotus (4.71–72),” in L. Bonfante, ed., *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, 71–106. Cambridge and New York.
- Ivantchik, A. (2012) “Agoranomes dans les cités du Pont nord et occidental,” in L. Capdetrey and C. Hasenohr, eds., *Agoranomes et édiles. Institutions des marchés antiques*, 121–30. Bordeaux.
- Ivantchik, A., and V.V. Krapivina (2007) “Nouvelles données sur le collège des agoranomes d’Olbia à l’époque romaine,” in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 111–23.
- Jajlenko, V. P. (1999) “New Decrees from Chersonesus Tauricus in Honour of Titus Aurelius Calpurnianus Apollonides, procurator of Lower Moesia, and his Wife,” in *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18–24 settembre 1997. Atti*, vol. II, 213–18. Rome.
- Jefremow, N. (1995) *Die Amphorenstempel des hellenistischen Knidos*. Munich.
- Jöhrens, G. (1986) “Zur Herkunft der Amphorenstempel aus dem Heraion von Samos,” in Empereur and Garlan, 497–503.
- Jöhrens, G. (1999a) *Amphorenstempel im Nationalmuseum von Athen*. Mainz.
- Jöhrens, G. (1999b) “Kerameikos: griechische Amphorenstempel spätklassischer und hellenistischer Zeit,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 114: 157–70.
- Jöhrens, G. (2001) “Amphorenstempel hellenistischer Zeit aus Tanais,” *Eurasia Antiqua* 7: 367–469.
- Jöhrens, G. (2004) “Amphorenstempel und die Gründung von Tanais,” in Eiring and Lund, 149–53.
- Jöhrens, G. (2009) “Funde aus Milet. XXVII. Amphorenstempel aus den Grabungen in Milet 1899–2007,” *AA* 205–35.
- Jones, C. P. (1978) *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostome*. Cambridge, MA.
- Jones, C. P. (1999) “Interrupted Funerals,” *PAPhA* 143: 588–600.
- Jones, C. P. (2004) “Multiple Identities in the Age of the Second Sophistic,” in B. Borg, ed., *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*, 13–21. Berlin.
- Kac, V. I., V. I. Pavlencov, and A. N. Sceglov (1989) “The Amastrian Stamped Pottery,” *Archeologia* 150: 15–28.
- Kacharava, D. D., and G. T. Kvirkveliā (1991) *Goroda i poseleniā Prichernomorīā antichnoi epochi (malyi entsiklopedicheskiĭ spravochnik)*. Tbilisi.
- Kadeev, V. I. (1970) *Ocherki istorii ekonomiki Khersonesa v I–II vv. n. ē.* Kharkov.
- Kadeev, V. I., and S. B. Sorochan (1989) *Ėkonomicheskie sviāzi antichnykh gorodov Severnogo Prichernomorīā v I v. do n. ē.–V v. n. ē.* Kharkov.
- Kamenetskiĭ, I. S. (1963) “Svetlogliniānye amfory s Nizhne-Gnilovskogo gorodishcha,” *KSLA* 94: 29–36.

- Kamenetskii, I. S. (1969) "Opyt izucheniiã massovogo keramicheskogo materiala iz Tanaisa," in D. B. Shelov, ed., *Antichnye drevnosti Podon'ia-Priazov'ia*, 136–72. MIA 154. Moscow.
- Kamenetskii, I. S. (1974) "Itogi issledovaniã Podazovskogo gorodishcha," *SovArkh* 4: 212–21.
- Kamenetskii, I. S. (1999) "Novo-Dzheralievskoe I gorodishche," *PIFK* 8: 247–72.
- Kampen, N. B. (2003) "On Writing Histories of Roman Art," *Art Bulletin* 85.2: 371–86.
- Kantor, G. (2013) "Local Courts of Chersonesus Taurica in the Roman Age," in N. Papazarkadas and P. Martzavou, eds., *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis*, 69–86. Oxford.
- Kantzia, Ch. (1994) "Ena keramiko ergastërio amforeôn tou prôtou misou tou 4ou ai. p.Ch. sten Kô (Pin. 251–267)," in *G' Epistëmonikë sunantësë gia tën hellënistikë keramikë*, 323–54. Athens.
- Kaplin, P. A., and A. O. Selivanov (2004) "Late Glacial and Holocene Sea-Level Changes in Semi-Enclosed Seas of North Eurasia: Examples from the Contrasting Black and White Seas," *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 209: 19–36.
- Karjaka, A. V. (2008) "The Defense Wall in the Northern Part of the Lower City of Olbia Pontike," in P. Guldager Bilde and J. H. Petersen, eds., *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence*, 163–80. Aarhus.
- Karmon, Y. (1985) "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop of Ancient Mediterranean Harbours. Caesarea Maritima, 24–28.6.83*, 1–6. Oxford.
- Karyshkovskii, P. O. (1967) "Zapiski ob Ol'vii i Borisfene," *ZOAO II* 35: 75–90.
- Karyshkovskii, P. O. (1983) "Ol'viiskie monety, naïdennye na ostrove Levke," in G. A. Dzis-Raiko, ed., *Materialy po arkhologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*, 158–67. Kiev.
- Kasparova, K. V. (1987) "Zarubineŭskoe poselenie Remel' v Belorusskom Poles'e," *ASGE* 28: 52–70.
- Kassab Tezgör, D. (2010) "Typologie des amphores sinopéennes entre les IIe–IIIe s. et le VIe s. ap. J.-C.," in D. Kassab Tezgör, ed., *Les fouilles et le matériel de l'atelier amphorique de Demirci près de Sinope*, 121–40. *Varia Anatolica* 22. Istanbul.
- Kassab Tezgör, D., S. Lemaître, and D. Pieri (2003) "La collection d'amphores d'Ismail Karakan à Sinope," *Anatolia Antiqua* 15: 169–200.
- Kassab Tezgör, D., and N. Inaishvili, eds. (2010) *PATABS I: Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea. Actes de la table ronde internationale de Batoumi et Trabzon, 27–29 avril 2006*. *Varia Anatolica* 21. Paris.
- Kaŭs, V. I. (1992) "Metodika sravnitel'noï oŭsenki èksporta-importa tovarov v keramicheskoi tare iz odnogo proizvodstvennogo ŭsentra," in Kaŭs and Monakhov, 205–28.
- Kaŭs, V. I. (1994) *Keramicheskie kleïma Khersonesa Tavricheskogo. Katalog-opredelitel'*. Saratov.
- Kaŭs, V. I. (1996) "Opyt sozdaniiã katalogov-opredelitelei keramicheskikh kleïm," in V. P. Kopylov, ed., *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniã v basseïne Chërnogo mor'ia v drevnosti i srednie veka*, 77–80. Rostov-on-Don.
- Kaŭs, V. I. (1997) "Khronologiã kleïm Geraklei Pontiiskoi (sostoïanie i perspektivy izucheniiã)," in Okhotnikov, 212–17.
- Kaŭs, V. I. (2001) "Amfory Kolkhidy: mif i real'nost'," in Kopylov, 50–52.
- Kaŭs, V. I. (2007) *Grecheskie keramicheskie kleïma èpokhi klassiki i èllinizma (opyt kompleksnogo izucheniiã)*. Simferopol and Kerch.
- Kaŭs, V. I. (2015) *Keramicheskie kleïma Aziatskogo Bospora. Gorgippiã i eë khora. Semibratnee gorodishche*. Saratov.
- Kaŭs, V. I., and S. ŭ. Monakhov (1977) "Amfory èllenisticheskogo Khersonesa (s poseleniiã Panskoe I v Severo-Zapadnom Krymu)," *AMA* 3: 90–105.

- Kaṣ, V. I., and S. ū. Monakhov, eds., (1992) *Grecheskie amfory*. Saratov.
- Katzev, M. L. (1970) "Resurrecting the Oldest Known Greek Ship," *National Geographic Magazine* 137: 840–57.
- Kazianes, D., A. Simossi, and D. Haniotes (1990) "Three Amphora Wrecks from the Greek World," *JJNA* 19.3: 225–32.
- Keay, S., ed. (2012) *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*. London.
- Keler, K. (1992) "Obshchaia tipologiia i khronologiia korinfskikh transportnykh amfor," in Kaṣ and Monakhov, 265–83.
- Kelterbaum, D., H. Brückner, A. Porotov, U. Schlotzhauer, and D. Zhuravlev (2011) "Geoarchaeology of Taman Peninsula (Kerch Strait, South-West Russia): The Example of the Ancient Greek Settlement of Golubitskaya 2," *Die Erde* 143.3: 235–58.
- Kennell, N. M. (2006) *Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Hildesheim.
- Kerényi, C. (1963) *Prometheus: Archetypal Image of Human Existence*. New York.
- Kerschner, M. (2006) "Zum Beginn und zu den Phasen der griechischen Kolonisation am Schwarzen Meer," *Eurasia Antiqua* 12: 227–50.
- Khazanov, A. M. (1984) *Nomads and the Outside World*. Cambridge.
- Kilmer, M. F. (1977) *The Shoulder Bust in Sicily and South and Central Italy: A Catalogue and Materials for Dating*. Göteborg.
- King, C. (2004) *The Black Sea: A History*. New York.
- King, C. (2011) *Odessa: Genius and Death in a City of Dreams*. New York and London.
- Kingsley, S. A. (2001) "'Decline' in the Ports of Palestine in Late Antiquity," in L. Lavan, ed., *Recent Research in Late-Antiquity Urbanism*, 69–87. Portsmouth, RI.
- Kirchhoff, A. (1879) *Die homerische Odyssee*, 2nd edn. Berlin.
- Klepikov, V. M. (2002) *Sarmaty Nizhnego Povolzh'ia v IV–III vv. do n. è*. Volgograd.
- Klepikov, V. M., and A. S. Skripkin (1997) "Rannie sarmaty v kontekste istoricheskikh sobytii Vostochnoi Evropy," in V. E. Maksimenko, ed., *Sarmaty i Skifii*, 28–41. Donskie Drevnosti 5. Azov.
- Klinger, B. (1903) *Skazochnye motivy v "Istorii" Gerodota*. Kiev.
- Kobyлина, M. M. (1956) "Fanagoriia," in A. P. Smirnov, ed., *Fanagoriia*, 5–101. MIA 57. Moscow.
- Kobyлина, M. M. (1962) "Skul'pturnyi portret iz Fanagorii," *SovArkh* 3: 209–14.
- Koehler, C. (1981) "Corinthian Developments in the Study of Trade in the Fifth Century," *Hesperia* 50: 429–58.
- Koehler, C., and M. Wallace (1987) "The Transport Amphoras: Description and Capacities," *AJA* 91.1: 49–57.
- Koenigs, W. (1980) "Bauglieder aus Milet II," *IstMitt* 30: 56–91.
- Koenigs, W. (1996) "'Rundaltäre' aus Milet," *IstMitt* 46: 141–6.
- Kolli, L. P. (1909) "Sfiedy drevnei kul'tury na dniè morskome," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoï Uchënoi Arkhivnoi Komissii* 43: 125–37.
- Koltukhov, S. G. (1999) *Ukrepleniia Krymskoï Skifii*. Simferopol.
- Koltukhov, S. G. (2012a) *Skify Severo-Zapadnogo Kryma v VII–VI vv. do n.è. Pogrebal'nye pamiatniki*. Donetsk.
- Koltukhov, S. G. (2012b) *Skify Krymskogo Prisivash'ia v VII–VI vv. do n.è. Pogrebal'nye pamiatniki*. Simferopol.
- Konikov, E., O. Likhodedova, and G. Pedan (2006) "Paleogeographic Reconstructions of Sea-Level Change and Coastline Migration on the Northwestern Black Sea Shelf over the Past 18 ky," *Quaternary International* 167–8: 49–60.

- Kopeikina, L.V. (1972) "Raspisnaia rodosko-ioniiskaia oinokhoia iz kurgana Temir-gora," *VDI* 1: 147–58.
- Kopeikina, L.V. (1975) "Novye dannye ob oblike Berezani i Ol'vii v arkhaischeskii period (istoki stroitel'noi traditsii)," *SovArkh* 2: 188–99.
- Kopeikina, L.V. (1982) "Rodosko-ioniiskaia keramika VII v. do n. e. s o. Berezan' i ee znachenie dlia izuchenia rannego etapa sushchestvovaniia poseleniia," in S. P. Boriskovskaia, ed., *Khudozhestvennye izdeliia antichnykh masterov*, 6–35. Leningrad.
- Kopeikina, L.V. (1986) "Raspisnaia keramika arkhaischeskogo vremeni iz antichnykh poselenii Nizhnego Pobuzh'ia i Podneprov'ia kak istochnik dlia izuchenia torgovykh i kul'turnykh sviazei," *ASGE* 27: 27–47.
- Kopylov, V.P. (1999) "The Place of the Taganrog Settlement within the System of the Early Greek Colonies in the Region to the North of the Black Sea," *ACSS* 6.1–2: 1–11.
- Kopylov, V.P., ed. (2001) *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v basseine Chernogo moria v drevnosti i srednie veka*. Rostov-on-Don.
- Kopylov, V.P., and P.A. Larenok (1994) *Taganrogske poselenie (katalog sluchainykh nakhodok u kamennoi lestnitsy, g. Taganrog, sbory 1988–1994 gg.)*. Rostov-on-Don.
- Kopylov, V.P., and P.A. Larenok (1998) "O vremeni osnovaniia Taganrogsckogo poseleniia," *Izuchenie pamiatnikov morskoi arkhologii* 3: 107–14.
- Koral, H. (2007) "Sea-Level Changes Modified the Quaternary Coastlines in the Marmara Region, Northwestern Turkey: What about Tectonic Movements?" in Yanko-Hombach, Gilbert, Panin, and Dolukhanov, 571–601.
- Korovina, A. K. (1968) "Gruppa nadgrobynykh stel Tamanskogo poluostrova," *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Muzeia Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv imeni A. S. Pushkina* 4: 100–9.
- Korrés, M. (1996) "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der attisch-ionischen Architektur," in E.-L. Schwandner, ed., *Säule und Gebälk: zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozess griechisch-römischer Architektur*, 90–113. Berlin.
- Koshelenko, G. A. (1999) "Bosporskii variant mifa o gibeli gigantov," *Drevnosti Bospora* 2: 147–60.
- Koshelenko, G.A., and V.D. Kuznetsov (1992) "Grecheskaia kolonizatsiia Bospora (v sviazi s obshchimi problemami kolonizatsii)," in G.A. Koshelenko, ed., *Ocherki arkhologii i istorii Bospora*, 7–28. Moscow.
- Koshelenko, G.A., and V.D. Kuznetsov (1998) "Greek Colonisation of the Bosporus," in G. R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, 249–64. *Historia Einzelschriften* 121. Stuttgart.
- Koshelenko, G. A., and V. D. Kuznetsov (2010) "Grecheskaia kolonizatsiia Aziatskogo Bospora," in Bongard-Levin and Kuznetsov, 406–27.
- Kostenko, V. I. (1977) "Sarmatskie pamiatniki v materialakh arkhologicheskoi ekspeditsii DGU," in I. F. Koval'eva, ed., *Kurgannye drevnosti stepnogo Podneprov'ia III–I tys. do n. e.*, 114–37. Dnepropetrovsk.
- Kostenko, V. I. (1978) "Kompleks s farami iz sarmatskogo pogrebeniia u s. Bulakhovka," in I. F. Koval'eva, ed., *Kurgannye drevnosti stepnogo Podneprov'ia III–I tys. do n. e.*, 78–85. Dnepropetrovsk.
- Kostenko, V. I. (1980) "Kul't ognia i konia v pogrebeniakh sarmatskogo vremeni mezhdurech'ia Oreli i Samary," in I. F. Koval'eva, ed., *Kurgany stepnogo Podneprov'ia*, 83–9. Dnepropetrovsk.
- Kostenko, V. I. (1983) "Sarmatskie pogrebeniia Priorel'ia," in I. F. Koval'eva, ed., *Drevnosti stepnogo Podneprov'ia III–I tys. do n. e.*, 61–5. Dnepropetrovsk.
- Kostenko, V. I. (1993) *Sarmaty v Nizhnem Podneprov'e*. Dnepropetrovsk.

- Kovalevskaïa, L. A. (1998) "Svetlogliniânye amfory I v. iz *printsipiâ* v Nove," *Novensia* 11: 163–73.
- Kovpanenko, G. T. (1986) *Sarmatskoe pogrebenie I v. n. è. na Tûzhnom Buge*. Kiev.
- Kozlovskaya, V. (2008) "The Harbour of Olbia," *ACSS* 14.1–2: 25–65.
- Kozlovskaya, V. (2009) "Olbia and the Scythians: Together Again," *JRA* 22: 725–33.
- Kradin, N. N., and T. D. Skrynnikova (2006) *Imperiâ Chingiskhana*. Moscow.
- Kraft, J. C., G. Rapp, I. Kayan, and J. V. Luce (2003) "Harbor Areas at Ancient Troy: Sedimentology and Geomorphology Complement Homer's *Iliad*," *Geology* 31: 163–6.
- Krapivina, V. V. (1993) *Ol'vîia. Material'nâia kul'tura I–IV vv. n. è.* Kiev.
- Krasnozhon, A. V. (1997) "Raskopki na Primorskom bul'vare v Odesse," in Okhotnikov, 160–5.
- Kreuz, P.-A. (2001) "Aspects Concerning the Interpretation of Bosphoran Grave Reliefs," in V. ū. Zuev, *Bosporskii fenomen: kolonizatsiâ regiona, formirovanie polisov, obrazovanie gosudarstva*, vol. 1, 157–64. St. Petersburg.
- Kreuz, P.-A. (2008) "Rel'ef iz Starshego Trêkhbratnego kurgana," in M. ū. Treister, ed., *Trêkhbratnie kurgany. Kurgannâia gruppa vtoroi poloviny IV–III vv. do n. è.*, 131–40. Simferopol and Bonn.
- Kreuz, P.-A. (2009) "Re-assessing 'Sindian Sculpture': Evidence and Problems," in V. ū. Zuev, ed., *Bosporskii fenomen: iskusstvo na periferii antichnogo mira*, 201–7. St. Petersburg.
- Kreuz, P.-A. (2012) *Die Grabreliefs aus dem Bosphoranischen Reich*. Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA.
- Krischen, F. (1923) "Der Aufbau des Nereidenmonumentes von Xanthos," *AM* 48: 69–92.
- Kroll, J. (1953) *Elysium*. Cologne and Opladen.
- Kropotkin, A. V., and V. V. Kropotkin (1988) "Severnaïa graniâsa rasprostraneniâ amfor rimskogo vremeni v Vostochnoi Evrope," in V. V. Kropotkin, ed., *Mogil'niki Cherniâkhovskoi kul'tury*, 168–83. Moscow.
- Kruglikova, I. T. (1975) *Sel'skoe khoziâstvo Bospora*. Moscow.
- Kruglov, A. V. (1998) "Zametki o sindskoi skul'pture," *Tamanskaïa starina* 1: 69–77.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D. (1982) *Zhilye doma antichnykh gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ia (VI v. do n. è.–IV v. n. è.)*. Kiev.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D. (1993) *Arkhitektura antichnykh gosudarstv Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Kiev.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D. (2006) "Graficheskaïa rekonstruktsiâ khrama Apollona Ietrosa," in Zin'ko, 43–52.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D., and A. V. Buiskikh (1998) "Antichnye khramy Severnogo Prichernomor'ia," in M. Lazarov, ed., *Bogovete na Ponta*, 76–88. Varna.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D., and V. I. Nazarchuk (1994) "Novyi pamiâtnik stroitel'stva pozdnearkhaiskoi Ol'vii," in S. B. Okhotnikov, ed., *Drevnee Prichernomor'e*, 99–106. Odessa.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D., A. V. Burakov, S. B. Buiskikh, V. M. Otreshko, and V. V. Ruban (1980) "K istorii ol'viiskoi sel'skoi okrugii," in V. A. Anokhin, ed., *Issledovaniâ po antichnoi arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*, 3–18. Kiev.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D., S. B. Buiskikh, A. V. Burakov, and V. M. Otreshko (1989) *Sel'skaïa okrug Ol'vii*. Kiev.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D., S. B. Buiskikh, and V. M. Otreshko (1990) *Antichnye poseleniâ Nizhnego Pobuzh'ia (arkheologicheskaïa karta)*. Kiev.
- Kryzhiâtskii, S. D., A. S. Rusiâeva, V. V. Krapivina, N. A. Leipunskaïa, M. V. Skrzhinskaïa, and V. A. Anokhin (1999) *Ol'vîia. Antichnoe gosudarstvo v Severnom Prichernomor'e*. Kiev.
- Kryzhitsky, S. D. (1997) "The Temple of Apollo Ietros on the Western Temenos at Olbia (an Attempt at Reconstruction)," *ACSS* 4.1: 15–34.

- Kryz̄hyts̄kyi, S. D., ed. (2001) *Ol'vniâ ta antychnyi svit*. Kiev.
- Kryz̄hyts̄kyi, S. D., and N. O. Leïpuns'ka (2004) "Pryn̄sypy model'uvannâ ekonomichnoho bazysu pivnichnoprychornomors'koï antychnoi derzhavy na prykladï Ol'vii," in N. O. Havriľuk, ed., *Paleoekonomika rann'oho zaliznoho viku na terytorii Ukraïny*, 8–31. Kiev.
- Kryz̄hyts̄kyi, S. D., and A. S. Rusiãeva (1978) "Naïdavniishi zhytla Ol'vii," *Arkheolohiã* 28: 3–26.
- Kryz̄hyts̄kyi, S. D., V.V. Krapivina, and N. O. Leïpuns'ka (1994) "Holovni etapy istorychnoho rozvytku Ol'vii," *Arkheolohiã* 2: 18–44.
- Kryžickij, S. D. (2006) "The Rural Environs of Olbia: Some Problems of Current Importance," in Guldager Bilde and Stolba, 99–114.
- Kubarev, V. D. (1991) *Kurgany Tustyda*. Novosibirsk.
- Kubitschek, W. (1933) "Zur Geographie der Argonautensage," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 82.4: 289–97.
- Kuhn, C. (2009) "Mythos und Historie im kaiserzeitlichen Smyrna: Kollektive Identitätsstiftung im Kontext der Romanisierung," *SCI* 28: 93–111.
- Kuhn, C. (2012) "Emotionality in the Political Culture of the Graeco-Roman East: the Role of Acclamations," in A. Chaniotis, ed., *Unweiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, 295–316. Stuttgart.
- Kullman, E. (1992) "Das letzte Buch der Odyssee," in E. Kullman, *Homerische Motive*, ed. R. J. Müller, 291–304. Stuttgart.
- Kurbatov, A. A. (1982) "Ol'viiskie formy kul'ta Akhilla. (K istorii polisnoi ideologii)," in I. S. Sventsiťskaïa, ed., *Problemy istorii antichnoi grazhdanskoï obshchiny*, 81–96. Moscow.
- Kurtz, D. C., and J. Boardman (1971) *Greek Burial Customs: Aspects of Greek and Roman Life*. London.
- Kushnir, V. G., ed. (2006) *Drevnee Prichernomor'e*. Odessa.
- Kutinova, T. M. (2010) "Amfornye kleïma iz Fanagorii," *PIFK* 4: 17–34.
- Kuznetsov, V. D. (2007) "Tamga Savromata II iz Fanagorii," *Drevnosti Bospora* 11: 225–34.
- Kuznetsova, E. V. (2012a) "Torgovyie sviãzi poseleniã Beregovoï 4 (po materialam keramicheskoi tary)," *Izvestiã Saratovskogo universiteta. Novãia seriã. Istoriiã. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniã* 12.3: 74–8.
- Kuznetsova, E. V. (2012b) "Dinamika torgovykh sviãzeï poseleniã Volna 4 (po dannym keramicheskoi tary)," *Vestnik Nizhegorodskogo universiteta im. N. I. Lobachevskogo* 6.3: 173–9.
- Kuznetsova, E. V. (2013) "K voprosu o torgovykh sviãziãkh Fanagorii v konfse VI–V vv. do n.ã.," in I. I. Marchenko, ed., *Shestãã Kubanskãã arkheologicheskãã konferentsiã*. Conference paper abstracts, 219–23. Krasnodar.
- Kuznetsova, E. V. (2014) "Torgovyie sviãzi Fanagorii v IV–III vv. do n.ã. po raznym kategoriãm amfornogo materiala: problema sootnosheniã," *Stratum plus* 3: 187–94.
- Kyzlasov, L. R. (1960) *Tashytskãã epokha v istorii Khakassko-Minusinskoï kotloviny*. Moscow.
- Labaree, B. W. (1957) "How the Greeks Sailed into the Black Sea," *AJA* 61.1: 29–33.
- Lafond, Y. (2005) "Le mythe, référence identitaire pour les cités grecques d'époque impériale. L'exemple du Péloponnèse," *Kernos* 18: 329–46.
- Lampros, S. P. (1873) "Ta kata tous oikistas tōn par' Hellēsin apoikiōn kai tas autois apone-momenas timas kai pronomias." Dissertation. Berlin.
- Landais, E. (2010) "The Marking of Livestock in Traditional Pastoral Societies," in Pim, Ťatsenko, and Perrin, 81–108.
- Langdon, M. K. (1982) "Some Attic Walls," *Hesperia* Suppl. 19: 88–98, 215–19.
- Langner, M. (2005) "Barbaren griechischer Sprache? Die Bildwelt des Bosporanischen Reiches und das Selbstverständnis seiner Bewohner," in Fless and Treister, 53–66.

- Larchenkov, E. P., and S. V. Kadurin (2011) "Paleogeography of the Pontic Lowland and Northwestern Black Sea Shelf for the Past 25 k.y.," in Buynevich et al., 71–87.
- Larson, S. L. (2007) *Tales of Epic Ancestry: Boiotian Collective Identity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods*. Stuttgart.
- Lavrov, V. V. (2003) "Gotskie voïny III v. n. è.: rimskoe kul'turnoe vliianie na vostochno-germanskie plemena Severnogo Prichernomor'ia," in A. ù. Dvornichenko, ed., *Problemy antichnoï istorii*, 332–52. St. Petersburg.
- Lawall, M. (2002) "Ilion before Alexander: Amphoras and Economic Archaeology," *Studia Troica* 12: 197–243.
- Lawall, M. (2010) "Imitative Amphoras in the Greek World," *Marburger Beiträge zur antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 28: 45–88.
- Lawall, M., N. Lejpunskaja, P. Diatropov, and T. Samojlova (2010) "Transport Amphoras," in N. A. Lejpunskaja, P. Guldager Bilder, J. Munk Højte, V. V. Krapivina, and S. D. Kryžickij, eds., *The Lower City of Olbia (Sector NGS) in the 6th Century BC to the 4th Century AD*, vol. 1, 355–405. Aarhus.
- Lehmann-Hartleben, K. (1923) *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*. Leipzig.
- Lejpunskaja, V. N. (2006) "Amfory," in V. N. Zin'ko, ed., *Drevnejšii temenos Ol'vii Pontiškoï*, 158–61. Simferopol.
- Leidwanger, J. (2013) "Opportunistic Ports and Spaces of Exchange in Late Roman Cyprus," *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 8.2: 221–43.
- Lericolais, G., C. Bulois, H. Gillet, and F. Guichard (2009) "High Frequency Sea-Level Fluctuations Recorded in the Black Sea since the LGM," *Global and Planetary Change* 66: 65–75.
- Leschhorn, W. (1984) "Gründer der Stadt". *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte*. Stuttgart.
- Lesky, A. (1966) "Aia," in A. Lesky, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. W. Kraus, 26–62. Munich and Bern.
- Lesky, A. (1967) "Homerios," in *RE Suppl.* XI, 687–845.
- Levi, E. I. (1985) *Ol'viiã. Gorod èpokhi èllinizma*. Leningrad.
- Levick, B. (1999) *Vespasian*. London and New York.
- Lewis, N. (1993) "Εὐσχήμονες in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 30: 105–13.
- Libedinskii, ù., trans. (1978) *Skazaniiã o nartakh. Osetinskii èpos*, rev. edn. Moscow.
- Lightfoot, J. L. (1999) *Parthenius of Nicaea*. Oxford.
- Limberis, N. ù., and I. I. Marchenko (2001) "Importnaia i mestnaia keramika iz pogrebeniiã novogo meotskogo mogil'nika v Prikuban'e," in V. ù. Zuev, ed., *Bosporskii fenomen: kolonizatsiia regiona, formirovanie polisov, obrazovanie gosudarstva*, vol. II, 153–60. St. Petersburg.
- Limberis, N. ù., and I. I. Marchenko (2005) "Khronologiiã keramicheskikh kompleksov s antichnymi importami iz raskopok meotskikh mogil'nikov pravoberezh'ia Kubani," *MIAK* 5: 219–324.
- Limberis, N. ù., I. I. Marchenko, and S. ù. Monakhov (2011) "Novaia 'prikubanskaia' seriia èllinisticheskikh amfor," *AMA* 15: 265–83.
- Limberis, N., I. Marçenko, and S. Monachov (2013) "Une nouvelle série d'amphores hellénistiques: le type 'Kouban'," in L. Buzoianu, P. Dupont, and V. Lungu, eds., *PATABS III: Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea*, 165–84. Constanta.
- Lindner, R. (1994) *Mythos und Identität: Studien zur Selbstdarstellung kleinasiatischer Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Stuttgart.
- Lobel, E., ed. (1964) *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. xxx. London.

- Lomas, K. (2004) "Introduction," in K. Lomas, ed., *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, 1–14. Leiden and Boston.
- Lomtadze, G. A. (2005) "Antichnyĭ import na Bospore v IV–nachale III vv. do n.ĕ. (opyt kolichestvennogo analiza po materialam keramicheskoi tary)." Dissertation abstract. Moscow.
- Lomtadze, G. A. (2015) *Keramicheskaiâ tara iz raskopok poseleniĭ IV–pervoĭ treti III v. do n.ĕ. ĭsarskoĭ khory' Evropeĭskogo Bospora. Drevnosti Bospora* Suppl. 3. Moscow.
- Lomtadze, G. A., and A. A. Maslennikov (2004) "K rekonstruktsii torgovo-ĕkonomicheskoi situatsii na khore Evropeĭskogo Bospora," *PIFK* 14: 142–60.
- Lorenz, A., and M. Ī. Treister (2008) "Trĕkhbratnie kurgany. Katalog kompleksov i nakhodok," in M. Ī. Treister, ed., *Trĕkhbratnie kurgany. Kurgannaiâ gruppa vtoroi poloviny IV–III vv. do n. ĕ.*, 13–60. Simferopol and Bonn.
- Lozovoĭ, S. P., and E. V. Dobrovol'skaĭ (2010) "Prirodnye usloviia regiona," in Bongard-Levin and Kuznetsov, 133–45. Moscow.
- Lund, J. (1999) "Rhodian Amphorae in Rhodes and Alexandria as Evidence of Trade," in V. Gabrielsen, P. Guldager Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, and J. Zahle, eds., *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture, and Society*, 187–204. Aarhus.
- Lungu, V. (2011) "Données typologiques préliminaires sur les amphores à pâte grise de Mytilèn," in Tzochev, Stoyanov, and Bozkova, 179–90.
- Ma, J. (2013) *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World*. Oxford.
- McBride, R. A., M. R. Byrnes, and M. W. Hiland (1995) "Geomorphic Response-Type Model for Barrier Coastlines: A Regional Perspective," *Marine Geology* 126: 143–59.
- Machinskii, D. A. (1971) "O vremeni pervogo aktivnogo vystupeniia sarmatov v Podneprov'e po svidetel'stvam antichnykh pis'mennykh istochnikov," *ASGĖ* 13: 30–54.
- Magomedov, B. V. (1987) *Cherniakhovskaĭa kul'tura Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Kiev.
- Magomedov, B. V. (2001) *Cherniakhovskaĭa kul'tura. Problema etnosa*. Lublin.
- Magomedov, B. V. (2006) "Rimskie amfory v cherniakhovskoi kul'ture," in R. V. Terpilovskii, ed., *Goty i Rim*, 52–9. Kiev.
- Magomedov, B. V., and S. B. Buiskikh (1980) "Issledovaniia gorodishch rimskogo vremeni na r. Ingulets," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1979 goda* 298.
- Makarov, I. (2007) "La ville libre grecque et l'administration romaine: le cas de Chersonèse Taurique," in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 327–42.
- Maksimenco, V. E. (1983) *Savromaty i sarmaty na Nizhnem Donu*. Rostov-on-Don.
- Maksimova, M. I. (1956) *Antichnye goroda ĭugo-vostochnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Moscow and Leningrad.
- Malkin, I. (1987) *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. Leiden, New York, and Cologne.
- Malkin, I. (1993) "Land Ownership, Territorial Possession, Hero Cult, and Scholarly Theory," in R. M. Rosen and J. Farrell, eds., *Nomodeiktes: Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Oswald*, 225–34. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Mamontov, V. I. (2000) *Drevnee naselenie Levoberezh'ia Dona (po materialam kurgannogo mogil'nika Pervomaĭskii VII)*. Volgograd.
- Mann, C. (2012) "Gleichheiten und Ungleichheiten in der hellenistischen Polis. Überlegungen zum Stand der Forschung," in Mann and Scholz, 11–27.
- Mann, C., and P. Scholz, eds. (2012) *"Demokratie" im Hellenismus. Von der Herrschaft des Volkes zur Herrschaft der Honoratioren*. Mainz.

- Mantševich, A. P. (1982) "Finds in the Zaporozhe Barrow: New Light on the Siberian Collection of Peter the Great," *AJA* 86.4: 469–74.
- Marchenko, I. D. (1960) "K voprosu o kul'takh Aziatskogo Bospora," *VDI* 2: 101–6.
- Marchenko, I. D. (1962) "Novye dannye ob antichnom sviatilishche vblizi Fanagorii," in B. R. Vipper, ed., *50 let GMII im. A. S. Pushkina*, 121–33. Moscow.
- Marchenko, I. D. (1963) "Nekotorye itogi raskopok na Maiskoi gore," *KSLA* 95: 86–90.
- Marchenko, I. D. (1977) "O kul'te Afrodity na Tamani," in M. M. Kobylina, ed., *Istoriia i kul'tura antichnogo mira*, 121–6. Moscow.
- Marchenko, I. I., and N. Ū. Limberis (2010) "Meoty," in G. M. Bongard-Levin and V. D. Kuzneŭsov, eds., *Antichnoe nasledie Kubani*, vol. 1, 186–217. Moscow.
- Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, M. (1984) "Un chapiteau ionique classique grec à Histria. Quelques observations sur la composition et les unités de mesure," *Dacia* 28: 157–79.
- Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, M. (1990) "Tonische Normalkapitelle der griechischen Epoche in Histria," *Xenia* 25: 103–54.
- Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, M. (1993) "Archaische Architekturbruchstücke aus Histria," *Dacia* 37: 39–58.
- Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, M. (2006) *Architecture grecque et romaine: membra disiecta*. Histria 12. Bucharest.
- Marti, Ū. Ū. (1941) "Pozdne-ellenisticheskie nadgrobiia Bospora kak istoriko-kul'turnyi dokument," *SovArkh* 7: 31–43.
- Martin, R. E., and V. Yanko-Hombach (2011) "Rapid Holocene Sea-Level and Climate Change in the Black Sea: An Evaluation of the Balabanov Sea-Level Curve," in Buynevich et al., 51–8.
- Martin, R. E., E. Leorri, and P. P. McLaughlin (2007) "Holocene Sea-Level and Climate Change in the Black Sea: Multiple Marine Incursions and Freshwater Discharge Events," *Quaternary International* 167–8: 61–72.
- Mavrojannis, Th. (1994) "L'Achilleion nel santuario di Poseidon e Anfitrite a Tenos. Un capitolo di storia della gens Giulio-Claudia in Oriente," *Ostraka* 3: 291–347.
- Mayewski, P. A., E. E. Rohling, J. C. Stager, W. Karlén, K. A. Maasch, L. D. Meeker, E. A. Meyerson, F. Gasse, S. van Kreveland, K. Holmgren, J. Lee-Thorp, G. Rosqvist, F. Rack, M. Staubwasser, R. R. Schneider, and E. J. Steig (2004) "Holocene Climate Variability," *Quaternary Research* 62: 243–55.
- M'Elderry, R. K. (1909) "The Legions of the Euphrates Frontier," *Classical Quarterly*, 3.1: 44–53.
- Melikishvili, G. A. (1959) *K istorii drevnei Gruzii*. Tbilisi.
- Melikishvili, G. A. (1960) *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi*. Moscow.
- Melikishvili, G. A. (1962) "Kulkha," in N. V. Pigulevskaia, ed., *Drevnii mir*, 319–26. Moscow.
- Mette, H. J. (1936) *Sphairopoia. Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des Krates von Pergamon*. Munich.
- Meuli, K. (1921) *Odyssee und Argonautika: Untersuchungen zur griechischen Sagen Geschichte und zum Epos*. Berlin.
- Meyer, E. (1939) "Ormenion," in *RE* XVIII.1, 1105–7.
- Mikhlin, B. Ū. (1974) "Amfory 'korichnevoi' gliny iz Severo-Zapadnogo Kryma," *SovArkh* 2: 60–7.
- Mikhlin, B. Ū. (1975) "Sarmatskoe pogrebenie v ūzhnom Donbasse," *SovArkh* 4: 185–92.
- Miller, V. F. (1887) *Osetinskii efiudy, 3. Issledovaniia*. Uchënyiia zapiski Imperatorskago Moskovskago universiteta. Otdiel istoriko-filologicheskii, 8. Moscow.
- Minns, E. H. (1913) *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge.

- Mitchell, S. (1995) *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, vol. 1. Oxford.
- Mitchell, S. (2002) "In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity," in A.K. Bowman, H. M. Cotton, M. Goodman, and S. Price, eds., *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*, 35–64. Oxford.
- Mogil'nikov, V.A. (1997) *Naselenie Verkhnego Priob'ia v seredine – vtoroi polovine I tysyacheletia do n. e.* Moscow.
- Monachov, S. (1993) "Les amphores de Sinope," *Anatolia antiqua* 2: 107–32.
- Monachov, S. (1997) "La chronologie de quelques kourganes de la noblesse Scythe du IVe siècle av. n.è. du littoral septentrional de la mer Noire," *Il Mar Nero* 2, 1995/6: 29–59.
- Monachov, S. (2010) "New Series of Amphorae from Southern Pontic Poleis, 4th–First Third of the 3rd Centuries B.C.," in Kassab Tezgör and Inaishvili, 23–7.
- Monachov, S., and E. Kuznetsova (2011) "About One Series of Amphorae from Unknown Dorian Centre of the Fourth Century BC (former 'Bosporan' or 'Early-Chersonesean')," in Tzochev, Stoyanov, and Bozkova, 245–78.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1980) "Eshchë raz o standartakh ëmkosti amfor ëllinisticheskogo Khersonesa," *VDI* 4: 161–79.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1984) "Proizvodstvo amfor v ëllinisticheskome Khersonese," *VDI* 1: 109–128.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1986) "O nekotorykh osobennostiakh rasschëta standartnykh mer ëmkosti ostrodonnykh amfor," *AMA* 6: 106–14.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1989) *Amfory Khersonesa Tavricheskogo IV–II vv. do n.è.* Saratov.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1990) "Zametki po lokalizatsii keramicheskoi tary: amfory i amfornye kleïma Kolofona," *VDI* 4: 97–105.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1992) "Dinamika form i standartov sinopskikh amfor," in Kats and Monakhov, 163–204.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1997) "Ob amfornykh kompleksakh: 'chistykh' i 'nechistykh', uzkiikh i shirokikh," in Okhotnikov, 202–12.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1999a) *Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e: komplekсы keramicheskoi tary VII–II vv. do n.è.* Saratov.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1999b) "K tipologii knidskikh amfor IV–II vv. do n.è.," in V. N. Zuev, ed., *Bosporskii fenomen: Grecheskaia kul'tura na periferii antichnogo mira*, 161–72. St. Petersburg.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (1999c) "Zametki po lokalizatsii keramicheskoi tary, II: amfory i amfornye kleïma polisov severnoi Ègeidy," *AMA* 10: 129–48.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (2001) "Mendeiskii import v Prichernomor'e v V–IV vv. do n.è.," in V. ū. Zuev, ed., *Bosporskii fenomen: kolonizatsiia regiona, formirovanie polisov, obrazovanie gosudarstva*, vol. II, 57–65. St. Petersburg.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (2002) "'Pozdnie' serii gerakleiskikh amfor (konca IV–pervoï treti III vv. do n.è.)," *AMA* 11: 167–78.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (2003) *Grecheskie amfory v Prichernomor'e: tipologiia amfor vedushchikh tsentrov-eksportërov tovarov v keramicheskoi tare.* Moscow and Saratov.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (2007) "'Psevdogerakleiskie' amfory IV–pervoï treti III v. do n.è. iz ūuzhnogo Prichernomor'ia," in E. A. Molev, ed., *Iz istorii antichnogo obshchestva*, 9–10, 86–96. Nizhniï Novgorod.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (2012) "Amfory maloaziiskikh Èrifr V–II vv. do n.è.: dopolnenie k klassifikatsii," in N. P. Tel'nov, ed., *Drevnosti Severnogo Prichernomor'ia III–II vv. do n.è.*, 111–24. Tiraspol.
- Monakhov, S. ū. (2013a) "Zametki po lokalizatsii keramicheskoi tary, III: amfory i amfornye kleïma maloaziiskikh Èrifr," *VDI* 3: 28–51.

- Monakhov, S. Ť. (2013b) "Amfory Akanfa, novye nakhodki i zamteki o speŝifike amfor-nogo proizvodstva v polise," in I. I. Marchenko, ed., *Sheŝtaia Kubanskaia arkhelogicheskai konfereŝtsiia*. Conference paper abstracts, 294–300. Krasnodar.
- Monakhov, S. Ť. (2013c) "Eshcho odna nakhodka akanfskoĭ amfory i nekotorye razmys-hleniia o kharaktere akanfskogo amfor-nogo proizvodstva," *Drevnosti Bospora* 17: 258–69.
- Monakhov, S. Ť. (2014) "Kosskie i psevdokosskie amfory i kleĭma," *Stratum plus* 3: 195–222.
- Monakhov, S. Ť., and N. F. Fedoseev (2013a) "Zametki po lokalizatsii keramicheskoi tary, IV: amfory Ikosa," *AMA* 16: 255–66.
- Monakhov, S. Ť., and N. F. Fedoseev (2013b) "Amfory Ikosa," in M. Ť. Vakhtina, ed., *Bosporskii fenomen: Greki i varvary na evraziiskom perekrestke*, 554–61. St. Petersburg.
- Monakhov, S. Ť., and E. V. Kuzneŝova (2009) "Ob odnoi serii amfor neustanovlennogo doriiskogo tsentra IV v. do n.ĕ.," in V. P. Kopylov, ed., *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v basseĭne Chĕrnogo moŝia v drevnosti i srednie veka*, 148–61. Rostov-on-Don.
- Monakhov, S. Ť., and V. N. Slonov (1992) "K rekonstruktsii antichnoi metodiki raschĕta i modelirovaniia drevnegrecheskikh amfor," *VDI* 2: 97–110.
- Monakhov, S. Ť., E. V. Kuzneŝova, and A. A. Zavoikin (2006) "Keramicheskie komplekсы iz Fanagorii (raskopki 2005 g.)," *AMA* 12: 294–312.
- Moore, J. (2011) "When Not Just Any Wine Will Do ...? The Proliferation of Coan-Type Wine and Amphoras in the Greco-Roman World," *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 28 [2010]: 89–122.
- Mordvinceva, V. I. (2001) *Sarmatische Phaleren*. Rahden, Westf.
- Mordvinceva, V. I. (2013) "Der Depotfund von Bulachovka," in Müller and Schmauder, 402–7.
- Mordvinceva, V., and M. Treister (2007) *Toreutik und Schmuck im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet (2. Jh. v. Chr.–2. Jh. n. Chr.)*. Simferopol and Bonn.
- Mordvinceva, V. I., and E. F. Redina (2013a) "Der Depotfund von Velikoploskoe," in Müller and Schmauder, 388–93.
- Mordvinceva, V. I., and E. F. Redina (2013b) "Der Depotfund von Veselaja Dolina," in Müller and Schmauder, 394–401.
- Mordvinŝeva, V. I. (1994) "Serebrianye falary iz Zhutovskogo kurgannogo mogil'nika," *Peterburgskii Arkheologicheskii Vestnik* 8: 96–101.
- Mordvinŝeva, V. I. (1996) "Falary konskoĭ upriazhi na territorii stepnoi Evrazii v III v. do n. ĕ. – pervoi polovine II v. n. ĕ." PhD diss., Institute of History of Material Culture, St. Petersburg, Russia.
- Mordvinŝeva, V. I. (2003) *Polikhromnyi zverinyĭ stil'*. Simferopol.
- Mordvinŝeva, V. I. (2013) "The Sarmatians: The Creation of Archaeological Evidence," *OJA* 32.2: 203–19.
- Mordvinŝeva, V. I., and N. V. Khabarova (2006) *Drevnee zoloto Povolzh'ia*. Simferopol.
- Mordvinŝeva, V. I., and E. P. Mys'kov (2005) "Pogrebenie s ostatkami kitaĭskoĭ lako-voĭ shkatulki iz mogil'nika Oktiabr'skii," *Nizhnevolzhskii Arkheologicheskii Vestnik* 8: 314–18.
- Moreno, A. (2008) "Hieron. The Ancient Sanctuary at the Mouth of the Black Sea," *Hesperia* 77: 655–709.
- Moroz, T. G. (1990) *Formirovanie limanov i ikh klassifikatsiia*. Kiev.
- Moshkova, M. G. (1963) *Paniatniki prokhorovskoi kul'tury*. Arkheologiia SSSR. Moscow.
- Moshkova, M. G. (1984) "Kul'tovye sooruzheniia Lebedevskogo mogil'nika," in A. I. Meliukova, M. G. Moshkova, and V. G. Petrenko, eds., *Drevnosti Evrazii v skifo-sarmatskoe vremia*, 196–201. Moscow.

- Moshkova, M. I. (1989) "Istoriia izucheniiã savromato-sarmatskikh plemën," in A. I. Meliukova, ed., *Stepi evropeiskoi chasti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoe vremia*, 158–64. Moscow.
- Mofsiã, O. (2011) *Ukraintsi: narod i ioho zemliã (etapy stanovlennia)*. Kiev.
- Moulinier, L. (1953) *Quelques hypothèses, relatives à la géographie d'Homère dans l'Odyssee*. Aix-en-Provence.
- Mozolevskii, B. N., and S. V. Polin (2005) *Kurgany skifskogo Gerrosa IV v. do n.é. (Babina, Vodiana i Soboleva mogily)*. Kiev.
- Mühlestein, H. (1979) "Odysseus und Dionysos," *Antike und Abendland* 25: 140–73.
- Müller, Ch. (2005) "La procédure d'adoption des décrets en Béotie de la fin du IIIe s. av. J.-C. au Ier s. ap. J.-C.," in Fröhlich and Müller, 95–119.
- Müller, Ch. (2007) "Quelques réflexions à propos de la chôra d'Hermonassa dans le Bosphore Cimmérien," in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 69–77.
- Müller, Ch. (2010) *D'Olbïa à Tanais. Territoires et réseaux d'échanges dans la mer Noire septentrionale aux époques classique et hellénistique*. Bordeaux.
- Müller, St., and M. Schmauder, eds. (2013) *Die Krim. Goldene Insel im Schwarzen Meer. Griechen – Skythen – Goten*. Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung. LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn, 4. Juli 2013–19. Januar 2014. Bonn.
- Nazarov, V. V. (1985) "Podvodnye arkheologicheskie issledovaniã v 1984 godu," in S. D. Kryzhiñskii, ed., *Problemy issledovaniã Ol'vii*. Conference paper abstracts, 53–4. Parutino.
- Nazarov, V. V. (1987) "Issledovaniã na Berezanskom limane," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiã 1985 goda*: 629–30.
- Nazarov, V. V. (1994) "Do pytanniã pro mors'ku spravu ol'viopolitiv," *Arkheolohiã* 2: 94–101.
- Nazarov, V. V. (1997) "Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Berezan," in K. Stähler, ed., *Zur graeco-skythischen Kunst. Archäologisches Kolloquium Münster 24.–26. November 1995*, 4–21. Münster.
- Nazarov, V. V. (2003) *Gidroarkheologicheskaã karta chernomorskoï akvatorii Ukrainy*. Kiev.
- Nazarov, V. V. (2006) "Nekotorye itogi arkheologicheskikh issledovaniã Berezanskogo poseleniã (1984–1999)," in Iã. V. Domanskiï, V. Ñ. Zuev, Ñ. I. Il'ina, K. K. Marchenko, V. V. Nazarov, and D. E. Chistov, eds., *Materialy Berezanskoï (Nizhnebugskoï) antichnoi arkheologicheskoi èkspeditsii*, vol. 1, 171–6. St. Petersburg.
- Nazarov, V. V., and S. A. Voronov (2002) "Gidroarkheologicheskoe obsledovanie raiona Tendrovskoi kosy (Chërnoe more)," in V. V. Lebedinskiï, ed., *Podvodniã arkheologiã: sto let issledovaniã*, 42–6. Moscow.
- Nevesky, E. N. (1970) "Holocene History of the Coastal Shelf Zone of the USSR in Relation with Processes of Sedimentation and Condition of Concentration of Useful Minerals," *Quaternaria* 12: 78–88.
- Nijf, O. van (2013) "Affective Politics. The Emotional Regime in the Imperial Greek City," in A. Chaniotis and P. Ducrey, eds., *Unveiling Emotions II: Emotions in Greece and Rome. Texts, Images, Material Culture*, 373–90. Stuttgart.
- Nikolaenko, G. M. (1999) *Khora Khersonesa Tavricheskogo I*. Sevastopol.
- Nikolaev, N. (2008) *Politicheskã i kul'tovãã èlita Ol'vii IV–I vv. do n. é.* Nikolaev.
- Nikolaïev, M. I. (2012a) "Synkhronizatsiã eponimnoho kalendarã Ol'vii IOSPE 1^o 201 – ob'iektyvna real'nist'," *Hilëã* 67: 159–67.
- Nikolaïev, M. I. (2012b) "Khronolohiã dekretu na chest' Protohena na grunti synkhronizatsiã eponimnoho kalendarã Ol'vii," *Arkheolohiã* 1: 26–41.
- Nikonov, A. A. (1997) "Tsunami Occurrence on the Coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov," *Physics of the Solid Earth* 33: 77–87.

- Nikonov, A. A. (2002) "Gora Borisa i Gleba na Tamani," *Geomorfologîa* 3: 73–8.
- Nilsson, M. P. (1955) *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, vol. 1. Munich.
- Ogden, D. (2001) *Greek and Roman Necromancy*. Princeton and Oxford.
- Ohnesorg, A. (2005) *Ionische Altäre. Formen und Varianten einer Architekturattung aus Insel- und Ostionien*. AF 21. Berlin.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (1989) "Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki na territorii g. Odessy," in V. P. Vashchenko, ed., *Vospitanie istoriei*. Conference paper abstracts, 100–1. Odessa.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (1990) "Ostrov Levke (Zmeinyi) i nekotorye problemy antichnogo moreplavaniia v severo-zapadnoi chasti Chernogo moria," in *Problemy arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Conference paper abstracts. Part 2, 54–5. Kherson.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (1993a) "Obshchegrecheskoe sviatilishche antichnogo vremeni na ostrove Levke (Zmeinyi)," in Smolii, 103–5.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (1993b) "Sviatilishche Akhilla na ostrove Levke (Zmeinyi) i antichnye pamiatniki Nizhnego Podnestrov'ia," in S. B. Okhotnikov, ed., *Drevnee Prichernomor'e*, 104–5. Odessa.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (1996) "Ostrov Zmeinyi v antichnoe vremia i srednie veka," *Zapiski istoricheskogo fakul'teta Odesskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. I.I. Mechnikova*, no. 3: 46–59.
- Okhotnikov, S. B., ed. (1997) *Nikonii i antichnyi mir Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Odessa.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (1998) "Akhill – pokrovitel' Ponta," in M. Lazarov, ed., *Bogovete na Ponta*, 37–45. Varna.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (2001a) "Podvodnye issledovaniia u ostrova Zmeinogo," in Kopylov, 38–42.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (2001b) "Ostrov Levke (Zmeinyi)," in T. L. SamoiloVA, ed., *Antichnye pamiatniki Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia*, 155–64. Kiev.
- Okhotnikov, S. B. (2006) "Achilleus auf der Insel Leuke," in Hupe, 49–87.
- Okhotnikov, S. B., and A. S. Ostroverkhov (1991) "Podvodnye arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Severo-Zapadnoi chasti Chernogo moria," *Izuchenie pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury v gidrosfere* 2: 19–27.
- Okhotnikov, S. B., and A. S. Ostroverkhov (1993) *Sviatilishche Akhilla na ostrove Levke (Zmeinom)*. Kiev.
- Okhotnikov, S. B., and A. S. Ostroverkhov (1999) "Ostrov Levke – problemy issledovaniia i okhrany," *Okhrana i issledovanie pamiatnikov arkheologii Odesskoï oblasti* 1: 25–7.
- Okhotnikov, S. B., and A. S. Ostroverkhov (2002) "Takirna stoianka sviatylyshcha Akhilla na ostrovi Levke (Zmeinomu)," *Arkheolohiia* 2: 123–31.
- Ol'khovskii, V. S. (2001) "Tamga (k funktsii znaka)," *Istoriko-arkheologicheskii al'manakh* 7: 75–86.
- Ol'khovskii, V. S. (2005) *Monumental'naia skul'ptura naseleniia zapadnoi chasti evraziiskikh stepei epokhi rannego zheleza*. Moscow.
- Ol'khovskii, V. S., and G. L. Evdokimov (1994) *Skifskie izvianiia VII–III vv. do n. e.* Moscow.
- Opaï, A. (1987) "Un dépôt d'amphores découvert à Aegyssus," *Dacia* 31.1–2: 145–55.
- Opaï, A. (2004) *Local and Imported Ceramics in the Roman Province of Scythia (4th–6th Centuries AD): Aspects of Economic Life in the Province of Scythia*. Oxford.
- Opaï, A. (2010) "Pontic Wine in the Athenian Market," in D. Papanikola-Bakirtzē and D. Kousoulakou, eds., *Keramikē tēs hystērēs archaiotētas apo ton helladiko chōro (30s–70s ai. m. Ch.)*, vol. 1, 108–30. Thessaloniki.
- Opaï, A. (2011) "Amforele din spaïul Est-Carpatic," in S. Sanie and T.–E. Marin, eds., *Geto-Dacii dintre Carpați și Nistru. Secolele II a. Chr.–II p. Chr.* 1, 445–72. Iasi.

- Osborne, R. (2012) "Cultures as Languages and Languages as Cultures," in A. Mullen and P. James, eds., *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, 317–34. Cambridge.
- Ostrovkikh, A. S. (1981) "Ol'viia i torgovyie puti Skifii," in G. G. Mezentseva, ed., *Drevnosti Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia*, 84–94. Kiev.
- Otreshko, V. M. (1979) "Posviashcheniia Akhillu Pontarkhu kak odin iz kriteriev opredeleniia granits Ol'viiskogo gosudarstva," in V. D. Baran, ed., *Pamiatniki drevnikh kul'tur Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*, 80–7. Kiev.
- Otreshko, V. M. (1981) "Kallipidy, Alazony i poseleniia Nizhnego Pobuzh'ia," *SovArkh* 1: 27–41.
- Otreshko, V. M. (1993) "O lokalizatsii gavani isiakov i gavani istrian," in Smoliĭ, 102–3.
- Özgüç, T. (1978) *Maşat Höyük I: A Hittite Center Northeast of Boğazköy*. Ankara.
- Pallas, P. S. (1803) *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1793 und 1794*, vol. II. Leipzig.
- Panella, C. (1986) "Oriente ed Occidente: considerazioni su alcune anfore 'egee' di età imperiale a Ostia," in Empereur and Garlan, 609–36.
- Panin, N. (1983) "Black Sea Coast Line Changes in the Last 10,000 Years: A New Attempt at Identifying the Danube Mouths as Described by the Ancients," *Dacia* 27: 175–84.
- Papanova, V. A. (2002) "Amfora s kleimom iz nekropolia Ol'vii," in P. P. Tolochko, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e v antichnoe vremia*, 76–7. Kiev.
- Papanova, V. A. (2006) *Urochishche Sto mogil (nekropol' Ol'vii Pontiiskoi)*. Kiev.
- Papuci-Władyka, E. (2004) "Polish-Ukrainian Archeological Project Koshary," *Newsletter of the International Relations Office, Jagiellonian University*, no. 25: 26–7.
- Papuci-Władyka, E., and T. N. Kokorzhitskaia (2004) "Greek Amphorae from the Polish-Ukrainian Excavations at Koshary, Odessa District (Fourth and Third Centuries BC): A First Presentation," in Eiring and Lund, 313–24.
- Papuci-Władyka, E., and E. F. Redina (2005) "The Ukrainian-Polish Excavations in Koshary Settlement (Black Sea Shore, Odessa District)." Abstract of the paper delivered at the Third International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities (Prague, September 11–18, 2005).
- Papuci-Władyka, E., and E. F. Redina (2002) "Antichnyi mogil'nik u sela Koshary," in Zuev, 56–62.
- Paraschiv, D. (2004) "Amfore Pontice Romane și Romano-bizantine în zona Dunării de jos," *Arheologia Moldovei* 25: 165–207.
- Paromov, Ia. M. (1998) "Glavnye dorogi Tamanskogo poluostrova v antichnoe vremia," *Drevnosti Bospora* 1: 216–26.
- Pfrommer, M. (1986) "Bemerkungen zum Tempel von Messa auf Lesbos," *IstMitt* 36: 77–94.
- Pfrommer, M. (1987) *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit*. AF 16. Berlin.
- Pharmakowsky, B. (1906) "Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1905. Südrussland," *AA* 109–24.
- Piatysheva, N. V. (1966) "Arkheologicheskoe obsledovanie ostrova Levke (o. Zmeinyi) osen'iu 1964 g.," *Arkheologicheskii sbornik. Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeia* 40: 58–70.
- Pichikian, I. R. (1984) *Malaiia Aziia – Severnoe Prichernomor'e. Antichnye traditsii i vlianiia*. Moscow.
- Pim, J. E., Iatsenko, S. A., and O. T. Perrin, eds. (2010) *Traditional Marking Systems: A Preliminary Survey*. Dover.
- Pisi, P. (1990) *Prometeo nel culto attico*. Rome.
- Podosinov, A. V. (2000) "Varvarizatsiia ellinov i ellinizatsiia varvarov: k dialektike etno-kul'turnykh kontaktov v Severnom Prichernomor'e," in A. V. Podosinov, *Problemy istoricheskoi geografii Vostochnoi Evropy: antichnost' i rannee srednevekov'e*, 59–75. Lewiston, NY.

- Podosinov, A. V. (2002) *Vostochnáïa Evropa v rimskoi kartograficheskoi traditsii. Teksty, perevod, kommentariï*. Moscow.
- Podosinov, A. V. (2012) "Svedeniã Diona Khrisostoma o varvarizašsii Ol'vii v I v. n. è. i dannye arkheologii i èpigrafiki," *Aristei* 6: 21–52.
- Podosinov, A. V. (2014) "Skifskie genealogicheskie legendy i ikh svyaz' s grecheskim panteonom: nekotorye nablüdeniã," in E. A. Mel'nikova, ed., *Vostochnáïa Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e. Täzychestvo i monoteizm v prösessakh politogeneza. XXVI Chteniã paniãti chlena-korrespondenta AN SSSR V.T. Pashuto, 16–18 apreliã, 2013 g.*, 223–30. Moscow.
- Podosinov, A. V., and M. V. Skrzhinskaïa (2011) *Rimskie geograficheskie istochniki: Pomponii Mela i Plinii Starshii. Teksty, perevod, kommentariï*. Moscow.
- Podossinov, A. V. (1996) "Barbarisierte Hellenen – hellenisierte Barbaren. Zur Dialektik ethno-kultureller Kontakte in der Region des Mare Ponticum," in B. Funck, ed., *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters. Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.–14. März 1994 in Berlin*, 415–25. Tübingen.
- Pogrebova, N. N. (1956) "Pogrebenie na zemliãnom valu akropoliã Kamenskogo gorodishcha," *KSIMK* 63: 94–7.
- Pogrebova, N. N. (1958) "Pozdneskifskie gorodishcha na Nizhnem Dnepre," in K. F. Smirnov, ed., *Paniãtyniki skifo-sarmatskogo vremeni v Severnom Prichernomor'e*, 103–247. MIA 64. Moscow and Leningrad.
- Polignac, F. de (1995) *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, trans. J. Lloyd. Chicago.
- Polin, S. V. (1991) "Amfory kurgana Chertomlyk," in A. Tü. Alekseev, V. Tü. Murzin, and R. Rolle, *Chertomlyk. Skifskii tsarskii kurgan IV veka do n.è.*, 365–74. Kiev.
- Polin, S. V. (1992) *Ot Skifii k Sarmatii*. Kiev.
- Polin, S. V. (2010) "Amfory Aleksandrovskogo kurgana (po materialam raskopok 2004–2009 gg.)," *AMA* 14: 262–307.
- Polin, S. V. (2014) *Skifskii Zolotobalkovskii kurgannyi mogil'nik V–IV v. do n.è. na Khersonshchine*. Kiev.
- Polin, S. V., and A. V. Simonenko (1997) "Skifiiã i sarmaty," in V. E. Maksimenko, ed., *Sarmaty i Skifiiã*, 87–95. Donskie Drevnosti 5. Azov.
- Popova, E. A. (2011) "Pozdneskifskaiã kul'tura: istoriã izucheniiã, problemy, gipotezy," *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta* 1: 136–47.
- Porotov, A. (2007) "Relative Sea-Level Changes and Submersion of Archaeological Sites along the Northern Shoreline of the Black Sea," *Méditerranée* 108: 29–36.
- Posamentir, R. (2007) "Colonisation and Acculturation in the Early Necropolis of Chersonesos," in G. Erkut and S. Mitchell, eds., *The Black Sea: Past, Present and Future*, 45–56. London.
- Posamentir, R. (2010) *The Polychrome Grave Stelai from the Early Hellenistic Necropolis*. Austin.
- Pujol, L. P. (2008) "The *anonna militaris* in the Tingitana: Observations on the Organization and Provisioning of the Roman Troops," in P. P. A. Funari, R. S. Garraffoni, and B. Letalien, eds., *New Perspectives on the Ancient World: Modern Perceptions, Ancient Representations*, 145–53. Oxford.
- Purcell, N. (2005) "Colonization and Mediterranean History," in H. Hurst and S. Owen, eds., *Ancient Colonizations*, 115–59. London.
- Puturidze, R. V. (1977) "Kolkhidskie amfory iz Vani," *KSLA* 151: 68–71.
- Puzdrovskii, A. E. (2001) "Politicheskaïa istoriã Krymskoi Skifii vo II v. do n. è.–III v. n. è.," *VDI* 3: 86–118.

- Quass, F. (1993) *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit.* Stuttgart.
- Quast, D. (2009) “Frühgeschichtliche Prunkgräberhorizonte,” in M. Egg and D. Quast, eds., *Aufstieg und Untergang. Zwischenbilanz des Forschungsschwerpunktes “Eliten”*, 107–42. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 82. Mainz.
- Radermacher, L. (1915) “Die Erzählungen der Odyssee,” *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 178.1. Abhandlung.
- Rădulescu, A. (1976) “Amfore romane și romano-bizantine din Scythia Minor,” *Pontica* 9: 99–114.
- Raeck, W., A. Gorys, and B. Gossel-Raeck (2000) “Untersuchungen zur Vorgängerbauung des Trajaneums von Pergamon II: Der Bereich westlich des Tempels, untere Hangstufe,” *IstMitt* 50: 307–64.
- Raevskiĭ, D. S. (1973) “K istorii greko-rimskikh otnoshenii (II v. do n. é. – I v. n. é.),” *VDI* 2: 110–20.
- Raevskiĭ, D. S. (1977) *Ocherki ideologii skifo-sakskikh plemën.* Moscow.
- Ramin, J. (1979) *Mythologie et géographie.* Paris.
- Redina, E. F. (2006) “Antichnye poseleniia mezhdurech'ia ūzhnogo Buga i Dnestra v drevnegrecheskoĭ literaturnoĭ traditsii i popytki ikh lokalizatsii,” in Kushnir, 182–7.
- Redina, E., and A. Simonenko (2002) “‘Klad’ kontsa II–I v. do n. é. iz Veseloĭ Doliny v krugu analogichnykh drevnostei Vostochnoĭ Evropy,” *MLAK* 2: 78–95.
- Redina, E. F., ūa. Khokhorovski, L. Nosova, E. Papuĭsi-Vladyka, and ūa. Bodzek (1999) “Raskopki drevnegrecheskogo poseleniia i mogil'nika u sela Koshary Odesskoĭ oblasti,” *Okhrana i issledovaniia pamiatnikov arkheologii Odesskoĭ oblasti* 1: 19–24.
- Redina, E. F., Ū. Papuĭsi-Vladyka, ūa. Bodzek, and V. Makhovski (2008) “Arkheologicheskii kompleks antichnogo vremeni u sela Koshary – itogi issledovaniia,” in E. Papuci-Wladyka, ed., *Pontika 2006: Recent Research in Northern Black Sea Coast Greek Colonies. Proceedings of the International Conference, Cracow, March 18, 2006*, 143–58. Cracow.
- Rickman, G. E. (1986) “The Archaeology and History of Roman Ports,” *AJA* 90.2: 201.
- Ridgway, B. S. (1986) “The State of Research of Ancient Art,” *Art Bulletin* 68.1: 7–23.
- Riĕdina, ūe. F. (2002) “Antychni pam'iatky uzberezhzhia Odes'koĭ zatoky i lymaniv (VI–III st. do n. ūe.),” *Zapysky istorychnoho fakul'tetu Odes'koho natsional'noho universitetu im. I.I. Mechnykova* 12: 70–8.
- Rikman, E. A. (1972) “Vopros datirovki importnykh veshcheĭ v pamiatnikakh Cherniakhovskoĭ kul'tury Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ia,” *SovArkh* 4: 84–101.
- Robinson, D., and A. Wilson, eds. (2011) *Maritime Archaeology and Ancient Trade in the Mediterranean.* Oxford.
- Rohde, E. (1901) “Studien zur Chronologie der griechischen Literaturgeschichte,” in E. Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1, 1–113. Tübingen and Leipzig.
- Rohde, E. (1921) *Psyche. Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 7th and 8th edns., vols. 1 and 11. Tübingen.
- Roloff, D. (1970) *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligem Leben.* Berlin and New York.
- Romanchuk, A. B., A. V. Sazanov, and L. V. Sedikova (1995) *Amfory iz kompleksov vizantiiskogo Khersona.* Ekaterinburg.
- Romm, J. S. (1989) “Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of Hyperboreans,” *TAPA* 119: 97–113.
- Romm, J. S. (1992) *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction.* Princeton.

- Rostovtsev, M. I. (1918a) "Novaia kniga o Bieleom ostrovie i Tavrikie," *Izvestiia Arkheologicheskoi Kommissii* 65: 177–97.
- Rostovtsev, M. I. (1918b) *Kurgannyia nakhodki Orenburgskoi oblasti epokhi ranniago i pozdniago ellinizma*. Materialy po arkheologii Rossii 37. Petrograd.
- Rostovtzeff, M. (1922) *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M. (1929) *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*. Princeton.
- Rostowzew, M. (1931) *Skythien und der Bosporus*, vol. 1, *Kritische Übersicht der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen*. Berlin.
- Roth, J. (1994) "The Size and Organization of the Roman Imperial Legion," *Historia* 43.3: 346–62.
- Ruban, V. V. (1985) "Problemy istoricheskogo razvitiia Ol'viiskoi khory v IV–II vv. do n. e.," *VDI* 1: 26–45.
- Rudenko, S. I. (1962) *Sibirskaiia kolleksiia Petra I*. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov D3–9. Moscow.
- Rumscheid, F. (1994) *Untersuchungen zur kleinasiatischen Bauornamentik des Hellenismus*. Mainz.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (1975) "Voprosy razvitiia kul'ta Akhilla v Severnom Prichernomor'e," in A. I. Terenozhkin, ed., *Skifskii mir*, 174–85. Kiev.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (1979) *Zemel'cheskie kul'ty v Ol'vii dogetsogo vremeni*. Kiev.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (1990) "Ideologicheskie predstavleniia drevnikh grekov Nizhnego Pobuzh'ia v period kolonizatsii," in V. M. Zubar', ed., *Obriady i verovaniia drevnego naseleniia Ukrainy*, 40–60. Kiev.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (1992) *Religiia i kul'ty antichnoi Ol'vii*. Kiev.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (2000) "Kul'ty i sviatilishcha v sfere politiki demokraticheskikh polisov Severnogo Prichernomor'ia v ranneellinisticheskoe vremia," *VDI* 3: 78–84.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (2004a) "Nauchnaia sud'ba epigraficheskikh issledovaniu E. R. fon Shterna," in S. D. Kryzhiiskii, ed., *Borysthenika-2004*, 14–22. Nikolaev.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (2004b) "O khrame Akhilla na ostrove Levke v Ponte Evksinskom," *VDI* 1: 177–90.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (2005) *Religiia pontiiskikh ellinov v antichnuu epokhu*. Kiev.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (2006a) "Stroitel'nye ostatki khramov," in Zin'ko, 32–42.
- Rusaiava, A. S. (2006b) "Sviatilishche Akhilla na Tendre v kontekste istorii i religii Ol'vii Pontiiskoi," *VDI* 4: 98–123.
- Rusaiava, A. S., and P. D. Diatropov (1993) "Dva kul'tovykh kompleksa Zapadnogo temenosa v Ol'vii," *Arkheolohichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini 1991 roku* 106–7.
- Rusyaeva, A. S. (1994) "Investigations of the Western Temenos of Olbia," *ACSS* 1.1: 80–102.
- Rusyaeva, A. S. (2003) "On the Temple of Achilles on the Island of Leuke in Pontos Euxeinos," *ACSS* 9.1–2: 1–16.
- Salviat, F. (1986) "Le vin de Thasos. Amphores, vin et sources écrites," in Empereur and Garlan, 145–95.
- Salvini, M. (2008) *Corpus dei testi urartei*, vol. 1, *Le iscrizioni su pietra e roccia i testi*. Rome.
- Samoilova, T. L. (1978) "Osnovnye tipy amfor I–IV vv. iz Tiry," in O. P. Karyshkovskii, ed., *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia*, 254–66. Kiev.
- Sanie, S., and Ş. Sanie (1992) "Cetăţuia geto-dacică de la Bărboşi (IV)," *Arheologia Moldovei* 15: 71–96.
- Saprykin, S. Iu. (1986) *Gerakleia Pontiiskaiia i Khersones Tavricheskii*. Moscow.
- Saprykin, S. Iu., and A. A. Maslennikov (1996) "Bosporan Chora in the Reign of Mithridates VI Eupator and his Immediate Successors," *ACSS* 2.3: 261–82.

- Saprykin, S. J. (1997) *Heracleia Pontica and Tauric Chersonesus before Roman Domination (VI–I Centuries BCE)*. Amsterdam.
- Saprykin, S. J. (2007) “The Kingdom of Bosphorus at the Turn of the Common Era: Barbarian and Roman Impact,” in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 309–17.
- Savostina, E. A. (2010) “Iskusstvo,” in Bongard-Levin and Kuznetsov, 495–533.
- Savostina, E. A. (2012) *Éllada i Bospor: grecheskaïa skul’ptura na Severnom Ponte*. Simferopol and Kerch.
- Sazanov, A. V. (1993) “Pozdnie tipy uzkogorlykh svetlogliniânykh amfor,” in A. I. Aïbabin, ed., *Materialy po arkeologii, istorii i étnografii Tavrii III*, 16–21. Simferopol.
- Sceglov, A. (1986) “Les amphores timbrées d’Amastris,” in Empereur and Garlan, 365–73.
- Schmauder, M. (2002) *Oberschichtgräber und Verwahrfunde in Südeuropa im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1. *Archaeologia Romanica* 3. Bucharest.
- Schmidt, S. (1991) *Hellenistische Grabreliefs. Typologische und chronologische Beobachtungen*. Cologne and Vienna.
- Schörle, K. (2011) “Constructing Port Hierarchies: Harbours of the Central Tyrrhenian Coast,” in Robinson and Wilson, 93–106.
- Schörner, H. (2007) *Sepulturae graecae intra urbem. Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der intraurbanen Bestattungen bei den Griechen*. Münster.
- Schuler, C. (2005) “Die διοίκησις τῆς πόλεως im öffentlichen Finanzwesen der hellenistischen Poleis,” *Chiron* 35: 385–403.
- Schwartz, E. (1924) *Die Odyssee*. Munich.
- Sciallano, M., and P. Sibella (1991) *Amphores, comment les identifier?* Aix-en-Provence.
- Seeliger, K. (1884) “Argonautai und Argonautensage,” in W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. 1.i, 504–37. Leipzig.
- Seiler, F. (1986) *Die griechische Tholos*. Mainz.
- Šelov, D. B. (1986) “Les amphoras d’argile claire des premiers siècles de notre ère en Mer Noire,” in Empereur and Garlan, 395–400.
- Selinov, V. I. (1939) “Greko-skifskaïa faktoriïa na territorii Odessy. (Raskopki Odesskogo Istoriko-Arkeologicheskogo Muzeïa v Luzanovke s 06.20.1937 po 07.10.1937),” Academic Archive of the Archaeological Institute of the National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, f. 12, no. 116.
- Selinov, V. I. (1940) “Ol’viiskaïa faktoriïa na territorii Odessy,” Academic Archive of the Archaeological Institute of the National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, f. 12, no. 118.
- Sergatskov, I. V. (2000) *Sarmatskie kurgany na Ilovle*. Volgograd.
- Sergatskov, I. V. (2009) “Klad II v. do n. é. iz okrestnostei stanišy Kachalinskoï,” *RosArkh* 4: 149–59.
- Severyns, A. (1928) *Le cycle épique dans l’école d’Aristarque*. Liège and Paris.
- Severyns, A. (1953) *Recherches sur la ‘Chrestomathie’ de Proclo*, vol. III, *La ‘Vita Homeri’ et les sommaires du Cycle*, part 1, *Étude paléographique et critique*. Paris.
- Severyns, A. (1963) *Recherches sur la ‘Chrestomathie’ de Proclo*, vol. IV, *La ‘Vita Homeri’ et les sommaires du cycle. Texte et traduction*. Paris.
- Sezgin, Y. (2012) *Arkaik dönem İonia üretimi ticari amphoralar*. Istanbul.
- Shapovalov, G. I. (1990) “O pamiâtnikakh sudokhodstva na Nizhnem Dnepre v skifskoe vremïa,” in G. N. Toshchev, ed., *Drevnosti stepnogo Prichernomorïa i Kryma*, 151–3. Zaporozhia.
- Shapovalov, G. I. (1991) *Razvitie sudokhodstva na Nizhnem Dnepre s drevneishikh vremën do XIV veka*. Zaporozhia.
- Shapovalov, G. I. (1994) “The Ancient Harbour Kamennay Zaton,” in M. Lazarov and Ch. Angelova, eds., *Thracia Pontica V. Les ports dans la vie de la Thrace Ancienne*, 145–51. Sozopol.

- Sharov, O.V. (2007) *Keramicheskiĭ kompleks nekropolia Chatyr-Dag. Khronologii kompleksov s rimskimi importami*. St. Petersburg.
- Shaw, J. W. (1972) "Greek and Roman Harbourworks," in G. F. Bass, ed., *A History of Seafaring, Based on Underwater Archaeology*, 88–112. New York.
- Shcheglov, A. N. (1972) "Zametki po drevnei geografii i topografii Sarmatii i Tavridy," *VDI* 2: 126–34.
- Shchukin, M. B. (1994) *Na rubezhe ěr*. St. Petersburg.
- Shelov, D. B. (1966) "Tamga Rimetalka," in V. D. Blavatskiĭ and A. I. Boltunova, eds., *Kul'tura antichnogo mira*, 268–77. Moscow.
- Shelov, D. B. (1967) "Zapadnoe i Severnoe Prichernomor'e v antichnuĭ epochu," in Blavatskaia, 219–24.
- Shelov, D. B. (1975) *Keramicheskie kleĭma iz Tanaisa III–I vekov do n.ě*. Moscow.
- Shelov, D. B. (1978) "Uzkogorlye svetlogliniane amfory pervykh vekov nashei ěry. Klassifikatsiia i khronologii," *KSLA* 156: 16–21.
- Shelov-Kovediĭaev, F. V. (1990) "Berezanskiĭ gimn ostrovu i Akhillu," *VDI* 3: 49–62.
- Shilik, K. K. (1975) "K paleogeografii Ol'vii," in S. D. Kryzhiĭskiĭ, ed., *Ol'vii*, 51–91. Kiev.
- Shilik, K. K. (1997) "Oscillations of the Black Sea and Ancient Landscapes," in J. C. Chapman and P. M. Dolukhanov, eds., *Landscapes in Flux: Central and Eastern Europe in Antiquity*, 115–29. Oxford.
- Shilov, V. P. (1959) "Kalinovskiĭ kurgannyĭ mogil'nik," *MLA* 60: 323–523.
- Shilov, V. P. (1975) *Ocherki po istorii drevnikh plemĕn Nizhnego Povolzh'ia*. Leningrad.
- Shishkin, K. V. (1982) "Aĕrometod kak istochnik dlia istoricheskoi topografii Ol'vii i ee okrestnosti," *Sov.Arkh* 3: 235–42.
- Shiĭaev, B. A. (1955) "Stela Gokona," *VDI* 2: 175–80.
- Shniĭukov, E. F., ĭu. V. Sobolevskiĭ, G. I. Gnatenko, P. I. Naumenko, and V. A. Kutniĭ (1986) *Griazevye vulkany kerchensko-tamanskoĭ oblasti*. Kiev.
- Shoe, L. M. (1969) "The Geographical Distribution of Greek and Roman Ionic Bases," *Hesperia* 38.2: 186–204.
- Shoe, L. M. (1993) "The Athenian Ionic Capital," in R. T. Scott and A. R. Scott, eds., *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)*, 315–25. Washington, DC.
- Shoe, L. M. (1996) "Athenian Ionic Capitals from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 65.2: 121–74.
- Shoe, L. T. (1936) *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*. Cambridge, MA.
- Shteĭnvand, H. (1930) "Korotke zvidomlenniia pro rozvidku z rozkopuvanniiami v Luzanivtsi bilia Odesy r. 1929," *Visnyk Odes'koĭ Komisii Kraĕznavstva* 4–5: 135–9.
- Shteĭnvand, H. (1931) "Hellenistychna oselia v Luzanivtsi bilia Odesy," *Khronika arkeolohiĭ ta mystetstva* 3: 29–32.
- Shtern, Ė. R. fon (1904) "Arkheologicheskii novinki," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnosti* 25.2: 54–62.
- Shuisky, Y. (2007) "Climate Dynamics, Sea-Level Change, and Shoreline Migration in the Ukrainian Sector of the Circum-Pontic Region," in Yanko-Hombach et al., 251–77.
- Shuisky, Y. D., and M. L. Schwartz (1981) "Dynamics and Morphology of Barrier Beaches of the Black Sea Coast Limans," *Shore and Beach* 49: 45–50.
- Simion, G. (1984) "Descoperiri noi ĭn necropola de la Noviodunum," *Peuce* 9: 75–95.
- Simon, C. G. (1986) "The Archaic Votive Offerings and Cults in Ionia." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Simonenko, A. V. (1981) "Sarmaty v Srednem Podneprov'e," in I. I. Artemenko, ed., *Drevnosti Srednego Podneprov'ia*, 52–69. Kiev.

- Simonenko, A.V. (1993a) "Klady snariāzheniā vsadnika 2–1 vv. do n. ē.: opyt klassifikatsiī i etnicheskoī interpretatsiī," in I. I. Varchenko, ed., *Vtorāiā Kubanskaiā arkheologicheskāiā konferentsiā*. Conference paper abstracts, 89–90. Krasnodar.
- Simonenko, A.V. (1993b) *Sarmaty Tavrii*. Kiev.
- Simonenko, A.V. (1994) "Rannesarmatskiī period v Severnom Prichernomor'e," *Arkheologiā* 1: 32–48.
- Simonenko, A. V. (2008) "Römische Importe in sarmatischen Denkmälern des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes," in H. Parzinger, ed., *Römische Importe in sarmatischen und maiotischen Gräbern zwischen Unterer Donau und Kuban*, 1–264. Archäologie in Eurasien 25. Mainz.
- Simonenko, A.V. (2011) *Rimskii import u sarmatov Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*. St. Petersburg.
- Simonenko, A.V., and B. I. Lobaī (1991) *Sarmaty Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia v 1 v. n. ē.* Kiev.
- Siniŕsyn, M. S. (1947) "Raskopki v Luzanovke, proizvedēnyie Odesskim Istoriko-Arkheologicheskim Muzeem (1927–1939)," Academic Archive of the Archaeological Institute of the National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, f. 12, no. 216.
- Siniŕsyn, M. S. (1957) "Drevnee poselenie v Luzanovke," *Materialy po arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia* 1: 67–78.
- Skadovskii, G. L. (1897) "Bīelozerskoe gorodishche Khersonskago uezda, Bīelozerskoī volosti i sosīdenniā gorodishcha i kurgany mezhdū nizov'em" r. Ingul'tsa i nachalom Dniēprovskago limana," *Trudy VIII arkheologicheskago s'ŕezda*, vol. III, 75–107. Moscow.
- Skripkin, A. S. (1990) *Aziatskaia Sarmatiā. Problemy khronologii i ēē istoricheskii aspekt*. Saratov.
- Skripkin, A. S. (1994) "K opredeleniū soderzhaniā poniātiiā 'sarmatskaia ēpokha'," in A. S. Skripkin, ed., *Problemy istorii i kul'tury sarmatov*. International conference, September 13–16, 1994, Volgograd. Conference paper abstracts, 28–31. Volgograd.
- Skripkin, A. S. (1997) *Ēfiūdy po istorii i kul'ture sarmatov*. Volgograd.
- Skrzhinskaia, M.V. (1977) *Severnoe Prichernomor'e v opisaniī Pliniā Starshego*. Kiev.
- Skrzhinskaia, M. V. (2003) "Nagrady grazhdan antichnykh gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ia," *VDI* 4: 89–101.
- Skudnova, V. M. (1988) *Arkhaicheskii nekropol' Ol'vii*. Leningrad.
- Slavin, L. M. (1954) "Poseleniā pervykh vekov n. ē. na Srednem i Nizhnem Ingul'tse," *Kratkie Soobshcheniā Akademii Nauk USSR* 3: 49–59.
- Smirnov, K. F. (1948) "O pogrebeniākh roksolan," *VDI* 1: 213–19.
- Smirnov, K. F. (1954) "Voprosy izucheniā sarmatskikh plemēn i ikh kul'tury v sovet-skoī arkheologii," in D. B. Shelov, ed., *Voprosy skifo-sarmatskoī arkheologii*, 195–219. Moscow.
- Smirnov, K. F. (1957) "Problema proiskhozhdeniā rannikh sarmatov," *SovArkh* 3: 3–19.
- Smirnov, K. F. (1960) "Bykovskie kurgany," *MLA* 78: 167–268.
- Smirnov, K. F. (1984) *Sarmaty i utverzhdēnie ikh politicheskogo gospodstva v Skifii*. Moscow.
- Smith, R. R. R. (2006) "The Use of Images: Visual History and Ancient History," in T. P. Wiseman, ed., *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*, 59–102. Oxford.
- Smolii, V.A., ed. (1993) *Ukraina – Hreŕsiā: Istoriiā ta suchasnist'*. Kiev.
- Sokolov, G. I. (1999a) *Iskusstvo Bosporskogo Tsarstva*. Moscow.
- Sokolov, G. I. (1999b) *Ol'viiā i Khersones. Ionicheskoe i doricheskoe iskusstvo*. Moscow.
- Sokolova, O. ŕ. (1997) "Novye nakhodki iz Nimfeiā," in S. K. Sizov, ed., *Bospor i antichnyi mir*, 143–6. Nizhniī Novgorod.

- Sokolova, O. Ŭ. (2001) "Novaĭa nadpis' iz Nimfeĭa (predvaritel'noe soobshchenie)," *Drevnosti Bospora* 4: 368–76.
- Sokolova, O. Y. (2000–1) "New Material from the Excavation of Nymphaeum," *TAAANTA* 32–3: 81–90.
- Sokol'skii, N. I. (1965) "Novye pamiatniki sindskoĭ skul'ptury," *KSLA* 100: 86–96.
- Sokol'skii, N. I. (1966) "K voprosu o sindskoĭ skul'pture," in V. D. Blavatskii and A. I. Boltunova, eds., *Kul'tura antichnogo mira*, 243–58. Moscow.
- Sokol'skii, N. I. (1967) "Sindskaĭa skul'ptura," in Blavatskaĭa, 193–204.
- Sokol'skii, N. I. (1973) "Zemlianoi sklep v poselke Sennaĭa," *KSLA* 133: 67–71.
- Sokol'skii, N. I. (1976a) "Voprosy sindskoĭ skul'ptury," in Sokol'skii, 187–98.
- Sokol'skii, N. I., ed. (1976b) *Khudozhestvennaĭa kul'tura i arkheologĭa antichnogo mira. Sbornik pamiati B. V. Farmakovskogo*. Moscow.
- Solomonik, Ė. I. (1957) "O tavenii skota v Severnom Prichernomor'e. (Po povodu nekotorykh zagadochnykh znakov)," in P. N. Shul'ts, ed., *Istorĭa i arkheologĭa drevnego Kryma*, 210–18. Kiev.
- Solomonik, Ė. I. (1959) *Sarmatskie znaki Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*. Kiev.
- Solov'ev, S. L. (2002) "Khora Germonassy: itogi issledovaniĭ," *Tamanskaĭa starina* 4: 33–60.
- Solovyov, S. L. (1999) *Ancient Berezan*. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne.
- Solovyov, S. L. (2006) "The Chora of Hermonassa," *Ancient West and East* 5.1–2: 121–42.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1995) *Reading Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period*. Oxford.
- Spĭtsyn, A. A. (1909) "Falary ŭzhnoi Rossĭi," *Izviestĭa Imperatorskoĭ Arkheologicheskoi Kommissĭi* 29: 18–53.
- Stephan, E. (2002) *Honoratioren, Griechen, Polisbuerger. Kollektive Identitaeten innerhalb der Oberschicht des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*. Goettingen.
- Stolba, V. (1993) "Demograficheskaĭa situatsĭia v Krymu v V–II vv. do n. ě. (po dannym pis'mennykh istochnikov)," *Peterburgskĭi Arkheologicheskĭi Vestnik* 6: 56–61.
- Stolba, V. F. (2005a) "Hellenistic Chersonesos. Towards Establishing a Local Chronology," in Stolba and Hannestad, 153–77.
- Stolba, V. F. (2005b) "The Oath of Chersonesos and the Chersonesean Economy in the Early Hellenistic Period," in Z. H. Archibald, J. K. Davies, and V. Gabrielsen, eds., *Making, Moving, and Managing: The New World of Ancient Economies*, 298–321. Oxford.
- Stolba, V. F. (2007) "The Numismatics of Chersonesos and Kerkinitis as Evidence of Greek and Barbarian Interrelations in Western Tauris," in Bresson, Ivantchik, and Ferrary, 85–97.
- Stolba, V. F., and L. Hannestad, eds. (2005) *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period c. 400–100 BC*. Aarhus.
- Strubbe, J. H. M. (2001) "Buerger, Nichtbuerger und Polis-Ideologie," in K. Demoen, ed., *The Greek City from Antiquity to the Present: Historical Reality, Ideological Construction, Literary Representation*, 27–39. Louvain, Paris, and Sterling, VA.
- Strzhelets'kii, S. F. (1961) *Klery Khersonesa Tavricheskogo*. Khersonesskĭi sbornik 6. Simferopol.
- Sturgeon, M. C. (1975) "Greek Funerary Busts," *Archaeology* 28.4: 230–8.
- Sudarev, N. I., Chevelev, O. D., and A. A. Kraĭneva (2009) "Raskopki poseleniia 'Volna-4' na Tamani v 2009 godu." www.archae.ru/helpful-information/helpfull-information_205.html. Accessed January 29, 2017.
- Sventsi'tskaĭa, I. S. (1996) "Eshchĕ raz o novom khersonesskom dekrete," *VDI* 3: 137–41.
- Symonovich, Ė. A. (1950) "Kratkĭi otchet o rabotakh otrĭada Bugo–Dneprovskoĭ ěkspeditsĭi Instituta Arkheologii AN USSR v 1950 g.," Academic Archive of the Archaeological Institute of the National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1950/11.
- Symonovich, Ė. A. (1954) "O drevnem Odesse," *VDI* 4: 146–50.

- Symonovich, Ė. A. (1964) "Antichnyĭ pamiatnik na Tiligul'skom limane," *Kratkie soobshcheniia o polevykh arkhologicheskikh issledovaniakh Odesskogo Gosudarstvennogo Arkheologicheskogo Muzeia 1962 goda*: 145–53.
- Symonovich, Ė. A. (1967) "Pogrebeniia I–III vv. n. ě. Nikolaevskogo mogil'nika na Nizhnem Dnepre," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1966 goda*: 232–3.
- Tanner, J. (1994) "Shifting Paradigms in Classical Art History," *Antiquity* 68.260: 650–5.
- Tanner, J. (2010) "Aesthetics and Art History Writing in Comparative Historical Perspective," *Arethusa* 43.2: 267–88.
- Teleaga, E. (2008) *Griechische Importe in den Nekropolen an der unteren Donau 6. Jh.–Anfang des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.* Rahden, Westf.
- Tereshchenko, O. I. (2012) *Zvit pro pidvodno-arkheolohichni doslidzhennia pamiatok istorii ta arkheolohii v akvatorii o. Zmiinyi Odes'koï oblasti za 2011 r.* O. Zmiinyi.
- Tereshchenko, O. I. (2013a) "Pidvodno-arkheolohichne doslidzhennia antychnoho torhivel'noho sudna poblyzu o. Zmiinyi u Chornomu mori (pol'ovyv sezon 2011 r.)," *Arkheolohiia* 2: 64–77.
- Tereshchenko, O. I. (2013b) "Antychne torhivel'ne sudno 'Zmiinyi-Patrokl' (sklad produktsii)," *Arkheolohiia* 3: 69–85.
- Theodorescu, D. (1967) "Remarques sur la composition et la chronologie du kymation ionique suscit es par quelques exemplaires d couverts   Histria," *Dacia* 11: 95–120.
- Thomas, H., and F. H. Stubbings (1962): "Lands and Peoples in Homer," in A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, eds., *A Companion to Homer*, 283–310. London and New York.
- Tishkov, V. A. (2003) *Rekviem po  tnosu: issledovaniia po soʒial'no-kul'turnoĭ antropologii.* Moscow.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. (1983) "Bosporskaia legenda ob Afrodite Apaturos," *VDI* 2: 111–17.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. (1984) "Kimmeriiskaia toponimiia", I," in L. A. Gindin, ed., * tnogenez narodov Balkan i Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*, 142–8. Moscow.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. (1994) "Votiv ʒaritsy Komosarii," *Peterburgskii Arkheologicheskii Vestnik* 8: 80–4.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. (1999a) "Βόσπορος," in V. Iu. Zuev, ed., *Bosporskii fenomen: Grecheskaia kul'tura na periferii antichnogo mira*, 86–92. St. Petersburg.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. (1999b) "Istochnikovedcheskie problemy istorii kimmeriitsev." Dissertation abstract. St. Petersburg.
- Tokhtas'ev, S. R. (2005) "Sauromatae – Sarmatae – Sarmatae," *Khersonesskii sbornik* 14: 291–306.
- Tokhtasev, S. R. (2010) "Die Beziehungen zwischen Borysthene, Olbia und Bosphoros in der archaischen Zeit nach den epigraphischen Quellen," in S. Solovyov, ed., *Archaic Greek Culture: History, Archaeology, Art and Museology. Proceedings of the International Round-Table Conference, June 2005, St. Petersburg, Russia*, 103–8. St. Petersburg.
- Tolstikov, V. P. (2002) "Pantikapaion. Ein arch ologisches Portr t der Hauptstadt des Kimmerischen Bosphoros," in J. Fornasier and B. B ttger, eds., *Das Bosporanische Reich*, 39–58. Mainz.
- Tokhtasev, V. P. (2010) "Khram Apollona na arkopole Pantikapeia. Problemy datirovki, tipologii i periodizatsii," *PIFK* 1: 277–315.
- Tolstoĭ, I. I. (1908) *Mif o brakie Akhilla na Bieleom ostroviie*. St. Petersburg.
- Tolstoĭ, I. I. (1918) *Ostrov Bielyi i Tavrika na Evksinskom Ponfiie*. Petrograd.
- Tolstoĭ, I. I. (1966) "Chernomorskaia legenda o Gerakle i Zmeenogoi deve," in I. I. Tolstoĭ, ed., *Stat'i o fol'klore*, 232–48. Moscow and Leningrad.
- Touloumakos, J. (1967) *Der Einfluss Roms auf die Staatsform der griechischen Stadtstaaten des Festlandes und der Inseln im ersten und zweiten Jhd. v. Chr.* G ttingen.

- Treister, M. Ī. (1999) "Atticheskiĭ skul'ptor na Bospore?" in E. Savostina and E. Simon, eds., *Tamanskiĭ rel'ef. Drevnegrecheskaĭa stela s izobrazheniem dvukh voĭnov iz Severnogo Prichernomor'ĭa*, 112–116. Moscow.
- Treister, M. Ī. (2005) "On a Vessel with Figured Friezes from a Private Collection, on Burials in Kosika, and Once More on the 'Ampsalakos School,'" *ACSS* 11.3–4: 199–255.
- Treister, M. Ī. (2008) "Pogrebal'nyĭ obrĭad Trĕkhbratnikh kurganov i problemy akkul'turaĭsii," in M. Ī. Treister, ed., *Trĕkhbratnie kurgany. Kurgannaĭa gruppa vtoroi poloviny IV–III vv. do n. ě.*, 147–56. Simferopol and Bonn.
- Treister, M. Ī. (2011) "Bronzovye i zolotyĕ priĕzhki i nakonechniki poĭasov s tamgoobraznymi znakami – fenomen bosporskoĭ kul'tury II v. n. ě.," *Drevnosti Bospora* 15: 303–40.
- Tsetsckhladze, G. R. (1992) "Proizvodstvo amfornoĭ tary v Kolkhide," in V. I. Kaĭs and S. Ī. Monakhov, eds., *Grecheskie amfory*, 90–110. Saratov.
- Tsetsckhladze, G. R. (1998) "Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, and Native Population," in G. R. Tsetsckhladze, ed., *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, 8–68. Stuttgart.
- Īsvetaeva, G. A. (1979) *Bospor i Rim*. Moscow.
- Tunkina, I. V. (1993) "K istorii arkeologicheskogo izuchenĭĭa Tamanskogo poluostrova v kontse XVIII–pervoĭ chetverti XIX v.," *Bosporskĭĭ sbornik* 2: 6–24.
- Tunkina, I. V. (2002) *Russkaĭa nauka o klassicheskikh drevnosĭĭakh ĭuga Rossii (XIII–seredina XIX v.)*. St. Petersburg.
- Tunkina, I. V. (2006) "Archivmaterialien aus dem ersten Drittel des 19. Jhs. über das Achilleus-Heiligtum auf der Landzunge von Tendra," in Hupe, 89–109.
- Tzochev, C., T. Stoyanov, and A. Bozkova, eds. (2011) *PATABS II: Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea. Acts of the International Round Table Held in Kiten, Nessebar and Sredetz, September 26–30, 2007*. Sofia.
- Ugol'kov, Ī., and V. Ugol'kova (2001) *Drevnosti Tunkinskoĭ kotloviny*. Kemerovo.
- Ulitin, V. V. (2006) "Torgovye svĭazi plemĕn Prikuban'ĭa s antichnym mirom v VII–pervoĭ polovine I v. do n. ě. (po dannym amfornoĭ tary)." Dissertation abstract. St. Petersburg.
- Ulitin, V. V. (2013) "Nekotoryĕ problemy izuchenĭĭa greko-meotskoĭ torgovli IV v. do n. ě.," in N. I. Kireĭ, ed., *Arkeologĭĭa i ětografĭĭa Pontiĭsko-Kavkazskogo regiona* 1, 29–51. Krasnodar.
- Ursachi, V. (1995) *Zargidava. Cetatea dacicĕ de la Brad*. Bibliotheca Thracologica 10. Bucharest.
- Uvarov", A. S. (1851) *Izslĕdovanĭĭa o drevnosĭĭakh" ĭuzhnoi Rossii i beregov" Chĕrnago morĭa* 1. St. Petersburg.
- Vakhtina, M. Ī. (1998) "Osnovnye kategorii grecheskoĭ importnoi keramiki iz raskopok Nemirovskogo gorodishcha," *Materialy po arkeologii, istorii i ětografii Tavrii* 6: 122–39.
- Vakhtina, M. Ī. (2000) "Grecheskaĭa stolovaĭa keramika VI v. do n. ě. iz raskopok Nemirovskogo gorodishcha v Pobuzh'e," V. Ī. Zuev, ed., *ΣΥΣΣΙΤΙΑ. Pamĭĭati Īurĭĭa Viktorovicha Andreeva*, 209–17. St. Petersburg.
- Vakhtina, M. Ī. (2004) "O nachale rasprostraneniĭĭa ĭuzhno-ionicheskogo keramicheskogo importa v varvarskom mire Severnogo Prichernomor'ĭa," in Zuev, 204–11.
- Vanschoonwinkel, J. (2006) "Mycenaean Expansion," in G. Tsetsckhladze, ed., *Greek Colonization: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, vol. 1, 41–113. Leiden and Boston.
- Vermeule, C. C. (1977) "Greek and Roman Sculpture from the Northern Coasts of the Black Sea (Chiefly Russia)," *Burlington Magazine* 119.897: 810–18.
- Veyne, P. (1976) *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*. Paris.

- Veyne, P. (1999) "L'identité grecque devant Rome et l'empereur," *REG* 112: 510–67.
- Vîazkova, O. E., A. V. Dmitriev, and A. A. Malyshev (2001) "Poselenie Myskhako – ũgo-vostochnyĭ forpost Bospora," *PIFK* 10: 188–212.
- Vîaz'mitina, M. I. (1954) "Sarmatskie pogrebeniã u s. Novo-Filippovka," in D. Shelov, ed., *Voprosy skifo-sarmatskoĭ arkheologii*, 220–44. Moscow.
- Vîaz'mitina, M. I. (1972) *Zolotobalkovskii mogil'nik*. Kiev.
- Vîaz'mitina, M. I., V. A. Illins'ka, Ī. F. Pokrovs'ka, O. I. Terenozhkin, and H. T. Kovpanenko (1960) "Kurhany bilã s. Novo-Pylypivka i radhospu 'Akkermen'," *Arkheolohichni pam'iatki URSR* 8: 22–135.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1971) "Drevneishee grecheskoe pis'mo s ostrova Berezan'," *VDI* 4: 74–100.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1976) "O politicheskom edinstve Ol'vii i Berezani," in Sokol'skii, 75–84.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1981) *Olbia. Geschichte einer altgriechischen Stadt am Schwarzen Meer*. Konstanz.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1989) *Politicheskã istoriã Ol'viiskogo polisa VII–I vv. do n. è. Istoriko-epigraficheskoe issledovanie*. Moscow.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1994) "A Maiden's Golden Burial from Berezan, the Island of Achilles," *Expedition*, 36.2–3: 19–28.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1996) "Novoe dokumental'noe dos'e imperatorskoĭ èpokhi iz Khersonesa," *VDI* 1: 48–60.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1997a) "Khersonesskii dekret o 'nesenii Dionisa' IOSPE 1(2) 343 i vtorzhenie sarmatov v Skiffiũ," *VDI* 3: 104–24.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G. (1997b) "Der Pontos Euxeinos als politische, ökonomische und kulturelle Einheit und die Epigraphik," in ũ. G. Vinogradov, ed., *Pontische Studien. Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte und Epigraphik des Schwarzmeerraumes*, ed. in collaboration with H. Heinen, 1–73. Mainz.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G., and P. O. Karyshkovskii (1976) "Ol'viiskii dekret Kanoba o den'gakh i stoimost' dragošennykh metallov na Ponte v IV v. do n. è.," *VDI* 4: 20–42.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G., and S. D. Kryžickij (1995) *Olbia. Eine altgriechische Stadt im nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum*. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne.
- Vinogradov, ũ. G., and N. A. Onaĭko (1975) "Ob èkonomicheskikh svãziãkh Geraklei Pontiiskoi s Severnym i Severo-Vostochnym Prichernomor'em v èllinisticheskoe i rimskoe vremã," *SovArkh* 1: 86–93.
- Vinogradov, ũ. A., K. K. Marchenko, and E. Īa. Rogov (1997) "Sarmaty i gibel' 'Velikoĭ Skiffii'," in V. E. Maksimenko, ed., *Sarmaty i Skiffiã*, 6–27. Donskie Drevnosti 5. Azov.
- Vinokurov, N. I. (2003) "Antichnaã vinotorgovliã v Severnom Prichernomor'e," *Bosporskie issledovaniã* 3: 5–37.
- Vnukov, S. ũ. (1984) "Skifskie sloi gorodishcha Chaĭka (opyt statisticheskoi obrabotki)," *SovArkh* 2: 54–69.
- Vnukov, S. ũ. (2003) *Prichernomorskie amfory I v. do n. è.–II v. n. è. 1. Morfoloĝiã*. Moscow.
- Vnukov, S. ũ. (2004) "Pan-Roman Amphora Types Produced in the Black Sea Region," in Eiring and Lund, 407–16.
- Vnukov, S. ũ. (2006) *Prichernomorskie amfory I v. do n. è.–II v. n. è. 2. Petrografiã, khronoloĝiã, problemy trgovli*. St. Petersburg.
- Vnukov, S. ũ. (2008) "Southern and Eastern Pontic Amphorae in the Western Black Sea Region during the Roman Period," in I. Karaïotov, ed., *Mesembria Pontica: International Seminar, Nessebar, May 28–31, 2006*, 137–51. Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi 6–7. Burgas.
- Vnukov, S. ũ. (2010a) "Sinopean Amphorae of the Roman Period," *ACSS* 16.1–2: 361–70.

- Vnukov, S. Ū. (2010b) "Problems of 'Brown Clay' (Colchean) Amphora Studies. Typology, Chronology, Production Centers, Distribution," in Kassab Tezgör and Inaishvili, 29–32.
- Vnukov, S. Ū. (2011) "Colchean" Amphorae from Abkhazia," in Tzochev, Stoyanov, and Bozkova, 271–8.
- Vnukov, S. Ū. (2016a) "Pozdneëllinisticheskie amfory gorodishcha Kara-Tobe v Krymu," *Drevnosti Bospora* 20: 88–119.
- Vnukov, S. Ū. (2016b) "Eshcho raz o tipologii, èvolutsii i khronologii svetloglinianykh (pozdnegerakleiskikh) uzogorlykh amfor," *RosArkh* 2: 36–47.
- Vodolazhskaïa, L. M. (2008) "K voprosu o metode rasschëta ob"ëma amfor," *Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniã v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g.* 250–68.
- Voskoboïnikov, V. M., M. F. Rotar', and E. G. Konikov (1982) "Svîãz' ritmichnosti stroeniã tolshch golofsenovykh otlozhenii Prichernomorskikh limanov s kolebatel'nym rezhimom urovniã Chërnogo moriã," in P. A. Kaplin, R. K. Klige, and A. L. Chepalyga, eds., *Izmeneniã urovniã moriã*, 264–74. Moscow.
- Vykhovanets, G. V. (1993) "Sandy Accumulative Forms within the Black Sea Coastal Zone," in R. Kos'yan, ed., *Coastlines of the Black Sea*, 452–66. New York.
- Wackernagel, J. (1897) *Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde*. Basel.
- Walbank, F. (1969) *The Awful Revolution: The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West*. Liverpool.
- Wallace-Matheson, P., and M. Wallace (1982) "Some Rhodian Amphora Capacities," *Hesperia* 51: 293–320.
- Weber, H. (1966) "Zum Apollon Smintheus-Tempel in der Troas," *IstMitt* 16: 100–14.
- Weickert, C. (1913) *Das lesbische Kymation*. Leipzig.
- Wesenberg, B. (1971) *Kapitelle und Basen. Beobachtungen zur Entstehung der griechischen Säulenformen*. Düsseldorf.
- Wesenberg, B. (1981) "Zur Baugeschichte des Niketempels," *JdI* 96: 28–54.
- West, M. L. (2002) "Eumelos': A Corinthian Epic Cycle?" *JHS* 122: 109–33.
- West, S. (1994) "Prometheus Orientalized," *Museum Helveticum* 51.3: 129–49.
- Wiegand, Th., and H. Knackfuss (1941) *Didyma*, part 1, *Die Baubeschreibung*. Berlin.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1884) *Homerische Untersuchungen*. Berlin.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1906) *Griechische Tragödien*, vol. III. Berlin.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1916) *Die Ilias und Homer*. Berlin.
- Will, E. (1955) *Korinthiaka. Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques*. Paris.
- Will, E. (1977) "The Ancient Commercial Amphora," *Archaeology* 30: 264–78.
- Wilson, A., K. Schörle, and C. Rice (2012) "Roman Ports and Mediterranean Connectivity," in Keay, 367–91.
- Xalvaši, M. (2000) "Gvianantikuri da adrešuasaukuneebis xanis qavisp'erkec'iani amp'orebis genezisisa da k'ronologiis sakit'xisat'vis," *Bat'umis ark'eologiuri muzeumi. Šromebi* 1: 33–52.
- Xalvaši, M. (2002) *Keramikuli tara Gonio-Ap'sarosidan. Gonio-Ap'sarosi II*. Batumi.
- Yanko, V. (1990) "Stratigraphy and Paleogeography of Marine Pleistocene and Holocene Deposits of the Southern Seas of the USSR," *Memorie della Societa Geologica Italiana* 44: 167–87.
- Yanko-Hombach, V., A. S. Gilbert, N. Panin, and P. M. Dolukhanov, eds. (2007) *The Black Sea Flood Question: Changes in Coastline, Climate and Human Settlement*. Dordrecht.

- Yatsenko, S. A. (2010) "Marks of the Ancient and Early Medieval Iranian-Speaking Peoples of Iran, Eastern Europe, Transoxiana and South Siberia," in Pim, Iatsenko, and Perrin, 131–52.
- Zagorovskii, N. A. (1929) "Limany Severnogo Prichernomor'ia na kartakh proshlykh stoletii," *Visnyk Odes'koi Komisii Kraieznavstva* 4–5: 37–50.
- Zagorovskii, N. A. (1930) *Lymany, ikhnii zhyt'ia i znachennia*. Kharkov and Odessa.
- Zaitsev, Iu. (2012) "Severnoe Prichernomor'e v III–II vv. do n. e.: ritual'nye klady i arheologicheskie kul'tury (postanovka problem)," in N. P. Tel'nov, ed., *Drevnosti Severnogo Prichernomor'ia III–II vv. do n. e.*, 67–72. Tiraspol.
- Zanker, P. (1993) "The Hellenistic Grave Stelai from Smyrna: Identity and Self-Image in the Polis," in A. Bulloch, E. S. Gruen, A. A. Long, and A. Stewart, eds., *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenic World*, 212–30. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Zanker, P. (2010) *Roman Art*, trans. H. Heitmann-Gordon. Los Angeles.
- Zaraiskaia, N. P., A. I. Privalov, and L. G. Shepko (2004) "Kurgan rannego zheleznoho veka u pos. Ostryi," *Donetskiu arheologichesku sbornik* 11: 130–44.
- Zavoikin, A. A. (1992) "Klassifikatsiia fragmentov samosskikh amfor iz Fanagorii," *RosArkh* 3: 40–56.
- Zavoikin, A. A. (2006) "Sviatilishche Demetry i Kory na Fontalovskom poluostrove: prirodnaia sreda i sakral'naia topografiia," *VDI* 3: 61–76.
- Zavoikin, A. A., and G. P. Garbuzov (2010) "O pervom etape osvoeniia grekami Tamanskogo poluostrova," *Drevnosti Bospora* 14: 184–219.
- Zavoikin, A. A., and S. Iu. Monakhov (2012) "Amfornoe gorlo iz Fanagorii i dve serii keramicheskoi tary pozdneklassicheskogo vremeni," *PIFK* 4: 117–27.
- Zavoikin, A. A., and N. I. Sudarev (2006a) "Pogrebeniia s oruzhiem VI–V vv. do n.e. kak istochnik po politicheskoi i voennoi istorii Bospora. Part I," *Drevnosti Bospora* 9: 101–52.
- Zavoikin, A. A., and N. I. Sudarev (2006b) "Pogrebeniia s oruzhiem VI–V vv. do n.e. kak istochnik po politicheskoi i voennoi istorii Bospora. Part II," *Drevnosti Bospora* 10: 263–304.
- Zavoikin, A. A., E. V. Kuznetsova, and S. Iu. Monakhov (2006) "Keramicheskie komplekxy iz Fanagorii (raskopki 2005 goda)," *AMA* 12: 294–312.
- Zavoikin, A. A., E. V. Kuznetsova, and S. Iu. Monakhov (2013) "Sklad amfor 290B iz Fanagorii," in V. D. Kuznetsov, ed., *Materialy po arheologii i istorii Fanagorii 1*, 206–30. Moscow.
- Zeest, I. B. (1951a) "K voprosu o vnutrennei trgovle Prikuban'ia s Fanagoriei," *MIA* 19: 107–119.
- Zeest, I. B. (1951b) "Novye dannye o trgovykh svyaziakh Bospora s Iuzhnyim Prichernomor'em," *VDI* 2: 106–16.
- Zeest, I. B. (1954) "O trgovle Neapol'ia i ee znachenii dlia Bospora (po dannym izucheniiu keramicheskoi tary iz raskopok Neapol'ia 1945–1950 gg.)," *MIA* 33: 71–7.
- Zeest, I. B. (1960) *Keramicheskai tara Bospora*. MIA 83. Moscow and Leningrad.
- Zenkovich, V. P. (1960) *Morfologiia i dinamika sovetskikh beregov Chernogo moria*, vol. II. Moscow.
- Zenkovich, V. P. (1969) "Origin of Barrier Beaches and Lagoon Coast," in A. Ayala-Castanares and F. B. Phleger, eds., *Coastal Lagoons, a Symposium: Memoir of the International Symposium on Coastal Lagoons (Origin, Dynamics, and Productivity)*, 27–37. Mexico City.
- Zhebel'ev, S. A. (1953) *Severnoe Prichernomor'e*. Moscow and Leningrad.
- Zhuravlev, D. V., and U. Shlottbauer (2011) "Grecheskaia kolonizatsiia vostochnoi chasti Tamanskogo poluostrova," *Scripta antiqua* 1: 252–93.

- Zhuravlëv, D., U. Shlotsauer, D. Kel'terbaum, and A. Porotov (2009) "Novye dannye o grecheskoï kolonizatsii Tamanskogo poluostrova," in I. I. Marchenko, ed., *Piataia kubanskaia arkhologicheskaiia konferentsiia*. Conference proceedings, 122–8. Krasnodar.
- Zin'ko, E. (1999) "Sculptures," in T. Scholl and E. Zin'ko, eds., *Archaeological Map of Nymphaion (Crimea)*, 120–1. Warsaw.
- Zin'ko, V. N., ed. (2006) *Drevneishiï temenos Ol'vii Pontïiskoï*. Simferopol.
- Zograf, A. N. (1941) "Nakhodki monet v mestakh predpolagaemykh antichnykh sviatilishch na Chernomor'e," *SovArk* 7: 152–60.
- Zolotarëv, M. I. (2001) "O sakral'noi funktsii kamennykh iakornykh shtokov s o. Berezan'," in Kryzhits'kyi, 56–8.
- Zolotarëv, M. I. (2002) "O sakral'noi funktsii kamennykh iakornykh shtokov s o. Berezan'," in P. P. Tolochko, ed., *Severnoe Prichernomor'e v antichnoe vremia*, 33–7. Kiev.
- Zolotarev, M., and A. Bujskikh (1995) "The Temenos of Ancient Chersonesos. An Attempt at an Architectural Reconstruction," *ACSS* 2.2: 125–56.
- Zubar', V. M. (1994) *Khersones Tavricheskii i Rimskaiia imperiia*. Kiev.
- Zubar', V. M. (1998) *Severnyi Pont i Rimskaiia imperiia*. Kiev.
- Zubar', V. M., A. A. Vladimirov, D. V. Zhuravlëv, S. D. Kryzhits'kii, A. S. Rusiäeva, M. V. Rusiäeva, M. V. Skrzhinskaia, S. B. Sorochan, and N. I. Khrapunov (2004) *Khersones Tavricheskii v seredine I v. do n. è.–VI v. n. è. Ocherki istorii i kul'tury*. Kharkov.
- Zubarev, V. G. (2005) *Istoricheskaiia geografiia Severnogo Prichernomor'ia po dannym antichnoi pis'mennoi traditsii*. Moscow.
- Zuev, V. Iu. (1999) "O putiakh resheniia 'problem III v. do n. è.' v periodizatsii arkhologicheskikh pamiatnikov sarmatskoï epokhi," *Stratum plus* 3: 305–24.
- Zuev, V. Iu., ed. (2002) *Bosporskii fenomen: pogrebal'nye pamiatniki i sviatilishcha*, part II. St. Petersburg.
- Zuev, V. Iu., ed. (2004) *Bosporskii fenomen: problemy khronologii i datirovki pamiatnikov*, part II. St. Petersburg.
- Zuiderhoek, A. (2008) "On the Political Sociology of the Imperial Greek City," *GRBS* 48: 417–45.