

THE DANUBIAN LANDS BETWEEN THE BLACK, AEGEAN AND ADRIATIC SEAS

(7TH CENTURY BC – 10TH CENTURY AD)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS ON BLACK SEA ANTIQUITIES
(BELGRADE – 17-21 SEPTEMBER 2013)

edited by

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Principal Editor's Preface

Above all, I should like to express my gratitude to all the participants in the Belgrade Congress for presenting papers (oral and poster). This extensive volume has been a challenge to assemble, and my thanks go to those Congress participants who have provided papers for publication. The editors have done their best to ensure a prompt publication, bearing in mind the need to edit contributions, unify styles, check footnotes and bibliographies, seek clarifications from authors and to make suggestions for the improvement of particular papers, etc. My co-editors deserve thanks for shouldering a large burden. We are sincerely grateful to David Davison, Rajka Makjanić and their colleagues at Archaeopress for agreeing to publish these Proceedings, for their technical help and their speedy production of the printed volume.

Much hard work is required behind the scenes, both before and during the Congress. The National Organising Committee in Belgrade (M. Riel, S. Babić, T. Cvjetičanin, J. Erdeljan, P. Popović and R. Radić) played a key role (S. Babić particularly), as too did the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, the National Museum in Belgrade and the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade. (A. Avram and I are also grateful for the warm hospitality we received during our planning visit to Belgrade in February 2012.) From the beginning, the then Dean of the Faculty, V. Dimitrijević, and her successor, M. Arsenijević, who opened the Congress, showed considerable interest and friendly support; so too did V. Nedeljković (Deputy Dean for Academic Affairs) and B. Bursać (in the International Relations Office of the Faculty). The Miross Travel Agency (I. Stevanovski and D. Jovanović) took charge of practical arrangements (from arranging excursions and airport transfers to printing the programme and the volume of Congress summaries). We are most grateful to the National Museum for organising a special exhibition for the Congress of objects from Olbia in their collections and for holding the opening reception that provided us with an opportunity to view the material. Several of the Faculty's students acted as enthusiastic helpers throughout the Congress: A. Petrović, N. Paskuci, V. Sunjevarić, D. Nikolić and B. Tajhmajster. We are grateful to them, not least for their superior technical expertise, and wish them well for the future.

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

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

Gocha Tsetsckhladze

**Message from the President of the International Organising Committee,
Prof. Sir John Boardman**

The Black Sea Antiquities Congresses have become a well-established feature of the academic scene and that the Congress for 2013 should be held in Belgrade is wholly proper, and in keeping with the principle of involving scholars and countries whose Black Sea interests are obvious and active. The world of archaeology and archaeological history is ever-changing, but a basis in historical geography remains paramount and must be the source for other studies devoted to society, religion, myth and art. Basic principles of observation and classification remain essential – they are after all the source of all our knowledge and speculation – but they are coming to serve successfully many other disciplines, making the archaeologist-historian try to be a master of many trades, without losing touch with the basic evidence and with honing his skills in understanding and presenting his subject to a wider audience. The task is not an easy one and the range of sources now available, both the material ones from excavation and in museums, and those available through computer technology, make the task more complicated, but at the same time better grounded in basic information as well as theory. Opportunities such as this conference offers, to exchange views and present new evidence, are crucial to the subject.

I offer my best wishes for the assured success of the 2013 Belgrade meetings, both to their tireless organiser, Gocha Tsetskhladze, and to all participants.

John Boardman

Welcome by the Secretary-General

Following the journey of the mythical Argonauts to the Danube, we gather for our Fifth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, in Belgrade. When I first approached Staša Babić before the previous Congress in Istanbul, she was very enthusiastic about holding the next one in her university. It was also thanks to her that I discovered, in the existence of a collection of material from Olbia donated a century ago by K. Milosavljević to the National Museum in Belgrade, a further justification for our presence here. As you know, we have never sought to limit our Congress venues to places on the Black Sea itself. Thus, welcome to Belgrade, a fascinating city, and to its distinguished university.

I am most grateful to our hosts for the enormous amount of work they have put in, for their enthusiasm and for their hospitality. Our programme is full and promises important discussion on the relationship between the Danubian Lands and the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas from the 7th century BC to the 10th century AD.

I wish you all a successful and enjoyable Congress.

Gocha Tsetskhladze

17 September 2013

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique.</i>
<i>AIJ</i>	V. Hoffiller and B. Saria, <i>Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, I: Noricum et Pannonia Superior</i> (Zagreb 1938; repr. Amsterdam 1970).
<i>AMNG I1</i>	B. Pick, <i>Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands, I: Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien</i> , 1. Halbband (Berlin 1898).
<i>AMNG I2</i>	B. Pick and K. Regling, <i>Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands, I: Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien</i> , 2. Halbband (Berlin 1910).
<i>AMNG II</i>	F. Münzer, <i>Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, II: Die antiken Münzen von Thrakien</i> (Berlin 1912).
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin/New York).
<i>AOR</i>	<i>Archeologicheski otkritiya i razkopki.</i>
<i>ATL</i>	B.D. Meritt <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Athenian Tribute Lists</i> (Princeton 1939-53).
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique.</i>
<i>BMC Thrace</i>	R.S. Poole, B.V. Head and P. Gardner 1877: <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, &c.</i> (London).
<i>CBFIR</i>	E. Schallmeyer <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> (Stuttgart 1990).
<i>CCET IV</i>	N. Hampartumian, <i>Corpus cultus Equitis Thracii, IV: Moesia Inferior (Romanian section) and Dacia</i> (Leiden 1979).
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin 1863-).
<i>CIMRM</i>	M.J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae</i> , vol. 2 (The Hague 1960).
<i>CIRB</i>	V.V. Struve <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani</i> (Moscow/Leningrad 1965).
<i>EGF</i>	G. Kinkel, <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig 1877).
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin/Leiden 1923-58).
<i>FHG</i>	K. Müller <i>et al.</i> , <i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i> (Paris 1841-73).
<i>GGM</i>	K. Müller, <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> (Paris 1855-82).
<i>GVI</i>	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften, I: Die Grabepigramme</i> (Berlin 1955).
<i>Histria I</i>	E. Condurachi, E. (ed.), <i>Histria, Les résultats des fouilles: Monografie arheologică</i> (Bucharest 1954).
<i>Histria II</i>	E. Condurachi (ed.), <i>Histria II</i> (Bucharest 1966).
<i>Histria III</i>	C. Preda and H. Nubar, <i>Descoperirile monetare 1914-1970</i> (Bucharest 1973).
<i>Histria VI</i>	A. Suceveanu, <i>Les thermes romains</i> (Bucharest 1982).

- Histria VII* P. Alexandrescu *et al.*, *La zone sacrée d'époque grecque (fouilles 1915-1989)* (Bucharest 2005).
- Histria IX* M. Alexandrescu Vianu, *Les statues et les reliefs en pierre* (Bucharest 1999).
- I.Ilion* P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Bonn 1975).
- I.Museum Iznik* S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik* (Bonn 1979-87).
- I.Sinope* D.H. French, *The Inscriptions of Sinope*, vol. 1 (Bonn 2004).
- ICUR* G.B. de Rossi, A. Silvagni, A. Ferrua *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (Rome 1868-).
- IG I¹* D. Lewis *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Graecae, I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores*, 3rd ed. (Berlin 1981, 1994).
- IG II²* J. Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Graecae, II: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1927-31).
- IG VII* W. Dittenberger, *Inscriptiones Graecae, VII: Inscriptiones Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae* (Berlin 1892).
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OPENING LECTURE

Black Sea cultures and peoples

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I

The theme of this congress is archaeological, historical, linguistic, anthropological, geographical and other investigations across the huge area and different regions through which the Argonauts passed in seeking to return from Colchis: from the eastern shore of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube to the Adriatic (Figs. 1-3). The papers on offer over the next few days investigate a vast area and a huge period of time, from Greek colonisation to the end of antiquity, different cultural complexes, peoples and states, Greek cities, native peoples, Roman government and events in Late Roman times. Each particular study contributes to the ground research, helping to create a complete picture on the theoretical level of cultural and political development and interaction of different cultures. Ground research and general conclusions about the social, ethnic, cultural and political development of the peoples who lived on the Black Sea shore and along the great rivers of the Danube and Sava can be reliable only if based on detailed study of particular problems in the large area stretching from the Black Sea to the Adriatic and concerning different peoples and across epochs lasting many hundreds of years.

Investigations of the Black Sea and the Danube region presented during this congress cover a large area and concern the study of different cultural complexes as reflected in different peoples, states and countries in a huge period of time from the 8th century BC to the end of antiquity.

Archaeological, historical, anthropological and linguistic investigation and evidence can contribute to an understanding of the different cultures in different epochs in that vast region, their contacts and mutual influences and the subsequent creation of a mixed culture. The long series of contributions in this congress concerning different problems in the lands of the Black Sea and the Danube, from non-urban society on the northern shore of the Black Sea to the Greek city-state and to mediaeval society, seek to reveal reality in past times, many hundreds of years long, with the aim of contributing to the creation of a general picture of the historical development in the time from the 7th century BC to the 8th century AD in the large area from the eastern shore of the Black Sea to the Danube mouth and further upstream to the Central Balkans and Adriatic. The Pontic-Danubian region is a huge scene of movement of peoples and races, of their mutual contact



FIG. 1: MAP OF THE ARGONAUTS' ROUTE.



FIG. 2: THE MYTHOLOGICAL SHIP 'ARGO'.



FIG. 3: THE DANUBE ESTUARY.

and wars and the mixture of different cultures from Pre-historic times to the Middle Ages and later. It was a scene of the mixture of different peoples and cultures: Scythians, Greeks and natives of Asia Minor, Romans and Thracians and Germanic peoples from the north of Europe, Goths and many others with them, and the newcomers from Asia, the Huns and Avars, in late antiquity. When the mouth of the Danube opened to the Greeks, their cultural and political influence radiated further to Dacia (Fig. 4). Later, this was the route taken by the new peoples coming from the Dniester to the Balkans and further to the west to Italy.

The beginning of the common memory about the early contact of the Greek world with the peoples who lived around the Black Sea and at the mouth of the Danube represents the myth concerning the Argonauts. Myth



FIG. 4: THE DACIAN SARMIZEGETUSA.

indicates the way of penetration of Greek influence into the lands around the Black Sea and beyond. Once upon a time, in the well-known story, best preserved in Callimachus' poem *Argonautica*, a group of young people called Argonauts came with their ship, the 'Argo', and sailed across the seas in quest of the Golden Fleece – the fleece of the golden-winged ram on which Phryxus escaped from death as a sacrificial victim.

The personification of the myth about the journey from Iolcos to Colchis, and back from the eastern shore of the Black Sea to the Adriatic, connects the story with Jason, the son of Aeson the king of Aeolian Iolcos, whose life was threatened by his father's half-brother Pelias. Among the Argonauts were Orpheus, Heracles, Admetos, Mopsus the seer, Telamon and Peleus, Hylas, Nauplius, Polydeucus and Castor, Idas and his brother Lynceos of keen sight, Meleagar, Zetes and Calatis, Acastus, Jason's half-brother, and Argos who built the ship 'Argo' under the instruction of the goddess Athena. The ship brought them from Iolcos to Colchis on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. On their way back the Argonauts many thousands of miles from Colchis to modern-day Istria through different peoples and cultures, through strange countries, where they had to overcome various difficulties. They returned with new experiences about the ways from one edge of the world to the other, about great rivers in the north of the Balkans, about peoples and countries. Their long journey brought them upstream along the Danube to the Djerdap Canyon/ Iron Gates (Figs. 5-6), they passed the Kauliakos cliff, (possibly Kalemegdan today: Fig. 7) and then they sailed the River Sava, continuing to the west to Istria and the Adriatic. Preserved in the epic poetry or tragedy, the myth portrayed the great figures and great events of the past. Its function, or one of them, was to make the past intelligible and meaningful.

The following cultural complexes have been selected in studying this part of the past:

1. Natives on the Black Sea shores in the time before coming of Greeks;
2. Greek colonisation;



FIG. 5: THE DANUBE: DJERDAP CANYON/IRON GATES.



FIG. 6: THE DANUBE AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE CANYON, IN WINTER.



FIG. 7: KALEMEGDAN IN BELGRADE IN FRONT OF THE SAVA'S MERGING INTO THE DANUBE.

3. Romans and the *Imperium Romanum*;
4. New peoples on the Black Sea and the Lower Danube and the political and social changes in later antiquity.

1. Archaeology is the main source of information about the time before Greek colonisation. Archaeological discoveries make an essential contribution to understanding different cultures and their progress before the coming of the Greeks. The world of the Scythian tribes forms part of

the early history of Greek colonies. The rationalisation of the myth of the Argonauts reveals the early contacts of the Greek world with the Scythians and other peoples on the Black Sea and in the Danubian countries, and points to the penetration and radiation of the Greek cultural and economic influence from the colonies founded all around the Black Sea and upstream along the Danube.¹

2. Greek colonisation is the most important event in history, far-reaching in achievement and long-lasting in its effects. The agent of colonisation was the Greek city-state, the world's first political community in which the concept of the freedom of the citizen was articulated. This political organisation was transplanted to the colonies in the Black Sea region, all around the shore. The myth of the Argonauts opens one more topic for investigation: it reflects the early contact between the Greeks and the peoples living on the Black Sea shores and the Danube. The evidence about the tribes and groups that encountered the Greeks is preserved in literary sources as well as archaeological remains. Ancient authors speak about events, some of them about the customs of the peoples of the Black Sea shore and Danube. The authenticity of their accounts can be proved by archaeological investigations. Greek pottery sometimes indicates the presence of Greeks or Greek influence, and mixed with the native handmade pottery signifies that the two peoples lived together.

Greek colonies were founded all around the Black Sea, the earliest in the last third of the 7th century by Miletus. They were placed at the estuaries of great rivers: Istros on the Danube, Tyras on the Dniester, Borysthene on the Dnieper. Further colonies were planted in Odessos and Tomis during the 6th century. At the same time, colonies were founded in the Crimea and on the east coast of the Black Sea: Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Nymphaeum and others; Phasis in Colchis was on the route to the Caspian Sea; Dorian colonies were Heraclea Pontica and Mesambria. Miletus was also the first state to colonise the Propontis.²

The colonies came into contact with local peoples, first within the economic sphere. Greek ceramics often bear witness to the method of trade with natives. Greek influence advanced from the Greek colonies on the Danube upstream, and in the other direction from northern Greece to Thrace. The colonies had sometimes to fight in order to maintain themselves against local peoples, but in final effect Greek colonisation connected the Greeks with the people in lands surrounding the Black Sea, in Asia Minor, on the Libyan coast of Africa, and in the western Mediterranean, and contributed to the development of a new type of civilisation, one based on urban culture. Inscriptions reveal the reality, family structure, religion, mutual relationship and cultural influence, first between Greeks and natives, then between natives, Romans and Greeks. They provide

¹ Talbot Rice 1957; von Barloewen 1961; Danoff 1962; Potratz 1963; Braund 1992; Tsetschladze 1994; 1997; Vasić 1999.

² Finley 1963; Belin de Ballu 1965; Tsetschladze 1994; 1998; Graham 2002; Avram *et al.* 2004; Angelescu *et al.* 2010; Dana 2011.

important information about personalities, organisation, people and religion, the effects of Romanisation and the process of urbanisation, the mixture of cultures, social structures, natives and strangers.

3. In contrast to the Greeks, the Romans made their first step towards the Black Sea and the Balkans using their army. First they came into contact with the Black Sea realms in long wars with Mithridates, king of Pontus. On the other hand, a Roman general reached the Danube in the 70s BC: crossing the Balkans starting from Dyrrachium, Scribonius Curion came to the Danube in the three-year war with the Balkan tribes. The Romans who advanced *pas a pas* from Italy to the Balkans, Asia Minor and the Danube, included in their state all those lands through which the Argonauts had passed on their journey. The final issue of the Roman wars was the inclusion of the peoples on the Black Sea shore and the Danube and the rest of the Balkans and Asia Minor, together with those living from Britain to Persia, in one overarching polity. Urbanisation in the Danube region began with the arrival of the Romans. The Roman army appeared in the Balkans, as well as in Britain, on the Rhine and other regions with tribal organisations, as the bearer of the Roman idea and Roman way of life, and served the role of mediator in the subsequent Romanisation. The Greek colonies mainly survived as independent cities under Roman rule; the native peoples were included in the Romanised society, but they preserved their tribal habits and religion long after the arrival of Rome. Romanisation, like Hellenisation, was not directed by the state, but was a long process involving the integration and acculturation of the conquered peoples to Roman standards. Roman citizenship spread among the natives, many of whom were recruited into the legions: Thracians, Illyrians, Dacians, Germans and others served in auxiliary units, and Egyptians were numerous in the navy. Soldiers had first to accept Roman names and the official cult of Roman deities in the army. However, Romanisation did not mean that old habits and old religions disappeared: native names survived, often as the *cognomina* of soldiers until the end of antiquity, and old gods were worshipped all over the Roman world, sometimes under their Roman names, *interpretatio Romana*.³

Roman rule contributed to the connection of all parts of the world by building roads, among others from Dalmatia to Moesia and the Black Sea region. In order to overcome the obstacle of the Iron Gates, the road was built on the cliffs.

4. The Black Sea-Danube region was the scene of the Great Migration in Later Roman times, the biggest movement of peoples known in history. It brought new peoples from the north of Europe and from Central Asia and the Caucasus to the northern coast of the Black Sea, the mouth of the Danube and beyond. They spread from the Black Sea upstream along the Danube and reached the Central Balkans, Italy, Gaul and Spain in one direction,

and Asia Minor in the other.⁴ These newcomers provoked conflict between two worlds; the urban one, which had existed for hundreds of years, and the tribal world with its many leaders, still in movement, without any fixed base or state organisation to begin with. After a long period of wars with the Romans there came a time of settlement and adaptation and a new culture was born. The integration of the newcomers took different forms: at first raids and wars with the Roman army, which lasted from the 3rd to the 6th century, followed by service in the Roman army, first as *foederati* under the Roman command, thereafter under their own leaders who gained high positions in the Roman state, then as *coloni* on depopulated Roman territory. The colonisation of large areas in the Balkans, authorised by Roman emperors, ended with the creation of various states on the ruins of the Roman empire.

II.

Investigation of events is limited by the data preserved directly in the literary sources and cannot transcend description, historical or sociological comment and explanation; study of structures in antiquity goes far beyond the limits posed by the preserved data. The first step here also represents the investigation of every single item of information given by historical works, mythology, archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, papyrology and other sources; the subsequent step leads to the creation of a general picture of the social and economic development of the past society. In order to come to a general conclusion about the integration, acculturation and mutual connection of natives and colonies, conquerors and slaves, autochthones and newcomers, it is necessary to begin with the investigation of the particular problems in every single area, in every people. As defined by Finley in 'Myth, Memory and History',⁵ the past is an incomprehensible mass of uncounted and uncountable data. It merits consideration if the selection is made around a focus or foci, to come again to the universal significance of past events and to discover how it 'really was'. Any general conclusion about the social, cultural and political development of the peoples who lived on the Black Sea shore and along the great rivers such as the Danube and Sava, Dnieper, Bug and Dniester can be reliable only if based on a detailed study of the particular problems in this large area stretching from the Black Sea to the Adriatic inhabited by different peoples over different periods across several centuries. The investigation of individual events and people, particular problems or even objects is a necessary step in the creation of a general picture which has to be supported by models, coordinates and figures. The final result will be the creation of a complete picture on the theoretical level of cultural and political development and the interaction of different cultures.

There is variety of historical, ethnological, geographical, sociological and economic questions concerning the peoples

³ Zubar 1994; Sarnovski and Zubar 1996; Sarnovski and Savelja 2000; Mirković 2005; Zerbini *et al.* 2012.

⁴ Schmidt 1933; *Villes* 1984; Braund 1992; Poulter 2007; Ivanišević and Kazanski 2010.

⁵ Finley 1965, 283.

and area of the Black Sea and Danubian region from the 8th century BC to the 9th century AD which it is necessary to discuss, and a large number here present who study them. The congress provides the opportunity to examine many of them from different aspects. It seems necessary also to think of the future meetings and congresses. New times have enlarged the field of investigation of the Danube and Black Sea region, the method of analysing material is more sophisticated and, connected with biology, chemistry and other practical sciences, the investigation of history, archaeology, ethnology and sociological theories make progress. The legend of the Argonauts who explored seas and rivers is still alive. The exploration of the Danube, from the ethnographical, geographical, biological and medical point of view is still on-going. A new ship 'Argus' navigates these waters today, conducting multidisciplinary biological (biological-chemical and molecular) research on the Danube from its source in the mountains of the Black Forest to the Black Sea in the international project 'Joint Danube aqua-terra Survey'. I hope the archaeologists will join them in the future (Fig. 8).



FIG. 8: SERBIAN RESEARCH SHIP 'ARGUS'.

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