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PONTIKA 2006 • ПОНТИКА 2006

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Ewdoksii Papuci-Władyki

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Recent Research in Northern Black Sea Coast Greek Colonies
Новейшие исследования греческих колоний Северного
Причерноморья

Proceedings of the International Conference, Kraków, 18th March, 2006

Edited by
Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka

Jagiellonian University
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PREFACE

March 2006 was an exceptionally good month in Kraków for Polish-Ukrainian cultural and scientific cooperation. On March 17, a photographic exhibition entitled *In Search of Treasures. Polish-Ukrainian Research at Koshary near Odessa* was opened at the National Museum in Kraków. This was followed by an international conference held on the next day at the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University: ПОНТИКА — PONTICA — ПОНТИКА.¹

Both events were the effect of cooperation between the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University and the Archaeological Museum of the National Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine in Odessa, a cooperation which started several years ago, in 1998. The joint archaeological Koshary Project was launched then and, more importantly, closer ties were established between the two institutions.

Some time ago, Jarosław Bodzek (a member of the Koshary Project, staff member not only of the Institute of Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University but also of the National Museum in Kraków, where he heads the Numismatic Room) and Krystyna Moczulska (then in charge of the Ancient Art Gallery at the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków) came up with the idea to organize an exhibition of antiquities from Odessa in our city. Our joint suggestion to have a photographic presentation of the excavations and an academic conference to go with it was a natural follow-up. The Odessa exhibition,² was organized as part

¹ E. Papuci-Władyka, M. Kania, *Nadczarnomorska konferencja*, „Alma Mater”, No. 81, 2006, 59-60.

² Cf. J. Bodzek, M. Woźniak, *Skarby znad Morza Czarnego*, „Alma Mater”, No. 81, 2006, 61-62; *Skarby znad Morza Czarnego. Złoto, rzeźba, ceramika z Muzeum Archeologicznego w Odessie / Treasures from the Black Sea. Gold, Sculpture, Pottery from the Archaeological Museum in Odessa* (Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie, marzec-czerwiec 2006 / Catalogue of the Exhibition at the National Museum in Kraków, March-June 2006), J. Bodzek (ed.), Kraków 2006.

of the Kraków Museum's ODESSA-KRAKÓW project. It was listed as one of the numerous cultural events designed to promote the Ukraine in Poland as part of the year-long program called "Year of the Ukraine in Poland" in 2005, which ran over from the preceding year into 2006. The official opening ceremony of the Odessa exhibition and the photo presentation took place on March 17 in the Main Building of the Kraków National Museum.³

Complementing the two exhibitions in the scientific sphere was a conference concerning the newest research in the Black Sea littoral. It took place on March 18 at the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University in Gołębia Street and it proved to be an excellent forum for exchanging ideas and presenting the results of work by several expeditions excavating in the region from Tyras in the Ukraine in the west to Tanais in Russia and the Georgian Pichvnari in the east. The conference was attended by the late Vladimir P. Vanchugov, Director of the Archaeological Museum in Odessa. It was hosted jointly by Jan Chochorowski, Director of the Jagiellonian University's Institute of Archaeology, and Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka, head of the Classical Archaeology Department at the Institute and co-director, with Evgeniia F. Redina, of the Koshary Project. Special guest Vassos Karageorghis, Director of the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation (Nicosia, Cyprus), presented the achievements of the Foundation in the promotion, conservation and organization of exhibitions of monuments of Cypriot and Greek culture throughout the world, the Odessa Museum included.

The PONTIKA conference brought important conclusions which are presented in these proceedings. The conference also demonstrated the role that Kraków can play as a meeting place between the East and West of Europe. Many promising contacts were made at the conference between representatives of various academic institutions and museums. By the same token, the one-day meeting organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology at the Jagiellonian proved to be an important event for researchers focusing on ancient cultures on the Black Sea.

The exhibition and conference would hardly have been the success it was without the contribution of the staff, doctoral candidates and students of the Faculty of History and the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University: Wojciech Machowski, Marta Kania, Grzegorz Łaczek, Aleksandra Kowal, Maciej Czech, Katarzyna Mirczak, Sylwia Stelmach and Anna Drzymuchowska, as well

³ Open until June 4, 2006; cf. Also E. Dziwisz, *Złoto, groby i uczeni*, „KRAKÓW”, czerwiec 2006, 74-75.

as Sławomir Chwałek, a graduate of our Institute. Jarosław Bodzek and Mateusz Woźniak of the Archaeological Institute and the National Museum operated as a natural connection between our two institutions.

Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

ABBREVIATIONS • СПИСОК СОКРАЩЕНИЙ

- „ACIMB” — „Annuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice: secția din Basarabia”
„CNA” — “Cronica numismatică și arheologică”
IOSPE² — B. Latyshev, Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini,
Ed. 2, Petropolis 1885-1916
„KSIA AN SSSR” — „Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR”
(see „КСИА АН УССР”)
„MSROA” — „Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego”
„MIA” — „Materialy i issledovania po arkheologii SSSR” (see „МИА”)
„NE” — “Numismatika i Epigrafika” (see “НЭ”)
„RGF” — „Römisch — Germanische Forschungen”
„VDI” — „Vestnik Drevnei Istorii” (see „ВДИ”)
- „АО” — „Археологические Открытия”
„АП УРСР” — „Археологічні пам’ятки УРСР”
„ВДИ” — „Вестник Древней Истории” (см. „ВДИ”)
„ЗООИД” — „Записки Одесского общества истории и древностей”
„КСИА АН УССР” — „Краткие сообщения Института археологии АН УССР”
(см. „KSIA AN SSSR”)
„МИА” — „Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР” (см. „МИА”)
“МАСП” — „Материалы по археологии Северного Причерноморья”
„НЭ” — “Нумизматика и эпиграфика” (см. „NE”)
ПГКСВП — Проблемы греческой колонизации Северного и Восточного
Причерноморья, Тбилиси
„СА” — „Советская археология”
СЗП-КЗДК — Северо-Западное Причерноморье — контактная зона древ-
них культур, Киев

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Kraków 2008



Jan Chochorowski

Kraków, Poland

Social aspects of sacred spatial organization of Koshary necropolis

[Pls. 1-6]

Among the most interesting characteristics of the settlement in Koshary* are issues of ethical and social framework of its population. It is especially a problem of identification (particularly ethno-cultural) of the “organizing” environment, which under certain conditions, influenced by prevailing factors, initiated the formation of the local society.¹ To evaluate such a phenomenon in a settlement like Koshary (chronologically late, small, more rural-urban than strictly urban) is much more complex than it is in the case of early Greek towns in the north-western part of the Black Sea coast,² for the two formed in completely different – more “distinct” – socio-political and cultural conditions.

The arrangement of sacred space in ancient necropoleis is by no means our last source of reflections in search of answers to this question. The layout of graves in relation to each other within the boundaries of the necropolis and their character may reflect some features of the social system and religious beliefs of the deceased (or rather their group consciousness), the ethnic composition of the society, and features subject to sacralization (and preservation in material and spatial structures) through magic and religious procedures related to burial rites.

In this context a situation observed in the part of the necropolis in Koshary which was excavated when I took part in the works of the expedition in the years 1998-2000

* All photos and drawings in this article by the author; digital visualizations by U. Bąk.

¹ In any case, it may have been a spontaneous process, not necessarily a fully conscious or controlled one.

² For conclusions regarding research on the group of sites in Koshary, see: Redina p.143-160.

(Plan 1) is certainly noteworthy. It happened so that the first object discovered there was a small barrow (object 55), in any case completely dug out. Despite the fact that it lacked a mound, the original outline was marked by a trench quite precisely surrounding the barrow in a circle measuring slightly over 8 meters in diameter (Fig 1, Pl. 1:1, 22:3). Two openings were made in the circle exactly opposite each other, passages of some sort –one in the east, the other in the west.³ The trench was a line of demarcation between the inside of the barrow (a highly sacred area due to the presence of a burial) and the rest of the necropolis. This element of barrow architecture is typical for Scythian graves in steppe and forest-steppe zones. An identical building pattern was discovered among others in the necropolis in Ryżanówka, undoubtedly contemporary to Koshary, if only because the Great Barrow of Ryżanówka is dated to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.⁴

Two niche graves were located in the centre of barrow No. 55. The larger and probably main one, with a stone barrier at the entrance to the niche, had unfortunately been entirely robbed (Pl. 1:2). A young individual was buried there (*Juvenis*), whose skeleton had been vandalized by robbers.⁵ Based on the distribution of bone remains we may, however, assume that the person buried here was placed with his head to the west, an orientation typical for a Scythian ethnic environment. A second burial, that of a child (*Infans I*) was located in a similar yet smaller tomb, with its head also pointing west (Fig. 2). The modest grave inventory consisted only of a damaged bronze bracelet with a serpent-like ending.⁶

The lack of inventory, especially in the main, robbed tomb, does not allow us to elaborate on its cultural characteristics and, possibly, the ethnic affiliation of the deceased. In this case, however, not the barrow itself is especially noteworthy, but the situation visible around it (Plan 2), that is a zone free of any graves measuring approximately 3-4 meters spreading on the outer side of the trench surrounding the barrow. A little further, a circle of graves is visible, as if concentrated around a centre of some sort, undoubtedly barrow No. 55 (Plan 2). It would therefore be the oldest object in this part of the cemetery that somehow initiated the process of its spatial development (organization).

³ A vast majority of remains of a mourning feast were found near the west passage, which is also quite characteristic.

⁴ This feature was characteristic not only for the Great Barrow of Ryżanówka (No. 4), but also for barrow No. 3 at that necropolis, dated to the 4th century B.C.; Chochorowski et al. 1998 b, 99-117; Skoryi 1998, 119-137; Chochorowski 2004, 447-464. See also: Chochorowski et al. 1998 a, 89-93.

⁵ For anthropological research on a series of skeletons from the Koshary necropolis, see Kaczanowski et al. in this volume.

⁶ A form known from the Scythian cultural environment, initially found mainly in forest-steppe zones, and in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. also in steppe zones (Petrenko 1978, 52-53, pl. 39; 1-18, 20-22).

JAN CHOCHOROWSKI

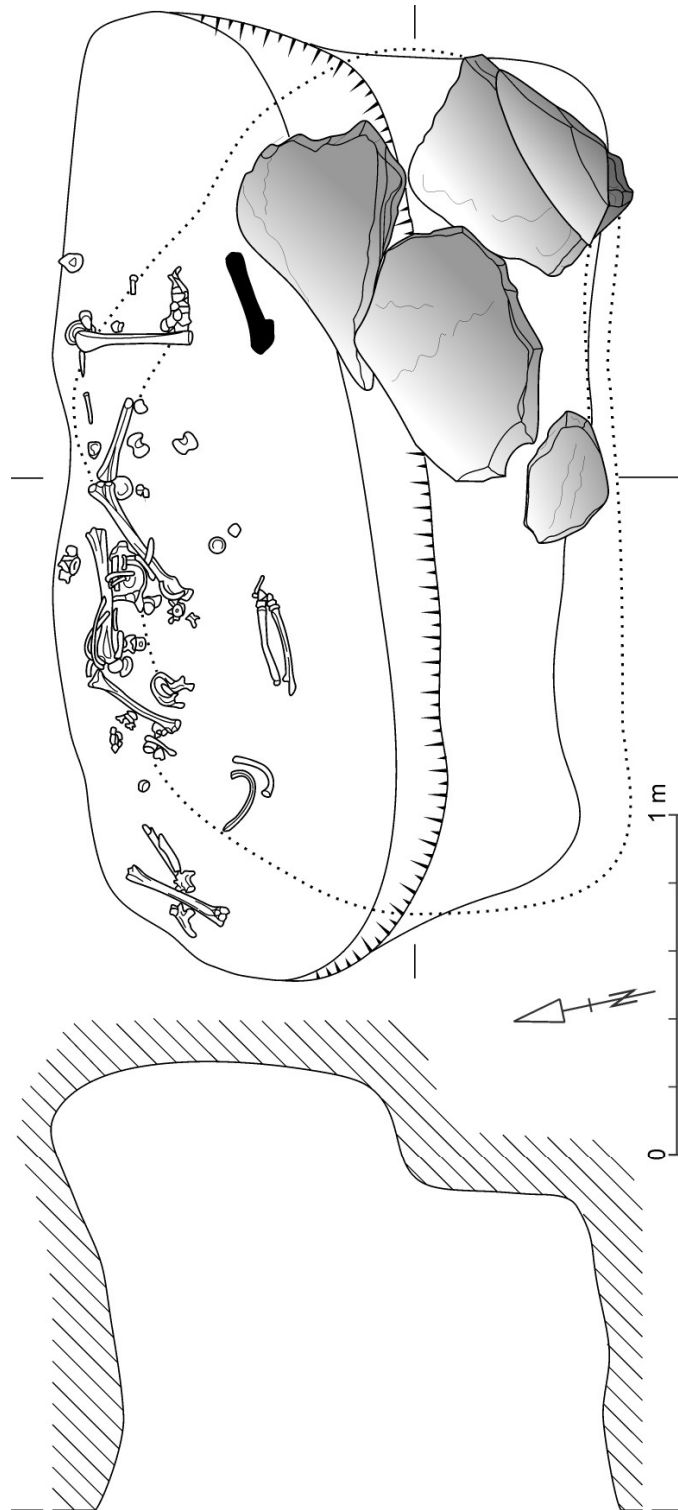


Fig. 1. Main tomb in barrow No. 55.

Theoretically, there are two possibilities that would explain this situation:

— either it was only imposed by the barrow mound visible in the landscape, which forced an interval, a sort of safe distance (for visitor comfort) in terms of space only, imposed by the morphology of the area; or

— we are dealing with a magical-ritual distance forced by the social status of the deceased, which after his death was transformed into a socio-religious status, appropriate in relation to a mythic forefather (“hero”). This status inclined some users of the necropolis to bury their deceased around the existing barrow.

It is therefore worth examining the structure of the entire group and the character of particular burials.

Most of those graves (27) form a quite regular circle of objects situated at a similar distance from the centre of barrow No. 55. Four other (54, 79, 80 and 122) seem spaced relative to the previous ones, located on the north-western side of the circle, while five further ones (107, 108, 109, 110 and 111) are on the southern side.⁷ Niche graves characteristic for Koshary necropolis dominate among objects concentrated in the circle, with niches on the N, NW or NE side of the entrance shafts.⁸ In three cases only, niches were situated on the SW (103, 116) or SE (44) side of the pit. In two graves the deceased were buried inside simple, shallow pits (69, 104). Grave No. 59, with a large chamber and an entry corridor, also differed from the standard.⁹

The preservation state of many tombs (robbery digs)¹⁰ does not always allow a closer characteristic of their contents, including burial form and equipment. An analysis of how the deceased were placed in relation to the four cardinal points seems especially important here, since orientation to the west is traditionally assigned to the Scythian, while to the east

⁷ Objects Nos. 86 and 87 (see Plan 1) are not connected with the Late Classical and Hellenistic necropolis. Objects Nos. 76, 88 and 144 (dark patches with little charcoals and crushed pottery fragments), on the other hand, are probably connected with some rituals (?) that took place in the necropolis.

⁸ The character of the grave group Nos. 77 and 78 is not entirely clear (although it is preserved very well). Basically, we may consider it a niche grave with a burial in the niche (No. 77), shifted somewhat asymmetrically in relation to the entry shaft. The outlines of the fills of both objects visible at the primary level (after surface soil has been removed) indicate that after some time a dig was made into the entry shaft and another body was interred alongside (No. 78). This conclusion is confirmed by a disturbed stone barrier closing the niche containing burial site No. 77. Theoretically, we cannot rule out that we are dealing with two pit graves dug into each another. However, the considerable depth of the object (125-135 cm from the primary level) contradicts this theory, since other pit graves in the Koshary necropolis are approximately half that deep.

⁹ Unfortunately, the preservation of this grave (vandalized by robbers) does not allow a detailed characteristic.

¹⁰ Among 33 niche graves around barrows Nos. 55, 15 had been vandalized by robbers or the preservation of bone remains does not allow determining what the position of the skeleton was.

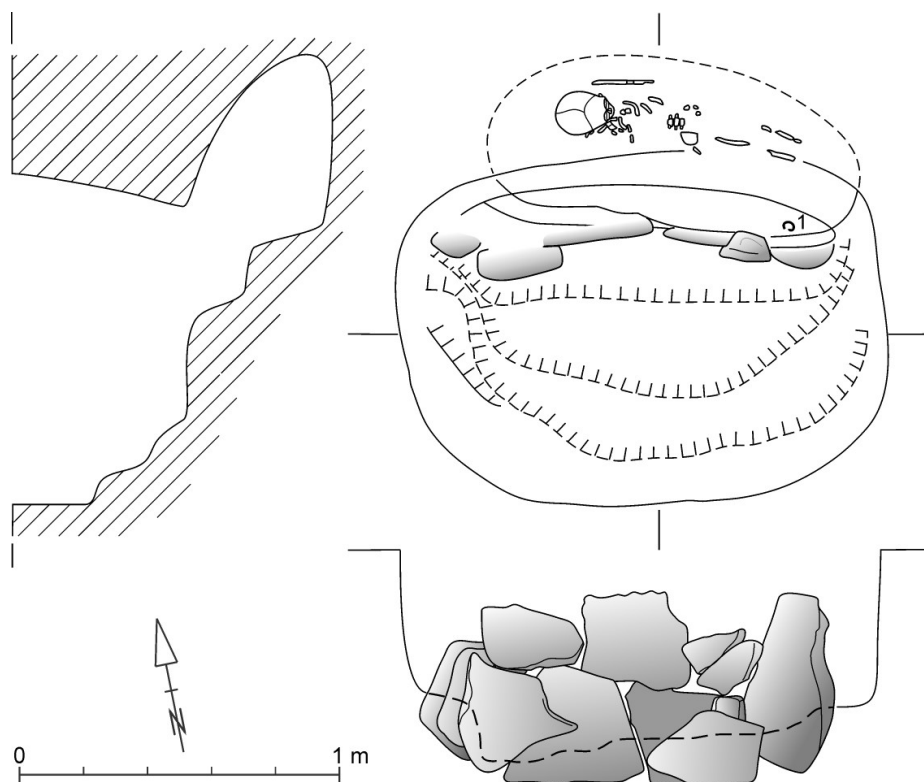


Fig. 2. "Side"(accompanying) tomb of barrow No. 55.

– to the Greek ethnic environment. In the case of 19 niche graves where it was possible to determine what the burial orientation was, in 7 cases the deceased was placed with his head to the west and in 12 – to the east. Burials in pit graves are also oriented to the west.¹¹

The anthropological structure of the remains buried around barrow No. 55 (Specification 1)¹² is also interesting in the context of the above discussion. In the analyzed circle, 22 adult individuals were buried (including 11 females and 11 males) along with 15 children, mainly at the age of *Infans I*.¹³ Anthropological analysis does not include remains from graves Nos. 59, 68, 80, 103, 104, 115, 120 and 122; however, by all indications, graves Nos. 68, 80, 103 and 115 contained children remains, while adults were buried in graves

¹¹ Niche grave No. 62 is thoroughly unusual. A woman and child were buried in the niche with their heads to the east, further three adult individuals were found in the entry shaft, all decapitated, and in one case also limbless. Two of them (a male + an individual of unidentified sex) were placed with their heads pointing east, while another woman with her head to the west.

¹² The author would like to thank Krzysztof Kaczanowski and Andrzej Kosydarski for providing results of their anthropological analysis for the purpose of this article.

¹³ Two were buried in grave No. 81 and three in grave No. 84.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SACRED SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF KOSHARY NECROPOLIS

Grave 55A	— ?	— Juvenis
Grave 55B	— ?	— Infans I
Grave 44	— ?	— Infans I
Grave 45	— ♂?	— Adultus
Grave 53	— ♀	— Adultus?
Grave 57	— ♂	— Maturus/Senilis
Grave 59	— ?	— ?
Grave 61	— ♂	— Senilis (Maturus/Senilis)
Grave 62	— ♀	— Ad.+?—Inf. I+?—Ad.+♂—Ad.+♀?—Juv/Ad.
Grave 65	— ♀?	— Juvenis
Grave 68	— ?	— ?
Grave 69	— ♀	— Adultus
Grave 77	— ♀?	— Juvenis/Adultus
Grave 78	— ♀	— Adultus
Grave 81	— ?	— (3 children)
Grave 82	— ?	— Infans I
Grave 83	— ♀	— Adultus
Grave 84	— ?	— Infans I (2 children)
Grave 85	— ♂	— Maturus/Senilis
Grave 103	— ?	— ?
Grave 104	— ?	— ?
Grave 112	— ♂	— Maturus
Grave 115	— ?	— ?
Grave 116	— ?	— Infans I + ♂ — Adultus
Grave 117	— ♂	— Adultus
Grave 118	— ♀	— Adultus
Grave 119	— ?	— Infans II (9—12 years old)
Grave 120	— NN	
Grave 121	— ?	— Infans I
Grave 54	— ♂	— Adultus
Grave 79	— ♂	— Maturus/Senilis
Grave 80	— NN	
Grave 122	— NN	
Grave 107	— ♂	— Adultus
Grave 108	— ♀	— Maturus
Grave 109	— ?	— Infans I + ? — Infans I
Grave 110	— ?	— Infans I
Grave 111	— ♀	— Infans II/Juvenis

Specification 1. Anthropological analysis results for burials from barrow No. 55 and graves around that barrow.

Nos. 59, 104, 120 and 122.¹⁴ Therefore, in adult individuals, proportions between both sexes are more or less equal and the percentage of child burials is around 40%.¹⁵ The size of the researched series was too small to allow a precise statistical age structure analysis, yet data from anthropological analyses also suggest (Specification 1) that it is close to “natural,” characteristic of an average live population. We may therefore have the impression that the anthropological structure of the analyzed bone remains series is equivalent to the biological structure of a living population linked by certain social ties. The character of those ties is hard to define, although we may not rule out a possibility that those ties resulted from a sense of membership (either genuine or formal¹⁶) to a kin group.¹⁷

This is not the place for a full and penetrating cultural characteristic of burials that are part of the circle around barrow No. 55. It is, however, worth mentioning a few grave groups, at least as examples, with particular attention to burial rites and the character of equipment. In some sense, those objects are representative for the population in question.¹⁸

Grave No. 111 of a young female at the age of *Infans II/Juvenis* is undoubtedly intriguing in this context (Fig. 3, Pl. 1:3). The deceased was placed with her head to the east, on a bed lined with grass and covered with a felt cloth, in a niche lined with reed. She was wearing an ornamental dress (remains of decomposed fabric are visible especially along arm bones) and a set of decorative jewellery. It consists of silver earrings shaped as heads, perhaps of Demeter, with bronze hooks to hang them at the temples, a number of grass beads on the neck, six bronze rings on the left hand fingers and two on the right. Remains of leather shoes were identified near her feet. A wooden tray with a piece of meat and an iron knife with a bone handle (Pl. 2:1) driven into it were left at the bed head (a roll of grass), which was customary practice among steppe nomads.¹⁹ A set of Greek pottery was deposited next to the tray (an Athenian squat *lekythos* with red figure palmette, a jar, probably Olbian, an Athenian black glaze thin-walled cup – a *skyphos* – and a saltcellar²⁰), along with two ordinary hand-modeled bowls. Four bronze circles

¹⁴ Graves Nos. 59, 120 and 122 have been vandalized by robbers, but their form and dimensions suggest adult burials.

¹⁵ The percentage of child burials is slightly lower than usually expected, which may have been caused by better living conditions of the inhabitants of the settlement.

¹⁶ For instance, in the case of social adoptions or exogamous marriages.

¹⁷ Genetic research aimed to search for connections between the deceased buried in the circle around barrow No. 55 could have been conclusive in the analyzed situation.

¹⁸ In this case, it only makes sense to analyze groups that have not been vandalized by robbers.

¹⁹ See e.g.: Skoryi 2003, 46.

²⁰ Dated to ca. 375-350 B.C.; see: Papuci-Władyka et. al. forthcoming. The author would like to thank Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka for providing information regarding Greek pottery dating.

with tapered endings (earrings?) were placed next to the vessels. Unusually, a leather quiver with nine arrows tipped with bronze arrowheads of the Scythian type was placed to the right of the shoulder and head of the deceased. It is impossible to determine whether in this case the quiver should be considered as a sign of prestige or a feature typical for burials of “amazons,” that is female graves containing weapons characteristic for the Scythian and Sauromathian environment (Smirnov 1964, 200-202; Fialko 1991, 4-18; see also: Simonenko 1993, 105).

Grave No. 107 is also undoubtedly extraordinary (Fig. 4). It contains the body of a strongly built male at the age of *Adultus* (more precisely around 30 years old) placed on his back with the head to the east in a large niche sealed with a solid barrier of stone slabs (Pl. 2:2). The deceased was also lying on a bed of grass, covered with a felt cloth, and had been given a spear measuring about 2m in length, with an iron spearhead (over 40 cm long) and a ferrule at the other end of the shaft, which was placed at his right side (Pl. 2:3). A quiver containing 67 with bronze-tipped arrows of the Scythian type was placed at his left thigh,²¹ in a position typical for steppe warrior-archers (Pl. 3:1). An amphora²² was deposited behind the man's head along with a wooden tray with a piece of meat and an iron knife with a bone handle as well as four astragals (“dice”) and a set of Athenian pottery: a squat *lekythos* with a red-figure palmette,²³ a black glaze molded-rim *kantharos*²⁴ and a bowl (“saltcellar”) made from the bottom of a larger vessel (Pl. 3:2). The warrior died after he had been shot in his left eye, an arrow with a bronze arrowhead went exactly through his eye-socket into the brain and was stuck in the back of the skull, going right through the bone. It is yet more unusual that most probably the deceased had his ankles crossed and tied. Vertical brown discolorations are visible where his legs were crossed, above the ankles and slightly higher, on his shanks; presumably remains of leather straps keeping the legs together. What is most intriguing, however, is that the custom of binding the deceased is known from later Sarmatian burials (from the 2nd century B.C.) in the Black Sea region, the bodies also sometimes placed with their heads to the east (Simonenko 1993, Fig. 4; 3A, p. 20, Fig. 11; 1A, p. 40, Fig. 23; 2B, p. 96). The warrior burial in grave No. 107 may therefore contribute to a discussion (inspired by a note in Diodorus Siculus) on the Sarmatian infiltration into Scythian lands on the Black Sea coast as early as the second half of the 4th century B.C.

²¹ It has mostly been dragged away by rodents (along their burrows), but a part was preserved in situ (Pl. 2:3).

²² From Thasos (or related); see Papuci-Władyka, Kokorzhitskaia 2004, 322, Fig. 14.

²³ Dated to ca. 375-350 B.C., *ibid.*

²⁴ Dated to the same period; see: Papuci-Władyka et al. forthcoming.

(Machinskii 1971, 30-54; Polin 1984, 24-34; Polin, Simonenko 1990, 76-95), which is difficult to confirm by archaeological evidence (Simonenko 1993, 104-105). Grave No. 107 was carbon-dated (Ki-8775, 2300±70 B.P., 308±89 B.C.),²⁵ while the set of arrowheads from the warrior's quiver represents forms typical for the 4th-3rd century B.C.²⁶ The above-cited pottery dates the grave at 375-350 B.C. or slightly later. If we assume the pottery was used for a long period of time before being placed in the grave, it is more or less convergent with the radiocarbon dating.²⁷

Right next to grave No. 107, another burial place was located (No. 108), this time of a woman at the age of *Maturus* (around 40 years old). On the surface, it is quite typical (Fig. 5, Pl. 3:3, 23:1), but it is equally intriguing as the above objects, due to some features of the burial rite. The deceased was placed on her back, but with her head to the west, and usual equipment was left at her bed head: an amphora,²⁸ a tray with a piece of meat and, as in other cases, a cutting knife, a black glaze bowl – *cup-kantharos*, a small grey ware wheel-made vessel²⁹ and two clay whorls (Pl. 4:1). The latter may be considered a symbolic indicator of sex in burial inventories. The interesting fact is that the stone barrier at the feet of the deceased was visibly damaged and her leg bones, from the knees down, were scattered and incomplete. Such damage was not typical for robber intrusions. Most probably, the grave had been opened for some reason (ritual?) and later closed again. Besides, numerous fragments of a broken amphora were discovered in the disturbed part of the fill. It is also very intriguing that, according to anthropologists,³⁰ although the lower part of the skeleton had been disturbed, the arrangement of foot bones suggests that the legs of the deceased had once been crossed and tied. Is there some connection between this burial and the warrior burial from grave No. 107 (?),³¹ and if so, why was it oriented differently in relation to the cardinal points? In this case, we also need to point out that her leg muscle entheses are well developed, which indicates strong lower limb musculature.

²⁵ Radiocarbon analysis of bone material from the Koshary necropolis was performed by N.N. Kovaliuch and V.V. Skripkin of the Kiev laboratory.

²⁶ The problematic dating of the arrowhead set from this part of the Koshary necropolis will be discussed separately.

²⁷ Repeatedly in the case of many carbon-dated burials, their pottery dating is older, which merits a thought. In those cases, we need to either assume a so-called “long” chronology of Greek handicraft in this environment or a systematic error in radiocarbon dating in relation to archaeological dating, resulting from the nature of this method.

²⁸ From Heraclea Pontic, type II; see Papuci-Władyka, *Kokorzhitskaia* 2004, 319.

²⁹ For gray ware pottery from Koshary, see: A. Kowal, p.75-94.

³⁰ An opinion expressed by Krzysztof Kaczanowski and Andrzej Kosydarski.

³¹ Grave No. 108 was carbon-dated at 14C = 2245±70 B.P., 284±80 B.C. (Ki-8775), while the above-mentioned *cup-kantharos* is dated at ca. 350 B.C.; see: Papuci-Władyka et al. forthcoming.

If we consider a similar practice, grave No. 81 containing the remains of three children is also quite interesting (Pl. 4:2).³² To inter the body of the last child, the grave had been opened and “tidied” by pushing deeper into the niche the remains of two previously deceased children (little more than the skulls were preserved) as well as their equipment (at one of the skulls a *kantharos*,³³ a squat *lekythos*, two bronze bracelets and two astragals; at the other skull – two wheel-made grey ware cups and a little black-glaze bowl³⁴) (Pl. 4:3). Yet it is impossible to determine whether the two children were buried simultaneously or one at a time. The third child was placed at the entrance to the niche with its head to the east and was given another grey ware jug, a set of astragals, originally probably in some sort of organic container (bag?) and a bead. Doubtless, at the time the third child was being buried the bodies of the previously interred children had already decomposed completely. The knowledge of where that grave was located and what it contained was not gone, however. The children died within a certain time period and were probably somehow connected (siblings?). Despite the fact that this grave has not been robbed, its stone barrier was only fragmentarily preserved because of the events described above. The rich appointments of those child burials are also noteworthy and confirm their high social status and, most probably, their low age level of initiation.

Traces of repeated opening and reuse are also visible in the case of grave No. 109 containing the remains of two children, the older of which was around 7 years old, while the younger from 18 months to 2 years old (that is *Infans I*). (Fig. 7, Pl. 5:1) It is not easy to determine in what order their bodies were interred, but since a wall barrier closing the niche was only slightly damaged, we may assume that the younger (smaller) child was buried later. The body of the older child was placed closer to the entrance to the niche, with its head to the west, and the younger one lay on its left, probably similarly orientated.³⁵ The right-hand wrist of the older child was adorned with a bronze bracelet; the child probably also owned of a bead necklace, now spread all over the niche by rodents. A grey ware plate with a piece of meat was placed at his feet and a grey wheel-made jug at his right hand (Pl. 5:2). Placed behind the child's head were a small biconical cup, a “saltcellar” made from the bottom of a *kantharos*, and a whitewashed terracotta figurine, probably depicting a sitting Demeter (Pl. 6:1).

³² In this case we lack a detailed anthropological analysis.

³³ Molded rim *kantharos* dated at ca. 375-350 B.C.: see: Papuci-Władyka et. al. forthcoming; in this case radiocarbon dating is approximately consistent with this date; 2350±50 B.P., 374±129 B.C. (Ki – 7428).

³⁴ Dated similarly to the *kantharos*, *ibid.*

³⁵ The skeleton of the younger child was preserved poorly.

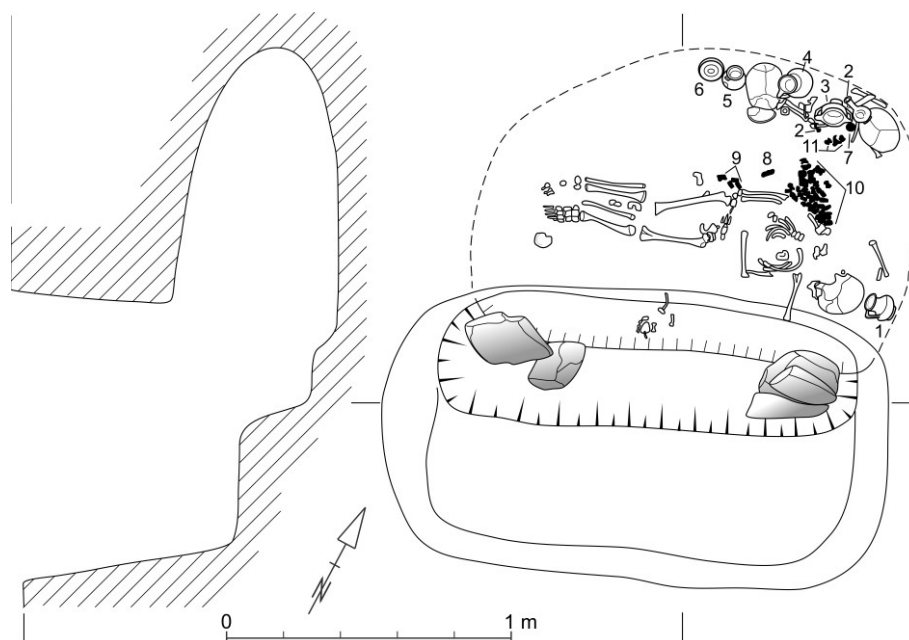


Fig. 6. Grave No. 81.

Furthermore, a conical lead whorl was discovered on the left side, at the child's ankle. If we treat it as an indicator of sex, the older child may be considered a girl. Perhaps arrowheads discovered together with amphora fragments (?) in the upper part of the fill are the remains of a mourning feast connected with the secondary burial interred in the tomb. In this case, we may treat them as a sex indicator for the second child, therefore a boy. It is also notable that among the rocks used to close the niche were some polished sandstone slabs. Probably the material had been reused, coming from some damaged building in the village. By the time this body was buried, a part of the village's infrastructure had been ruined.³⁶

When architecture is considered, object No. 119 stands out in the discussed circle of graves (Fig. 8, Pl.6:2). The body of a young individual at the age of *Infans II* (9-12 years old) was placed, head pointing north-east, in a niche closed with a barrier of blocks made of clay with an addition of organic substances. On the surface, a stone stele dug into the ground above the niche marked the grave. Stone stelae in and around Olbia necropolis are typical for burial sites of members of the Greek ethnic super-stratum (Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 63-64). Two bronze arrowheads were found among chest

³⁶ It is not a singular case in this necropolis. This observation may be an important chronological indicator when an ultimate interpretation of its planigraphy is done.

bones, partially dragged away by rodents. A grey ware wheel-made plate with a piece of meat and a knife on it and a black glaze kantharos were placed behind the head of the deceased, while an amphora was positioned at his feet.³⁷

Although the groups discussed above may be considered typical for the circle of graves we are interested in, it is not easy to define clearly what their cultural characteristics are. If we consider architecture, the discussed series of graves is extraordinarily uniform. Niche graves in and near Greek Black Sea colonies are basically considered an element of cultural behavior of the colonists settling there.³⁸ We need to stress, however, that they do not appear until the second half of the 6th century B.C. and are rather rare in the Archaic period.³⁹ As time passed, they became common in the Classical and Hellenistic periods,⁴⁰ although at that time, e.g. in the Olbian necropolis, more common are niche graves with niches closed by barriers of clay blocks (Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 16). In addition, stone barriers at Koshary were constructed of diagonally arranged slabs rather than dry walls closing entrances to the niches (Parovich-Peshikan 1974, Figs. 7, 9). The peculiar feature of niche graves in the Koshary necropolis is that the niche was commonly dug below the entrance shaft level, which created a step at the bottom of the pit.⁴¹ Perhaps it is a feature of younger objects of this type in Olbia and its *chora* dating to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. (?).⁴²

Little can be said about the ethno-cultural affiliation of burial places in simple pits (graves Nos. 69, 104) because such solutions are quite universal. On the other hand, catacomb grave No. 59 seems to represent a form characteristic for type 2 of Scythian

³⁷ The molded rim *kantharos* is dated at ca. 375-350 B.C.; see: Papuci-Władyka et al. forthcoming; the amphora is close to Heraclea Pontic type I A, it bears a stamp of producer Ariston and magistrate Karakidas, and is dated at ca. 360-350 B.C.; see: Papuci-Władyka, *Kokorzhitskaia* 2004, 318, Fig. 9. In this case, radiocarbon dating is visibly younger from the mentioned dating: 2205±70 B.P., 261±91 B.C. (Ki – 8783).

³⁸ Kozub 1987, 27, 33-34. However, potential influence by the local (Scythian) background has been discussed in literature; see: Kozub 1987, 27, 33-34. Similarities to catacomb graves may be the case, typical for the Scythian (Iranian) nomadic life. Against the opinion of J.I. Kozub (Kozub 1987, 33), they were popular as early as the 5th century B.C. and are one of the most important indicators of Scythian nomads' expansiveness (see e.g.: Skoryi, 1993-1994, 161-162). Scythian influence on the final form of niche graves known from Olbia is also accepted by M. Parovich-Peshikan (see: Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 19). It is an important point in the discussion on the ethnic context of this grave form that the appearance of niche graves in Thracian environment (e.g. Branichevko near Varna) is considered a sign of Thracian-Scythian intergroup relations (marital exchange). See: Dremsizova 1958, pp. 455-456

³⁹ They are not present e.g. in Berezan: Kozub 1987, 33-34; Skudnova 1988, 7.

⁴⁰ The highest frequency of niche graves in the Olbian necropolis falls at the end of the 4th - beginning of the 3rd century B.C.: Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 14-19; Kozub 1987, 33; Skudnova 1988, 7.

⁴¹ In Olbia and its surroundings, niche graves without a characteristic step are more common; see: Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 15.

⁴² The lack of characteristic steps in Olbian niche graves was also pointed out by Ol'khovskii (1974, 115); see also: Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 15; Kozub 1987, 33.

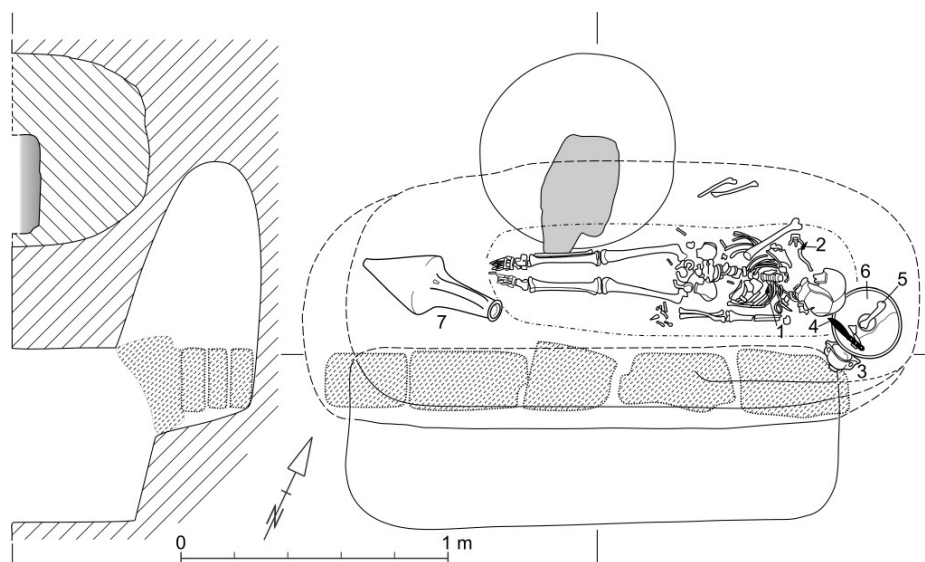


Fig. 8. Grave No. 119.

catacombs according to V.S. Ol'khovskii (Ol'khovskii 1977, 112, Fig. 2), although the state of preservation does not allow a detailed description. Catacomb graves are considered typical for the Scythian environment, particularly in the steppes, as early as the 7th century B.C., although they are most widespread during the 4th century (Ol'khovskii 1977, 110 [map] and 124; see also: Ol'khovskii 1978, 83 [table]). The appearance of such graves in other regions may even help mark out the scale and directions of Scythian ethnic expansion. (Skoryi 1993-94, 151-162).

If we consider the orientation of burial sites in relation to the cardinal points, orientation to the east dominates in the necropolis, which is typical for the Greek Olbian necropolis during the archaic period (Skudnova 1988, 8). Orientation to the west is, on the other hand, an immanent feature of burial rites in the Scythian ethnic environment (see e.g.: Ol'khovskii 1977, 122, Table 2) which shows an astral aspect of beliefs regarding posthumous fortunes of the deceased. An equalization of proportions between those variants on the necropoleis of Greek colonies on the north-western Black Sea coast and surrounding territories (Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 55-56) undoubtedly results from the formation of a new, Greek-barbaric (Scythian) society. A Scythian origin (or rather a steppe-nomadic one) should also be attributed to the custom of providing the deceased in the necropoleis of Olbia and its *chora* with consumer gifts (at Koshary mainly pieces of mutton) as well as lining the graves with a bed of grass (reed) covered with a felt cloth (see: Parovich-Peshikan 1974, 59-62).

The model of material culture defined through the lens of tomb inventories in the described grave circle leaves no doubt about its syncretic character. Inhabitants of the Koshary settlement were representatives of a society going through a process of uniformization, characteristic for the Greek Late Classical and Hellenistic culture (e.g. considering pottery), which simultaneously adapted local material cultural elements that to some extent were technologically or functionally attractive. This may be true in the case of Scythian-type armament, as a matter of fact only represented by archer's weapons (quiver, arrows). It is also possible that they played a role of prestige indicators. At the same time, some elements of funerary equipment were also attributes of sex of the deceased (e.g. arrowheads, *kantharoi* for males; jugs, whorls, beads for females).

It would be equally intriguing to determine the chronological framework of graves concentrated around barrow No. 55 and the inner structure of their dating as their ethno-cultural characteristics. Unfortunately, we do not have research tools precise enough to solve this problem. Incomplete grave inventories as well as long time frames of most of the archaeological finds do not make this task any simpler. We do have 23 radiocarbon dates from 17 graves in the analyzed group (Specification 2);⁴³ however, in relation to the discussed period those designations may only be treated as approximate. This is the result of the nature of the dating method itself, as well as of the narrow time frame of the researched phenomenon that is equal, roughly, to the value of standard error. Therefore, if we discard the three dates falling in the 6th century B.C. as completely unreliable,⁴⁴ the period of time between the oldest (374 ± 129 B.C.) and youngest (253 ± 98 B.C.) designations for this group of graves is 121 years.⁴⁵

A considerable part of the radiocarbon dates fall around the turn of 3rd century B.C. Such a picture of the time frame for the analyzed grave group, in the context of our knowledge of the dating of the entire Koshary site, does not seem faulty (Redina, Chochorowski 2001, 143; Chochorowski et al. 2000, 187, 191, 201; Chochorowski et al. 2004, 247, 252-253, 264-265).

⁴³ The size of this article is insufficient for an evaluation of the structure and credibility of those designations, especially in the context of whether the method is adequate for protohistoric periods. It will be published elsewhere.

⁴⁴ Resulting among others from the fluctuation of radioactive carbon content in the atmosphere in the period of 400-200 B.C. and equivocal calibration designations. Proof that in the case of the Koshary necropolis radiocarbon dating at the 6th century is unreliable is for instance the date obtained for grave No. 112 (524 ± 165 B.C.), since a series of 12 arrowheads were discovered inside that certainly date to the 4th-3rd century B.C.

⁴⁵ For clarity of argument, the author uses the so-called point dates (see Specification 2). Full data regarding those and other radiocarbon dates for the part of the Koshary necropolis researched during 1998-2000 will be published elsewhere.

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Grave 69	Ki-8764	2260±70	293±78
<i>Grave 77</i>	<i>Ki-7437</i>	<i>2370±50</i>	<i>526±147</i>
Grave 77	Ki-8768	2340±70	363±146
Grave 78	Ki-8769	2290±70	306±84
Grave 78	Ki-8823	2330±70	308±89
<i>Grave 78</i>	<i>Ki-8832</i>	<i>2400±80</i>	<i>546±146</i>
<u>Grave 81</u>	<u>Ki-7428</u>	<u>2350±50</u>	<u>374±129</u>
<i>Grave 83</i>	<i>Ki-7425</i>	<i>2390±55</i>	<i>536±141</i>
Grave 83	Ki-8770	2245±65	288±76
Grave 85	Ki-8771	2330±70	340±133
Grave 104	Ki-7430	2320±50	333±74
Grave 107	Ki-8775	2300±70	308±89
Grave 108	Ki-8776	2245±70	284±80
Grave 109	Ki-8777	2330±70	279±82
Grave 111	Ki-8778	2310±70	311±96
<i>Grave 112</i>	<i>Ki-8779</i>	<i>2360±70</i>	<i>524±165</i>
Grave 116	Ki-8780	2305±60	319±76
Grave 116	Ki-8824	2290±70	306±84
Grave 116	Ki-8835	2280±70	302±79
Grave 117	Ki-8781	2275±65	307±75
Grave 118	Ki-8782	2255±70	288±79
<u>Grave 118</u>	<u>Ki-8836</u>	<u>2190±70</u>	<u>253±98</u>
Grave 119	Ki-8783	2205±70	261±91

Specification 2. Radiocarbon dating of graves around barrow No. 55 (Oldest and newest underlined, 6th – century B.C. dates in italics).

The question therefore arises whether it reliably defines the time span during which the population functioned that buried their dead around barrow no. 55. Even if the available dates do not precisely establish a chronological framework of this period, they still confirm that the area around barrow No. 55 was used continuously and successively by a theoretically distinct population during that entire period. This would mean that during that period the population retained a sense of self-identity and constituted a firm social structure among the users of the necropolis.

To sum up the above remarks, we may state that the grave circle surrounding barrow No. 55 may represent a social group with a "natural" anthropological (biological) structure that functioned during the entire period during which the Koshary necropolis was in use. It was perhaps bound by a sense of belonging to a kin group extending to outsiders by marriage or other social adoption procedures. The group is characterized by the distinct social roles of males and females as well as by high social prestige and considerably lower age limit for child initiation. Thus hypothetically distinguished, the community may have derived from an environment that professed certain cultural principles typical for Scythian ethnic groups. During its society-building process, the community that used the Koshary necropolis and settlement was subject to a strong pressure from the Greek cultural model characterized by its unifying qualities. We may not rule out that individuals from outside of the groups dominating the north-western Black Sea coast at that time (e.g. Sauromatian-Sarmatian environments) also appeared there and were included in local social structures.

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**Социальные аспекты организации сакрального пространства
Кошарского некрополя**

Резюме

К числу наиболее важных проблем, связанных с Кошарским поселением, относится определение социального и этнического состава его населения. Такого рода вопросы на материалах аналогичных памятников могут решаться только комплексно, и в рамках отдельно взятого поселения. Определение этнического состава жителей проживающих в различных по типам сельских поселениях, иногда с чертами городской планировки, для периода IУ-III вв., намного сложнее, чем для греческих городских центров, основной состав которых формировался значительно раньше и в совсем других условиях. Поэтому, вопрос идентификации организующей среды (этнической, социальной), которая в определенных условиях, под влиянием каких-либо факторов предопределяла создание нового общества и в частности применительно к Кошарскому античному комплексу очень актуален.

В этой связи, одним из наиболее емких источников являются античные некрополи и организация их сакрального пространства. Расположение могил относительно друг к другу, в рамках любого некрополя, может отражать определённые черты социальных и кровно родственных отношений, единство или отличие этнического состава, разнообразие религиозных убеждений, и пр., а также выделение определенных участков, которые подвергнуты сакрализации ритуально-магическими процедурами.

В данном контексте особое внимание привлекает ситуация, зафиксированная на территории Кошарского некрополя в 1998-2000 гг., во время моего участия в исследованиях Кошарской экспедиции. Одним из первых объектов, который был исследован в полевом сезоне 1998 года, был курган № 55. Насыпь кургана не сохранилась, из-за современной активной хозяйственной деятельности. Характерными чертами этого погребального объекта явился кольцевой ров с двумя перемычками с восточной и западной стороны (точно на одной линии), и концентрация остатков тризны – как правило – у западной перемычки. В центре кургана находились два подбойных захоронения, центральное – с каменным закладом, к сожалению полностью ограбленное. По расположению останков костей погребенного, можно предположить, что он лежал головой на запад. Второе захоронение, ребёнка, смещено к северу, и также совершено в западном направлении. Скромный инвентарь этого погребения представлен бронзовым браслетом, который имел окончание в виде змеиной головки. При общем анализе данного комплекса можно утвердительно говорить, что курган имел черты типичные для скифской культуры.

Однако интерес вызывает не столько сам курган, сколько обстановка вокруг него. В результате работ 1998-2000 гг. была исследована территория могильника, примы-

каюшая вплотную к данному кургану. В результате мы получили ситуационный план расположения погребений вокруг кургана 55. За пределами кургана, ограниченного рвом, на расстоянии около 3-4 метров, располагалась зона свободного пространства, за которой фиксировался круг захоронений, как бы тяготеющих к определенному центру, которым и являлся курган 55.

Объяснение сложившейся ситуации может быть обосновано: во первых – сооружением кургана, конструкция насыпи которого предполагала соблюдение определенного расстояния для последующих погребений; во-вторых – выделением определенной сакральной территории кургана, регламентирующей религиозно-ритуальную дистанцию, которая определялась фактическим социальным статусом покойника при жизни, который после смерти принял иной статус например: родоначальника (мифического предка), или даже мифического героя.

В составе 36 захоронений, окружающих курган, представлены практически все виды погребальных сооружений, типичных для Кошарского некрополи. Анализ их культурных и хронологических черт побуждает к мнению, что более вероятно второе предложенное предположение.

