

RADOSŁAW KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI

THE ROMAN ARMY IN TAURIC CHERSONESOS. CITY AND BURIAL AREAS

State of research

More than 120 years have already passed since systematic excavation research was undertaken at Chersonesos Taurica.¹ Since then, a lot of data have been gathered and numerous finds belonging to various categories have been discovered. We have also learnt a lot about the presence of the Roman troops in the south-western part of the Crimean Peninsula.

It seems that discoveries in the citadel of Chersonesos belong to the most significant ones with regard to broadening our knowledge on the Roman army in Crimea (KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2001; ANTONOVA, ZUBAR' 2003). Remains of buildings discovered there, which were almost certainly built by Roman soldiers, were successfully divided into several building phases. The presence of soldiers and officers belonging to specific units of the army and the fleet of Lower Moesia is also testified to by numerous inscriptions, including a large group of Latin tombstones erected for soldiers and civilians. In the case of this category of finds significant problems emerge, which render it difficult to broaden the knowledge about them without comparative studies.

First of all, epigraphic finds related to the presence of the Romans in Chersonesos almost never have exact dating, which makes it difficult to use them as a basis to construct a chronology of presence of Roman detachments, which came from various units stationed on the Lower Danube. This situation changed to a considerable degree thanks to the results of research at Balaklava (SARNOWSKI, SAVELJA 2000). Correlation of discovered inscriptions and stamped tegular material with the stratigraphic sequence allowed to precise the dating of particular Roman contin-

gents in Chersonesos and its nearest neighbourhood. A comparison of all types of stamps on roofing tiles from different places of stationing of the Romans in Crimea is a basis for a further extension and perfection of this chronology (SARNOWSKI 2005). Thanks to this, we are now much more certain that soldiers coming from the 5th Macedonian Legion reached Chersonesos in the period of Trajan's rule, the 1st Italic co-created contingents sent to the Black Sea region in the times of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and sub-units of the 11th Claudian Legion dominated in south-western Crimea in the times of the Severans. These observations can be used while proposing a more precise dating of tombstones of Roman soldiers, mainly known from the municipal necropolis of Chersonesos.

This research on the chronology, however, is unable to dissolve other doubts. Where were Roman soldiers serving in Chersonesos buried? Was there a custom to bury them in a separate part of the necropolis? Were military burials accompanied by those of Roman civilians, or were both groups buried separately?

Tombstones are unable to provide too much information with regard to that, as the lion's share of them was found in secondary usage, i.e., as building material in later phases of the town walls.

With regard to the aforementioned difficulties, some light on a possible burial place of Roman soldiers and civilians in Chersonesos can be shed by a laborious analysis of published descriptions of grave inventories and by an attempt at mapping selected categories of finds from these inventories on the plan of the necropolis.

It is worth mentioning that some thousands of graves have been discovered since the beginning of research on the necropolis of Chersonesos. It is not possible to give

¹ Undertaking of excavations by K.K. Kosćuško-Valūžinič in 1888 is to be considered as the beginning of systematic archaeological research in the area of the ancient town. Numbers of graves which are offered in the text and in the attached maps are in accordance with the numbering given by subsequent researchers carrying out excavations in the necropolis of Chersonesos since 1890. In 1891–1908, a continuous numbering from No. 1 to No. 2824 was used. It was introduced by K.K. Kosćuško-Valūžinič. In 1890 and since 1909 a numbering starting with 1 was used for each excavation

season. It was therefore necessary to supplement it with an addition of the year of excavations (e.g., 1/1890 = Grave No. 1 discovered in 1890). The exceptions are four tombs discovered in 1937. They have been marked in the text as sl-s4/1937. "S" is an abbreviation of the Russian word *склеп* (multiple burial tomb). Other graves discovered in 1937, in publication have numbers beginning from the number 1. A precise list of numberings in different years of examinations is presented in **Table 1** (pp. 83–86).

a precise number. Based on published data, it can be said that at least 3500 graves have been examined. It must be remembered that this number concerns only separate graves of different types – from pit graves to very diversified chamber graves. A quite different matter is what percentage of these graves contained more than one burial, and – in case there were several burials – how many of them. Reports on research on the necropolis, being very concise, usually do not allow to dissolve such doubts. An additional problem is posed by the fact that most graves had been frequently destroyed during subsequent burial ceremonies or had been robbed before they were discovered by archaeologists.

It is also worth stressing that published reports do not contain mentions on carrying out anthropological analyses of remains from the necropolis. The only comments which frequently occur in case bones were found concern recording of non-standard phenomena, such as, e.g., the presence of intentionally deformed human crania and entire or partial horse burials in a grave or in the cemetery dump.

Concerning the research from the 19th and the 20th c., there are no sex assessments or precise age estimations of interred persons. Sometimes it is stated that a given grave belonged to a woman or a child. In such cases, however, it is not said that such an assessment was made based on anthropological analysis. By means of checking data on elements of grave furnishings that were found, one can assume that previous researchers made their assumptions based on found artefacts, especially jewellery, balsamaria and other finds, which in the researchers' opinion could be related to a specific sex.

It can be therefore clearly seen that the majority of graves cannot give us answers to many questions which are obvious for the present-day researcher. Dating is a separate issue. How many graves (and on what grounds) may be dated into the Roman Period, which is significant for the undertaken analysis? Many artefacts which are found were not prone to sufficiently quick changes of their forms and ornaments, while others can stay in circulation for long (this particularly concerns coins). The dating proposed by discoverers and authors of excavation reports was accepted, as there was no way to verify it. After the analysis of some thousands of grave descriptions, it can be said that the general dating based on grave inventories (e.g., to the Roman Period), usually does not raise doubts.

The municipal necropolis – location and extent

From the beginning of the existence of Chersonesos, its necropolis neighboured compact municipal buildings. Fortifications were the borderline between the world of the living and the dead.

In the course of time, the necropolis from the Roman Period occupied a more and more extensive area outside the city walls, which were delineated yet in the Hellenistic

Period. The situation was not changed by the fact that another external defensive wall was erected at the turn of the new era. A considerable part of the outer ward was adapted for funeral needs. According to Zubar', the domination of graves from the 1st–2nd c. AD near the fortifications and the prevalence of later and later graves farther off the town walls testifies to the gradual spatial development of the necropolis (ZUBAR' 1982: 10). A similar phenomenon was observed by Vejmar in the case of graves situated on the slopes of a neighbouring prominence, called "Virgin Mountain." At the foot of the mountain there were graves dated to the 1st c. AD, and the higher toward the mountain's top, later graves were more and more numerous (VEJMARN 1977: 8).

Zubar' considered burials on the eastern coast of the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay) and on the so-called Rudolf Mountain (situated to the south of the town) to be concentrations of Roman Period burials which were situated furthest from the town walls. Based on available literature, two essential pieces of information concerning the necropolis of Chersonesos can be found: the fragmented nature of the recognised area of the necropolis and the uncertainty with regard to its actual extent.

Burials are not distributed evenly in the area of the necropolis. The largest concentrations of the Roman Period graves which were recognised by excavations are situated in: the outer ward, between Curtains 5, 6, 14 and 15 and in front of Turret V; in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–13; in the foreground of Curtain 20 and farther off along the western coast of the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay); on the northern and eastern slopes of "Virgin Mountain"; in the vicinity of the cross-shaped suburban church; on the slopes of Pesočnaâ Balka (Sandy Ravine), in the foreground of the western section of the city walls (Fig. 1).

Grave inventories

A considerable part of grave inventories accompanying burials of the Roman Period was discussed in the monograph by Zubar' (1982). This researcher pays considerable attention to glass and clay vessels, lamps, as well as beads and bracelets. He also identifies cult (tubular amulets, astragals, small bells) and ritual items (golden overlays on the mouth and eyes of the dead). The existence of other categories of furnishings (fibulae, buckles and coins) is merely mentioned. A later publication by the same author is mainly devoted to finds of intentionally deformed crania, horse burials, as well as necklaces and bracelets (ZUBAR' 1987).

In recent years there appeared publications focusing on a group of small finds from graves and the cemetery dump (KOSTROMIČEV 2005; 2011). The mentioned works analyse elements of Roman military gear (i.a. buckles and belt fittings). This category of grave goods was examined based on preserved finds. The problem is, however, that

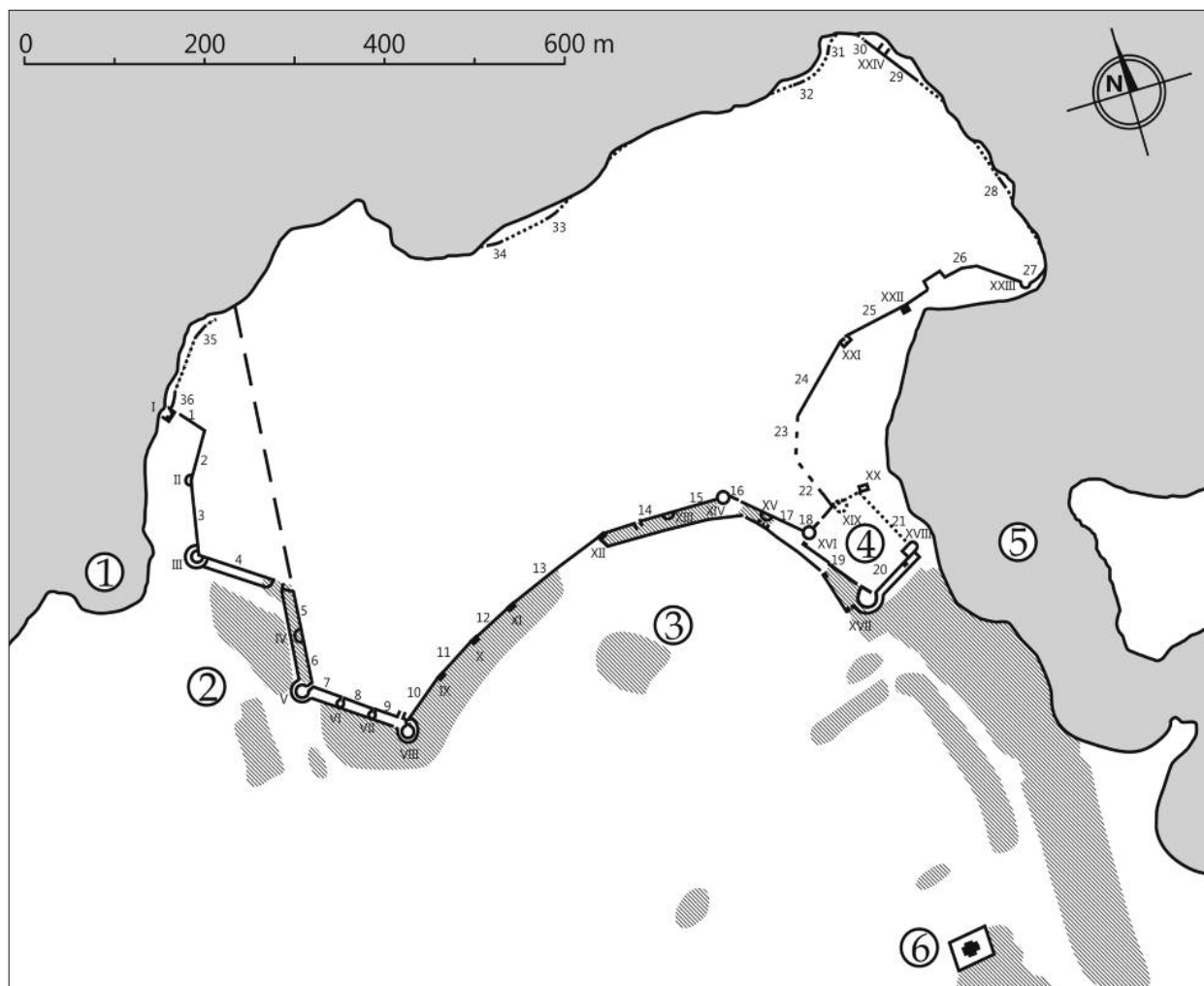


Fig. 1. Chersonesos Taurica. General plan (this and all following figures – elaborated by R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, drawing P. Zakrzewski). Curtains of town wall are marked with Arabic numerals and turrets are marked with Roman numerals. 1 – Pesočnaâ Buhta (Sandy Bay); 2 – Pesočnaâ Balka (Sandy Ravine); 3 – Karantinnaâ Balka (Quarantine Ravine); 4 – Citadel; 5 – Karantinnaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay); 6 – Cross-shaped church outside the city walls. Shaded areas (south and east from the town) – investigated part of the cemetery.

Ryc. 1. Chersonesz Taurydzki. Plan ogólny. Cyframi arabskimi oznaczono kurtyny murów miejskich, cyframi rzymskimi – baszty. 1 – Piesoczną Buhta (Zatoka Piaskowa); 2 – Piesoczną Balka (Jar Piaskowy); 3 – Karantinnaâ Balka (Jar Kwarantann); 4 – Cytadela miejska; 5 – Karantinnaâ Buhta (Zatoka Kwarantann); 6 – Kościół podmiejski na planie krzyża greckiego. Obszar zacieniowany (na południe i wschód od miasta) – przebadana część cmentarzyska.

Рис. 1. Херсонес Таврический. Общий план. Арабскими цифрами обозначены куртны городских стен, а римскими цифрами – башни. 1 – Песочная бухта; 2 – Песочная балка; 3 – Карантинная балка; 4 – Городская цитадель; 5 – Карантинная бухта; 6 – Загородный крестовокупольный храм; На юг и восток от города затенена исследованная часть некрополя.

for the vast majority of discussed finds (mainly from the research of K.K. Kosciŭsko-Valuŭžinič) there are no data on their find places. The present paper is to a great degree based on published grave descriptions by that researcher. The advantage of these descriptions are attached plans, which indicate a precise find place of each discovery.

In these circumstances the present analysis is first of all to discuss more closely and broadly these issues which were dealt with in a marginal manner in hitherto publications. It is meant to supplement them. Therefore, only a few categories of finds were selected. These are finds which rarely occur in Roman Period graves and thus have usually been treated marginally in hitherto analyses. This concerns

finds being definitely atypical in local funeral inventories, which may hypothetically be related to burials of Roman soldiers or armed barbarians in the Roman service. Find spots of such atypical artefacts were plotted on the plan of the necropolis (**Fig. 1**). By means of this, one attempts at identifying whether such finds make up any concentrations or are distributed in a more or less even manner. In each category it was stated whether a given find came from a single grave or a grave with multiple burials (it is sometimes indirect information – an assumption that a chamber grave contained more than one burial), or was not related to a given grave (i.e., it came from the earthwork of the necropolis).

The analysis includes the following groups of finds:
 Tombstones with Latin inscriptions;
 Tombstones with Greek inscriptions;
 Sarcophagi and sarcophagus-like ossuaries;
 Roman coins, including issues of provincial towns and coins of Bosporan kings;
 Weaponry and military equipment;
 Intentionally deformed crania;
 Horse burials and separate finds of elements of horse-harness;

Tombstones

So far, we do not have a separate monographic study on Roman Period tombstones from Chersonesos. In publications of results of field investigations this category of finds has rarely received more attention. It is only in exceptional cases that a description is accompanied with an illustration (KOSCUŠKO-VALUŽINIČ 1894: 103, fig. 60; 1902: 104, fig. 52; 1905: 92, fig. 44; 1906: 93, fig. 42; 1907: 116, fig. 16; REPNIKOV 1927: 164, fig. 21, 186, figs. 5–57; ZUBAR, ŠEVČENKO, LIPAVSKIJ 1990: fig. 12:1). In the monograph of the necropolis the issue of tombstones was omitted (ZUBAR' 1982). However, a considerable part of them was published in corpora of inscriptions; this, for obvious reasons, concerns tombstones with inscriptions only, and quite often sole inscriptions were published (IOSPE I²; SOLOMONIK 1964; 1973; 1983a). The most complete catalogue of tombstones was published in a monograph concerning the sculpture from Chersonesos (IVANOVA 1976). This work obviously puts most stress on the sculptural decoration of finds, among which tombstones and sarcophagi are merely two out of several categories.

Tombstones with Latin inscriptions (Fig. 2)

Finds of tombstones with Latin inscriptions occur in two distant concentrations usually in secondary usage. The smaller group is distributed just beyond the south-western defences of the town. The larger concentration encompasses the area on the south-eastern side of Chersonesos. Finds of this group come not only from outside the fortifications, but also from the area of the citadel, the so-called “harbour quarter” and from the outer ward in front of Curtains 16–19. Apart from that, individual finds were discovered in the vicinity of the cross-shaped suburban church and between this building and the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay).

The concentration close to the citadel should perhaps be augmented with part of unidentified fragments of Latin inscriptions, which due to their find places may constitute remains of other tombstones with Latin inscriptions.

The finds from the territory of the necropolis, i.e., from the foreground of Turret VIII, Curtains 10–12, as well as Turret XVII and Curtain 20 (Fig. 1), seem to be closest to the place where they were originally erected. Tombstones from the area of the citadel, the “harbour

quarter” and the nearby part of the outer ward were possibly also erected in this part of the cemetery. This is even more probable, as there are no Roman Period burials in the foreground of Curtains 16–19. On the other hand, only two graves (1013 and 1014) were found in the outer wards, near the gate in Curtain 16. The location of most mentioned finds near the line of the fortifications may testify to the fact that they were previously used for repairs of the walls. This assumption is confirmed by a discovery of a tombstone of freedmen in the wall of Curtain 20 (IOSPE I² 562). One should assume that fragments of inscriptions which were discovered near Curtains 25–26 were deposited there for similar reasons. A considerable part of Latin tombstones comes from the graves of soldiers. Within both mentioned concentrations of finds of Latin inscriptions, the spatial range of such tombstones is smaller than the range of occurrence of other tombstones and fragments with unidentified inscriptions. To the south of the town, the tombstones of soldiers are grouped in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–11 (Fig. 1), while in the south-eastern part of the town they are distributed in the foreground of Curtain 20 and in the area of the citadel and the outer ward.

The distribution of finds of the tombstones of Roman soldiers in the territory of the necropolis does not display any regularities with regard to the pertinence of the interred to different military units. In both mentioned concentrations of finds there are tombstones of legionaries, as well as soldiers of auxiliary units and seamen of the fleet. As a rule, they are accompanied by tombstones of civilians, including members of families and servants.

Among finds which reach far beyond the discussed range, one is to mention two military tombstones – one of them was discovered near the “Uvarovskaâ” Basilica and the other was found in the cross-shaped suburban church. Both found their way to these locations in all probability during the construction or repair of the churches, i.e., in the Middle Ages. Two other finds of Latin tombstones, known from the areas of the necropolis which are at a considerable distance from the citadel, do not belong to the group of military tombstones.

To sum up all these data, one is to propose that almost all tombstones with Latin inscriptions, including military ones, were probably erected in two sectors of the municipal necropolis, namely in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–11 and Curtain 20 (Fig. 1).

Tombstones with Greek inscriptions (Fig. 3)

Analogously to tombstones with Latin inscriptions, also in this group the finds discovered in a context suggesting their secondary use are dominant. Their majority was discovered in the direct vicinity of the fortifications of the citadel or in the structure of the defensive wall (IOSPE I² 516a, 530, 532; SOLOMONIK 1978: no. 8). Tombstones with Greek inscriptions can also be frequently found in the territory of the town.

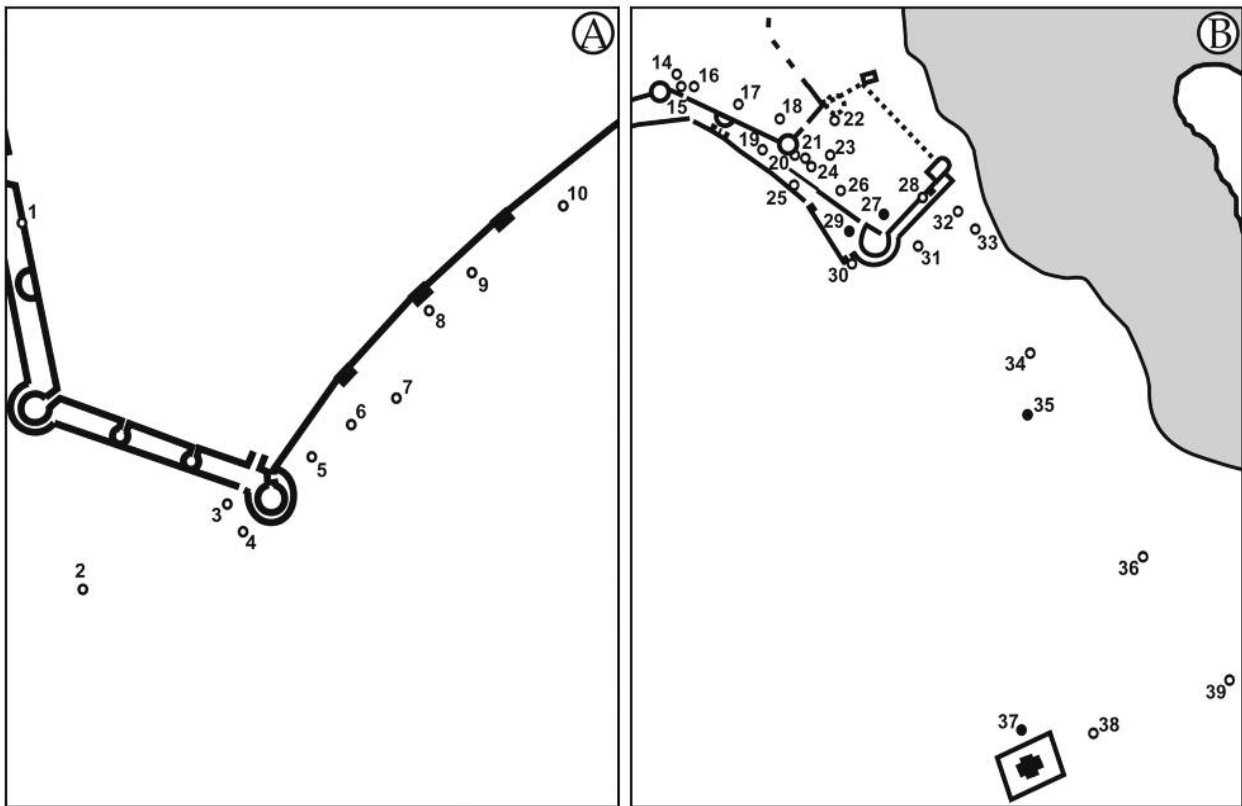


Fig. 2. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Distribution of finds of Latin funeral inscriptions (● certain location; ○ approximate location).

Рис. 2. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Размещение находок надгробий с латинскими надписями (● точная локализация; ○ приблизительная локализация).

Inscriptions published in:

SOLOMONIK = SOLOMONIK 1964 (nos. 1–108); 1973 (nos. 109–198)

1. SOLOMONIK 24; 2. IOSPE I² 548 = SOLOMONIK 14; 3. IOSPE I² 547 = SOLOMONIK 20; 4. IOSPE I² 556 = SOLOMONIK 34; 5. IOSPE I² 558 = SOLOMONIK 44; 6. IOSPE I² 554; 7. IOSPE I² 560 = SOLOMONIK 17; 8. IOSPE I² 559 = SOLOMONIK 17; 9. IOSPE I² 566 = SOLOMONIK 42; 10. IOSPE I² 661 = SOLOMONIK 43; 11. IOSPE I² 571 = SOLOMONIK 36; 12. IOSPE I² 568 = SOLOMONIK 38; 13. IOSPE I² 569 = SOLOMONIK 27; 14. IOSPE I² 556 = SOLOMONIK 34; 15. SOLOMONIK 28; 16. IOSPE I² 563 = SOLOMONIK 45; 17. IOSPE I² 564 = SOLOMONIK 22; 18. IOSPE I² 557 = SOLOMONIK 41; 19. IOSPE I² 630 = SOLOMONIK 53b; 20. SOLOMONIK 63 = SOLOMONIK 1983: no. 30; 21. SOLOMONIK 53a; 22. SOLOMONIK 26; 23. ZUBAR', ANTONOVA 1996; 24. SOLOMONIK 40; 25. IOSPE I² 565 = SOLOMONIK 25; 26. SOLOMONIK 18; 27. IOSPE I² 561 = SOLOMONIK 46; 28. IOSPE I² 562 = SOLOMONIK 13; 29. IOSPE I² 548 = SOLOMONIK 14; 30. TUROVSKIJ, FILIPPENKO 1996; 31. IOSPE I² 553 = SOLOMONIK 33; 32. IOSPE I² 552 = SOLOMONIK 32; 33. IOSPE I² 572 = SOLOMONIK 12; 34. IOSPE I² 508 = SOLOMONIK 23; 35. IOSPE I² 555 = SOLOMONIK 19; 36. IOSPE I² 731 = SOLOMONIK 53c; 37. IOSPE I² 750 = SOLOMONIK 47; 38. IOSPE I² 550 = SOLOMONIK 29; 39. IOSPE I² 567 = SOLOMONIK 15.

Among these found in the necropolis, there are two concentrations, as in the previous group: near the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay) close to the citadel and in the foreground of the south-western part of the fortifications. The ranges of these concentrations, however, slightly differ from analogous concentrations of Latin inscribed tombstones. Near the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay) the latter seem to be grouped much closer to the walls of the citadel. Farther off towards the cross-shaped suburban church, they demonstrate a more or less even dispersion. In the foreground of the south-western section of the fortifi-

cations, the range of tombstones with Greek inscriptions seems to be shifted towards Turret XII and the neighbouring gate in Curtain 14. In contrast to that, the range of tombstones with Latin inscriptions extends farther off towards Turret VIII.

The presence of tombstones with Greek inscriptions to the west of the town as well, on the slopes of Pesochnâ Balka (Sandy Ravine), strengthens the impression that in the scale of the entire necropolis these tombstones are distributed in a more even way than tombstones with Latin inscriptions.

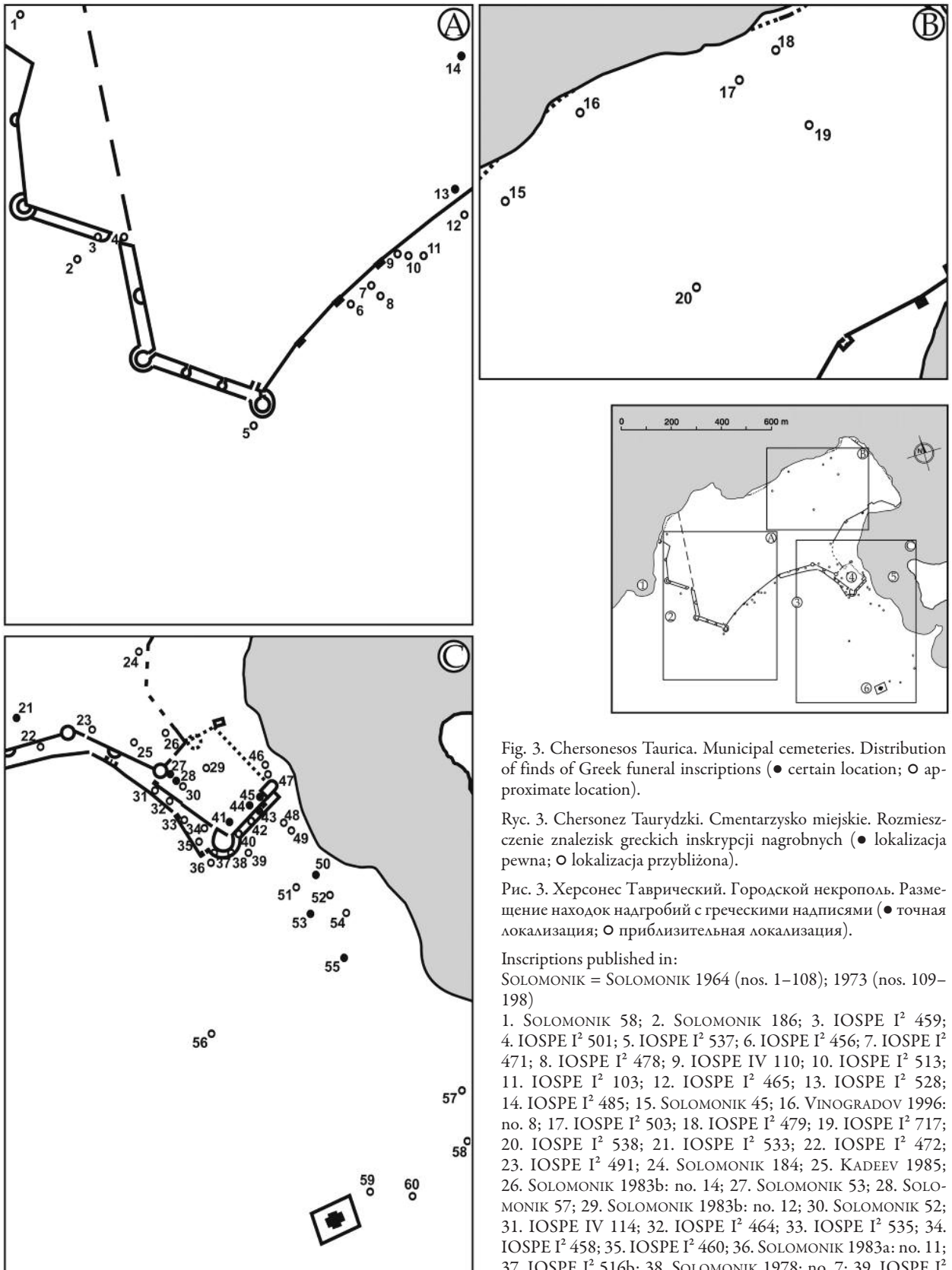


Fig. 3. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Distribution of finds of Greek funeral inscriptions (● certain location; ○ approximate location).

Рис. 3. Херсонез Таурьдзкі. Сментарышко міејске. Розмієчєніє зналезієк грекєх інєкрїпєї наєрєбнєх (● лєкалізація певна; ○ лєкалізація прыблїзєна).

Рис. 3. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Размещение находок надгробий с греческими надписями (● точная локализация; ○ приблизительная локализация).

Inscriptions published in:

SOLOMONIK = SOLOMONIK 1964 (nos. 1–108); 1973 (nos. 109–198)

1. SOLOMONIK 58; 2. SOLOMONIK 186; 3. IOSPE I² 459;
4. IOSPE I² 501; 5. IOSPE I² 537; 6. IOSPE I² 456; 7. IOSPE I² 471;
8. IOSPE I² 478; 9. IOSPE IV 110; 10. IOSPE I² 513;
11. IOSPE I² 103; 12. IOSPE I² 465; 13. IOSPE I² 528;
14. IOSPE I² 485; 15. SOLOMONIK 45; 16. VINOGRADOV 1996: no. 8;
17. IOSPE I² 503; 18. IOSPE I² 479; 19. IOSPE I² 717;
20. IOSPE I² 538; 21. IOSPE I² 533; 22. IOSPE I² 472;
23. IOSPE I² 491; 24. SOLOMONIK 184; 25. KADEEV 1985;
26. SOLOMONIK 1983b: no. 14; 27. SOLOMONIK 53; 28. SOLOMONIK 57;
29. SOLOMONIK 1983b: no. 12; 30. SOLOMONIK 52;
31. IOSPE IV 114; 32. IOSPE I² 464; 33. IOSPE I² 535; 34. IOSPE I² 458;
35. IOSPE I² 460; 36. SOLOMONIK 1983a: no. 11;
37. IOSPE I² 516b; 38. SOLOMONIK 1978: no. 7; 39. IOSPE I² 500;
40. IOSPE I² 532; 41. IOSPE I² 518; 42. SOLOMONIK 1978:

- no. 8; 43. IOSPE I² 530; 44. IOSPE I² 543; 45. IOSPE I² 516a; 46. IOSPE I² 529;
47. IOSPE IV 102; 48. IOSPE I² 462; 49. IOSPE I² 490;
50. IOSPE I² 534; 51. IOSPE I² 545; 52. IOSPE I² 544; 53. IOSPE I² 461;
54. IOSPE I² 515; 55. IOSPE I² 542; 56. SOLOMONIK 183;
57. SOLOMONIK 56; 58. SOLOMONIK 46; 59. IOSPE I² 539; 60. IOSPE I² 536.

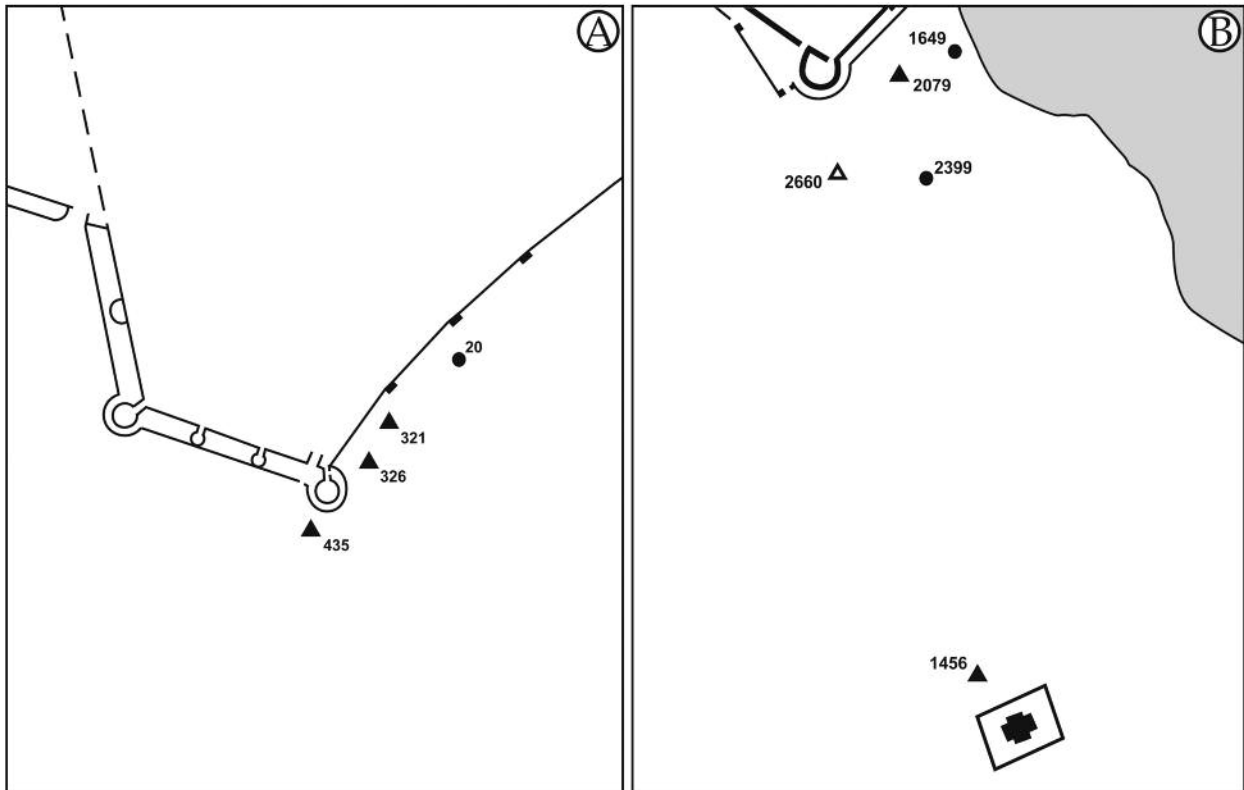
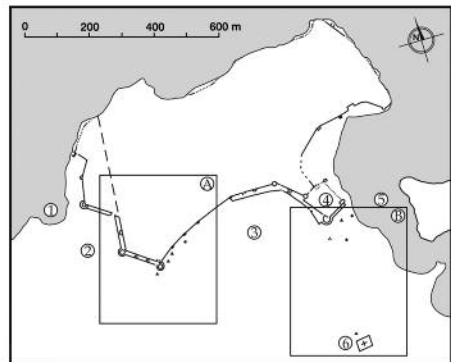


Fig. 4. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Location of finds of sarcophagi (▲ certain; △ approximate) and ossuaries (● certain; ○ approximate). Grave 20 – ossuary; Grave 321 – sarcophagi; Grave 326 – sarcophagus; Grave 435 – sarcophagus; Grave 1456 – sarcophagi; Grave 1649 – ossuary; Grave 2079 – sarcophagus; Grave 2399 – ossuary; Grave 2660 – sarcophagus.

Ryc. 4. Chersonesz Taurydzki. Cmentarzysko miejskie. Lokalizacja znalezisk sarkofagów (▲ pewna; △ przybliżona) oraz ossuariów (● pewna; ○ przybliżona).

Рис. 4. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Локализация находок саркофагов (▲ точная локализация; △ приближительная локализация) и оссуариев (● точная локализация; ○ приближительная локализация).



Sarcophagi and ossuaries (Fig. 4)

Finds of sarcophagi have been mentioned since the systematic examinations of Chersonesos began. These finds could exclusively fulfil the function of a coffin and could be located in a closed grave chamber, as in the case of a stone sarcophagus from Grave 1013. Some of them, however, combined the functions of a coffin, a tomb and a tombstone and as such were erected on the surface of the ground in the territory of the necropolis. Other finds of sarcophagi from the territory of the necropolis perhaps belong to the latter category. Two of them (referred to as Graves 321 and 435 in research reports) were found in the direct vicinity of the southern part of defensive walls. In the same part of the necropolis one more sarcophagus was discovered (Grave 326). Concerning the remaining two sarcophagi (Graves 1456 and 2079), one was situated near the cross-shaped suburban church and was secondarily used for burial needs

in the Middle Ages, while the other was discovered in the foreground of Curtain 20 (Fig. 1).

In the case of the sarcophagus – Grave 1456 there is no data on the original burial and the location in the Roman Period. No traces of a body and furnishings were found in the sarcophagus – Grave 453, either. It was the only one with a preserved plate. In the remaining sarcophagi burials and accompanying items were found. In the sarcophagus – Grave 326 remains of a child, terracotta figurines and gold applications were discovered, while in the sarcophagus – Grave 2079 two persons were buried. Items which were discovered with them included i.a. two metal spangles with impressions of Roman coins and a silver ring with a gem. Although no remains of a burial were found in the sarcophagus – Grave 321, grave furnishings were discovered, i.e., a clay lamp, a glass flask and a bronze buckle.

With regard to the five sarcophagi which were discussed above and were found in the territory of the

necropolis, we have no detailed data concerning the material they were made of. These sarcophagi are referred to as made of stone, which rather implies limestone than marble. Excavation reports contain no mentions on the ornamentation of their surface.

Concise descriptions leave some doubt whether these finds were correctly identified as sarcophagi-graves. In case they were unornamented limestone chests, they did not need to be originally exhibited on the surface of the necropolis.

In relevant literature there are no mentions of other cases of discoveries of sarcophagi which were preserved completely. There is, however, a series of marble fragments with sculptural ornamentation. The nature of this ornamentation makes it possible that these fragments come from sarcophagi. Concerning these finds, it can be assumed with a greater degree of probability that we have to do with fragments of sarcophagi which were intended as free-standing ones and were a kind of tombs.

Regrettably, it is not possible to give a precise number of such objects in the necropolis of Chersonesos in the Roman Period or much less their distribution. So far, only one fragment of a relief-ornamented lateral wall of a sarcophagus has been found in the area of the necropolis (IVANOVA 1976: cat. no. 468). It was situated in the lining of Grave 2660, which was discovered in 1908 in the foreground of Curtain 20 (REPNIKOV 1927: 164, fig. 21). The remaining larger fragments of plates with preserved sculptural ornamentation were discovered outside the necropolis. They were situated in a church exposed by G.D. Belov, which is known as the "1935 Basilica." Having been turned with their reliefs down, they fulfilled the role of paving tiles in the main nave of the temple (BELOV 1938: 38–72).

It is worth underlining that in the catalogue of ancient sculpture of Chersonesos, apart from 85 marble fragments considered as coming from sarcophagi, there is a numerous group of small pieces, which may also come from sculptured sarcophagi chests.

In the necropolis of Chersonesos, cremated human remains were put into the graves in urns. The urns were most often pottery vessels, either made especially for this purpose or used in daily life – the latter were first of all pitchers. Of exceptional character are urns made of lead, as well as ossuaries of limestone (Grave 23) and of marble (Graves 1649 and 2399). The reports inform us about one more ossuary discovered within the borders of the necropolis, but outside recorded graves. Ossuaries in graves were found in the muni-

cipal cemetery within the borders of the same concentrations as it is the case with the aforementioned sarcophagi.

Graves with finds of identified coins (Figs. 5–11)

According to the ancient custom of placing coins in the mouths of the deceased, coins from Chersonesos graves with inhumation burials were most often found (45 recorded cases) near the heads (cf. ZUBAR' 1982: 106–108).

From among the large collection of numismatic finds from the territory of the necropolis, the major part cannot be included into the present analysis. The reason for it is the fact that there is no way to identify them basing on published descriptions only. Terms used by authors of the reports hardly make it possible to precisely and credibly identify these finds. Sometimes we only learn in what town a given coin was minted; in other cases, we are informed that it is a Roman coin, but without a way to identify the ruler who is depicted on it, or even from what century it comes. A considerable group of mainly Chersonesos coins from the Roman Period was described with the use of plates published in the catalogue by P.O. Buračkov (1884) only. A correct identification of individual entries in this catalogue with types identified by V.A. Anohin in his monograph of Chersonesos mintage is highly problematic (ANOHIN 1977). For this reason almost all coins belonging to this group were considered as having no precise identification. Coins with an identified person of the issuer or with a known date of issue (exact to a decade) were considered as relatively safely identified. This group first of all included coins of Roman and Byzantine emperors and Bosporan rulers, as well as individual specimens of issues of Chersonesos. According to the principles which were adapted for the needs of the present analysis, this limited assemblage was divided into finds from graves with single burials, with multiple burials and non-grave finds (stray finds). In the first case, it was only the latest coins that were taken into consideration, as it was assumed that other coins do not provide dating for burials and most probably for graves themselves, either. In the other case, all finds were included, as it was assumed that as an assemblage they provided us with some idea about the chronological framework within which a given tomb was used. Furthermore, in individual cases they can possibly suggest a date for a given burial. The third group is considered only as auxiliary one when dealing with the two previous ones.

Within a division into chronological periods, the distribution of graves with numismatic finds is the following:²

² As it was first of all Roman coins that were analysed, we applied a chronological division based on the rule of subsequent Imperial

dynasties whose representatives were the issuers of the majority of discussed coins.

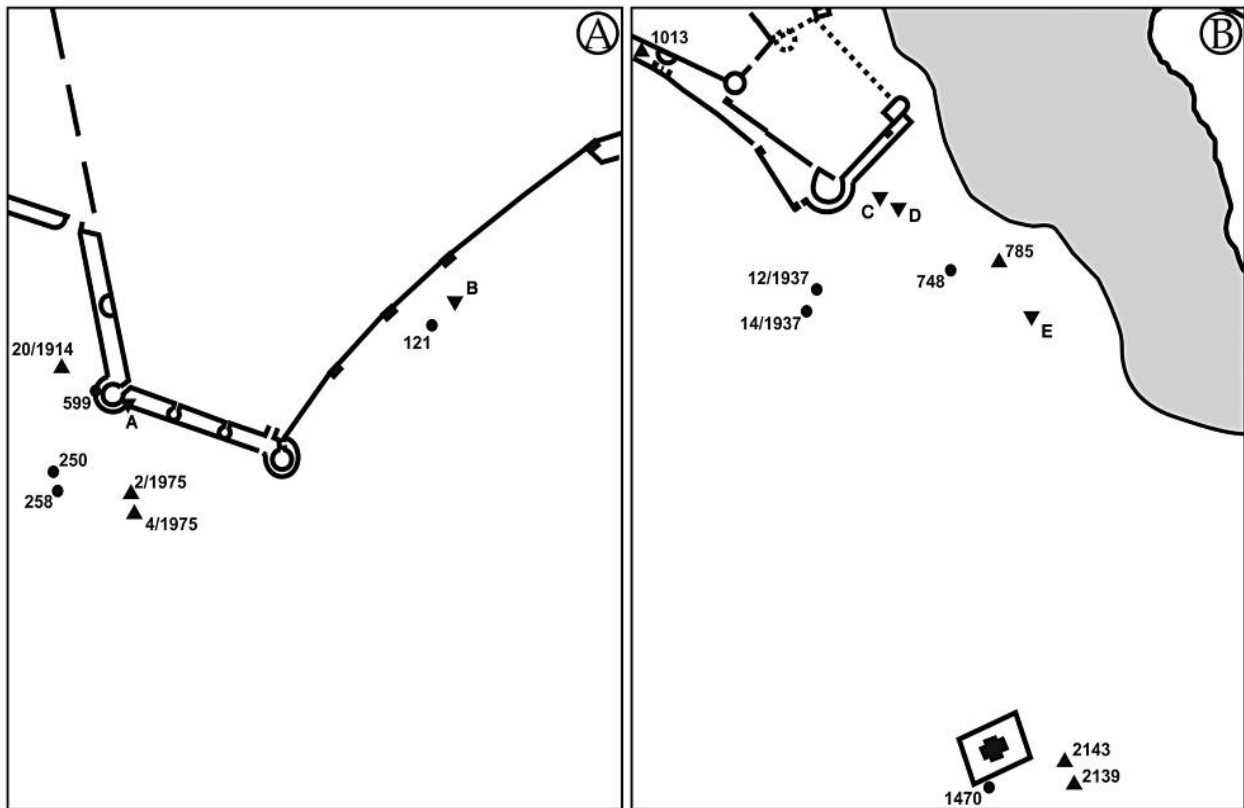


Fig. 5. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Finds of Roman coins from the Julio-Claudian and the Flavian Periods (● in single burials; ▲ in multiple burials; ▼ in the cemetery dump). Grave 121 – Vespasian; Grave 250 – Chersonesos; Grave 258 – Chersonesos; Grave 599 – Chersonesos; Grave 748 – Kotys I; Grave 785 – Kotys I; Grave 1013 – Titus; Grave 1470 – Chersonesos; Grave 2139 – Chersonesos; Grave 2143 – Vespasian; Grave 20/1914 – Chersonesos; Grave 12/1937 – Titus; Grave 14/1937 – Chersonesos; Grave 2/1975 – Chersonesos; Grave 4/1975 – Chersonesos; In the cemetery dump: A – Kotys I; B – Claudius/Agrippina; C – Nero; D – Vespasian; E – Titus.

Рис. 5. Черсонез Таурыйдзкий. Сментарызско мяежские. Зналезишка монет рзымских з okresу јулијско-клаудыйского и флавијского (● в гробах једнопочоуковкых; ▲ в гробах wielopochоуковкых; ▼ в насыpie сментарызска).

Рис. 5. Херсонес Таурический. Городской некрополь. Находки римских монет јулианско-клаудийского и флавијского периодов (● в одиночных захоронениях; ▲ в коллективных захоронениях; ▼ в могильной насыпи).

The Julio-Claudian and the Flavian Period (Fig. 5)

From this period there are few graves with finds of identified coins. Chersonesos coins from graves with single and multiple burials are grouped to the west of the town on the slopes of Pesochnaâ Balka (Sandy Ravine). On the other hand, Bosporan coins occur only to the east and the south of the town, including the foreground of Curtain 20 (Fig. 1). In the case of Imperial issues, we have to do with their dispersion in different parts of the necropolis. Only if one takes stray finds into consideration, one can speak of one concentration (perhaps a significant one), namely in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20. Only one coin comes from the Julio-Claudian Period, i.e., a contextless coin of Nero. In the cemetery dump, near Curtain 20, one

of coins of Vespasian was found. Concerning the next two coins of this ruler, one comes from a multiple burial grave (2143), while the other (very worn out) from a single burial grave. Among three coins of Titus, only one (from the single burial Grave 12/1937) can be taken into consideration as a time-marker. The next one was found in the multiple burial Tomb 1013 in the outer ward in front of Curtain 16. The grave is dated to the 1st–3rd c. AD. The last coin of Titus comes from the cemetery dump near the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay). All three coins of Titus were found within ca. 100 m from the citadel. The distribution of coins of Vespasian is completely different. In their case one can rather speak of an even distribution in different parts of the necropolis. The area to the west of the town is exceptional, as there are no finds of Roman coins from the period in question there.

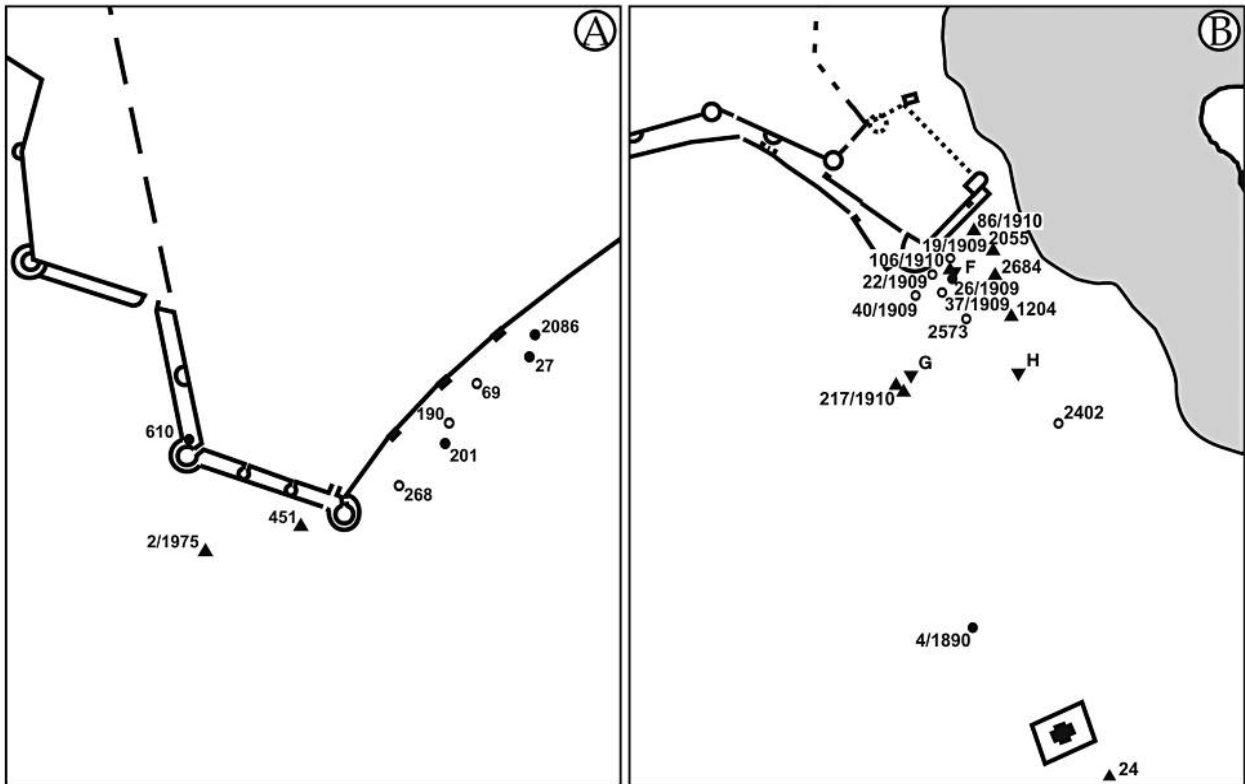


Fig. 6. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Finds of Roman coins from the Antonine Period (● in single burials of women or children; ○ in single burials of men and in graves with no furnishings; ▲ in multiple burial graves; ▼ in the cemetery dump). Grave 4/1890 – Bosphorus; Grave 24 – Marcus Aurelius; Grave 27 – Marcus Aurelius; Grave 69 – Marcus Aurelius; Grave 190 – Bosphorus; Grave 201 – Hadrian; Grave 268 – Bosphorus; Grave 451 – Hadrian; Grave 610 – Antoninus Pius; Grave 1204 – Hadrian; Grave 2055 – Trajan; Grave 2086 – Hadrian; Grave 2402 – Hadrian; Grave 2573 – Faustina I/II; Grave 2684 – Antoninus Pius; Grave 19/1909 – Hadrian; Grave 22/1909 – Antoninus Pius; Grave 26/1909 – Antoninus Pius; Grave 37/1909 – Antoninus Pius; Grave 40/1909 – Marcus Aurelius; Grave 86/1910 – Antoninus Pius; Grave 106/1910 – Commodus; Grave 217/1910 – Trajan/Hadrian; Grave 2/1975 – Trajan; In the cemetery dump: F – Antoninus Pius; G – Trajan; H – Faustina I/II.

Рис. 6. Херсонес Таурыйский. Городской некрополь. Находки римских монет времени Антонинов (● в гробках одиночных захоронений женщин или детей; ○ в одиночных захоронениях мужчин, а также погребениях без сопроводительного инвентаря; ▲ в коллективных захоронениях; ▼ в могильной насыпи).

Рис. 6. Херсонес Таурыйский. Городской некрополь. Находки римских монет времени Антонинов (● в одиночных захоронениях женщин или детей; ○ в одиночных захоронениях мужчин, а также погребениях без сопроводительного инвентаря; ▲ в коллективных захоронениях; ▼ в могильной насыпи).

The Antonine Period (Fig. 6)

Finds of issues of Traian and Hadrian are distributed relatively evenly within the entire necropolis. However, there are no coins of Traian among issues which provide dates for single burial graves. On the other hand, they are found in multiple burial graves, including Grave 217/1910, where a coin of Hadrian was also found. Later issues are in general terms exclusively coins of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Elder and Faustina the Younger. The only exception is a coin of Commodus in the multiple burial Grave 106/1910 near the citadel. Coins of Antoninus Pius and

Marcus Aurelius definitely dominate. It seems of interest that graves with finds of coins of Antoninus Pius make up a close group in the direct vicinity of the citadel, i.e., in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20. We find them as time-markers both in single burial graves, in multiple burial graves and outside graves. The only exception is a coin in the multiple burial Grave 610 in the outer ward in front of Turret V. Coins of Marcus Aurelius are distributed in a different way. We find them solely in single burial graves and almost exclusively in the foreground of the walls in the section between Curtain 10 and Curtain 23. Grave 40/1909 in the foreground of Turret XVII is an exception. Bosporan

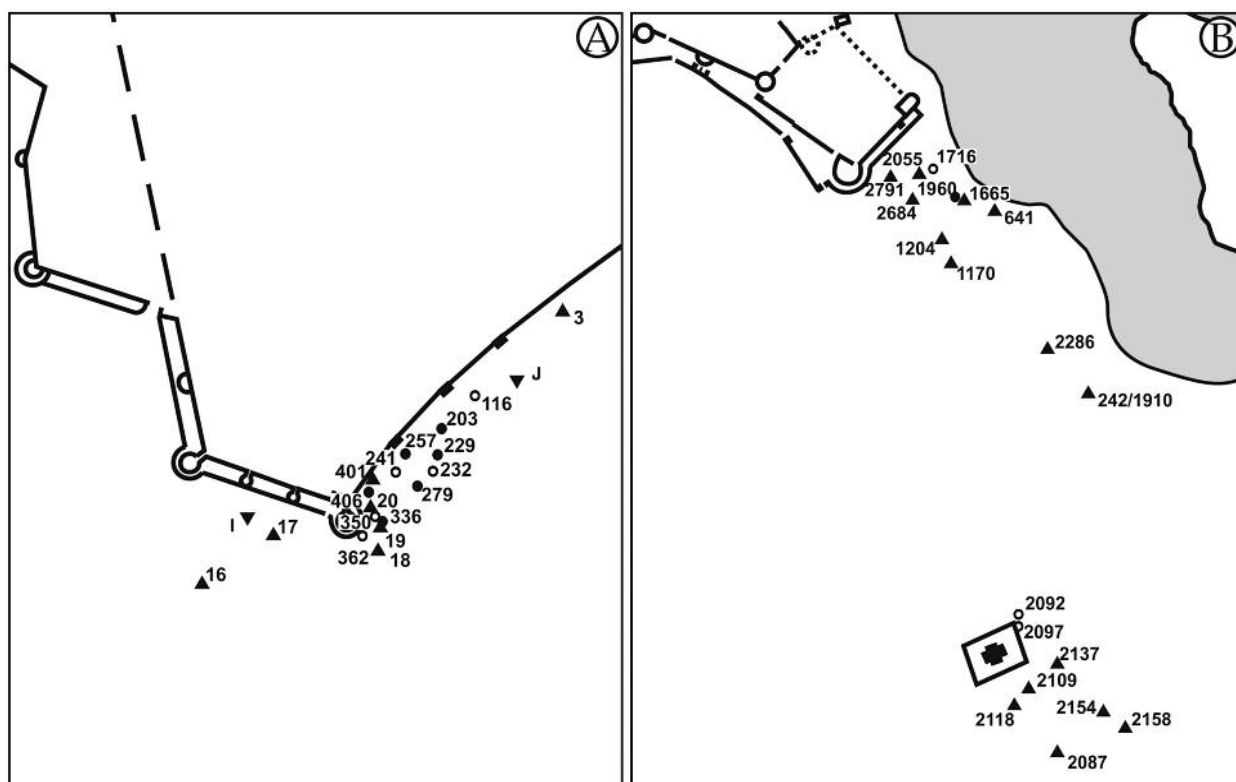


Fig. 7. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Finds of Roman coins from the Severan Period (● in single burials of women or children; ○ in single burials of men; ▲ in multiple burials; ▼ in the cemetery dump). Grave 3 – Caracalla; Grave 116 – Kotys III; Grave 203 – Severus Alexander; Grave 229 – Caracalla; Grave 232 – Severus Alexander; Grave 241 – Caracalla; Grave 257 – Julia ...; Grave 279 – Caracalla; Grave 332 – Severus Alexander; Grave 339 – Julia Maesa; Grave 362 – Septimius Severus; Grave 368 – Caracalla; Grave 350 – Caracalla; Grave 390 – Rhescuporis IV; Grave 401 – Severus Alexander; Grave 406 – Severus Alexander; Grave 452 – Severus Alexander; Grave 641 – Julia Domna; Grave 1170 – Severus Alexander; Grave 1204 – Caracalla; Grave 1665 – Julia Domna; Caracalla; Elagabalus; Grave 2055 – Caracalla; Grave 2092 – Rhescuporis III; Grave 2087 – Rhescuporis III; Grave 2097 – Rhescuporis III; Grave 2109 – Caracalla; Grave 2118 – Rhescuporis III; Grave 2137 – Caracalla; Grave 2154 – Julia Domna; Grave 2158 – Septimius Severus; Grave 2286 – Geta; Grave 2684 – Geta; Grave 2791 – Geta; Julia Domna; Rhescuporis III; Grave 1716 – Sauromates II; Grave 1960 – Sauromates II; Grave 242/1910 – Caracalla; Grave 4/1975 – Geta; In the cemetery dump: I, J – Caracalla.

Ryc. 7. Chersonesz Taurydzki. Cmentarzysko miejskie. Znaleziska monet rzymskich z okresu Sewerów (● w grobach jedнопochówkowych kobiet lub dzieci; ○ w grobach jedнопochówkowych mężczyzn; ▲ w grobach wielopochówkowych; ▼ w nasypie cmentarzyska).

Рис. 7. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Находки римских монет времени Северов (● в одиночных захоронениях женщин или детей; ○ в одиночных захоронениях мужчин; ▲ в коллективных захоронениях ▼ в могильной насыпи).

coins of the period in question are present only in three single burial graves. Two of these graves (190 and 268) are located in the foreground of Curtains 10–11, at some distance from the concentration of coins of Marcus Aurelius. One Bosporan coin was found in a grave situated quite far from the town between “Virgin Mountain” and the suburban cross-shaped church.

As regards the sex of the dead, it can be assumed only based on furnishings in single burial graves. Burials of women and children from the Antonine Period can be found much more often in the northern part of the necropolis. Graves of men and burials with no furnishing dominate near the citadel.

The Severan Period (Fig. 7)

Only two coins of Septimius Severus were found in the necropolis: in the single burial Grave 362 and in the multiple burial Grave 2159. Furthermore, four specimens of the issues of Geta were found. Roman coins of the Severan Period are first of all issues of emperors from Caracalla to Severus Alexander, including those with images of women belonging to the ruling house. In numerous cases, however, it was not recorded which of the ladies called Julia was depicted on the coin. Most coins are issues of Caracalla and Severus Alexander. In the multiple burial Grave 2055 a coin of Heliogabal was found.

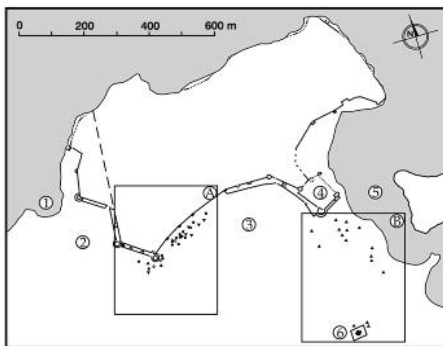
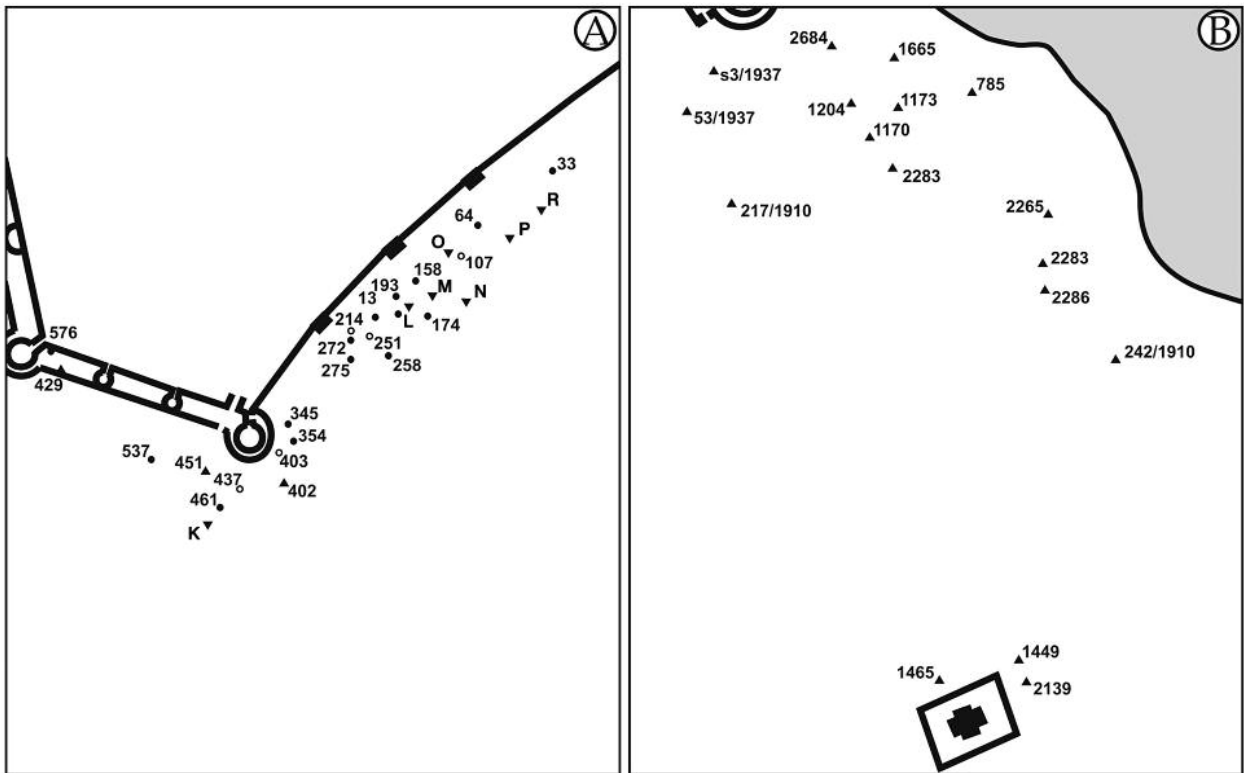


Fig. 8. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Finds of Roman coins – Maximinus Thrax – Probus (● in single burials of women or children; ○ in single burials of men; ▲ in multiple burials; ▼ in the cemetery dump). Grave 33 – Ininthiamaios; Grave 64 – Claudius II; Grave 107 – Probus; Grave 158 – Gallienus; Grave 174 – Otacilla Severa; Grave 193 – Gordian III; Grave 194 – Probus; Grave 214 – Gordian III; Grave 251 – Gordian III; Grave 258 – Trebonianus; Grave 272 – Maximinus Thrax; Grave 275 – Gordian III; Grave 345 – Maximinus Thrax; Grave 402 – Maximinus Thrax; Grave 403 – Gordian III; Grave 429 – Claudius II; Grave 437 – Decius; Grave 451 – Gordian III; Grave 461 – Philip I; Grave 537 – Philip II; Grave 576 – Maximinus Thrax; Grave 785 – Gordian III; Grave 1095 – Decius; Grave 1170 – Gordian III; Grave 1173 – Pharsanes; Grave 1449 – Maximinus Thrax; Grave 1465 – Philip II; Grave 1665 – Gordian III; Philip I; Grave 1204 – Philip II; Grave 2139 – Gordian III; Grave 2265 – Gordian III; Grave 2283 – Gordian III; Grave 2286 – Gordian III; Grave 2684 – Gordian III; Grave 217/1910 – Gordian III; Grave 242/1910 – Gordian III; Grave s3/1937 – Aurelianus; In the cemetery dump: K – Philip II; L – Decius; M – Aurelianus; N – Probus; O – Gordian III; P – Rheskuporis V; R – Philip II.

Ryc. 8. Chersones Taurydzki. Cmentarzysko miejskie. Znajdźiska monet rzymskich – okres od Maksymina Traka do Probusa (● w grobach jednopochówkowych kobiet lub dzieci; ○ w grobach jednopochówkowych mężczyzn; ▲ w grobach wielopochówkowych; ▼ w nasypie cmentarzyska).

Рис. 8. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Находки римских монет – период от Максимиана Трака до Пробуса (● в одиночных захоронениях женщин или детей; ○ в одиночных захоронениях мужчин; ▲ в коллективных захоронениях; ▼ в могильной насыпи).

Single burial graves with Roman coins from the Severan Period can be found only in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10 and 11. In other parts of the necropolis graves of this type exclusively contain coins of Bosporan rulers: Sauromates II (Graves 1716 and 1960 near the citadel) and Rheskuporis III (Graves 2092 and 2097 to the south from the cross-shaped suburban church). Coins of Rheskuporis III can also be found in multiple burial graves (Graves 2118 and 2087) in the same part of the necropolis.

Roman coins in multiple burial graves can be first of all found near the Karantina Buhta (Quarantine Bay)

in the closer and the farther foreground of Curtain 20. It was there that almost all specimens of coins of Geta were found (Graves 2791, 2684, 2286). Issues of this ruler have been found exclusively in multiple burial graves. Issues of Caracalla are distributed in the most homogeneous way in the scale of the necropolis. In its southern part they mainly occur in single burial graves while in other cases they are found in multiple burial graves. Coins of Severus Alexander are present in both types of graves and they are mainly concentrated in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10 and 11.

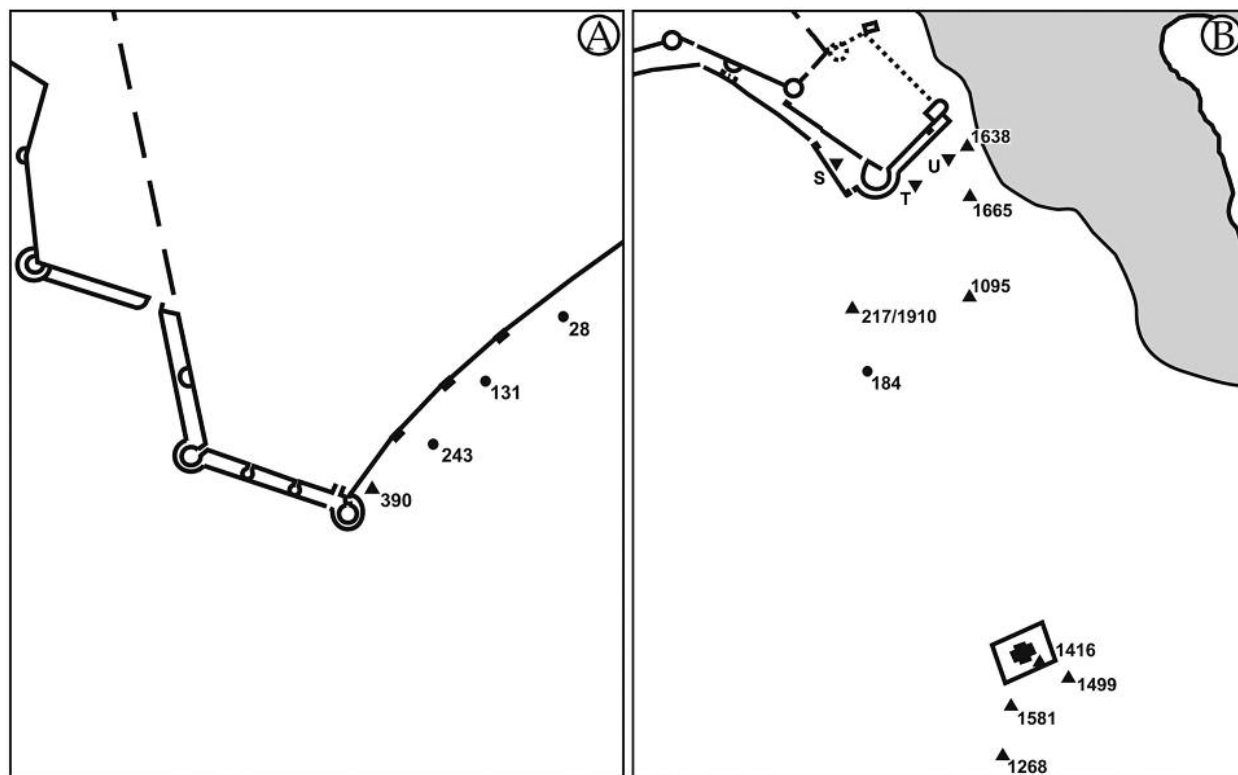


Fig. 9. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Finds of Roman coins from the Period of the Tetrarchy (● in single burials; ▲ in multiple burials; ▼ in the cemetery dump; S, T, U – Maximian).

Ryc. 9. Chersonesz Taurydzki. Cmentarzysko miejskie. Znajdźiska monet rzymskich z okresu tetrarchii (● w grobach jedнопochówkowych; ▲ w grobach wielopochówkowych; ▼ w nasypie cmentarzyska).

Рис. 9. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Находки римских монет периода тетрархии (● в одиночных захоронениях; ▲ в коллективных захоронениях; ▼ в могильной насыпи).

The period from Maximinus Thrax to Probus (Fig. 8)

In this period the number of finds of Roman coins in the territory of the necropolis decreases. Most specimens are coins minted during the rule of Maximinus and Gordian III, while those from the period of Philip Arab are much less numerous. With the exception of coins of Probus, issues of later rulers are represented in the municipal cemetery by single coins of each emperor. The same observation also applies to Bosphoran issues.

Single burial graves in this period are also grouped in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–13 (Fig. 1). An exception is Grave 576 in the outer ward near Turret V, in which a coin of Maximinus was found. In this group of graves, apart from issues of Maximinus (Graves 272 and 345), Gordian III (Graves 193, 214, 251, 275 and 403) and Probus (Graves 107 and 194), there are also individual graves which are dated by issues of Philip the Arab

(Grave 461), Otacilia Severa (Grave 174), Philip II (Grave 537), Decius (Grave 437), Gallienus (Grave 158), Claudius II (Grave 64) and Aurelian (Grave 354). In the periphery of this group there is Grave 33 with a coin of Ininthimeus, King of Bosphorus. In multiple burial graves in the same part of the necropolis, single coins of Maximinus (Grave 402), Gordian III (Grave 451) and Claudius II (Grave 429) were found in the outer ward near Turret V. A majority of the remaining multiple burial graves is situated in the closer and the farther foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20, near the Karantina Buhta (Quarantine Bay). In as many as eleven graves coins of Gordian III (Graves 451, 785, 1170, 1665, 2139, 2265, 2283, 2286, 2684, 217/1910, and 242/1910) were found, while only six graves yielded coins of other rulers, including Philip the Arab (Grave 1665), Philip II (Grave 1204), Etruscilla (Grave 1095), Aurelian (Grave 83/1937) and Pharsanes (Graves 1173 and 2284). Among finds from three multiple burial graves situated near the cross-shaped suburban church, coins of Maximinus

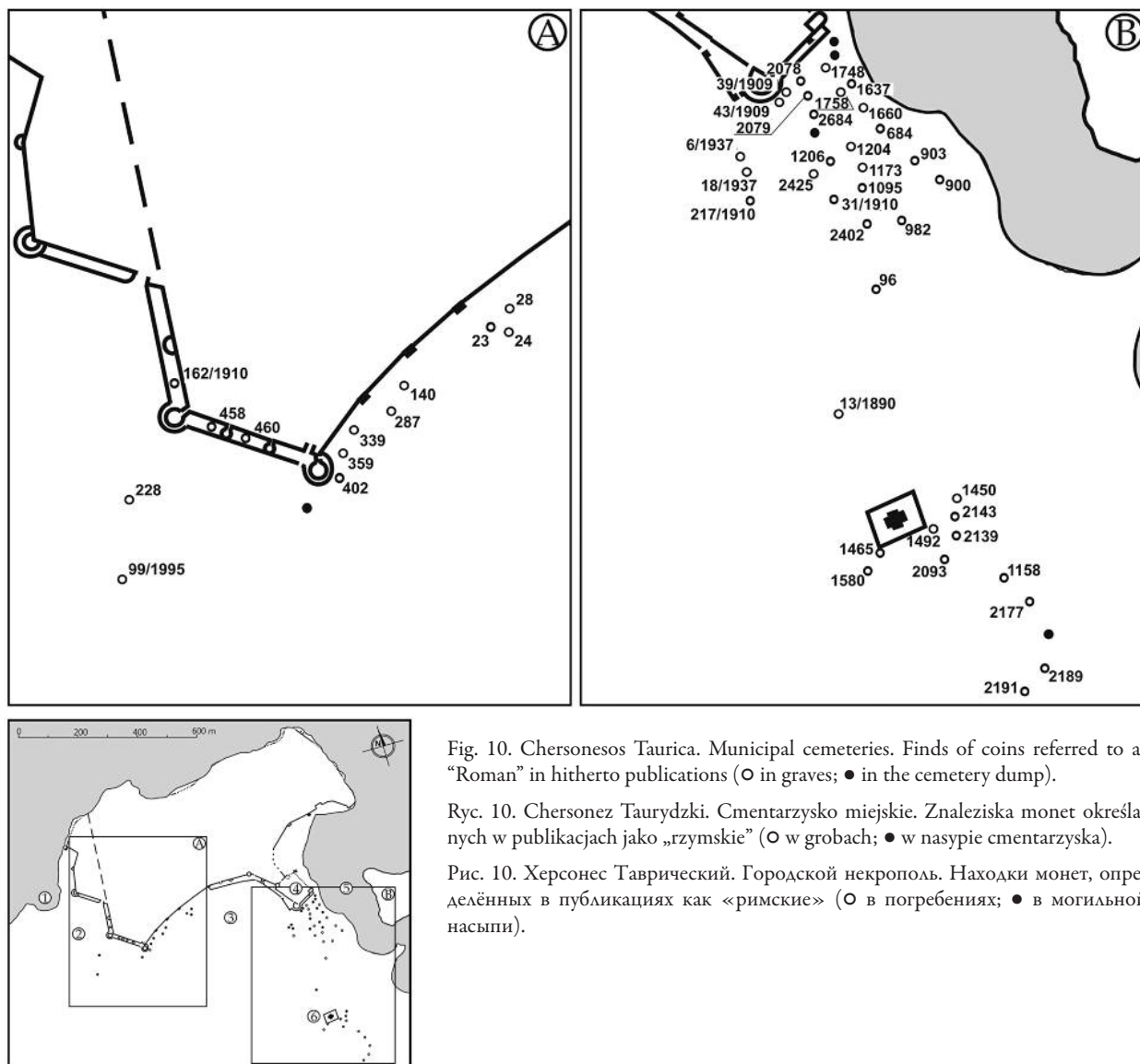


Fig. 10. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Finds of coins referred to as “Roman” in hitherto publications (O in graves; ● in the cemetery dump).

Ryc. 10. Chersonesz Taurydzki. Cmentarzysko miejskie. Znaleziska monet określanych w publikacjach jako „rzymskie” (O w grobach; ● w nasypie cmentarzyska).

Рис. 10. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Находки монет, определённых в публикациях как «римские» (O в погребениях; ● в могильной насыпи).

(Grave 1149), Gordian III (Grave 2139) and Philip II (Grave 1465) were identified.

To sum up, one is to underline the quantitative domination of graves with finds of coins of the two earliest emperors, i.e., Maximinus Thrax and Gordian III. The lack of issues of Maximinus is also clearly notable in multiple burial graves on the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay), where at the same time the highest number of coins of Gordian III was discovered.

The Period of the First Tetrarchy – to AD 305 (Fig. 9)

In comparison with the previous periods, the number of graves with identified finds of coins is very small. Among four coins in single burial graves, three were found in the foreground of Curtains 10–13 (Fig. 1), including two Bosporan (Graves 28 and 243) and only one Roman coin (Grave 131). The fourth known single burial grave (184/72) was located at the foot of Deviçaâ gora (“Virgin

Mountain”) from the side of the citadel and contained a Roman coin. In multiple burial graves only Roman coins were found. This concerns four graves near the citadel in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20 (Graves 1095, 1638, 1665, 217/1910) and next four ones to the south of the cross-shaped suburban church (Graves 1416, 1499, 1568, 1581). The only isolated grave with a Roman coin from this period was situated in the foreground of Curtain 10 near Turret VIII (Grave 390). It also seems of importance that all three specimens of Roman coins from the Period of the First Tetrarchy which are known from non-grave contexts are issues of Maximian which were found in the direct vicinity of the citadel’s fortifications.

Among identified monetary finds, both stray ones and those coming from graves of the Roman Period, Roman issues dominated. In graves with unidentified coins, as well as among unidentified stray finds, there were also numerous coins which were generally referred to as “Roman” or “colonial” ones. In order to verify the noticed and thoroughly

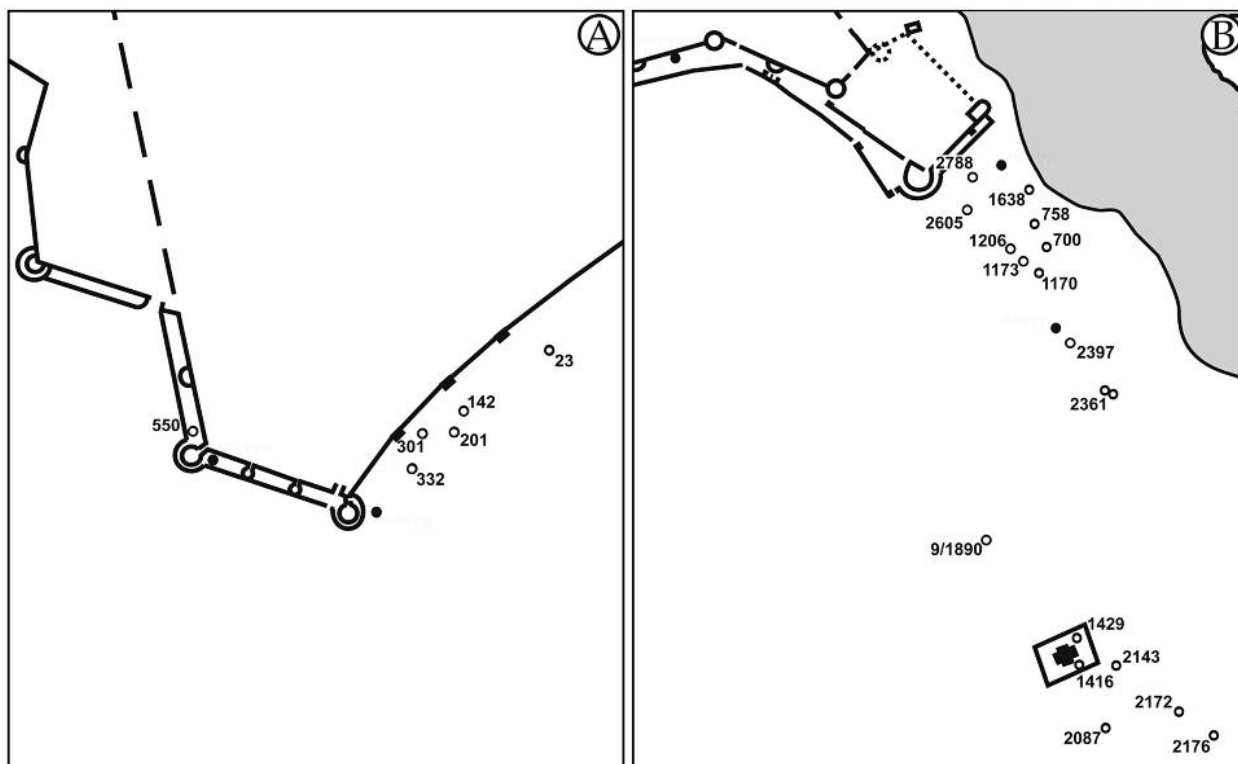
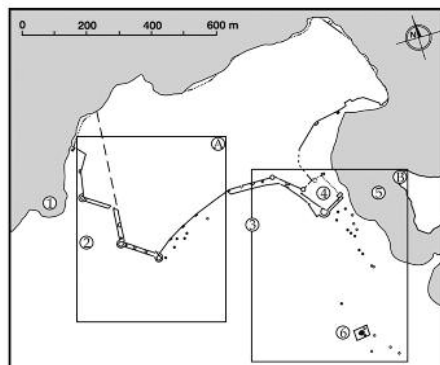


Fig. 11. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Finds of coins referred to as “colonial” in hitherto publications (○ in graves; ● in the cemetery dump).

Рис. 11. Херсонез Таурыйдзкий. Сментарзыйско мыйежскый. Зналежыска монет окреślаныч в публлыкачак якыо „кылоняльне” (○ в гробыч; ● в насыпы сментарзыйска).

Рис. 11. Херсонес Таврыческий. Городской некрополь. Находкы монет, определённых в публлыкачак как «кылоняльные» (○ в погребеняях; ● в мыйгильной насыпы).



analysed irregularity of distribution of graves with coins of given Roman issues, additional stages of the analysis of distribution of monetary finds were carried out (Figs. 10, 11). They demonstrate a dispersion of “Roman” and “colonial” (i.e., issued by towns in Roman provinces) coins in the territory of the necropolis. This analysis testified to the existence of three separate concentrations of graves and stray finds of Roman Period coins. The first concentration is situated in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–13, the second one is in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20 (Fig. 1), while the third one is located to the south of the suburban cross-shaped church. The second concentration, i.e., the one situated in the vicinity of the

citadel, is the largest one. This concentration gradually declines as one proceeds farther and farther away from the walls of the citadel, with single burial graves declining much closer to Curtain 20 than multiple burial graves.

Graves with elements of weaponry and military equipment

Graves with finds of shoe nails (Fig. 12)

In seven graves in the territory of the necropolis small nails were found. These were identified by discoverers as coming from military shoes.³ With one exception, these

³ Although in Roman provinces small nails or soles with such nails are actually most commonly found in military contexts, we must

seriously assume an opportunity of such shoes having been used by civilians.

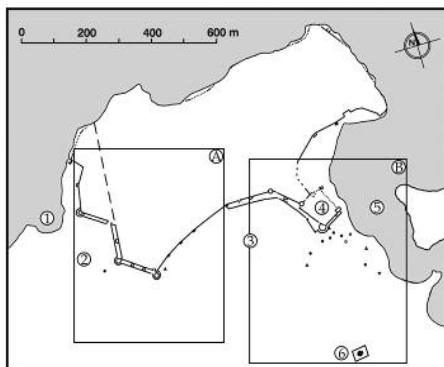
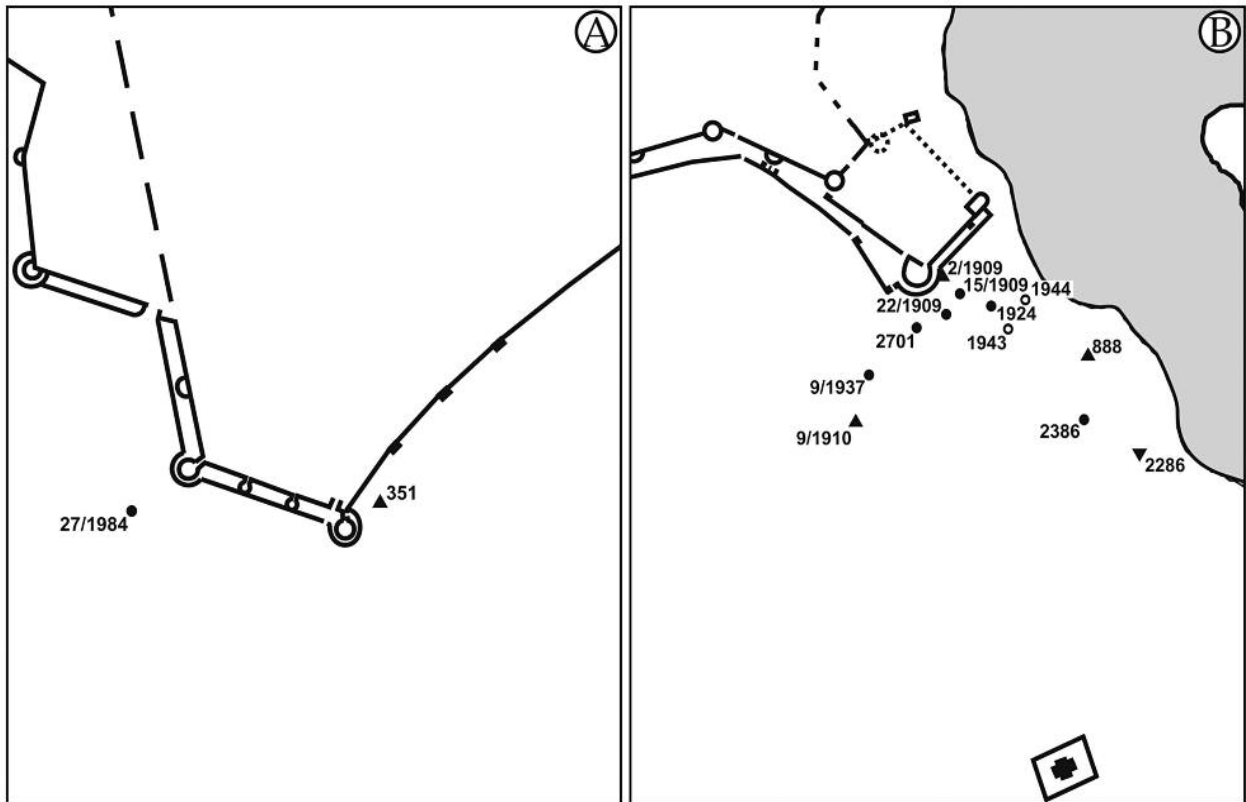


Fig. 12. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Distribution of graves with finds of elements of weaponry and military equipment (● iron nails from sandals in Roman Period graves; ○ in graves of uncertain chronology; ▲ swords; ▼ scales and other fragments of body armour).

Рис. 12. Херсонез Таурдызкі. Сментарызько мяеіськіе. Розмієщєніє гробів зє знаєдзіськємі елємєнтів узбрєжєніє і опорззздієніє воєськєміє (● жєлєзнє гвєздзіє од сандзлєв в гробзх окрєсу рымськєміє; ○ в гробзх о нєпєвнєм дзтєвзніє; ▲ мєчє; ▼ лускє і рєннє фрзгмєнтє пзньєрєчє).

Рис. 12. Хєрсєнєс Тзврєчєськєй. Горєдськєй нєкрєпєль. Рззмєщєніє пєгрєбєніє с нзхєдкзми елємєнтє воєннєго воєрєжєніє і снзрзжєніє (● жєлєзнє гвєздє от обувє в ззхєрєнєнєх рымськєго пєрєодз; ○ в ззхєрєнєнєх с нє тєчнєй дзтєрєкє; ▲ мєчє; ▼ чєшуйкє і нннє фрзгмєнтє пзньєрєчє).

graves are single burial graves. In the case of Grave 1943 two burials are testified to. They are, however, situated on different levels and it is known that nails were found in the burial which was situated lower. One can therefore assume that also in this case we have to do with a single burial grave, into which a secondary cut was made. The burial in the cut should generally be considered a separate single burial grave. Among discussed graves there were six pit graves and one box grave, made of roofing tiles. All these graves contained skeleton burials.

Grave 22/1909 is dated by a coin of Antoninus Pius. In Graves 15/1909, 9/1937, 27/1984 and 2386, the dating to the Roman Period is done based on other grave furnishings, including first of all pottery. Graves 1924 and 2710 did not contain finds which could be used as time-markers. Graves 1943 and 1944 raise the greatest doubts. The first one contained a small Hellenistic (?) plate and a

Chersonesos (?) coin, which was in all probability also minted in the Hellenistic Period. In the other grave, apart from a similar plate, there was a box (grave lining) made of stamped Chersonesos roofing tiles. Building ceramics were also manufactured in the town in the Hellenistic Period. Concerning the box construction made of ceramic plates, it cannot be completely ruled out that it is a secondary burial in a Hellenistic grave, or earlier roofing tiles were used for the construction of the Roman Period grave. A similar situation may have also occurred in the first of the two aforementioned debatable cases. Regrettably, the laconic description of the graves does not enable us to dissolve doubts concerning their chronology.

The number of iron nails found in individual graves varies. In Grave 1924 there were 69 items, in Grave 2386 – 48, in Grave 9/1937 – 30, in Grave 1944 – 28, and 10 items were found in Grave 1943. For the remaining graves, there

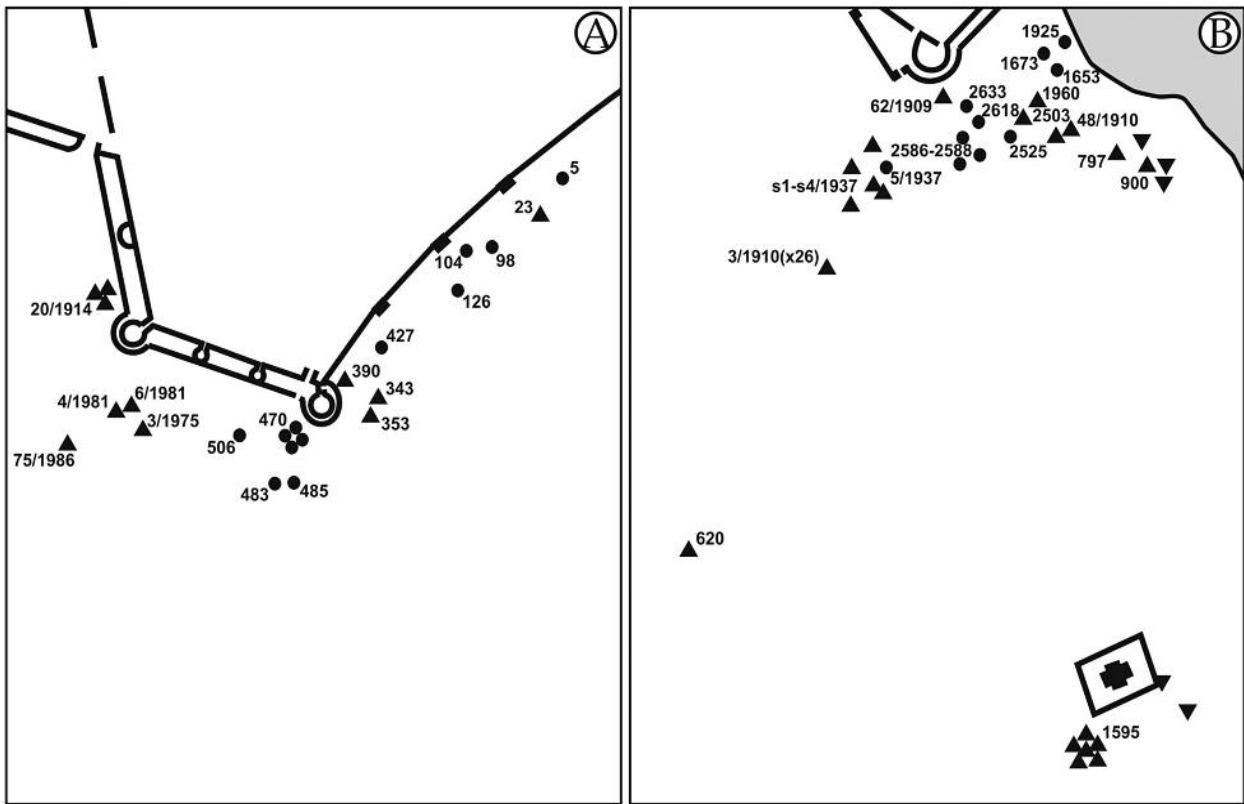
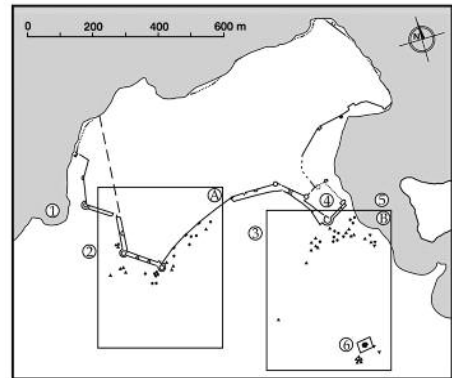


Fig. 13. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Distribution of finds of intentionally deformed human crania (● in single burials; ▲ in multiple burials; ▼ in the cemetery dump).

Ryc. 13. Chersonesz Taurydzki. Cmentarzysko miejskie. Rozmieszczenie znalezisk celowo zdeformowanych czaszek ludzkich (● w grobach jedнопochówkowych; ▲ w grobach wielopochówkowych; ▼ w nasypie cmentarzyska).

Рис. 13. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Размещение находок преднамеренно деформированных человеческих черепов (● в одиночных захоронениях; ▲ в коллективных захоронениях; ▼ в могильной насыпи).



is no data concerning the number of nails. The graves belonging to this category constitute a compact group near the citadel, in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20 (Fig. 1). Grave 27/1984, situated to the west of the town on the slope of Pesočnaâ Balka (Sandy Ravine) is an exception.

Graves with finds of swords (Fig. 12)

Iron blades, different than “knife blades,” which frequently appear in research reports, were found in four graves only (351, 888, 2/1909, 1/1910). Grave 888 is a multiple burial chamber tomb, which was carved in the rock. The remaining ones are single burial pit graves with inhumation burials. In Grave 888, i.e., an impression of a 3rd c. AD coin was found. It was made in gold foil (KOSČUŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ 1900: 116–118). In Grave 1/1910 Chersonesos coins from the period between the mid-2nd to the mid-3rd c.

were discovered. Grave 2/1909 contained a lamp and a pitcher – typical furnishings of Roman Period burials. The only element of furnishings from Grave 351 was an iron blade, which was referred to by the discoverer as a “curved sabre.” In Grave 888, apart from a sword, a knife was found, while “two kinjals” were discovered in Grave 1/1910. Regrettably, we do not know whether long knives or rather two short swords were meant. With the exception of Grave 351, which was situated in the foreground of Turret VII and Curtain 10, the remaining three graves were in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20 (Fig. 1). This matches the range of occurrence of graves with finds of shoe nails.

The grave with remains of a scale armour (Fig. 12)

In the multiple burial shaft-niche grave (2286) 11 scales with two drilled holes were found. Three scales were

shell-shaped, while the remaining ones were semicircular. Other elements of furnishings included: coins of Geta and Licinius, a gold foil with an impression of a coin of Gordian III, two amber beads and 5 buckles, defined as “Gothic type buckles” (KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ, SKUBETOV 1911: 54–55). Grave 2286 was situated on the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay), but farther from the citadel than all the graves with finds of sandal nails and of swords.

In this place it is worth mentioning that the author of the present paper undertook a separate analysis of the distribution of onion-head fibulae (*Zwiebelknopffibeln*) in the necropolis of Chersonesos. The discussion on this subject has already been published (CHOWANIEC, KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2003). Finds of these peculiar fibulae may be one of proofs for the presence of persons related to the Roman army in Crimea. The collection of onion-head fibulae from the necropolis comes from a later period than the categories of finds which are dealt with in this publication. It is, however, worth underlining the coincidence of places of occurrence of onion-head fibulae and other determined categories of finds in the territory of the necropolis of Chersonesos.

Graves with finds of intentionally deformed crania (Fig. 13)

According to Zubar', the number of graves with deformed crania was 44. The number of finds of crania with intentionally deformed shapes was even more numerous and totalled up to 87 (ZUBAR' 1982: 45). The earliest cases of this type of burials in the territory of Chersonesos probably come from as early as the 2nd half of the 2nd c. The majority of them, however, is dated to the 3rd–4th c. (ZUBAR' 1982: 45; 1987: 85).

A verification of published data, carried out by the author of the present analysis, demonstrated 44 graves containing not less than 82 crania and 5 crania were found in the territory of the necropolis in non-grave contexts. Based on the verification, there are 22 pit graves, 2 shaft-niche graves, 2 box graves, including one made of roofing tiles and 18 chamber graves carved in the rock. There were 22 single burial graves, with almost all of them being pit graves (21) and one box grave made of roofing tiles (Grave 5). The remaining ones were multiple burial graves, including all chamber graves, both carved in the rock and niche ones; furthermore, there was one box grave (390) and one pit grave (1960). More than one cranium with traces of intentional deformation were found in nine graves: two in Graves 48/1910 and 3/1937 each, three in Graves 23, 343 and 20/1910 each, six in Grave 1595 and twenty six in Grave 3/1910. An undefined number of intentionally deformed crania were found in Graves 1960 and 75/1986.

The issue of dating of single burial graves and burials in multiple burial graves which belong to the discussed category provokes many doubts. There were no grave goods

in 11 single burial graves, one grave contained a coin (unidentified), and one grave with no furnishings had a box made of roofing tiles of the Hellenistic Period. In the last case there are no direct arguments which would speak for an interpretation of the burial as secondary and done in the Roman Period. Concerning single burial graves which contained furnishings, in two graves (104 and 427) earrings with garnets were found. They probably come from the Migration Period. In the multiple burial Grave 620 a buckle with a cross motif was deposited near the skeleton with a deformed cranium. In Grave 75/1986 there was i.a. a fibula dated to the 5th–7th c. (FARBEJ 1998: 124). In other multiple burial graves, apart from deformed crania, i.a. coins were found, whose chronology reaches beyond the 4th c. (in Grave 343 – coins of Arcadius and Theodosius the Great, in Grave 797 – of Leo I, in Grave 900 – of Theodosius the Great, in Grave 25/1984 – a coin of Theodosius the Great and a coin identified as “Roman, of the 4th–5th c.”). A “late Roman” coin was found in Grave 48/1910. The mentioned elements of grave furnishings raise doubts whether burials containing deformed crania actually came from the 4th c. at the latest. At the same time there are no grounds to date the earliest burials belonging to the mentioned group to a period earlier than the proposed mid-2nd c.

Graves with finds of intentionally deformed crania are not distributed evenly in the necropolis. Single burial graves of this group clearly dominate in two concentrations. The first one is located in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–13, while the other one is situated near the citadel in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20. Multiple burial graves with deformed crania are distributed outside the latter concentration. Such graves also occur on the slopes of Pesočnaâ Balka (Sandy Ravine) to the west of the town. One grave was discovered to the south of the suburban cross-shaped church (Grave 1595).

In the case of single burial graves an attempt at determining the sex of the dead was undertaken, based on accompanying grave goods. Graves 104, 126, 427, 480 and 485 were considered as in all probability containing women's burials. Elements of furnishings which were taken into consideration included: earrings (Graves 104, 427 and 485), strings of beads (Graves 126 and 480) and bracelets (Grave 427). Concerning Grave 2588, the author of the publication defined the buried person as a child (REPNIKOV 1927: 159). This person was equipped with one bronze bracelet. The remaining burials either do not have any grave goods at all, or these goods are not characteristic (Grave 2618 – a clay vessel, Grave 5/1937 – a Chersonesos coin of the period of *eleutheria*).

All graves which may have contained remains of women are situated in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–13. Graves with no furnishings dominate near the citadel.

According to *opinio communis*, crania which underwent artificial deformation are related to representatives of Sarmatian or Alanian tribes (ZUBAR' 1987: 98).

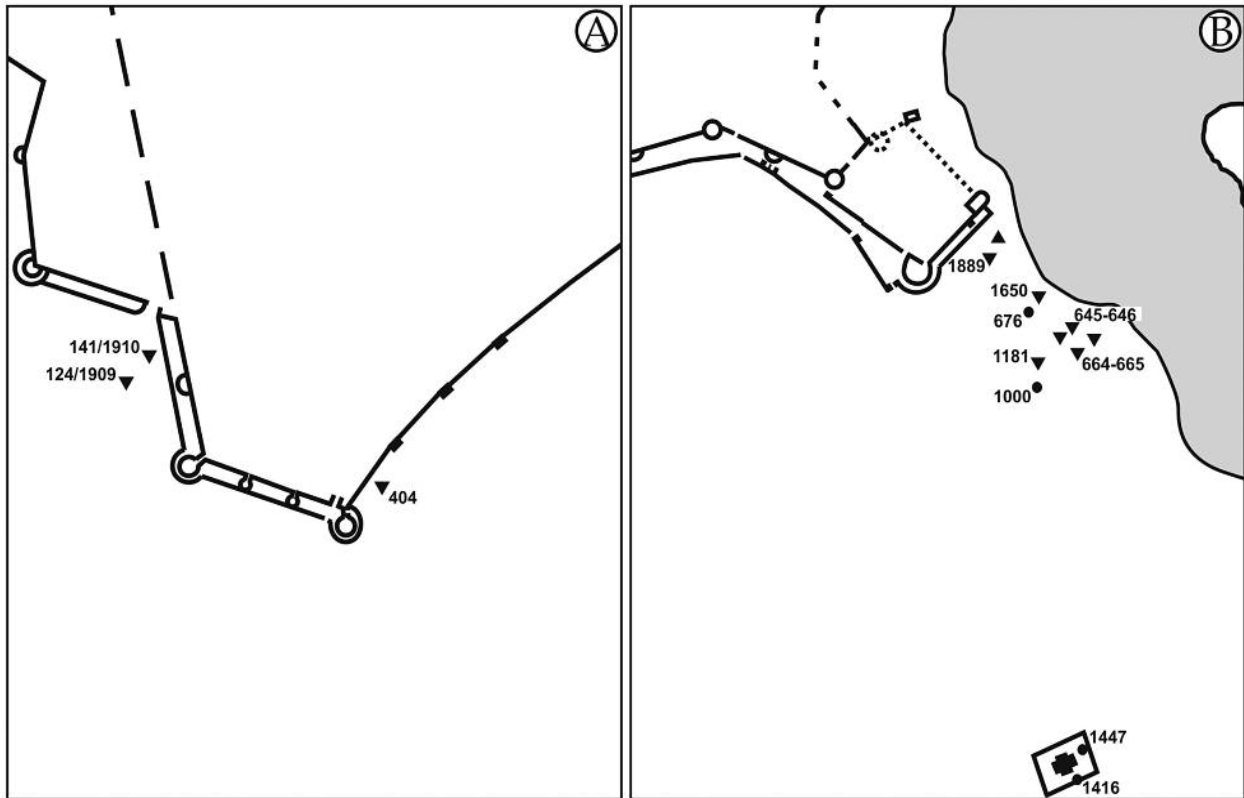
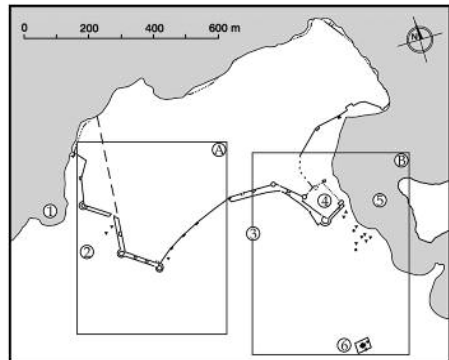


Fig. 14. Chersonesos Taurica. Municipal cemeteries. Distribution of graves with finds of elements of horse-harness and horse burials (● finds of horse-harness in graves; ▲ finds of elements of horse-harness in the cemetery dump; ▼ horse burials).

Рис. 14. Херсонез Таурдызкий. Цментарзыско miejskie. Rozmieszczenie grobów ze znaleziskami elementów uprzęży i pochówków koni (● znaleziska uprzęży w grobach; ▲ znaleziska elementów uprzęży w nasypie cmentarzyska; ▼ pochówki końskie).

Рис. 14. Херсонес Таврический. Городской некрополь. Размещение погребений с находками элементов упряжи и захоронений коней (● находки упряжи в погребениях; ▲ находки элементов упряжи в насыпи могил; ▼ конские захоронения).



Horse burials and separate finds of elements of horse-harness (Fig. 14)

Published data from the examinations of the necropolis inform us about 10 horse burials. When this issue was first discussed in 1987 by Zubar⁷, he identified 8 burials only. A majority of them was supposed to come “from the first centuries of our era” (ZUBAR⁷ 1987: 98).

Among the mentioned number of graves with remains of horses, two are situated on the slopes of Pesočna Balka (Sandy Ravine) to the west of the town, in the foreground of Curtain 5 (Graves 124/1909 and 141/1910). A single burial was found in the foreground of Curtain 10 near Turret VIII (Grave 404). Seven remaining ones were distributed in the foreground of Curtain 20 (Graves 645, 646, 664, 665, 1181, 1650 and 1889). All were discovered at the distance of up to ca. 100 m from the walls of the cita-

del in the necropolis belt along the shore of the Karantinaâ Buhta (Quarantine Bay).

Out of ten analysed cases, it was possible to determine in two of them that a horse accompanied a human. Such a situation occurs in Graves 141/1910 (a horse) and 140/1910 (a human), which no doubt make up one double burial. On the other hand, mixed human and horse bones were found in Grave 1181.

In Grave 124/1909 and 141/1910, as well as in the neighbouring human burial (Grave 140/1910), no grave furnishings were found. Only remains of iron parts of harness were found with horses buried in Graves 645, 646, 664 and 665. However, the lack of figures in publications renders their detailed identification and dating impossible. The case of Grave 1889 is analogous, as it is only in the description of the grave that two bronze rings are mentioned. They may have belonged to horse-harness buckles. A small lamp was found in Grave 1181, which enables us to assume

with some probability that the horse was buried in the Roman Period. We know slightly more on the furnishings from Grave 1650. Apart from two bits and other metal elements of horse-harness, three large beads of chalcedony were found. The presence of artefacts made of this material may imply a Roman Period burial. Grave 404 contained a bronze bit only (KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ 1895: 70, fig. 40). This list makes it evident that even such a general dating as “the first centuries of our era,” as proposed by Zubar’, may be applied to not more than three horse burials (Graves 1181, 1650, and 404). However, also in their case it seems safer to apply a broader chronological framework and rather relate them to the entire Roman Period.

Apart from horse burials, Zubar’ also identifies four graves (Graves 696, 1000, 1416 and 1447) where elements of horse-harness were found (ZUBAR’ 1987: 93).

This list should be completed with a find of bronze elements of harness in the cemetery dumps, near Curtain 20 (Fig. 1). This entire group of finds was identified based on descriptions without illustrations, which does not allow for a verification of identification carried out by K.K. Koscūško-Valūžinič. In Grave 1000, it concerns two iron buckles. Their identification as part of horse-harness is only tentatively proposed by Koscūško-Valūžinič (1900: 130). The presence of these finds in the grave which did not contain a horse burial raises justified doubts and these artefacts may have rather been massive buckles which originally belonged to dress or equipment of a human. In 1982 Zubar’ mentioned buckles from the entire necropolis, which were 332 in total and came from 182 graves. However, he identified neither a group of massive buckles, which are mentioned by other authors (first of all by Koscūško-Valūžinič), nor much less a separate group which was to be remains of horse-harness (ZUBAR’ 1982: 104–105). In the description of the next graves (Graves 696 and 1416), Koscūško-Valūžinič also questions the identification of single bronze rings as parts of horse-harness. On the other hand, he mentions two bronze fragments of a bit as furnishings of the former burial. Only when dealing with Grave 1447, this researcher identifies two iron buckles as parts of horse-harness without any doubt, and he mentions a find of a belt buckle separately (KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ 1904: 28). In the light of these data an identification of items found in Graves 1416 and 1447 as parts of horse-harness is to be considered more probable. A correct identification of other finds may possibly be supported by the fact that they were found in the zone of the highest concentration of horse burials, i.e., in the foreground of Curtain 20.

The chronology of discussed finds is a separate issue. Grave 1000 does not contain other finds. On the other hand, Grave 696 contained an unidentified bronze fibula, two small lamps and two small pitchers. Such an assemblage allows to date the burial to the Roman Period. Two remaining graves contained identified coins: Grave 1416 – 36 bronze coins from Constantine the Great to Arcadius, and Grave 1447 – 2 coins of Constantine the Great. Based

on this one can propose the dating of the majority of horse-harness finds from grave contexts to the 4th c.

Zubar’ maintains that the majority of horse burials is to be dated to the first centuries AD; however, he does not explain on what grounds he assumes this. The Kievan researcher relates the cases of horse burials in the necropolis of Chersonesos to people of nomadic traditions, but he does not mention any name of known contemporary tribes (ZUBAR’ 1987: 93).

Distribution of small finds from sepulchral contexts. General conclusions

The above analysis of selected categories of finds took these into consideration which have not been paid enough attention in hitherto publications. These are assemblages consisting of a few or a dozen or so elements at the most. In the scale of the entire cemetery, where about 3500 graves were investigated by excavation, these finds are marginal phenomena. In order to analyse them, a method of mapping was applied and the find place of each item was plotted on the plan. This enabled us to identify the convergence of areas where several discussed phenomena appeared. This method was effective due to the selection of several categories of finds which stand out against a rather homogeneous background of the vast majority of examined graves. Due to a very similar construction and furnishings, these remaining graves can be considered as belonging to a local sepulchral tradition.

A separate assessment of the range of occurrence of each rare find would enable us to draw very limited conclusions only. However, their comparison demonstrated that in two distant parts of the necropolis there were concentrations of burials with their furnishing which are atypical for the area in question as a whole. One zone of occurrence of such burials is situated to the south-west from the town, in the foreground of Turret VIII and Curtains 10–13 (Fig. 1). The closer to Turret VIII, there are more artefacts belonging to each category. The other, broader range of a number of discussed burials is situated to the south-east from the town in the foreground of Turret XVII and Curtain 20. In this area the discussed phenomena intensify as one approaches the fortifications.

A co-occurrence of Roman coins, elements of weaponry, tombstones (including military ones) with Latin inscriptions, sarcophagi and graves with intentionally deformed crania, as well as horse burials are basic traits of both distinguished parts of the necropolis. However, there are also differences between these parts. It is only in the area close to the citadel that finds of nails concentrate. These nails in all probability come from Roman military shoes. It was also in this area that the majority of horse burials was discovered. Among single burial graves there is a dominance of men’s graves and graves which are unidentified due to the lack of furnishings. In the neighbourhood of Turret VIII, based on

grave goods we can assume that more women and children were buried in single burial graves.

A co-occurrence of a number of atypical finds enables to suppose that in the mentioned parts of the necropolis there were burials of persons which stood out from the local Greek society due to their culture. Roman soldiers and accompanying civilians were such a group in the Roman Period. The location of their graves near the citadel, which is long known as the place of deployment of the Romans in Chersonesos, seems to be perfectly comprehensible. The case of the other group of burials near Turret VIII is slightly different. The main gate of the town is thought to have been located there and it may have been accompanied by other features related to the deployment of the Romans. K.K. Kosčuško-Valžžinič (1895: 57–58) supposed an existence of a sort of small citadel there. As the adjacent part of the town was destroyed during the construction of fortifications in the 2nd half of the 19th c., it is impossible to verify this assumption. An indirect opportunity of verification is provided by the location of a group of burials in the vicinity (outside the walls of the town). Traits of these burials are very similar to those found in the neighbourhood of the citadel. It must be underlined that a number of tombstones of Roman soldiers were also found near Turret VIII.

In the light of these observations it seems probable that the Roman garrison in Chersonesos consisted of two parts and one of these stationed near the south-western part of the town walls. On the other hand, based on gathered data it is impossible to define whether a town quarter inhabited mainly by families of soldiers existed and if so, where it was located. In my opinion nothing suggests that, as some scholars assume, it was located in the “harbour quarter” which neighboured the citadel (ZUBAR’ 1994: 90–99; 2001: 47–50). This hypothesis was at some point critically assessed by T. Sarnowski (SARNOWSKI, SAVELJA 2000b: 198–200).

Remarks on the chronology of the Roman military presence in Chersonesos based on the analysis of sepulchral contexts

The analysis of distribution of finds of Roman coins from the territory of the necropolis seems to reveal some additional information. Issues of some rulers are grouped in the two aforementioned parts of the necropolis. Other issues are scattered in the entire territory of the necropolis or are found sporadically only. Therefore, it seems justified to assume that in case of a more or less even distribution in the scale of the entire necropolis we only receive an image of frequency of occurrence of given coins in the local monetary circulation. The image is different in the case of a strong intensification of occurrence of a given issue within one or two observed zones of difference. This occurs for the first time in the case of issues of Antoninus Pius.

Finds of such coins concentrate in the vicinity of the citadel (Fig. 6). The concentration of coins of Marcus Aurelius near Turret VIII is slightly less numerous (Fig. 6).

In the first of the mentioned cases it is remarkable that the coins date the horizon of pit graves with poor furnishings. Graves of this type are remarkable for the entire Roman Period, but they mainly occur in the foreground of Curtains 10–13. Near the citadel, in a close extent dated by Roman coins, they occur only once.

Roman coins of the Severan Period are first of all issues of Caracalla and Severus Alexander (Fig. 7). They dominate in pit burials in the area of Turret VIII; on the other hand, there is a complete lack of one-time burials of this type in the neighbourhood of the citadel. In the latter area, issues of Geta appear alongside with coins of Caracalla. Both kinds of coins belong to furnishing of multiple burial graves. The last clear accent among Roman issues in both zones are coins of Maximinus Thrax and Gordian III, but with a clear preponderance of the latter (Fig. 8).

The above observations resulting from the distribution of monetary finds in the territory of the necropolis are perhaps not without significance for the chronology of stationing of the Roman garrison in Chersonesos. Data from the areas of occurrence of burials with Roman traits allow to assume the appearance of the Romans in the citadel during the rule of Antoninus Pius (the analysis which was carried out above does not allow to draw conclusions on the presence of Roman troops during the rule of Trajan and earlier). There must have been some changes in the garrison during the rule of Marcus Aurelius or shortly after his death. Most probably, the Roman army stationed at that time also near Turret VIII, as it would be suggested by the concentration of coins of this ruler. The next period when we have to do with the Roman military presence is the time of inflow of coins of Caracalla and Severus Alexander. An essential change is a putative shift of the centre of gravity of the garrison near Turret VIII. This is testified to by the occurrence (in this area only) of relatively poor pit graves with finds of Roman coins. These may have been military burials. In the western part of the town we also find roofing tiles stamped with stamps of the 11th Claudian Legion, which was present in Chersonesos during the Severan Period (GRINEVIČ 1959: 95; KUTAJSOV 1986). Another image is produced by the distribution of tombstones of soldiers. Within the borders of both zones both tombstones of the 1st Italic Legion, the 11th Claudian Legion, as well as various auxiliary units and the Fleet of Moesia were found. Anyway, it seems that both at the end of the rule of the Antoninian dynasty and in the Severan Period we have to do with a two-part structure of the garrison in Chersonesos.

It cannot be excluded that there was an interval in the Roman military presence in Taurida at the end of the rule of Severus Alexander. Coins of this ruler are less numerous in the necropolis than the issues of Caracalla. Such an assumption could also be confirmed by stratigraphic

observations from the citadel. The level of destruction which was observed there contained coins of Severus Alexander as the latest ones (KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2001: 65). It is worth underlining that a hoard of coins found in the ruins of internal buildings of the Roman fort in Balaklava also closes with issues of the last representatives of the Severan dynasty (FILIPPENKO, ALEKSEENKO 2000). Results of excavations carried out in this area point out that after the destruction which is dated by this hoard, both the building which is thought to have been barracks and the nearby temple of Jupiter Dolichenus remain abandoned.

If the aforementioned interval in the stationing of the Roman troops actually took place, the reintroduction of the garrison (at least in Chersonesos) is implied by finds of coins of Maximinus Thrax and Gordian III in the discussed zones of the necropolis. An evident preponderance of issues of the latter emperor seems to suggest that the return of the Roman troops took place in the period of his rule. The last noticeable concentration of identified Roman coins in the territory of the necropolis is related to the period of rule of Philip the Arab and his son. A decrease in the number of finds of Roman coins issued by the next rulers allows to suppose that perhaps at the end of the period of rule of both Philips the maintenance of the garrison was abandoned or its numbers were seriously limited. These observations seem to be confirmed by finds of coins from other places related to the presence of the Roman troops in Crimea. In Cape Ay-Todor (in the territory of the fort) the latest Roman coin is a bronze coin of Gordian III (ROSTOVCEV 1900; ROSTOWZEW 1902). At the site of Chatyrdag near Alushta, in the place where the Romans may have undertaken an attempt at erecting fortifications, an Antoninian of Philip

the Arab was discovered (KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2011: 186).

To sum up this discussion, it must be underlined that the occurrence of a few atypical categories of finds almost exclusively in two limited zones of the necropolis of Chersonesos does not seem to be incidental. It is very probable that the discussed groups of small finds point to (in an indirect manner) places of stationing of Roman soldiers and of inhabitation of Roman civilians in Chersonesos. A relation of one of the discussed concentrations to the Citadel seems to be evident. In this case, it should be taken into consideration that the similar zone near the south-western part of the defensive walls may have also neighboured an urban area which was occupied by the Romans. Perhaps part of the garrison stationed behind the nearby defensive wall and garrison-related civilians lived there.

The argument based on few groups of exceptional finds may seem too feeble. However, it is worth underlining that it is much more solid than recent attempts at pointing out new places of stationing of the Romans in Crimea. Proposals which are solely based on a find of nails of putative military sandals or building material ascribed to the Romans, such as abandoned blocks of worked stone, are to be assessed as much more risky (DOROŠKO 2010: 42; KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2011: 183–187).

Translated by Grzegorz Żabiński

Dr Radosław Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski
Institute of Archaeology
University of Warsaw
radoslaw.szczypiorski@gmail.com

Abbreviations:

- IAK “Izvestiâ imperatorskoj Arheologičeskoj kommissii.”
- IOSPE I² B. LATYSHEV, *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini. Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae aliorum locorum a Danubio usque ad regnum Bosporanum*, Petropoli 1916.
- IOSPE IV B. LATYSHEV, *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae per annos 1885–1900 repertae*, Petropoli 1901.
- OAK “Otčet” imperatorskoj Arheologičeskoj kommissii.”

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Table 1. Excavations of the cemeteries of Chersonesos. The table includes numbers of graves with indications of publications of excavation results (based on ZUBAR' 1982 and author's own research; see also note 1 on p. 59)

Tabela 1. Badania cmentarzysk Chersonesu. Tabela numeracji grobów ze wskazaniem miejsca publikacji wyników badań.

Таблица 1. Исследование некрополя Херсонеса. Таблица номеров захоронений с указанием места публикации результатов исследований.

Grave No.	Year (excavation season)	Publication of results
1–19	1890	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1893 <i>Perečėn' drevnostej, najdennych v19-ti grobnicah, otkrytyh v 1890 g. v Hersonese na kosogore, vdol' dorogi iz Sevastopolá v monastyr'</i> , OAK za 1890 g., 129–130.
1–68	1891	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1893 <i>Grobnicy, urny, i katakumby, otkrytye v 1891 g. v Hersonese, na kosogore u ũžnoj gorodskoj cteny</i> , OAK za 1891 g., 137–150, figs. 139–190.
69–314	1892	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1894 <i>Perečėn' drevnostej, najdennych v1892 g. v mogil'nike u ũžnoj gorodskoj steny Hersonesa</i> , OAK za 1892 g., 101–119, figs. 58–74.
315–428	1893	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1895 <i>Otčėt" zaveduũšego raskopkami v Hersonese za 1893 g.</i> , OAK za 1892 g., 59–73, figs. 38–43.
429–541	1894	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1896 <i>Otčėt" zaveduũšego raskopkami v Hersonese za 1894 g.</i> , OAK za 1893 g., 60–75, figs. 79–108.
542–610	1895	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1897 <i>Otčėt" zaveduũšego raskopkami v Hersonese za 1895 g.</i> , OAK za 1895 g., 104–116, figs. 255–289.
611–812	1896	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1898 <i>Otčėt" zaveduũšego raskopkami v Hersonese za 1896 g.</i> , OAK za 1896 g., 173–198, figs. 544–576.
813–1008	1897	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1900 <i>Otčėt" zaveduũšego raskopkami v Hersonese za 1897 g.</i> , OAK za 1897 g., 112–131, figs. 225–253.
1009–1011	1898	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1901 <i>Izvlėčėnie iz otčėta o raskopkah proizvedennyh v Hersonese v 1898 g.</i> , OAK za 1898 g., 119–122, fig. 20.
1012–1014	1899	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1901 <i>Izvlėčėnie iz otčėta o raskopkah v Hersonese Tavričeskom v 1899 g.</i> , IAK I, 3–24, figs. 2–19.
1015–1037	1900	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1902 <i>Izvlėčėnie iz otčėta o raskopkah v Hersonese Tavričeskom v 1900 g.</i> , IAK II, 10–18, figs. 10–17.
1038–1040	1901	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1902 <i>Otčėt" o raskopkah v Hersonese v 1901 g.</i> , IAK IV, 53–56, figs. 1, 4.

1041–1188	1901	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1902 <i>Otčēt” o raskopkah v Hersonese v 1901 g.</i> , IAK IV, 96–114, figs. 46–62.
1189–1462	1902	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1904 <i>Izvlččenie iz otččeta o raskopkah v Hersonese v 1902 g.</i> , IAK IX, 1–31, figs. 1–11, I, II.
1463–1523	1903	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1905 <i>Otččēt” o raskopkah v Hersonese Tavričeskom v 1903 g.</i> , IAK XVI, 87–107, figs. 44–48.
1524–1635	1904	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1906 <i>Otččēt” o raskopkah v Hersonese Tavričeskom v 1904 g.</i> , IAK XX, 59–93, figs. 32–41, IV.
1636–2127	1905	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1907 <i>Otččēt” o raskopkah v Hersonese Tavričeskom v 1905 g.</i> , IAK XXV, 67–128, figs. 1–21, I, II.
2128–2143	1906	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1909 <i>Izvlččenie iz otččeta o raskopkah v Hersonese Tavričeskom v 1906 g.</i> , IAK XXXI -II, 50–65, figs. 1–9.
2144–2427	1907	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K., SKUBETOV M.I. 1911 <i>Izvlččenie iz otččeta o raskopkah v Hersonese v 1907 g.</i> , IAK XLII, 1–89, figs. 1–29, I, II.
2428–2432	1907–1908	SKUBETOV M.I. 1908 <i>Dnevnik raskopok 1905–1908 gg.</i> (file in the Arhiv Hersonesskogo Muzeā, delo LXI, 33).
2433–2444	1907–1908	SKUBETOV M.I. 1908 <i>Dnevnik raskopok 1905–1908 gg.</i> (file in the Arhiv Hersonesskogo Muzeā, delo LXI, 34, priloženie 3).
2445–2465	1907–1908	SKUBETOV M.I. 1918 <i>Raskopki hersonesskogo nekropolā v 1907 g.</i> , “Izvestiā Tavričeskoj uččnoj arhivnoj kommissii” LIV, 289–296.
2466–2500	1907–1908	SKUBETOV M.I. 1908 <i>Dnevnik raskopok 1905–1908 gg.</i> (file in the Arhiv Hersonesskogo Muzeā, delo LXI, 35–37).
2501–2816	1908	REPNIKOV N.I. 1927 <i>Dnevnik raskopok hersonesskogo nekropolā v 1908 g.</i> , “Hersonesskij Sbornik” II, 149–182, figs. 1–46, IV.
2817 – no description		
2818–2824	1908	LEPER R.H. 1927 <i>Dnevnik raskopok hersonesskogo nekropolā v 1908–1910 gg.</i> , “Hersonesskij Sbornik” II, 190.
1–148	1909	LEPER R.H. 1927 <i>Dnevnik raskopok hersonesskogo nekropolā v 1908–1910 gg.</i> , “Hersonesskij Sbornik” II, 190–209, figs. 1–3.

1–255	1910	LEPER R.H. 1927 <i>Dnevnik raskopok heroneseskogo nekropolâ v 1908–1910 gg.</i> , “Hersonesskij Sbornik” II, 209–255, figs. 4–22.
19, 25, 56, 63	1911	LEPER R.H. 1911 <i>Dnevnik raskopok heroneseskogo nekropolâ v 1911 g.</i> (file in the Arhiv Hersonesskogo Muzeâ, delo LXXIX, 38).
20	1914	LEPER R.H. 1914 <i>Raskopki za zapadnoj oboronitel’noj stenoi</i> (file in the Arhiv Hersonesskogo Muzeâ, delo XCIV, 5). ZUBAR’ V.M., KOSTROMIČOVA T.I. 1978 <i>Sklep nomer 20 z nekropolâ Hersonesa</i> , “Arheologija” XXVII, 58–61.
1–20	1937	TAHTAJ A.K. 1948 <i>Raskopki heroneseskogo nekropolâ v 1937 g.</i> , “Hersonesskij Sbornik” IV, 19–43, figs. 1–6.
“a” and “b”	1902	KOSCŪŠKO-VALŪŽINIČ K.K. 1906 <i>Vtoroe dopolnenie k otčetu o raskopkah v Hersonese v 1902 g.</i> , IAK XX, 96–100.
1–3	1948	ANTONOVA I.A., RIŽOV S.G. 1972 <i>Oboronnij riv ta mogil’nyk poblizu peršoi kurtyny stin Hersonesa</i> , “Arheologični doslidžennâ na Ukraini v 1969” IV, 262.
“b” and “r”	1953	DOMBROVSKIJ O.I. 1953 <i>O polevyh arheologičeskikh issledovaniâh Zagorodnogo krestovogo brama v Hersonese</i> (file in the Arhiv Hersonesskogo Muzeâ, delo DCCVIII, papka 1, 83–85).
1	1973	ZUBAR’ V.M. 1973 <i>Otčet” o raskopkah sklepa v buhte Pesočnoj v 1973 g.</i> , (file in the Arhiv Hersonesskogo Muzeâ).
“A”	1975	ZOLO TAR’OV M.I., RIŽOV S.G. 1984 <i>Novyj sklep zabidnogo nekropolâ Hersonesu</i> , “Arheologija” XCVIII, 68–77.
1, 2, 4	1975	ZUBAR’ V.M., RIŽOV S.G. 1982 <i>Rozkopky zabidnogo nekropolâ Hersonesu</i> , “Arheologija” XXXIX, 77–87.
3 and 4	1975	ZUBAR’ V.M., RIŽOV S.G. <i>Raskopki nekropolâ Hersonesa</i> , “Arheologičeskie Otčety za 1975”, 327–328.
1–7	1981	ZUBAR’ V.M. <i>Raskopki zapadnogo nekropolâ Hersonesa</i> , “Arheologičeskie Otčety za 1981”, 261–262.
1–7	1981	ZUBAR’ V.M., RIŽOV S.G., ŠEVČENKO A.V. 1987 <i>Ohronni rozkopky zabidnogo nekropolâ Hersonesa</i> , „Arheologija” CVIII, 100–103.
6 and 7	1981	ZUBAR’ V.M., RIŽOV S.G., ŠEVČENKO A.V. 1986 <i>Doslidžennâ sklepiv pizn’oantičnogo času iz Hersonesa v 1981 r.</i> , “Arheologija” CIV, 58–70.
4	1981	ZUBAR’ V.M., RIŽOV S.G., ŠEVČENKO A.V. 1988 <i>Novyj pogrebal’nyj kompleks zapadnogo nekropolâ Hersonesa</i> , (in:) V.A. Anohin (ed.), <i>Antičnye drevnosti Severnogo pričernomor’â</i> , Kiev, 148–165.

1–6	1982	ZUBAR' V.M. <i>Raskopki zapadnogo nekropolâ Hersonesa, "Arheologičeskie Otčety za 1982", 262–263.</i>
1	1982	ZUBAR' V.M., SOROČAN S.B. 1986 <i>Novyj pogrebal'nyj kompleks II–IV vv. n.é. i ekonomičeskoe razvitie Hersonesa, (in:) V.A. Anohin et al. (eds.), Antičnaâ kul'tura Severnogo pričernomor'â v pervye veka našej éry, Kiev, 101–129.</i>
2–4, 6	1982	ZUBAR' V.M., ŠEVČENKO A.V., LIPAVSKIJ S.A. 1989 <i>Zapadnyj nekropol' Hersonesa Tavričeskogo (materialy raskopok 1983–1985 gg.), vols. 1–3, Kiev.</i>
1–68	1983–1985	ZUBAR' V.M., ŠEVČENKO A.V., LIPAVSKIJ S.A. 1989 <i>Zapadnyj nekropol' Hersonesa Tavričeskogo (materialy raskopok 1983–1985 gg.), vols. 1–3, Kiev.</i>
69–75	1986	ZUBAR' V.M., ŠEVČENKO A.V., LIPAVSKIJ S.A. 1990 <i>Nekropol' Hersonesa Tavričeskogo (materialy i issledovaniâ), Kiev, 1–30.</i>
76–81	1987	ibidem
82–90 (without 74, 86 and 89)	1988	ibidem
75	1986	FARBEJ O.M. 1998 <i>Pohoval'nyj kompleks rann'osredn'ovičnogo času i dejaki pitannâ z istorii Hersonesa Tavrijskogo v IV–VI st., "Arheologičâ" III, 122–129.</i>
99	1995	MAGDA A.V., DMITRIEV V.A. 1997 <i>Itogi obrannyh raskopok zapadnogo nekropolâ Hersonesa Tavričeskogo v 1995 g., "Drevnosti" 1996, 159–161.</i>

Researches in Chersonesos burial area continue. Part of the results has been published, e.g.:

TUROVSKIJ E.Â., FILIPPENKO A.A.

2007 *Nekotorye osobennosti pogrebal'nyh sooruzenij i obrâdov pervyh bristian Hersonesa i Pantikapeâ, (in:) Bosporskij fenomen: sakral'nyj smysl regiona, pamâtnikov, nahodok. Materialy Meždunarodnoj naučnoj konferencii, Č. 2, Sankt-Peterburg, 184–190.*

As they do not apply directly to the subject of the present article, they are not referred to in this text.

RADOSŁAW KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI

ARMIA RZYMSKA W CHERSONEZIE TAURYDZKIM. MIASTO I CMENTARZYSKA

Cmentarzysko Chersonezu Taurydzkiego obejmuje znaczny obszar na zachód i południe od ruin antycznego miasta. Siega także na przeciwległą stronę Zatoki Kwarantann, której wody oblewają miasto od wschodu (**Ryc. 1**). Nie sposób dokładnie określić zasięgu nekropoli, gdyż dookoła rozciąga się zabudowa współczesnego Sewastopola. Wykopaliska prowadzone od końca lat 80. XIX wieku doprowadziły do odkrycia ponad 3500 grobów. Znaczna część z nich była użytkowana wielokrotnie, uszkodzona przez późniejsze pochówki i wyrabowana. Wyniki badań archeologicznych, o ile były publikowane, zazwyczaj mają postać rocznych raportów, w których groby, pochówki i wyposażenie są opisane niezwykle lakonicznie. Tylko nieliczne znaleziska przedstawiano na ilustracjach lub wskazywano ich analogie (zestawienie raportów z badań – patrz **Tabela 1**).

Analiza publikowanych materiałów pozwala stwierdzić, że lokalny obrządek grzebalny był stosunkowo jednorodny. Dlatego w pewnym sensie nie dziwi, że badacze chętnie zwracali uwagę na znaleziska wyjątkowe, cechy wyróżniające jakiś grób spośród szeregu innych. Niektóre z takich cech zostały uwzględnione w monografii cmentarzyska, o innych zaledwie wspomniano lub w ogóle je pominięto (ZUBAR' 1982).

W prezentowanym powyżej tekście zestawiono kilka grup specyficznych znalezisk z grobów z okresu rzymskiego. Uwzględniono: monety rzymskie, elementy uzbrojenia i oprządzenia, sarkofagi i ossuaria, groby zawierające szkielety z celowo zdeformowanymi czaszkami oraz pochówki końskie i znaleziska elementów uprzęży. Zestawienie to uzupełniają plany prezentujące rozmieszczenie znalezisk stanowiących materiał porównawczy: nagrobków z inskrypcjami greckimi i nagrobków z inskrypcjami łacińskimi (w tym wymieniającymi żołnierzy rzymskich).

Rozmieszczenie wspomnianych kategorii znalezisk na planach wykazało, że nie rozkładają się one równomiernie na całym przebadanym obszarze cmentarzyska. Większość wchodzi w skład jednego z dwóch wyraźnie rysujących się skupisk. Większe skupisko sąsiadowało z cytadelą, mniejsze – z odcinkiem umocnień na przeciwległym krańcu miasta, w okolicy narożnej baszty VIII (**Ryc. 2–14**). Cytadela jest znana jako miejsce stacjonowania rzymskiego garnizonu w pierwszych wiekach n.e. Okolice baszty VIII miały być także obsadzone przez Rzymian (KOSCŪSKO-VALŪŽINIČ 1893: 57–58). Niestety, ta część miasta została zniszczona podczas prac fortyfikacyjnych w 2. połowie XIX w. Hipotezy nie można więc zweryfikować, ale pośrednio potwierdza ją analiza topografii znalezisk, których wyniki zostały zaprezentowane w artykule.

Nie wszystkie uwzględnione kategorie znalezisk można łączyć wprost z żołnierzami rzymskimi lub barbarzyńcami w rzymskiej służbie. Niektóre przedmioty należy

prawdopodobnie wiązać z przybywającymi z wojskiem cywilami. Obecność rodzin i służby towarzyszącej oficerom potwierdzają m.in. kamienie nagrobne.

Oba wyróżnione skupiska, choć bardzo do siebie podobne, nie są identyczne. Tylko w sąsiedztwie cytadeli grupują się znaleziska gwoździ, pochodzących najprawdopodobniej z rzymskich butów wojskowych, oraz większość pochówków koni.

Datowane na pierwsze wieki n.e. groby jamowe (jednopochówkowe) w większości zakwalifikowano jako męskie lub nierozpoznane ze względu na brak wyposażenia. W pobliżu baszty VIII, wśród grobów jednopochówkowych (uwzględnionych w analizie) dominują natomiast te, w których złożono kobiety lub dzieci. Wypada jednak podkreślić, że w obu częściach cmentarzyska znajdowano zarówno nagrobki żołnierzy, jak i rzymskich cywilów.

Analiza występowania w grobach jamowych monet rzymskich różnych emisji także wykazała kilka różnic między omawianymi skupiskami. W przypadku monet Antoninusa Piusa znaleziska koncentrują się w sąsiedztwie cytadeli (**Ryc. 6**). Monety Marka Aureliusza tworzą zgrupowanie w pobliżu baszty VIII (**Ryc. 6**). Monety rzymskie okresu Sewerów to przede wszystkim emisje Karakalli i Aleksandra Sewera (**Ryc. 7**). Dominują one w grobach jamowych w rejonie baszty VIII, natomiast zupełnie brak współczesnych im pochówków tego typu (z analogicznymi monetami) w sąsiedztwie cytadeli.

Podsumowując, przeprowadzona analiza nie potwierdziła pobytu wojsk rzymskich w Chersonezie w okresie rządów Trajana. Może to wskazywać na krótkotrwałą obecność Rzymian w tym okresie oraz małą liczebność garnizonu. Badania wykopaliskowe na terenie cytadeli dotychczas nie ujawniły śladów zabudowy z początków II wieku (KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2001), choć na bliżej nieokreśloną aktywność budowlaną wskazuje materiał regularny (SARNOWSKI 2005). Opierając się na kartowaniu znalezisk monetarnych z cmentarzyska, można jednak potwierdzić obecność Rzymian w cytadeli w okresie rządów Antoninusa Piusa. Wyniki badań po wewnętrznej stronie tej części umocnień wskazują na wzmożoną aktywność budowlaną w połowie II w. (KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2001). Za panowania Marka Aureliusza przypuszczalnie maleje znaczenie cytadeli, a garnizon zostaje rozmieszczony także w pobliżu baszty VIII. Z upływem czasu rola tej części miasta, jako domniemanej siedziby garnizonu (lub jego części), zdaje się rosnąć. Może na to wskazywać występowanie stosunkowo ubogich grobów jamowych, zawierających monety Karakalli i Aleksandra Sewera, tylko w sąsiedztwie baszty VIII. Być może chodzi o pochówki żołnierzy, ale oczywiście nie możemy być tego pewni. W zachodniej części miasta

zarejestrowano także znaleziska dachówek sygnowanych stemplami legionu XI Klaudyjskiego, obecnego w Chersonesie w okresie Sewerów (GRINEVIČ 1959: 95; KUTAJSOV 1986).

Kolejne znaleziska monet rzymskich to emisje Maksymina Traka i Gordiana III. Wyraźnie widoczna jest przewaga monet drugiego z tych cesarzy. Wydaje się, że ewentualny powrót garnizonu rzymskiego mógł nastąpić za panowania właśnie tego władcy.

Ostatnia zauważalna koncentracja zidentyfikowanych monet rzymskich na terenie cmentarzyska wiąże się z okresem rządów Filipa Araba i jego syna. Spadek liczby znalezisk monetarnych z emisji późniejszych cesarzy pozwala domyślać się, że wraz z końcem panowania obu Filipów po raz kolejny zrezygnowano z utrzymywania garnizonu lub poważnie ograniczono jego liczebność.

Należy podkreślić, że występowanie kilku wydziałonych, omówionych wyżej kategorii znalezisk, niemal

wyłącznie w dwóch ograniczonych strefach cmentarzyska Chersonesu nie wydaje się dziełem przypadku. Bardzo prawdopodobne, że wskazane grupy zabytków ruchomych znaczą miejsca pochówków żołnierzy rzymskich na nekropoli. Pośrednio mogą także wskazywać, gdzie Rzymianie stacjonowali w mieście. Związek jednego z omawianych skupisk z cytadelą wydaje się oczywisty. W tej sytuacji należy brać pod uwagę, iż druga, podobna strefa cmentarzyska (w pobliżu baszty VIII) także mogła sąsiadować z zajęętym przez rzymskie wojsko terenem w obrębie murów miasta. Wypada ponadto podkreślić współwystępowanie w tym drugim skupisku grobów jednopochówkowych, uznanych za należące do kobiet i dzieci, z tymi wyposażonymi w sposób typowy dla mężczyzn. Widać to szczególnie wyraźnie w przypadku zestawienia grobów datowanych na okres Sewerów. Być może więc za pobliskim murem obronnym nie tylko stacjonowała część garnizonu, ale także mieszkali związani z nim cywile.

РАДОСЛАВ КАРАСЕВИЧ-ЩЕПЁРСКИ

РИМСКОЕ ВОЙСКО В ХЕРСОНЕСЕ ТАВРИЧЕСКИМ. ГОРОД И НЕКРОПОЛЬ

Некрополь Херсонеса Таврического занимает территории, расположенные на запад и на юг от руин античного города. Также распространяется и на противоположную сторону Карантинной бухты, воды которой окружают город с востока (Рис. 1). К сожалению, точно определить площадь, занимаемую некрополем невозможно, так как вокруг Херсонеса находится застройка современного Севастополя. Раскопки, проводимые с конца 80-х годов XIX века, привели к открытию более 3500 захоронений. Значительная их часть была разграблена, разрушена позднейшими погребениями и использовалась многократно. Результаты археологических исследований, даже если и были опубликованы, в основном имеют форму разных отчётов, в которых могилы, захоронения и погребальный инвентарь описаны необыкновенно лаконично. Только немногочисленные находки представлены на иллюстрациях или указаны их аналогии (перечень отчётов исследований – см. приложенная Таблица 1).

Анализ опубликованных материалов позволяет утверждать, что местный погребальный обряд был достаточно однообразный. Поэтому в некотором смысле не удивляет, что исследователи охотно обращали внимание на исключительные находки, признаки, отличающие какую-либо могилу среди ряда других. Некоторые их таких признаков были приняты во внимание в мо-

нографии, посвящённой некрополю, о других едва упомянуто или вообще ничего не говорится (ZUBAR' [ЗУБАРЬ] 1982).

В представленном выше тексте сформировано несколько групп редких находок из погребений римского периода. Приняты во внимание: римские монеты, элементы вооружения и снаряжения, саркофаги и оссуарии, погребения, содержащие скелеты с преднамеренно деформированными черепами, а также конские захоронения и случаи отдельного помещения упряжи в погребении. Анализ дополняют планы, представляющие размещение находок, являющихся сравнительным материалом: надгробий с греческими надписями и надгробий с латинскими надписями (в том числе упоминающие римских солдат).

Размещение упомянутых категорий находок на плане показало, что они распространяются по всему исследованному пространству некрополя неравномерно. Большинство находок (принадлежащих исследованным категориям) входит в состав одной из двух выразительно рисующихся концентраций. Самое большое скопление находится рядом с цитаделью, меньшее – с участком оборонительных сооружений на противоположном краю города, около угловой башни VIII (Рис. 2–14). Цитадель известна как место размещения римского гарнизона в первых веках н.э. По мнению К.К. Косцюшко-

-Валюжинича, окрестности башни VIII могли быть заселены римлянами (KOSCUŠKO-VALUŽINIČ 1893: 57–58). К сожалению, эта часть древнего города была разрушена в ходе строительства фортификаций во второй половине XIX века, поэтому гипотезу подтвердить не возможно. Косвенным свидетельством могут служить представленные в статье результаты исследования.

Не все принятые во внимание категории находок можно непосредственно соотносить с римскими солдатами или варварами на римской службе. Некоторые предметы, возможно, следует связывать с пребывающими с войском гражданскими лицами. Между прочим, наличие семей и сопровождающих офицеров служб, подтверждают надгробные камни.

Выделенные концентрации, хотя очень похожи, не являются идентичными. Только по соседству с цитаделью группируются: находки гвоздей, принадлежащих, скорее всего, римской солдатской обуви, а также большинство захоронений лошадей. Датированные первыми веками н.э. ямные захоронения (одиночные), по причине отсутствия погребального инвентаря в основном рассматриваются как мужские или неопределённые.

В то же время поблизости башни VIII, среди одиночных погребений (учтённых в анализах) доминируют захоронения женщин или детей. Следует, однако, подчеркнуть, что в обеих частях некрополя находят как надгробия солдат, так и римских гражданских.

Анализ находок римских монет разных эмиссий (в ямных захоронениях) также показал некоторые отличия между описанными зонами. В случае монет Антонина Пия находки концентрируются по соседству с цитаделью (Рис. 6). Монеты Марка Аврелия сосредоточены около башни VIII (Рис. 6).

Римские монеты времени Северов представляют собой, прежде всего, эмиссии Каракаллы и Александра Севера (Рис. 7). Они преобладают в ямных погребениях, в районе башни VIII и совершенно отсутствуют в одновременных захоронениях такого типа (с аналогичными монетами) по соседству с цитаделью.

Подводя итоги, можно констатировать, что проведённый анализ не подтвердил присутствия римских войск в Херсонесе в период правления Траяна, хотя нельзя исключить коротковременное пребывание небольшой численности гарнизона римлян в данный период. Результаты раскопок в цитадели до настоящего времени не выявили следов застройки начала II века (KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2001), хотя на определённую строительную активность указывает черепичный материал (SARNOWSKI 2005). Опираясь на находки монет на территории могильника можно подтвердить присутствие римлян в цитадели в период правления Антонина Пия. Раскопки с внутренней стороны этой части оборонительных сооружений указывают на усиленную строительную активность в середине II в.

(KARASIEWICZ-SZCZYPIORSKI 2001). В период правления Марка Аврелия значение цитадели, возможно, уменьшается, а гарнизон размещается также и поблизости башни VIII. Со временем роль этой части города, как предполагаемого местопребывания гарнизона (или его части), начинает возрастать. На это может указывать наличие относительно бедных ямных захоронений с находками монет Каракаллы и Александра Севера только по соседству с башней VIII. Может быть, имеем дело с захоронениями солдат, но, безусловно, в этом не можем быть уверены. В западной части города также зарегистрированы находки черепиц с клеймами XI Клавдиева легиона, присутствующего в Херсонесе в период Северов (GRNEVIČ [ГРИНЕВИЧ] 1959: 95; KUTAJSOV [КУТАЙСОВ] 1986).

Следующие находки римских монет представляют собой эмиссии Максимиана Трака и Гордиана III. Выразительное преобладание монет второго из правителей, возможно, свидетельствует, что предположительный возврат римского гарнизона наступил в период его правления.

Последнюю заметную концентрацию определённых римских монет на территории некрополя можно связать с периодом правления Филиппа Араба и его сына. Уменьшение числа римских монет, выпущенных позднейшими правителями позволяет предположить, что с окончанием правления обоих Филиппов снова отказались от содержания гарнизона или произошло важное ограничение его численности.

Следует подчеркнуть, что наличие нескольких не типичных категорий находок почти исключительно на двух ограниченных зонах некрополя Херсонеса не кажется случайным. Скорее всего, представленные группы движимых находок указывают на места погребений римских солдат на территории некрополя. Косвенно могут также указывать на районы города, где римляне базировались. Связь одного из упомянутых скоплений с цитаделью кажется очевидной. В этой ситуации следует брать во внимание, что подобная зона некрополя (поблизости башни VIII) также могла соседничать с занятой римским войском территорией за стенами. Кроме того следует подчеркнуть совместное присутствие во второй зоне одиночных захоронений, признанных принадлежащими женщинам и детям, и захоронений, оснащённых сопроводительным инвентарём, типичным для мужчин. Особенно выразительно это видно в случае захоронений, датированных периодом Северов. Может быть, за ближайшей оборонительной стеной базировалась не только часть гарнизона, но также проживали связанные с ним гражданские особы.

Следует подчеркнуть, что наличие нескольких нетипичных категорий находок почти исключительно на двух ограниченных участках некрополя Херсонеса не кажется случайным. Скорее всего, представленные группы находок указывают (косвенно) на места размещения римских солдат и проживания римских гражданских

лиц в Херсонесе. Связь одной из выявленных концентраций с цитаделью кажется очевидной. В таком случае подобная зона концентрации поблизости башни VIII также могла находиться рядом с занятой римлянами территорией в городе. Может быть, за ближайшей сте-

ной располагалась часть гарнизона и жили связанные с ним гражданские особы.

Перевод Л.А. Ковалевская