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Greek cities on the western coast of the Black Sea: Orgame, Histria, Tomis, and Kallatis (7th to 1st century BCE)

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**Greek cities on the western coast of the Black Sea:
Orgame, Histria, Tomis, and Kallatis
(7th to 1st century BCE)**

by

Smaranda Andrews

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Agricultural History and Rural Studies

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Iowa State University

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2010

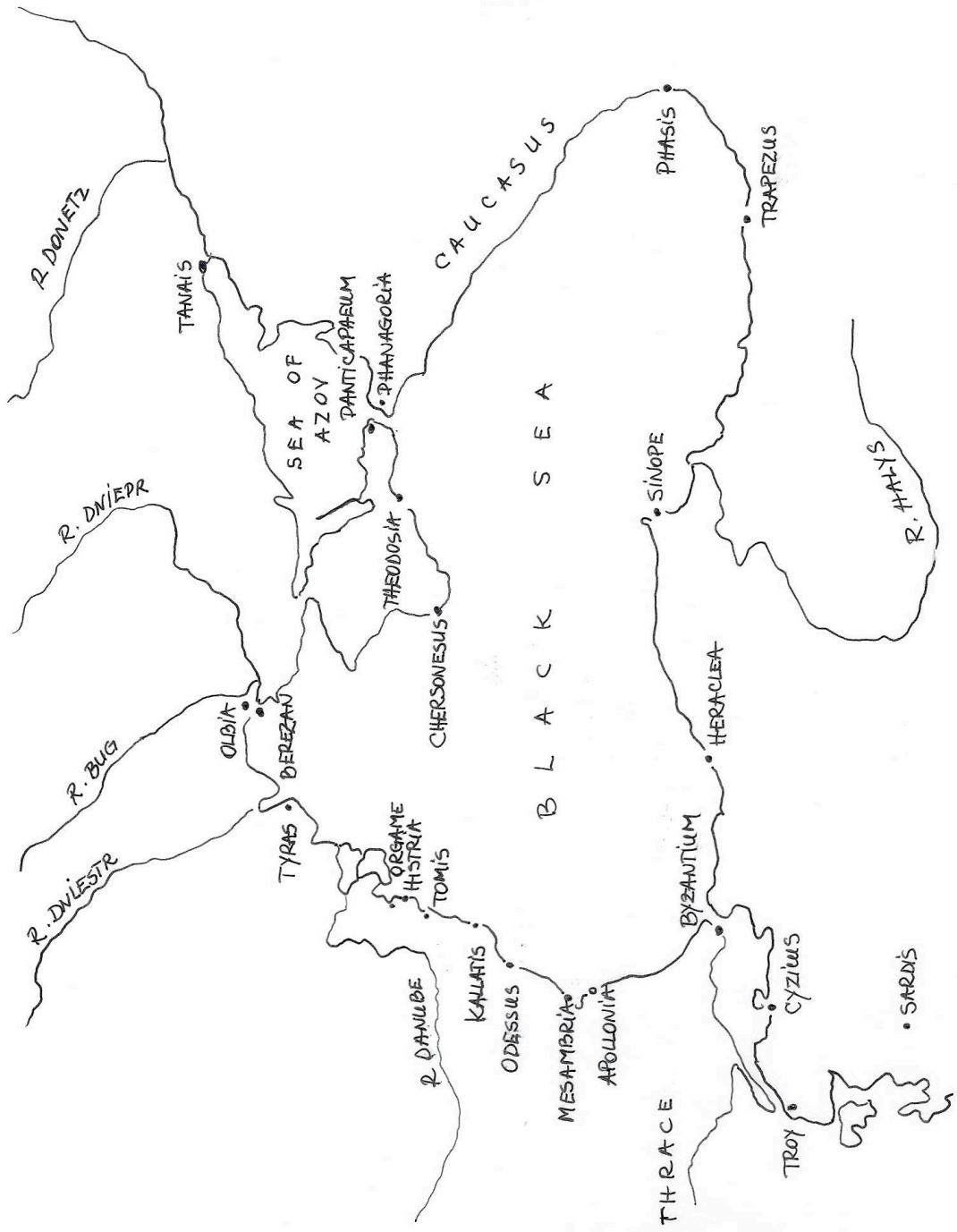
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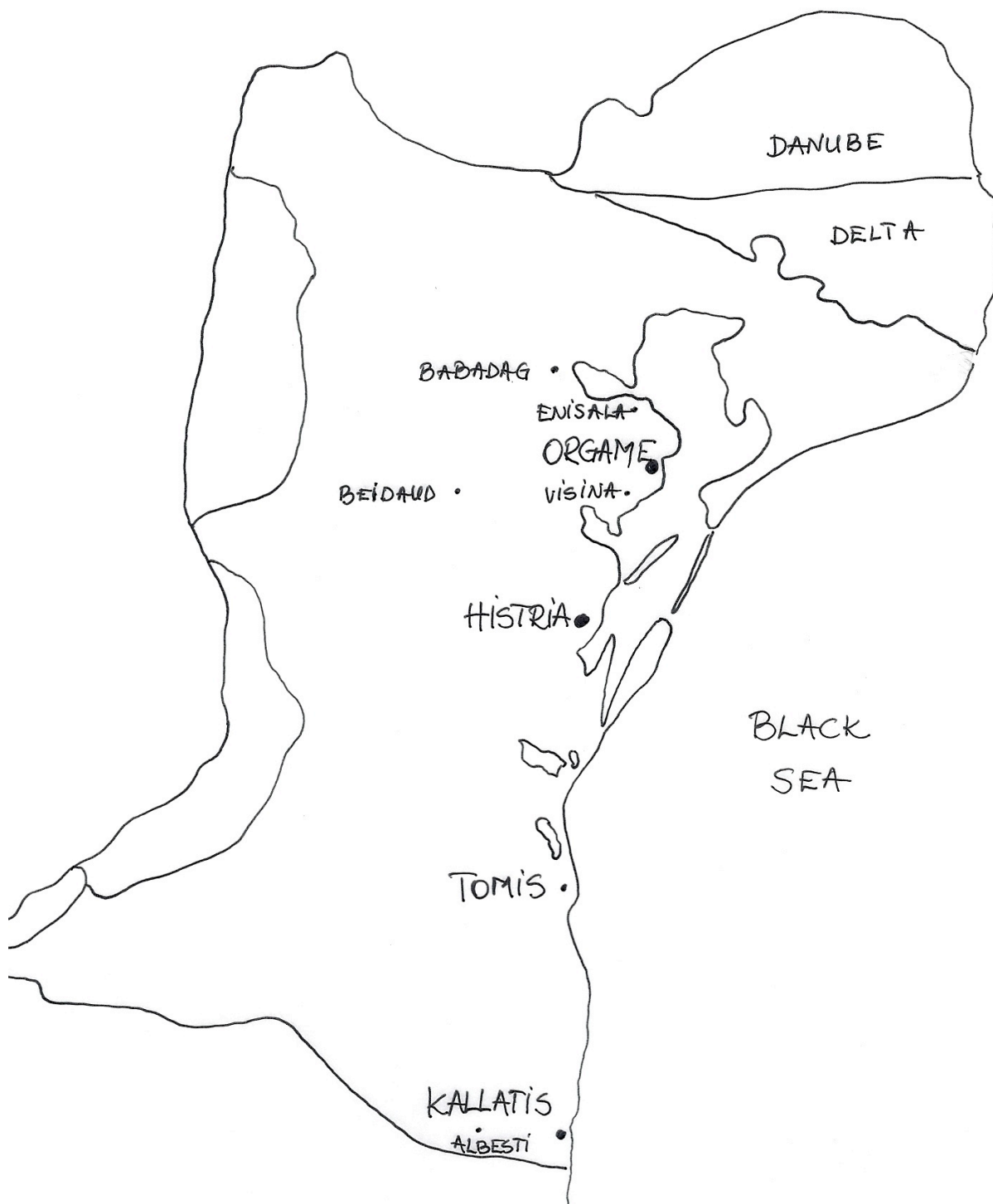
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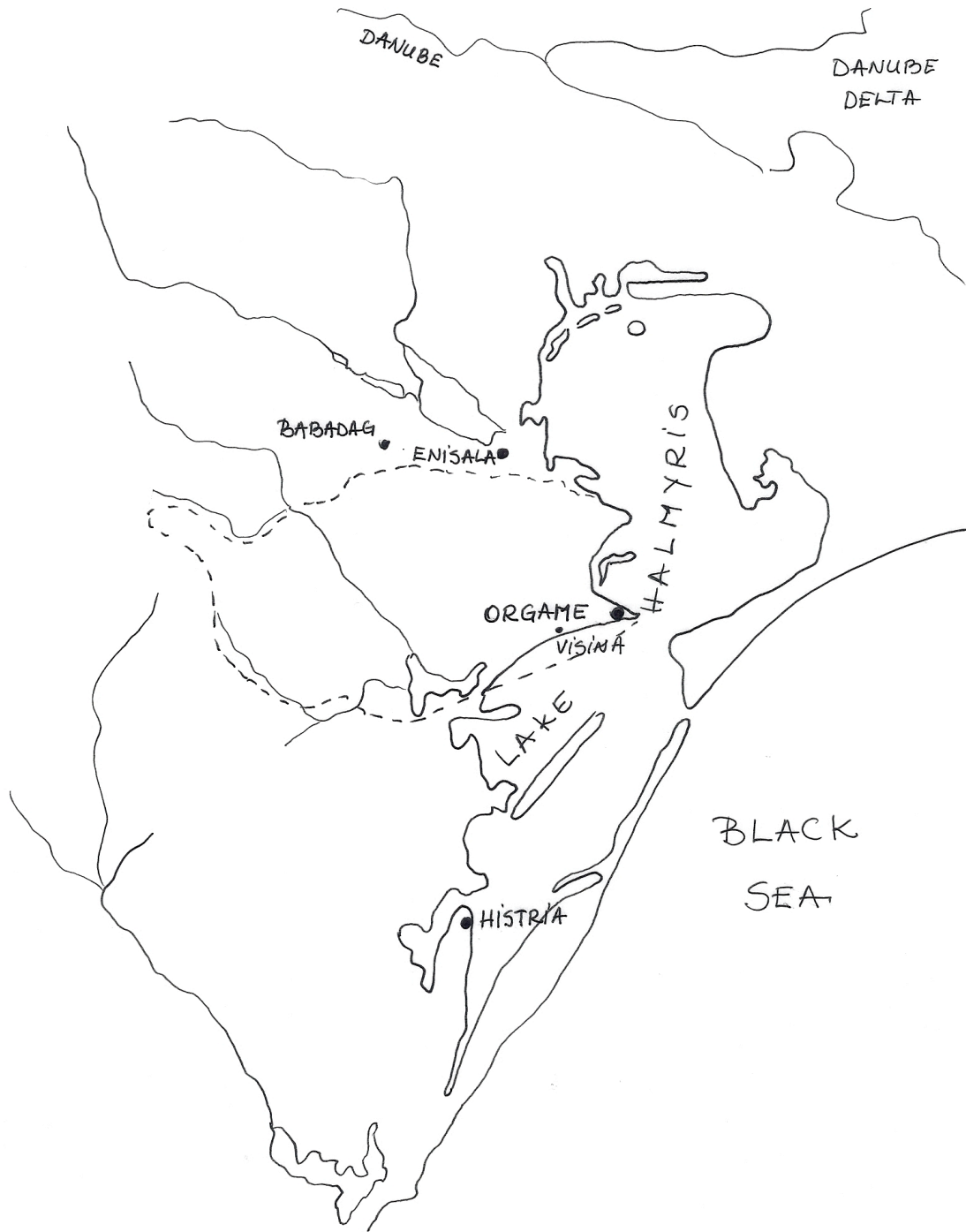
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Black Sea Region



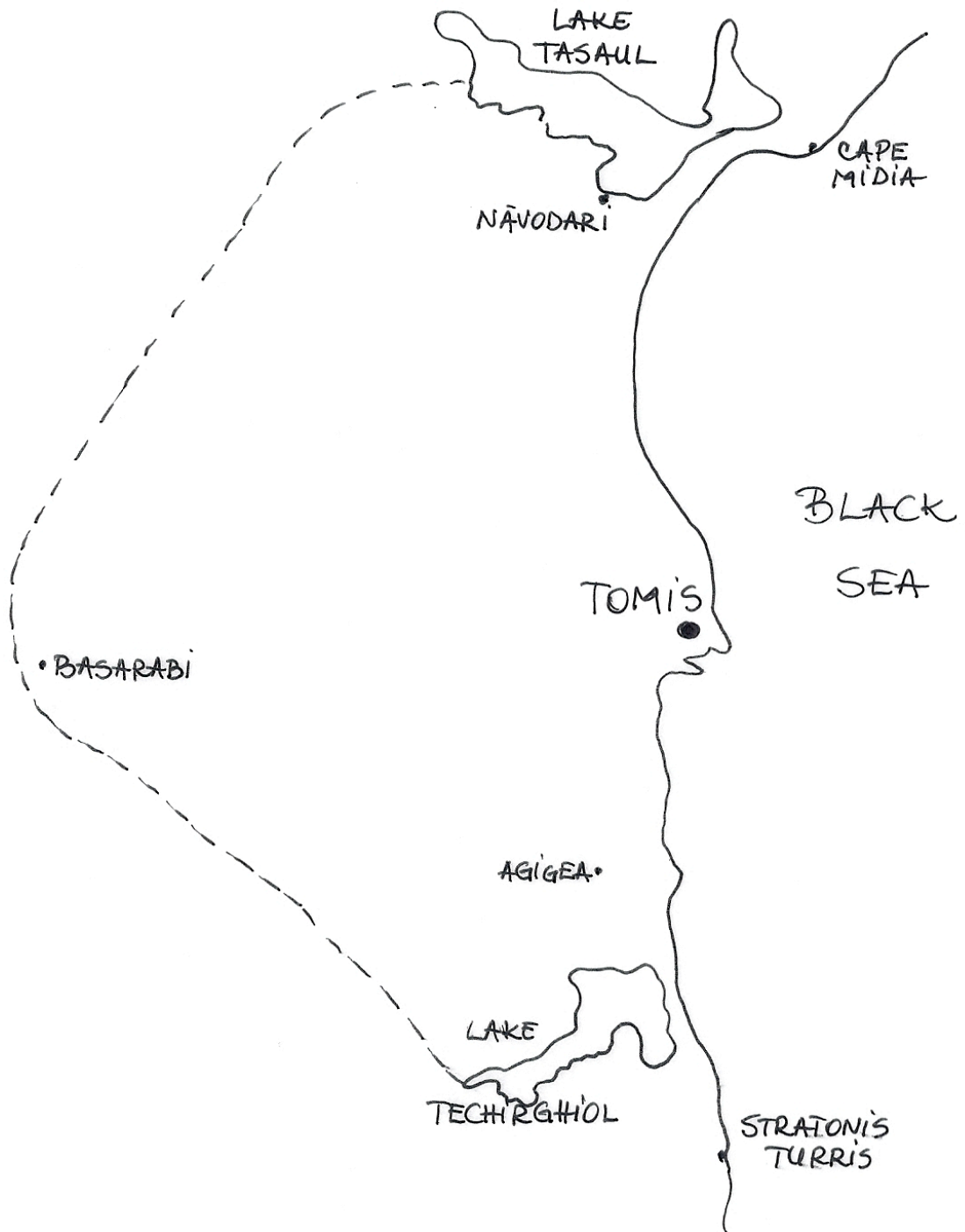
Dobrogea



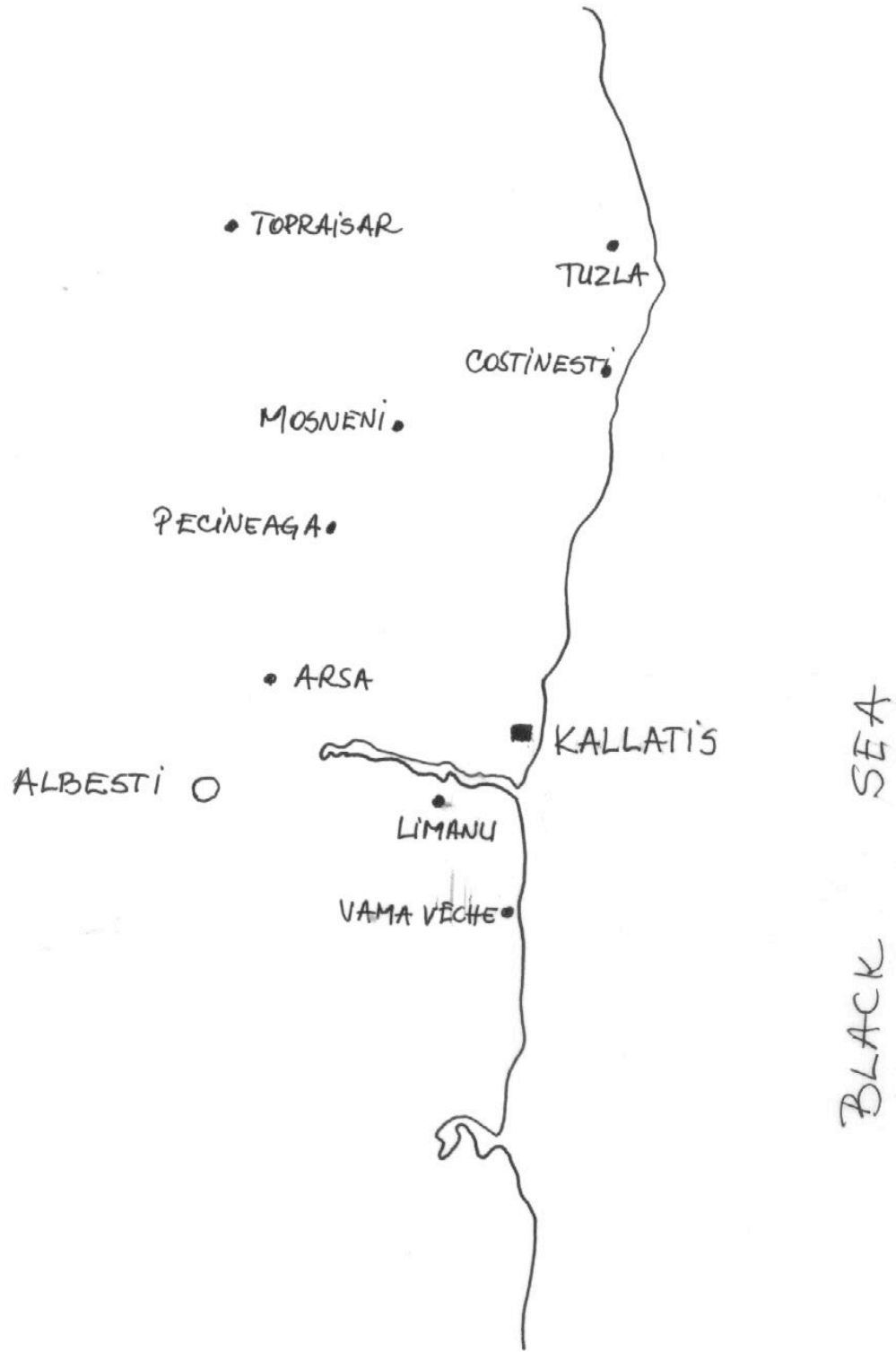
Territory of Orgame



Territory of Histria



Territory of Tomis



Territory of Kallatis

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In the twentieth century scholarly interest in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the area around the Black Sea was more often than not geopolitical. Dramatic reshapings of the political map, wars, revolutions and nationalist conflicts were the ingredients that books and articles were made of. With the collapse of the communist regimes the interest of the West in the region grew even more, expanding not only to modern and contemporary events but also to ancient and medieval historical periods. This interest was sparked as a reaction to the immense amount of nationalistic literature produced in Eastern Europe by the middle of the 20th century. Until quite recently, there has been a lack of books and articles on the early history of Eastern Europe. This neglect was particularly noticeable in the fields of Prehistory, Greek and Roman history. The area was always considered somewhat peripheral, the backwater of civilization and few scholars thought of it as a worthy area of inquiry.

This study examines a very small area in Eastern Europe: Dobrogea, the territory between the Danube and the Black Sea. This territory was by no means unconnected with the rest of the region, on the contrary, it seems that it served as a bridge between the Balkans and the Caucasus Mountains. It was part of what Roger

Batty truthfully calls the “Pontic-Danubian realm.”¹ This region did indeed have its own identity until the communist regimes built unnatural boundaries. What is so interesting about the area is that the people who inhabited it since ancient times followed extremely different ways of life, from the sedentary to highly mobile, giving the region a special kind of dynamism. The Pontic-Danubian region stretches from the Balkan peninsula, through the Pontic steppes until the Caucasian Mountains. Dobrogea, the region this study is concerned with, is in the heart of this territory. By the nature of its geographical position, between the Black Sea and the Danube, Dobrogea acted as a link between the imperial authorities of the Mediterranean and the migrant people of the Pontic steppes. This link sometimes took the form of trade and sometimes of open conflict. In the dynamics of this region, the Greek settlements, which sprouted along the shores of the Black Sea starting with the 7th century BCE, have a special place.

From the very first years of their settlement in this region, the Greeks remained a constant presence even when the odds stood against them. The Greeks in Dobrogea stood at a vital crossroad: the migrant, restless communities of people from the steppes clashed time and again with the various imperial powers of the Balkans and the Mediterranean. The Greeks settled in Dobrogea showed remarkable persistence despite all the disturbances caused by the constant changes in the region’s demography and the impact of foreign powers. The endurance of these

¹ Roger Batty, *Rome and the Nomads. The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity*, Oxford University Press (2007): 1.

Greeks settlements is probably the most important theme of this study. Political and military events that took place in Dobrogea or influenced its history are part of this narrative, but I have concentrated more on the economic aspect of the life of the Greek colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea.

1.2 General Considerations Regarding Greek Colonization

Greek colonization is one of the most important phenomena in understanding Greek history, especially once the Greeks set up settlements away from their home land, in new environments, stretching from North Africa in the south, the Iberian peninsula in the west and the Black Sea shores in the north east. By establishing these settlements the Greeks not only brought their own culture and traditions to their new homes but were strongly influenced by the native civilizations they encountered there. From this encounter in a colonial world, the Greek and local cultures enriched each other and shaped each other in new and specific ways resulting in the foundation of modern European civilization.

Numerous scholars have studied Greek colonization. In the last two decades, the way colonization has been examined in the scholarly literature has radically changed. Before, the aim of such studies was limited only to literary traditions about community foundations. Today, however, scholars have pointed out the limitations of this approach arguing that ancient literary sources, while essential to understanding the colonization movement, are also extremely restrictive. Increasingly, there are more and more voices that point out the importance of archaeological research as a

way to further advance our understanding of Greek settlements overseas. Archaeological investigation is the only way to fill in the gaps that written sources have left unexplained and this also gives us a new angle from which to reconsider what we know about this remarkable phenomenon in ancient Greek history.

In spite of continuous archaeological excavations since the beginning of the 20th century, mostly on the northern and western shores of the Black Sea, scholars still have little data with respect to Greek colonization in the region. A glimpse in any book or article dealing with Greek expansion in the Black Sea will quickly reveal that this area is seldom represented in the bibliography. Even well known names in the field of Greek colonization, scholars with years of research on this matter, refer to old, incomplete or second hand information.

This study has two goals. First, to bring together all the information we have from the Romanian shore of the Black Sea connected with the Greek settlements in the area. The colonies established here, Histria, Orgame, Kallatis and Tomis, are almost non-existent in the English language literature. Even less well-known is the information we have, mainly archaeological, from the territories, the “*chora*”, of these settlements. The existence of the territories, their economic importance for the colonies, and their inland extent are the main issues discussed in this study.

Secondly, The Black Sea region is almost always presented as a whole in the scholarly literature. Often there is no distinction made between the western and northern shores of the sea. In a very simplistic and limited explanation, the Greeks are thought to have settled around the Black Sea for two economic reasons. One

was the need to find outlets for olive oil, wine and luxury goods. The idea was that the local tribal leaders were eager to own Greek products and happily accommodated the newcomers in order to obtain the desired items. Hand in hand with this came the second reason the Greeks were interested in this region; its richness in raw materials (agricultural and human) which the Greeks were keen to acquire.

Whatever the initial reasons the Greeks might have had for moving to Dobrogea, they had to constantly negotiate a “middle ground” in a place where the political situation was extremely fluid and the local cultures were in continuous change and transformation. The Greek communities in Dobrogea were surprisingly resilient in a landscape where they had to regularly adjust to the comings and goings of local tribes. They represented the only constant, urban and seemingly unchanged feature of the land and endured well beyond the ancient world. However, more often than not, the colonies struggled to feed themselves and to survive. Even in their economic and political prime, the Greeks never quite dominated the region.

The most accomplished colonies were the ones on the northern shore of the Black Sea: Chersonesus, Panticapaeum, Berezan, Olbia and Tyras. The ones on the western shore, on which this study will focus, never reached the same level of success. Nevertheless, a look at their history will show that it is wrong to generalize about colonization in a particular region. Greek colonization was not a uniform phenomenon with the same outcomes and expectations in every place the Greeks settled. John Boardman’s notorious statement, that the Greeks who settled in the

western Mediterranean "had nothing to learn, much to teach"² can no longer provide a guide for the study of Greek colonization.

This study will show that the Greeks who settled in Dobrogea developed their own colonial identities as a result of their interactions with the natives and the particularities of this region. The territory between the Danube and the Black Sea had seen regular and continuous population movement during most of its history. The Greeks and the natives created a hybrid culture which was by no means static. It continuously shifted and changed in response to local and more distant events.

The study of the Greek settlements abroad, usually referred to as colonization, has undergone huge changes. Increasingly studies rely more on archaeology and less on the literary sources. This is not to say that the ancient written sources are now considered less important. Rather the use of archaeology is seen as helping understand long-term processes over decades and centuries. The "longue durée" concept, which came from the Annales School, has shaped the way the history of colonization is written. Using archaeology as a tool in understanding the past means that scholars have the power to look at long periods of time, record and interpret the changes that took place over time, a task that the written sources from antiquity could not accomplish. It could also bring the lives of ordinary people into focus.

Archaeology is not looking anymore at great personalities and spectacular findings, but at ordinary people, their "life paths", and their everyday living

² J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (1999): 190.

experiences. This has however created a theoretical dilemma. How much can we rely on archaeology and do we have the right tools to interpret the findings? As Sarah Owen has recently pointed out, archaeology and literary sources function on different time frames.³ Individuals from the past wrote about events according to their agenda and ideology, thus creating a record that was molded to fit a certain point of view.⁴ Could archaeology be more reliable?

Moses Finley on the other hand, believes that archaeology had serious limitations, while the written sources are more credible resources for the study of the ancient world.⁵ In the case of the Greek settlements on the Romanian shore of the Black Sea the written sources are few and contradictory. An attempt to write a history of these communities on the basis of written sources alone would be impossible. This is why the archaeological material unearthed from this region will play a major role in this study.

The study of Greek colonization is considered one of the most vibrant fields of research in classical archaeology.⁶ We no longer look at colonization as a uniform process; the Greeks were not the “civilizers”, most of the time they adopted local

³ Sara Owen, “Analogy, Archaeology and Archaic Greek Colonization,” in *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference*, H. Hurst, S. Owen eds. (London, 2005): 5-22.

⁴ On archaeology as a source: A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the Emergence of Greece*, Edinburgh University Press, (2006).

⁵ Moses Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (1973).

⁶ Sara Owen, (2005): 7.

customs, and sometimes the Greek themselves did not all come from the same city-state.

Western scholarship is in the process of reconsidering terms like “colonization”, “ethnicity” and “identity” and putting forth new vocabulary to understand the process of Greek activities overseas while the Romanian scholarship is still struggling with the place the ancient Greeks had in the formation of Romania as a nation. The two scholarly literatures have taken two completely different paths in the study of Greek settlements overseas. Recent studies in the west are pointing out that the ancient Greek colonization movement cannot be compared with 19th century “colonialism”. Some scholars like Osborne would like to drop the term altogether: “ a proper understanding of archaic Greek history can only come when chapters on colonization are eradicated from books on early Greece”.⁷ Still, the term colonization has not been yet replaced with a better one, and for reasons of convenience it will be used in this study.

Another problem of terminology is connected with the settlements themselves. The ancient source used the terms *polis*, *apoikia* and *emporion* when referring to Greek settlements either in the Greek heartland or overseas. If the term *polis* is somewhat clear, the definition for other two is often problematic. Usually an

⁷ R. Osborne, “Early Greek Colonization? The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West”, in *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence*, N. N. Fisher, H.van Wees, eds. (London Duckworth, 1998): 269.

apoikia is translated as “home away from home” which means a settlement created by a community in its own likeness in a foreign territory.⁸

The political status of an *apoikia* is not very clear. Malkin suggests that “the image was that of a *polis* exported abroad.”⁹ The definition of an *apoikia* needs to be connected with the way it was founded: the oracle consultation, the individual that was to lead the movement (the *oikist*) and the nature of the ties with the mother city. Thucydides wrote that the status of a colony should be that of independence and equality with the community it left behind:

every colony that is very well treated honors its parent state, but becomes estranged from it by injustice. For colonists are not sent forth on the understanding that they are to be the slaves of those that remain behind, but they are to be their equals. (1.34.1)

Of course, caution should be employed when using 5th century BCE sources to understand the political status of colonies centuries earlier. We do not have any literary sources for the 8th and 7th centuries BCE that described the colonization movement and the reliance on evidence written by historians like Herodotus and Thucydides, while essential is still incomplete.

In the case of the settlements on the western coast of the Black Sea, we do not have any contemporary information on how they were founded, nor do we have

⁸ J-P Wilson, “The Nature of Greek Overseas Settlements in the Archaic Period. Emporium or Apoikia?” in *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*, L.G. Mitchell, P.J. Rhodes, eds. (London/New York 1997): 205.

⁹ Irad Malkin, “Inside and outside: Colonization and the Formation of the Mother City”, in *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, B.d’Agostino, D. Ridgway, eds., (Naples 1994): 2.

the name of the *oikist* for any of them. The only exception could be Orgame. The team of archaeologists who excavated the necropolis, attributed the tumulus conventionally named TA 95 to the founder of the settlement, the *oikist*, even though no inscription was found to support this interpretation.¹⁰ The knowledge we have for the first years in the existence of the Greek settlements around the Black Sea in general comes almost exclusively from archaeological sources, which can bring little information about the archaic period since those levels are hard to reach. By the 6th century BCE all Pontic colonies showed evidence of *polis*-like urban planning: public buildings, temples, agora, private buildings made out of stone and had some kind of craft production. For example, Histria manufactured pottery as early as the 6th century BCE.

As for the term *emporion*, again, there is no clear definition. From the evidence we have it seems that an *emporion* was a trading place without a political status. For the western shore of the Black Sea the written sources mention only one *emporion*, Tomis. Tomis caused a war between the nearby cities of Kallatis and Byzantion around 260 BCE over the control of trade, a war in which Histria also played a part.¹¹ In fact some scholars argue that much of the trade between the Greek settlements on the western coast of the Black Sea, the Bulgarian and even the Romanian shore must have been done by land instead of by ships because

¹⁰ Chapter on Orgame.

¹¹ Memnon, *Fr.Gr. Hist.* IIIB fr.13.

travel in these waters was dangerous.¹² Still, some local traders (*emporoi*) must have done business along this shore even if the ancient writers do not mention any other ports-of-trade besides Tomis.

For other areas on the shore of the Black Sea ancient sources mention the existence of *emporia*. For example, Herodotus writes about the *emporion* of Borysthenes (4.17; 24) and the *emporion* of Kremnoi (4. 20), Ps Scylax (68) calls Chersonesus in western Crimea an *emporion*. Demosthenes (20.31) writes that Theodosia was also an *emporion* and so was, according to Strabo (11.2), Panticapaeum. Archaeologically, all these settlements are considered *poleis*, so there is a serious discrepancy between the material evidence and the written sources. The explanation might be that the ancient writers were highlighting the very important trading role these settlements had at the time the events they narrate took place. Demosthenes mentions Panticapaeum and Theodosia in connection with the close trading relations they had with Athens and the Bosphoran kingdom at the beginning of the 4th century. BCE

A last observation in relation to the terminology is that often the ancient sources do not necessarily use the terms consistently. Strabo even used the term *polis* for a non-Greek settlement, as well as describing a Greek communities as a

¹² John Hind, "Traders and ports-of-trade (*emporoi* and *emporia*) in the Black Sea in Antiquity", in *Il Mar Nero*, II, Petre Alexandrescu, Serban Papacostea eds. (Editioni Quasar di Severino Tognon, Roma, 1995/6): 113-126.

polikhnion (small polis), even though we know that particular site was a well-developed settlement.¹³

Since the written evidence for the Greek settlements in Dobrogea, the region concerned with in this study, is scarce, the archaeological evidence will be used to demonstrate how the settlements of Histria, Orgame, Tomis and Kallatis fit the ancient terminology. Did they go through several stages of development? Could they have been first *emporía* then *apoikia* and finally full-developed *poleis* or is there no evidence to prove this kind of progression?

Finally, all studies concerned with the examination of Greek overseas settlement have to ask the extremely complex questions of why the Greeks moved from their homeland and why they chose a particular location.

1.3 The Climate of Dobrogea

Written sources from antiquity do not have good things to say about the climate around the Black Sea. Herodotus described with vivid details the unwelcoming land of the Scythians:

This land I am describing experiences such harsh winters that for eight months the frost is intolerable, and you could not create mud by pouring water on the ground unless you light a fire. The sea freezes over, as does the whole Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians who live within the trench conduct expeditions over the ice, driving their wagons across to the land of Sindi. Winter continues like this for eight

¹³ Strabo 7, 4.5: "Panticapaeum is the metropolis of the Bosphorians and is situated at the mouth of Lake Maeotis"; 11, 2. 4-5: "Cimmericum was formerly a city built upon a peninsula."

months, and the remaining four months of the year are cold here, too.
(4.28.1-2)

In a later source, from the 1st century CE, the Latin poet Ovid recalled with similar harsh words the exact area concerned in this study, the western shore of the Black Sea:

Snow falls, and once fallen, no rain or sunlight melts it,
Since the north wind, freezing, makes it permanent.
So another fall comes before the first had melted,
And in many parts it lingers there two years. (Trist., 3, 13-16)

Written more than six hundred years after the first Greek colonists arrived on the Black Sea coast, Ovid's words paint a bleak picture of the region. One could wonder why the Greeks, used to a warmer climate, would venture to and eventually settled in such inhospitable territory. Winters on the west and north coast of the Black Sea are windy and cold, but the snow and ice melt in the spring and crops could be cultivated. Ovid's account of the harsh climate was influenced not only by his position as an exile from Rome, but also by earlier accounts, especially Virgil's description of Scythian winters.¹⁴

Exaggerated in Ovid's description or not, the climate of western and northern Black Sea is different than that of the Mediterranean region. Today the average temperature during winter is 8 degrees Celsius with very strong north winds and 23 degrees Celsius in the summer with average rainfall of 400mm/year. Spring arrives early, but it is quite cool. Often in April and May the Black Sea coast is one of the coolest places in Romania at an altitude lower than five hundred meters above sea

¹⁴ Virgil, *Georgics* 3.349-383.

level. While the average temperature in Athens in the winter is similar to the one in Dobrogea, about 10 degrees Celsius, the summers are much warmer with an average of 27-28 degrees, and 350 mm rainfall /year. The main difference between Greece and Dobrogea is that winters on the western coast of the Black Sea are longer, very windy and unpleasant. So far, scholars from Romania do not have any studies on the climate in Dobrogea for ancient times.

1.4 The Black Sea Region as an Economic Resource

Despite the weather the Greeks, turned the Black Sea into a “Hospitable” Euxine, settled here, and established successful colonies. Perhaps the first Greeks ventured here to explore new territories and resources without a clear goal to establish colonies. They must have been especially determined to approach this region because it is a difficult sea to sail and sometimes a ship has to wait for favorable winds to approach the two narrow passages that connect the Aegean Sea with the Black Sea. The currents are strong and the winds usually blow from north to south making the access extremely difficult but not impossible for early Greek ships.¹⁵

¹⁵ R. Carpenter, “The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea,” *AJA*, 52, (1948): 1-10, B. Labaree, “How the Greeks Sailed into the Black Sea”, *AJA*, 61, (1957): 29-33.

The region around the Black Sea is indeed rich in products the Mediterranean world was looking for. Timber was abundant in some of the areas in the north.¹⁶ The rivers that supply the sea with fresh water were exceptionally rich in fish, the shores harbored populations that could provide slaves, to mention only a few commodities.

For these reasons, scholars assume that this region interested the Greeks because of its economic potential. Michell writes: “We can well imagine how, when in search of a cargo of grain, the shipmaster would pack a few choice specimens of pottery in order to tempt the wheat merchants of South Russia.”¹⁷ This observation brings forth multiple problems. First of all the native population either from southern Russia, in the case mentioned above, or the western coast which we are interested in, are seen the passive recipients and consumers of “all things Greek”. This was clearly not the case, not in this region and not in other regions that the Greeks colonized.¹⁸ Secondly, there are more and more voices in the scholarly literature that point out to the lack of evidence for regular large grain surpluses exported from this region. Demosthenes is among the very few who mention a large quantity of grain coming to Athens from the Black Sea:

¹⁶ Lise Hannestad, “Timber as a Trade Resource of the Black Sea”, *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, Vincent Gabrielsen, John Lund (eds.), Aarhus University Press, (2007): 85-100.

¹⁷ Humfrey Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, Cambridge (1957): 297.

¹⁸ Tamar Hodos, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*, (London:Routledge, 2006); Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism* (Cambridge, 2004); Jonathan Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian Oxford*, (1989).

For you must realize that of all peoples we make the most use of Imported grain. However, the grain coming in from the Pontus corresponds to all that reaches us from other markets. Understandably for this occurs not only because that place has a very great deal of grain but because Leucon, its master, has given tax-exemption to those bringing grain to Athens, and proclaims that those sailing to you load their ships first. (20.31)

In the same text Demosthenes goes on to show that the Bosphoran kingdom brought to Athens 400,000 measures of grain that particular year. Historians often criticize Demosthenes' rhetoric and note that he was prone to exaggerations.¹⁹ Even if he is correct, he does not mention the whole region around the Black Sea, just the Bosphoran kingdom in a specific year.

Polybios' list of trade items from the Black Sea does not list grain as an important item coming from this region. His inventory contains other items like slaves and cattle, honey, wax and fish as the main items imported from here:

For those commodities which are the first necessities of existence, cattle and slaves, are confessedly supplied by the districts round the Pontus in greater profusion, and of better quality, than by any others: and for luxuries, they supply us with honey, wax, and salt-fish in great abundance; while they take our superfluous stock of olive oil and every kind of wine. In the matter of corn there is a mutual interchange, they supplying or taking it as it happens to be convenient. (4.38)

While the northern shore of the Black Sea, especially during the Bosphoran kingdom, was in the position to produce enough grain to export, the Greek settlements on the western shore traded grain whenever possible and whenever they had a good year and acquired a surplus. Furthermore, while some scholars still

consider the Black Sea region as a place of destination for the Greeks in order to do trade more studies are starting to look at trade as a result of colonialism not a reason for settlement.

The Greek settlements on the Romanian shore of the Black Sea had their own diminutive economies and depended initially more on relationships with the local populations than on overseas trade. When local conditions were especially favorable, their lives flourished and the situation in their territories was extremely positive. More often than not the very existence of the Greek settlements depended on the political circumstances in the region. Before exploring the situation at Histria, Orgame, Kallatis and Tomis I will look at the Western and Romanian scholarship concerning Greek colonization in general and the Greek settlements on the western shore of the Black Sea in particular.

¹⁹ David Braundt, "Black Sea Grain for Athens? From Herodotus to Demosthenes", in *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, Vincent Gabrielsen, John Lund, (eds.) Aarhus University Press (2007): 39-68.

CHAPTER 2

SCHOLARSHIP CONCERNING GREEK COLONIZATION

2.1 Western Scholarship

The movement of groups of individuals to new lands where they settled and founded new communities has traditionally been discussed in western scholarship through the concept of colonization. Two well-known archaeologists, Dunbabin and Boardman, have profoundly influenced scholarship in the field of ancient colonization.¹ Dunbabin's *The Western Greeks*, published in 1948, explored the activities of Greeks in Italy and Sicily with little to no attention being given to the local population. The Greeks were seen as superior in every way, while the locals were the passive receivers of all the benefits the newcomer's civilization had to offer. His next book, published in 1957, discussed the influences in religion and artistic styles of Eastern Mediterranean civilizations had over the Greeks who were still perceived as superior as "the Greeks learned more, and made more use of Syrian works, than Syrians or Phoenicians did of the Greeks."²

John Boardman's work and research followed along the same lines. His well-known book, *The Greeks Overseas*, focused on the spread of Greek civilization around the Mediterranean and made use of archaeological material as well as

¹ T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford, Clarendon Press (1948).

² Idem, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbors*, London, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (1957): 37.

written sources.³ Just like Dunbabin, Boardman believed Greek culture was far more advanced and sophisticated than any other civilization around the Mediterranean or the Black Sea. He famously said that the Greeks had nothing to learn from other cultures. In other words there was no reciprocity between the Greeks and non-Greeks or any kind of agency from the locals.

There is no question that the works of Dunbabin and Boardman are of immense importance in the study of ancient Greek colonization. Only recently have scholars adopted a more nuanced view of Greek settlement in foreign lands and looked at the responses of local cultures as well.

Modern scholars are employing new terminology borrowed from different disciplines. More and more books and studies make use of terms like hybrid developments or agency when describing the lives of for both Greeks and non-Greeks in a cultural milieu. Scholars no longer see the activities of Greeks overseas as exact copies of life on the Greek mainland or mother cities.⁴ On the contrary, the relations between the Greeks and the locals are now seen as extremely dynamic, with reciprocal influences.

Fortunately, this has essentially changed the way archaeology is used to understand the interactions between the Greeks and non-Greeks. A closer look at

³ John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, London: Thames and Hudson (1964), four editions of this book have been published so far.

⁴ Irad Malkin, (2003) Networks and the emergence of Greek Identity, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 182, p. 56-74 2003, Carla Antonaccio, Excavating Colonization, in *Ancient Colonization: analogy, similarity and difference*, H. Hurts and S. Owen (eds.), London (2005).

the evidence sometimes completely changes a previous assumption. For example, the settlement of Tariverde near Histria was initially considered a local community under the economic influence of the Greek colony. Recently though, Tariverde has been proven to be a Greek community that adopted a local way of building living quarters.⁵ Moreover, there are more voices that emphasize the need to focus on the material remains of the local populations, the so-called *emic* approach, a concept borrowed from anthropology.⁶ What this means is that colonization has to be studied not only from the point of view of the Greeks and their material remains and written sources but also from that of the natives considering their response to the newcomers' customs and culture in general. The locals selectively adopted and adapted some elements of Greek civilization while some were completely rejected. An *emic* view of the sources should explore all the elements of colonial interactions.⁷

Some scholars now question the very use of the term colonization because this term has been related to the more recent European colonial movements especially those of the British Empire. Colonialism, in a modern sense means foreign domination and exploitation of other territories where the indigenous population is

⁵ Avram (1991).

⁶ Irad Malkin, *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Center for Hellenic Studies Trustees for Harvard University (2001).

⁷ M. Dietler, "Greek, Etruscans , and thirsty Barbarians: Early Iron Age interaction in the Rhone basin of France", in *Centre and Periphery: comparative studies in archaeology*, T.C. Champion ed. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Carla Antonaccio, "Siculo-Geometric and the Sikels: ceramics and identity in eastern Sicily" in *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean*, K. Lomas (ed.) Leiden Brill (2004).

degraded to a subservient role. This has not always been the case in the territories where the Greeks settled. Gosden observed that in the ancient world, and especially in the case of Greek civilization “colonialism is a relationship of desire, which creates networks of people and things, but the exact shape of desire and the ensuing network will vary.”⁸

The term colony means a settlement in a foreign land, which is subject to a parent state. This term comes from the Latin *colonia*, which often meant a settlement of soldiers in a conquered territory. The word derives from the noun *colonus*, which meant tiller farmer or settler in a new territory and the verb *colere*, to cultivate or to inhabit. This means that the word colony was likened to cultivation, to farming. Colonialism on the other hand is an 18th and 19th century concept that implies power relations between a central identity, a state, and the new settlement.

The early Greek settlements in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea varied considerably in type and the influence and control from the homeland was sometimes non-existent. Additionally we must keep in mind that the Greeks never constituted themselves into a single state. This dissatisfaction with the term colony and the concept of colonialism has not been resolved so far and is still used in every study on Greek activities overseas.⁹

⁸ Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism*, Cambridge University Press (2004): 153.

⁹ A similar frustration has been voiced against the term feudalism. Elizabeth Brown, “The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe”, *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (1974): 1063-1088.

The most recent approach for studying Greek settlements is referred to as “post colonialism” or examining the sources from a “postcolonial perspective”.¹⁰ This new method originally developed from the independence movements of former European colonies after World War II as an interest in the perspectives of the people from the colonies, especially in literature, economic ideologies and social aspects of life.¹¹

This approach is particularly useful in examining how the native population exercised choice and used agency in their lives. Foreign goods and customs were not always adopted unchanged. Quite often the natives modified goods and ideals according to their local practices and traditions. For example at Histria and in her territory the natives began to use Greek pottery shapes but hand-shaped them instead using the potter’s wheel and also kept the same paste composition as they used in the past.¹²

More recently, scholars have started discussing the fact that from the encounter between the Greeks and the locals new cultures emerged that mixed together indigenous and foreign traditions. This notion of *hybridity* brings forth the idea of an active participation by all cultures that met in a colonial context.¹³

¹⁰ Gosden (2004).

¹¹ E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Random House (1993).

¹² Lucian Arsenie, “Ceramica lucrata cu mana la Tomis, stadiul actual al cercetarii” *Pontica* 33-34 (2000-2001): 283-297.

¹³ Carla Antonaccio, “Excavating Colonization,” in *Ancient Colonization: analogy, similarity and difference* London Duckworth (2005).

Some scholars, though, have questioned this new type of enquiry because it implies that “there were relatively fixed forms of identities that met and mixed”¹⁴ at the beginning of the Iron Age which was not the case. Greek identities, especially in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE were in the process of creation and only from the 6th and 5th centuries onwards can we talk about a more fixed Greek identity. The evolution of Greek identity is also connected with the evolution of the *polis*. In fact “it could be argued that the colonies altered the homeland as well as the colonized.”¹⁵

Identity, then, becomes connected with the hard to define notion of ethnicity, which by its very nature is a very fluid concept.¹⁶ For some scholars, ethnic identity is achieved by connecting people both politically and geographically.¹⁷ Others argue that a common descent was also significant.¹⁸ Jonathan Hall takes this even further

¹⁴ Gosden (2004): 69.

¹⁵ Tamar Hodos (2007): 17.

¹⁶ S.J. Shennan “Introduction: archaeological approaches to cultural identity”, in *Archaeological approaches to Cultural Identity*, S.J. Shennan ed. London Routledge (1989): 14-17, Diaz-Andreu, “Constructing Identities through Culture”, in *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the construction of European communities*, P. Graves-Brown , S. Johnes, C. Gamble, eds London Routledge (1996): 48-61; P.Graves-Brown , “All things bright and beautiful? Species, ethnicity and cultural dynamics”, in *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the construction of European communities*,(1996): 81-95; S. Hides, The genealogy of material culture and cultural identity, *Cultural Identity* (1996): 25-47.

¹⁷ C. Morgan, “Ethne, ethnicity and early Greek States, ca.1200-480 BC: an archaeological perspective” in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, I. Malkin, ed. Washington (2001): 75-112.

¹⁸ C. Gosden, “Postcolonial Archaeology: issues of culture, identity and knowledge”, in *Archaeology Theory Today*, I. Hodder, ed. Cambridge (2001): 241-261.

writing that common descent and kingship and an association with a territory are key components of ethnic identity, while for Jones the “situational identifications” in the everyday life of an individual or a group shape the ethnic self.¹⁹

The reason why it is so hard to define ethnicity is because neither ethnic groups nor cultures are natural categories. They are constructed social categories that change and are manipulated over time and they are taught, not inherited. The difficulty arises when we talk about ethnicity in antiquity especially when we do not have any written sources and base our analysis on archaeology. When we do have written sources, they tend to express ideas of inferiority and superiority and only appear in Greek literature beginning in the 5th century BCE and in connection with the Persian Wars.

It is impossible to arrive at a correct identification of ethnic groups or individuals from the archaeological material alone because the interpretation is subjective from several points of view. First, at a site archaeologists might not find all of the traits that could define an ethnic group. Furthermore some individuals or groups of individuals, for example in a necropolis, might display a few or none of the characteristics of a certain ethnic group. In the case of the west Pontic colonies some burials could contain Greek pottery even though the rite was clearly not Greek. Therefore any discussion of ethnicity has to be made with caution. Secondly,

¹⁹ Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press 1997), S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, London: Routledge (1997).

whether scholars want to admit it or not, contemporary political emotions sometimes influence the scholarship.²⁰

This study will mention ethnic groups, (e.g. Greek, Getae, Scythians), with the understanding that these terms are fluid and could changed over time. The first Greeks who arrived on the western shore of the Black Sea could have been from different parts of the Greek world and they probably intermarried with the locals. Therefore, from the very beginning a mixture of population very likely happened and the material remains can give us only a partial picture of ethnicity and ethnic groups.

Our evidence for early interactions between the Greeks and non-Greeks around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea comes from archaeological objects found in various places. While Greek pottery from the 8th century BCE was found around the Mediterranean, for the Black Sea and especially for the western shore we only have items that can be dated to the 7th century. Many scholars view the early exchanges not as a regular trade but as evidence of gift exchanges between the elites.²¹

²⁰ Gheorghe Alexandru Niculescu, *Nationalism and the Representation of Society in Romanian Archaeology*. Extreme views on Romanians as “oldest European people” at www.dacia.org.

²¹ J.N. Coldstream, “Exchanges between Phoenicians and Early Greeks”, *National Museum News* 11, (2000):15-32; I. Lemos, “The changing Relationship of the Euboeans and the east”, in *The Greeks in the East*, A. Viling ed. London: The British Museum (2005): 53-60.

This model, advocated by Moses Finley, meant that regular trade was limited and expensive and consisted of luxury goods.²² In connection with this idea, the reason to colonize was in order to find a market for luxury items while obtaining the raw materials the Greeks needed but could not find in their own land.

Discussions about the ancient economy have not yet found a model able to answer all the questions about early economies and provide a framework that could be applied to all regions. The World-Systems Theory developed for the Mediterranean by Sherratt and Sherratt in 1993 looked at various divisions inside the societies from labor to markets and the acquisition of the raw materials. Under this theory there was an identifiable “core” with advanced production and distribution systems and a periphery that provided raw materials.²³

This model has been widely challenged because Greece cannot be viewed as a “core” as there was no concept of state at the time. Furthermore, this model ignores the fact that there were certain social meanings some scholars see behind the acquisition of certain objects and materials.²⁴ The core and periphery model, especially when taking into consideration archaeological material, could work if the

²² M. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (1973.)

²³ S. Sherratt, A. Sherratt, “The Growth of the Mediterranean Economy in the early first Millennium BC”, *World Archaeology* 24.3 (1993): 361-78.

²⁴ P.N. Peregrine, “Archaeology and the World-Systems Theory”, *Sociological Inquiry*, 66.4 (1996): 486-95.

two concepts were not seen as binary but rather as meeting in “the middle ground”.²⁵ What this means is that Dobrogea, for example, could be considered as a space where the Greeks lived and cultivated cross-cultural interactions instead of trying to dominate and exploit the local cultures.

The various models for examining the interactions between diverse areas of the Mediterranean came together in the study of Horden and Purcell who argued for the existence of microregions that went beyond political boundaries rather than focusing on core and periphery.²⁶

Still, so far there is no perfect model in the study of Greek colonization. While several attempts have been made, the most important conclusions so far are that generalizations are dangerous and that investigations into local developments are to be celebrated.

2.2 Romanian Scholarship

While western scholars put forth numerous models for studying the activities of the Greeks overseas, the Romanian scholarship operated under the restrictions of political regimes that profoundly affected the way scholarly research was done. In

²⁵ R.White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815*, Cambridge University Press (1991), Irad Malkin , “A colonial Middle Ground: Greek, Etruscan and local elites in the Bay of Naples”, in *The Archaeology of Colonialism* , C.L. Lyons, J.K. Papadopoulos, eds. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute (2002): 151-181; idem, “Postcolonial Concepts and Ancient Greek Colonization,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 65.3, (2004): 341-64.

²⁶ P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, Oxford: Blackwell (2000).

Romania history and archaeology were used as tools in the political discourse especially between the 1920s and the 1980s and unfortunately even today. Some Romanian scholars refused to work under such conditions and left the country and if lucky, continued to work and publish in the west but without access to the material left behind. These scholars were labeled traitors and their work was ignored or destroyed.

It seems that the tactic of ignoring “the others” went both ways. The westerners did not pay enough attention to the literature from Eastern Europe, published, it is true, in local inaccessible languages, while “the easterners” were forced to do without information from the west because of their closed borders and their government’s interference in all aspects of their lives, scholarly and private. After 1965 access to the Soviet literature was also limited due to the relatively “cold” political relations between the Soviet Union and the Communist government in Bucharest. This climate of isolation never stopped the publication, sometimes in less than ideal conditions, of thousands and thousands of pages dedicated to the Greek settlements on the Western shore of the Black Sea. This scholarly literature should be looked at, keeping in mind the everyday realities of those who produced it.

The interest in publishing “antiquities” in Romania in a scholarly manner started in the late 19th century with Grigore Tocilescu.²⁷ The inscriptions he gathered,

²⁷ Romania did not become a state, as it exists today, until 1918. The borders of 1918 are not the same as the ones of today’s Romania. Some of the territory was lost after World War II including the southern part of Dobrudja, now belonging to Bulgaria.

over 600, were published in the issues of the *Archaologische Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* from Vienna, volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* edited by Theodore Mommsen, and other publications in Bucharest.²⁸ A.D. Xenopol, a contemporary of G. Tocilescu wrote a massive, six volume, history of the Romanian people, based almost exclusively on literary and epigraphic evidence with almost no archaeological material and very little information from numismatic sources.²⁹

Xenopol also wrote at a time when Romanians were struggling to unite Transylvania and other Romanian speaking territories with Moldova and Vallachia, so his work is very much influenced by the idea that a Romanian population lived continuously, on the same territory since Roman times. This argument was the main theme through much of the Romanian historiography during the 20th century and it could be considered the major factor that influenced all the scholarly work in Romanian archaeology and history. The idea of a united Romania had its fierce opponents in Western Europe, the most famous of them, Von R. Roesler, is still the most cited author from scholarly works to history textbooks.³⁰ Scholars like Vasile

²⁸ Grigore Tocilescu, *Monumente epigrafice si sculpturale ale Muzeului National de Antichitati*, Bucuresti (1902-1908), G. Tocilescu's life and work in: Alexandru Avram, G. Tocilescu (1850-1909) arheolog si epigrafist, *SCIVA* 43, (1992).

²⁹ A.D. Xenopol, *Istoria Romanilor din Dacia Traiana*, Iasi (1893).

³⁰ Von R. Roesler wrote "Romanische Studien: Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Romaniens" published in 1871 in Leipzig in which he doubts the possibility of a "Romanian nation" since Roman times. His theory was used by Western politicians against the idea of a Romanian state that included Transylvania, at that date under the Austro-Hungarian influence. The idea of Romanian continuity

Parvan, who is considered the founder of Romanian school of archaeology, published good research and used literary and archaeological sources to look at the contacts between the local populations and the Greek settlers on the shore of the Black Sea.³¹ His work looked into the economic relations between the Greeks and the Geto-Dacic populations, he was the first one to emphasize a reciprocal influence between the two civilizations and to mention fishing as the main economic activity at Histria. He has also identified the *mixellens* (μικξέλληνες) mentioned around the city of Histria as intermediaries between the Greeks and the local Thracian populations.

Nicolae Iorga published an even larger work on the ancient history of Romania with specific details about Dobrogea and the Greek cities on the Western and Northern shore of the Black Sea.³² He rightfully points out that Histria, Tomis and Callatis had close ties with the Greek cities on the northern shore of the Black Sea and also advanced the idea of a contract or agreement between the locals and the Greek newcomers although there are no written documents to prove it. Iorga's work

is a very sensitive one. Today Romanian archeologists are finding it hard to prove it. The theory of Romanian continuity is still part of Romanian culture and especially politics.

³¹Vasile Parvan's life and work: I. Andriesescu, "Vasile Parvan (1882-1927) avec un portrait", *Dacia* 3-4, (1927-1932): 1-7, Em. Condurachi, "Vasile Parvan", *Dacia NS* 1, (1957): 9-40, C. Preda, "Vasile Parvan, Ein Jahrhundert nach seiner Geburt", *Dacia NS* 26, (1982):13-18, R. Vulpe, "Vasile Parvan historien de l'antiquité romaine", *Dacia NS* 26, (1982): 33-40. D.M.Pippidi, "Vasile Parvan et le développement des études épigraphiques ", *Dacia NS* 26, (1982): 41-46, Al. Stefan, "Vasile Parvan, istoric al antichitatii clasice in Romania, fondator al scolii nationale de arheologie si epigrafie", *SCIVA* 33, (1982): 302-336.

³² Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Romanilor, Stramosii inainte de Romani*, Bucuresti, (1936).

exaggerated the Greek superiority, very much as Dunbabin and Bordman's scholarship did in the West, with an added twist of "the Greeks" as direct ancestors of the modern Romanians.

Radu Vulpe wrote the first synthesis on the history of Dobrogea with more attention to the different local populations attested here by written and archaeological sources.³³ He was the first one to argue that at the time of the arrival of the Greeks, the western shore of the Black Sea was not inhabited and that the history of this region was always a volatile one. After the World War II, Emil Condurachi became the head of research at Histria and the director of the newly founded the Archeological Institute in Bucharest under the administration of the Romanian Academy. He encouraged relationships with the soviet archaeologists, which brought, on a positive note, new information about the Greek settlements on the northern shore of the Black Sea in Romanian literature. The downside of this relation was the increased influence of the Marxist-Leninist approach of ancient history.

By far, the best research on the Greek settlements started in the 1950s when D.M. Pippidi collected inscriptions from Dobrogea, especially from Histria, and published them with long and useful commentaries and bibliography. In his long career, Pippidi wrote a synthesis on the Greek presence on the shore of the Black Sea and their relationship with the local populations. He emphasized the complex relationship between the Greeks and locals, the lack of slave labor until the Roman

annexation of this territory and the idea of a “pact” or “contract” between the new comers and the Getic tribes.³⁴ This idea of a “peaceful” collaboration is further discussed by Alexandru Avram who sees a direct relationship between the end of Babadag III culture in Dobrogea and the establishing of the first *apoikia* in this region. The relationships between the Greeks and the locals were based on mixed marriages and a land “contract” periodically renewed which also implied the use of Getic labor in the fields.³⁵

Finally, starting in the 1970s, a group of scholars from the University Ovidius in Constanta (ancient Tomis) and the local Museum of Archaeology have produced an impressive amount of work concentrated on the territories of the Greek cities. Histria remained a site researched exclusively by archaeologists from the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest while the rest of Dobrogea was and is mostly the domain of local museums. This division did not necessarily have a negative impact on research. Local funding helped hire scholars with both training in archaeology and classics and helped develop a successful department of History and Archaeology in

³³ Radu Vulpe, *Histoire Ancienne de la Dobroudja*, Bucharest, (1936)

³⁴ D.M Pippidi wrote extensively on the subject of colonization, his main works are: *Contributii la istoria veche a Romaniei*, Bucuresti (1958), *Epigraphische Beitrage zur Geschichte Histrias in hellenistischer und romischer Zeit*, Berlin (1962), *Din Istoria Dobrogei, Getii si Grecii la Dunarea de Jos din cele mai vechi timpuri pana la cucerirea romana*, (Bucuresti, 1965), *I Greci nel Baso Danubio dall' eta arcaica alla conquista romana*, Milano (1971), *Scythica Minora, Recherches sur les colonies grecques du litoral roumain de la Mer Noire*, Bucuresti (1975).

³⁵ Alexandru Avram, *Beziehungen zwischen Griechen und Geten im archaischen Histria*, *Studii Clasice* 27, (1991): 19-30.

Constanta (Tomis). Mihai Irimia is by far the most prolific scholar with well over 100 books and articles on the archaeology and history on Dobrogea with the emphasis on Greek and Getae settlements and relations.³⁶ Others like Livia Buzoianu and Maria Barbulescu, both trained in classics and archaeology, have written extensively on the territories of the Greek cities and especially on the site of the fortified Greek settlement from Albesti near Callatis.³⁷

The years of intensive research in Dobrogea have produced only a few studies on the Greek settlements and presence in this region. None of the books on this subject are newer than the middle of the 20th century and even those concentrate on the history of this territory under both Greek and Roman influence. A majority of the articles are written in Romanian, very few in other languages, and so their accessibility is limited to a minority of interested scholars.

What Romanian scholarship failed to do, because of the lack of information coming from the West, is to create works that look at the Greek presence in

³⁶ The work of Mihai Irimia will be extensively cited in this study. Most important works: "Descoperiri noi privind populatia autohtona a Dobrogei si legaturile ei cu coloniile grecesti", *Pontica* 6, (1973): 7-72, "Observatii privind arheologia secolelor VII-V ien in Dobrogea", *Pontica* 8, (1975): 89-114, "Date noi cu privire la asezarile getice din Dobrogea in a doua epoca a fierului", *Pontica* 13, (1980): 66-118, "Date noi privind necropolele din Dobrogea in a doua epoca a fierului", *Pontica* 19, (1983): 125-136, "Geto-dacii in secolele VII-I ien. Relatiile cu vecinii", *File de istorie militara a poporului roman* 17, Bucuresti, (1987), "Getii din Dobrogea in a doua jumătate a mileniului I aChr si legaturile lor cu alte populatii", *Colegiul Pedagogic "G. Bratescu"*, Constanta (1993): 156-176, "Despre sciti si Scitia Mica in ultimele secole ale mileniului I aChr.", *Pontica* 33-34, (2000-2001) 299-318 .

³⁷ Livia Buzoianu, *Populatiile autohtone in Dobrogea*, Universitatea Ovidius Constanta (2001), Livia Buzoianu, Maria Barbulescu, *Albesti, Monografie Arheologica*, Constanta (2008).

Dobrogea in connection with the bigger picture of Greek settlements elsewhere in antiquity. Other than the relationships between the cities on the western shore of the Black Sea and the northern shore, few other examples, if any, are found in Romanian literature. I am hoping to fill in the gap by combining western and eastern sources and look at how the local Getae or mixed communities (Getae with Nord-Pontic elements) responded to the establishment of Greek communities on the western shore of the Black Sea. This study will look at literary, epigraphic and archaeological material from the Iron Age, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods up to the Roman annexation of Dobrogea.

This study will also try to identify and explain various settlements in this territory, from “colonies” and trading post to sites that are of “local” origins. The Romanian archaeologists are notorious for avoiding as much as possible the discussion on the identity of the people who inhabited certain settlements. As noted before, this stemmed from of the way the communist governments interfered in every aspect of scholarly literature. Research was to be concentrated on matters that legitimated the claim of Romanians over the land now called Romania.

There is an acute need for reevaluating archeological discoveries and discussing the identities of the people who inhabited the sites. This study will bring together the data we have from Dobrogea by examining the archaeological reports, trying to understand social practices in the region and comparing them with the ancient literary sources. Analyzing every sherd of pottery from every site is an impossible task; it is not the intention of this study to question every single discovery.

Rather, I will consider Dobrogea as a microregion, acknowledging its uniqueness but also its connection with the rest of the Greek world.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND FOR DOBROGEA (6TH CENTURY BCE-1ST CENTURY CE)

To understand the individual colonies, some historical background information is necessary. Unfortunately the written sources that describe political events in Dobrogea are extremely fragmentary. Prior to the invasion of Darius, there is no written information about this region.

3.1 Darius' Campaign Against the Scythians

Herodotus is our main written source for this campaign.¹ The Persian expedition in this region that took place in 513 BCE was meant to prepare the European invasion Darius was planning and also to try to stop the Scythians from expanding outside their territory. As far as we can tell Darius did not intend to conquer the Scythians, but just to prevent their increase in power in the region.

Darius did not manage to obtain a clear victory in this campaign but he did manage to stop the Scythian expansion to the south of the Danube. Herodotus mentions a raid of the Scythians to the south all the way to the Thracian

¹ Hdt. 4. 83-143, other sources: Ktesias, 29, 16, Strabo, 7, 3, 8; 14; Wanda Wolska, "Suivant les traces de l'expédition de Darius contre les Scythes", *Acta Preistorica et Archaeologica* 11-12, (1980-1981): 99-115; Petre Alexandrescu, "Izvoarele grecesti despre retragerea lui Darius din expeditia scitica", *SCIV* 7, (1956): 319-342; Alexandru Vulpe, "Autour de la foundation du royaume Odryse," in *Civilisation Grecque et cultures antiques périphériques*, Alexandru Avram, Mircea Babes eds. Bucarest (2000): 76.

Chersonesus, twenty years after Darius' expedition.² But this seems to have been just an expedition for plunder without any long term consequences.

As far as the Greek cities in Dobrogea are concerned, the written sources are completely silent about the Persian invasion. Excavations have not uncovered any traces of Darius' expedition left any traces on the ground at Tomis, Kallatis or Orgame. At both Tomis and Kallatis it has proven very hard to reach the relevant archaeological levels because of the modern construction that covers the sites and because, as some scholars argue, it is still unclear if the two city-states were even established in at the end of the 6th century.³ Histria is the only site that might have some archaeological clues for this incident. Towards the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 5th, Histria suffered a destruction that affected the archaic walls, the acropolis, the residential quarters and the settlements in the *chora*.⁴

These destructions are usually attributed to the Scythians.⁵ Indeed, Darius did not have any reason to harm the Greek settlements in Dobrogea and if he had,

² Herodotus, 6, 40

³ Alexandru Avram, *Scythie Mineure III, Kallatis et son territoire*, (Bucharest-Paris 1999): 9-11, Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu, "Tomis", *BAR*, (2001).

⁴ Petre Alexandrescu, "Histria in archaischer Zeit", in *Histria*. P Alexandrescu, W. Shuller eds (Konstanz, 1990): 67-68; Suzana Dumitriu, "Évènements du Pont-Euxin de la fin du Vie siècle av.n.e. reflétés dans l'histoire d'Histria ", *Dacia* N.S. 8, (1964): 133.

⁵ Suzana Dumitriu,(1964): 133-144, Maria Coja, "Greek Colonists and Native Populations in Dobrogea, The Archaeological Evidence", in J.P. Descoedres (ed) *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sydney 9-14 July 1985*, Oxford-Canberra, 1990). Em. Condurachi, "Contributii la studiul epocii arhaice la Histria" in, *Omagiu lui*

Herodotus would have probably mentioned such an event. Additionally, Darius had Greek allies from Ionia, including the tyrant of Miletus, Histiaios. Persian protection or even a conquest could have helped the Greeks against not only the Scythians but also the Thracian tribes.

The logical explanation for the destructions would then be a Scythian incursion after Darius' retreat, or a later Scythian attack, during the expedition that took place twenty years after the conflict with the Persians.

However, the damage at Histria and in its *chora* is rather surprising if it came from the Scythians. It made little sense for them to destroy a Greek *polis* that represented a good connection with the rest of the Greek world, a place where goods that came from overseas could be obtained. But they could have also seen the Milesian colony as an ally of the Persians; this would then explain why the city had to be punished.

Histria, because of its location, will have had to constantly negotiate their position in a region of irregular power fluctuation. Herodotus writes about of a Scythian king, Ariapeithes, who married a Greek woman from Histria:⁶

She was not Scythian at all and she herself taught him both to speak and to read and write in Greek. Although he ruled as king of the Scythians he was not at all content to live as the Scythians did, because of his education, was much more inclined to practice Hellenic

Constantin Daicoviciu cu prilejul implinirii a 60 de ani, (Bucuresti, 1960): 107-116. This interpretation of the archaeological record is seen as problematic by D.M. Pippidi, *Din istoria Dobrogei. Geti si Greci la Dunarea de Jos din cele mai vechi timpuri pana la cucerirea romana*, Bucuresti, (1965): 162-163.

⁶ Herodotus 4.78.

customs. For example, whenever he led out the Scythian army and arrived at the village of the Borysthenites, who claim to be Milesians, he would leave his army outside the city and would himself go within the town wall, having the gates locked behind him, and once rid of the presence of the Scythian army, he would put on Hellenic clothing and walk through the agora wearing it.

Ariapeithes' mother belonged probably to an aristocratic family from Histria and this passage could attest the fact that in the 5th century BCE the Greeks and the Scythians intermarried as a way to establish peaceful relationships.

Connected with Darius' expedition, Herodotus gives us another clue about the complicated situation in Dobrogea. According to him, the only ones who opposed the Persians, aside from the Scythians, were the Getae, who acted, unwisely by doing so and of course were defeated.

Before Darius arrived at the Ister he made his first conquest in this region over the Getae who believed in immortality. Other people yielded to Darius without a fight: the Thracians who control Salmydessos as well as the inhabitants of the region above Apollonia and the city of Mesembria called Skyrmiadai and the Nipsaioi. The Getae though they are the bravest and the most just of the Thracians adopted an attitude of foolish arrogance and were at once enslaved. (Hdt. 4.98)

The Getae in Dobrogea had close connections with the Greek settlements on the shore of the Black Sea as documented in the archaeological record both in the *chora* and in the necropolis at Histia and Orgame. At Histria for example, in addition to Greek pottery, the oldest *tumuli*, contain artifacts that are of local origins. Some of the graves are clearly not Greek but belonged to the local elite.⁷

⁷ Tumuli XX dated 560-550 BCE, XVII dated around 550 BCE, or XIX dated 550-525 BCE, all seem to be of local origin. The archaeological material has analogies in the

Darius' expedition probably put a strain on the balance of power in the region of Dobrogea. Histria, because of her relationship with Miletus, was probably forced to ally with the Persian king and thus attracted the revenge of the Scythians. Since the Getae also had connections with both the Greeks and the Scythians, they were a factor in this fluid situation even though the Persians defeated them. It is not clear how far and how long the Persian influence lasted in Dobrogea after Darius' retreat. If the destruction levels at Histria are connected with this incident then the 5th century must have started a new phase in cooperation and negotiation between the Getae, Scythians and Greeks.

3.2 Macedonia and the Greek Cities in Dobrogea from Philip II to Lysimachus

Direct contacts between the Macedonians and the Greek cities on the western shore of the Black Sea started with Philip II's campaign against the Scythians and ended with the death of Lysimachus (340/339-281 BCE). Before 340 BCE, the political interests of the Macedonians did not extend to this region. Because of the Celtic invasion and the establishment of the Celtic kingdom at Tylis after the death of Lysimachus, Macedonia experienced a temporary collapse and its influence in Dobrogea ended.

Getae medium with some Scythian influences. The graves belonged to the native Getae also because of the cremation ritual practiced by this population. P. Alexandrescu, "Les rapports entre indigènes et Grecs à la lumière des fouilles de la nécropole d'Histria", in *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques, Huitième Congrès international d'archéologie classique*, Paris (1963).

Literary sources for this period are extremely poor and contradictory. For the Scythian expedition of Philip all the sources come from a much later period.⁸ This conflict can be divided into four phases but with imprecise chronological connections. One of the conflicts was with a king of the Histrians (*rex Histrianorum*), an individual about whom we have no clear information. Also, our sources refer to a Scythian king, Ateas, against whom Philip directed his campaign.

The only ancient source to describe the region where Ateas was located is Strabo.⁹

The whole of the country has severe winters as far as the regions by the sea that are between the Borysthenes and the mouth of Lake Maeotis; but of the regions themselves that are by the sea the most northerly are the mouth of the Maeotis and, still more northerly, the mouth of the Borysthenes, and the recess of the Gulf of Tamyraes, or Carcinites, which is the isthmus of the Great Chersonesus. But the severity of the frosts is most clearly evidenced by what takes place in the region of the mouth of Lake Maeotis: the waterway from Panticapaeum across to Phanagoria is traversed by wagons, so that it is both ice and roadway [...]. It appears that Ateas, who waged war with Philip the son of Amyntas, ruled over most of the barbarians in this part of the world.

Based on Strabo's description, the region over which Ateas ruled seems enormous.

He mainly describes the area on the northern shore of the Black Sea but more likely

Ateas' tribal territory was located in Dobrogea, and the "*rex Histrianorum*" was a

local Getae tribal leader as Histria never had a monarchy and we know that the local

⁸ Justin., 9, 1, 9-3; Frontin. *Strat.* 2, 4, 20; 2, 7, 14; Clem. Alex. Strom. 9,1,9-3; Strabo 7, 3, 18; Plut, *Apophth. Reg et Imp.* 174F Lucian, *Macrob.* 10; Demosth., 18 (*De Cor.*) 44; Appian, *Illyr.* 3; P. Nicorescu, "La campagne de Philippe en Thrace", *Dacia* 2 (1925): 22-28.

⁹ Strabo, 7, 3, 18.

tribes had close connections with the Greeks as proven by the archaeological record.¹⁰ Another reason to think Ateas's territory was in Dobrogea comes from the same passage in Pompeius Trogus where the author talks about the statue Philip was to erect at the mouth of the Danube. In order to do so, the Scythians agree to let him cross their territory.

Philip, first sending ambassadors to lull them into security, by telling Atheas that "while he was besieging Byzantium, he had vowed a statue to Hercules, which he was going to erect at the mouth of the Ister, requesting an unobstructed passage to pay his vow to the god, since he was coming as a friend to the Scythians." Ateas desired him, "if his object was merely to fulfill his vow, to let the statue be sent to him," promising that "it should not only be erected, but should remain uninjured," but refusing "to allow an army to enter his territories," and adding that, "if he should set up the statue in spite of the Scythians, he would take it down when he was gone, and turn the brass of it into heads for arrows." With feelings thus irritated on both sides, a battle was fought. Though the Scythians were superior in courage and numbers, they were defeated by the subtlety of Philip.¹¹

In support of the location of Ateas in Dobrogea we also have numismatic evidence. We know that Kallatis minted coins with the inscription *ATAIA*, which could

¹⁰ Pompeius Trogus, *Hist. Philip*, IX, 2: "The king of the Scythians at that time was Ateas, who, being distressed by a war with the Istrians, sought aid from Philip through the people of Apollonia, on the understanding that he would adopt him for his successor on the throne of Scythia. But in the mean time, the king of the Istrians died, and relieved the Scythians both from the fear of war and the want of assistance. Atheas, therefore, sending away the Macedonians, ordered a message to be sent to Philip, that "he had neither sought his aid, nor proposed his adoption; for the Scythians needed no protection from the Macedonians, to whom they were superior in the field, nor did he himself want an heir, as he had a son living."

¹¹ Pompeius Trogus, *Hist. Philip*, IX, 2.

mean that the Scythians were located close to this Greek polis.¹² Starting with the 4th century, several groups of Scythians moved and settled in this region. They practiced the rite of inhumation, while the Getae's graves overwhelmingly exhibited cremation (about 95%). Numerous artifacts of Scythian origins were found on sites all over the region.¹³ Caution must be employed when attributing material remains to ethnic groups. While cremation prevailed in Getae burials, inhumation is not unknown. Still, it is possible that several groups of Scythians settled in the Getae territories and close to the Greek settlements.

Other coins issued with the names of Scythian kings were found in the region between Kallatis and Odessos, all dating to around the year 200 BCE. The kings are unknown from other sources and their names are considered of Scythian origin: Kanitas, Kharaspes, Tanusa, Akrosas, Ailios and Sariakos.¹⁴

¹² Constantin Preda, *Istoria monedei in Dacia preromana*, (Bucuresti, 1998): 120-123. Gh. Peonaru-Bordea dates these coins much later and does not connect them with the Ateas mentioned by Trogus Pompeius, *Buletinul Societatii de Numismatica din Romania* 17-69 (1975): 24-25.

¹³ Mihai Irimia, "Date noi privind necropolele din Dobrogea in a doua epoca a fierului", *Pontica* 16, (1983): 101-106; E. Bujor, "Contributie la cunoasterea populatiei geto-dace din nord-estul Dobrogei", *SCIV* 7, 3-4 (1956): 244, idem, "Sapaturile de salvare de la Murighiol (regiunea Constanta, raionul Tulcea)", *Materiale* 3, (1957): 250; Mihai Irimia, "Cimitirele de incineratie geto-dacice de la Bugeac-Ostrov", *Pontica* 1, (1968): 221, 230, G. Simion, Gh. Cantacuzino, "Cercetarile arheologice de la Telita", *Materiale* 8, (1962): 373 Irina Oberlander-Tarnoveanu, E. Oberlander-Tarnoveanu, "Aspecte ale civilizatiei daco-getice din Dobrogea in lumina cercetarilor de la Sarichioi", *Peuce* 8, (1980): 82; Gh. Stefan et al, "Santieru Histria", *SCIVA* 5, 102 (1954): 69, Gh. Stefan "Tariverdi" (1955):103-104.

¹⁴ Vasile Canarache, "Monedele regilor sciti din Dobrogea", *SCIV* 1, (1950): 213-257; Constantin Preda, *Istoria Monedei in Dacia Preromana* (Bucuresti, 1998): 123-129.

The tumuli with *dromos* and funerary chambers, of the so-called “Macedonian type” found near Kallatis, dated between the late 4th and 2nd centuries BCE, were also either connected with the Scythians or to the Getae. Even though they are located in the territory of Kallatis, these graves were not Greek, and most scholars tie them to the Scythian *basileis* (local kings) located in Dobrogea.¹⁵ Last but not least, an inscription from Histria, dating to around 200 BCE designates the region between the Danube and the Black Sea with the name of *Scythia*.¹⁶

Because of the quality of the sources we can only imagine the reasons and the succession of events connected with Philip’s expedition in Dobrogea. The Scythians, led by Ateas, settled in Dobrogea and obtained from the Greek cities on the shore of the Black Sea tribute money to buy their peaceful cohabitation. The Greeks, unhappy with this arrangement, failed to make the payment, being helped, we do not know how, by Byzantium. Soon after, Pompeius Trogus tells us that a certain “rex Histrianorum” died and the Greeks lost the local population’s support as well as the support of Byzantium. At this point it looks like the Greeks were caught in the middle. Excavations at Histria indicate the city suffered some significant damage towards the end of the 4th century. Since it is impossible to pinpoint the date, this destruction may relate to the conflict between Philip and the Scythians, or the revolt of the Greek cities led by Kallatis in 313 BCE against Lysimachus.¹⁷

¹⁵ Constantin Preda, *Callatis*, Bucuresti (1963): 38-39.

¹⁶ *ISMI*, no. 15.

¹⁷ Diodorus 19, 73: While these were in office, the people of Callantia, who lived on

Destructions dating to the same time period also occur at Histria-Pod and Tomis where a carbonized level from the late 4th century is clearly visible.¹⁸ Philip was successful against the Scythians and he incorporated Dobrogea into his kingdom but it is hard to assess the situation in the Greek cities. It is possible that Macedonian garrisons were stationed inside the Greek settlements. At Histria, for example, archaeological research has revealed numerous coins issued during the reign of Philip II.¹⁹

the left side of the Pontus and who were subject to a garrison that had been sent by Lysimachus, drove out this garrison and made an effort to gain autonomy. In like manner they freed the city of the Istrians and other neighboring cities, and formed an alliance with them binding them to fight together against the prince. They also brought into the alliance those of the Thracians and Scythians whose lands bordered upon their own, so that the whole was a union that had weight and could offer battle with strong forces... After marching through Thrace and crossing the Haemus Mountains, he encamped near Odessus. Beginning a siege, he quickly frightened the inhabitants and took the city by capitulation. Next, after recovering the Istrians in a similar way, he set out against the Callantians. At this very time the Scythians and the Thracians arrived with large forces to aid their allies in accordance with the treaty. Lysimachus, meeting them and engaging them at once, terrified the Thracians and induced them to change sides; but the Scythians he defeated in a pitched battle, slaying many of them and pursuing the survivors beyond the frontiers. Then, encamping about the city of the Callantians, he laid siege to it, since he was very eager to chastise in every way those who were responsible for the revolt. While he was thus engaged, there came certain men bringing word that Antigonos had sent two expeditions to the support of the Callantians, one by land and one by sea, that the general Lycon with the fleet had sailed through into the Pontus, and that Pausanias with a considerable number of soldiers was in camp at a place called Hieron.

¹⁸ K. Zimmerman, A. Avram, "Raport preliminary asupra cercetarilor din punctual Histria-Pod 1980 si 1981", *Materiale* 6 (1986): 65-67; A. Radulescu, C. Scorpan, "Rezultatele preliminare ale saptaturilor arheologice de la Tomis, Parcul Catedralei, 1971-1974", *Pontica* 8 (1975): 25.

¹⁹ C. Preda, (1998): 52. So far, 100 coins from Philip have been found at Histria. It is very interesting that only 4 coins from Lysimachus were unearthed here.

From the assassination of Philip until the appointment of Lysimachus as a governor of Thrace we have no information from the written sources about the situation of the Greek cities in Dobrogea. In 313 BCE, the city of Kallatis expelled the Macedonian garrison and began to ally with other Greek cities, as well as with Thracian and Scythian tribes. Lysimachus confronted them all and regained control over Histria, convincing the Thracians to join his side, defeating the Scythians and eventually besieging Kallatis.²⁰ Even though the Kallatians received the help of both Antigonos Monophthalmos, Lysimachus' enemy, and the Thracian king Seuthes, Lysimachus eventually overpowered the coalition.

The reason the Greek cities rebelled, according to Diodorus (19.73), was the presence of Macedonian garrisons inside their walls. The Macedonian presence dates either from the time of Philip II or from later if we consider the fact that during Alexander's expedition in Asia, the Macedonians lost control over the eastern part of the Balkans. At the time Lysimachus received the governorship over the satrapy of Thrace it is not clear how much power he had over the Greek settlements in Dobrogea.²¹ Pausanias tells us that after Lysimachus obtained Thrace he had to first fight against the Odrysians and the Getae and either he or his son was taken

²⁰ See note 16.

²¹ Diodorus 18, 3, 2: In Europe, Thrace and the neighbouring tribes near the Pontic sea were given to Lysimachus...”, Q. Curtius Rufus 10, 10, 4: Lysimachus Thraciam adpositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes obtinere iussi.; Pausanias 1.9.5: After the death of Alexander, Lysimachus ruled such of the Thracians, who are neighbors of the Macedonians, as had been under the sway of Alexander and before him of Philip. These would comprise but a small part of Thrace, Justinus 13, 4, 16: “...Thrace, and the coasts of the Pontic sea, to Lysimachus...”

prisoners by Dromichetes, a Getan tribal leader ruling some region across the Danube.²²

The revolt of the Pontic cities was part of a bigger conflict between Lysimachus and Antigonos. From our sources we cannot tell if Antigonos instigated this revolt or if he allied himself with Kallatis and the rest of the cities after the uprising in order to keep Lysimachus away from Thrace. Antigonos' troops arrived very late in the conflict, which allowed Lysimachus to engage and defeat the rebellious cities one by one.²³

Besides Kallatis, Diodorus only mentions Histria and Odessos. It is possible that Tomis also participated but because at the time of the conflict it was a relatively minor settlement its role must have been considerably smaller. From an archaeological point of view, Tomis sees a decline at the end of the 4th century. It is unclear whether this can be connected with the war with Lysimachus.²⁴

²² Pausanias 1.9.6: "Then Lysimachus made war against his neighbours, first the Odrysaes, secondly the Getae and Dromichaetes. Engaging with men not unversed in warfare and far his superiors in number, he himself escaped from a position of extreme danger, but his son Agathocles, who was serving with him then for the first time, was taken prisoner by the Getae. Lysimachus met with other reverses afterwards, and attaching great importance to the capture of his son made peace with Dromiclaetes, yielding to the Getic king the parts of his empire beyond the Ister, and, chiefly under compulsion, giving him his daughter in marriage. Others say that not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself was taken prisoner... For the location of Dromichetes see: Radu Florescu, "Tara lui Dromichaites", *Pontica* 14 (1981): 153-157; Constantin Preda "Dromichaites" in *Enciclopedia arheologiei si istoriei vechi romanesti II*; I.T Niculita, "Traco-getii la est de Prut", *Carpica* 23/1 (1992): 107-113.

²³ K. Nawotka, *The Western Pontic Cities: History and Political Organization*, Ohio State University, (1991).

²⁴ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu (2001).

In 311 BCE Antigonos, Lysimachus, Cassander and Ptolemy signed a treaty whose purpose was to put an end to the conflict that started after the death of Alexander.²⁵ This treaty also provided autonomy for the Greek cities. As Diodorus further records, none of Alexander's successors followed the stipulations of the peace treaty. Kallatis found herself under siege again in 310 BCE. Diodorus does not specifically mention a second siege, but he mentions Kallatis again after he writes about Eumelos, the king of the Bosphoran kingdom, who helped the city and a thousand of her citizens move to the northern shore of the Black Sea, because of a lack of food and resources.²⁶ Eumelos' reign started in 310 BCE, so the second siege is either a continuation of the first one or a new siege started by the Macedonians either to punish Kallatis or when the city revolted again without success.

Pippidi had seen the alliance between Kallatis and the other Greek cities on the Pontic shore as a long-term political coalition.²⁷ There are no sources to either

²⁵ Diodorus, 19, 105: "Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus came to terms with Antigonos and made a treaty. In this it was provided that Cassander be general of Europe; that Lysimachus rule Thrace, and that Ptolemy rule Egypt and the cities adjacent thereto in Libya and Arabia; that Antigonos have first place in all Asia; and that the Greeks be autonomous.

²⁶ Diodorus, 20, 25, 1: and when the people of Callantia were besieged by Lysimachus and were hard pressed by lack of food, he took under his care a thousand who had left their homes because of the famine. Not only did he grant them a safe place of refuge, but he gave them a city in which to live and allotted to them the region called Psoancaëticê.

²⁷ D.M.Pippidi, "Les relations des cites de la cote occidentale de l'Euxin a l'époque hellénistique," in *Ecrits de philologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*. (Paris, 1984): 164-176.

confirm or refute such a lasting partnership.²⁸ In fact, in the 3rd century BCE, there is some indication that Kallatis and Histria fought against each other over the *emporion* of Tomis.²⁹

Diodorus writes about a Getae tribal leader named Dromichetes who posed a serious threat to Lysimachus. Some Romanian scholars consider that Dromichetes had a strong influence over the Greek cities in Dobrogea. What form this influence took is unclear at this point.³⁰ If the tribal leader had his headquarters in Moldova and not in the Muntenia Plain (south of the Carpathians), the numerous discoveries of Greek material in the first region leads to the belief that the Getae from here had important connections with the Pontic cities.

The majority of the archaeological material found in Moldova does not come from systematic research but from field surveys and isolated discoveries. Still, a lot of the findings confirm that there were significant connections with the Pontic Greeks. The majority of the material is of course ceramic: amphorae from Thasos, Rhodes, Kos, Heraklea and Sinope and quite a few Greek coins minted at Histria from the 4th century, together with Macedonian coins.³¹

²⁸ Ligia Ruscu, (2002): 87.

²⁹ Memnon, 21.

³⁰ D. Berciu, D.M. Pippidi, *Din Istoria Dobrogei. Geti si Greci la Dunarea de Jos din cele mai vechi timpuri pana la cucerirea romana, partea II: Strainii de peste mari*, Bucuresti, (1965): 21-216.

³¹ Constantin Preda, (1998) *passim*; Bucur Mitrea, "Etape cronologice in relatiile Histriei cu geto-dacii pe baza monedelor", *Thraco-dacica* 5, (1984): 111-122, Bucur

Until further archaeological research is done it is impossible at this stage to clearly understand the dynamic of the relationships between the Getae of Dromichetes and the Pontic Greeks.

3.3 The Bosphoran Kingdom and Rome

The Bosphoran kingdom was founded around 480 BCE by an alliance of several Greek *poleis*. The capital of the kingdom was Panticapaeum, present day Kerch. It lasted about 300 years, having its economic and politic heyday in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE when it produced important quantities of grain imported by Athens.³² The kingdom enjoyed a spectacular revival under Mithridates VI Eupator who expanded his influence over an immense territory and whose policies in the region conflicted with those of Rome. Eventually, in 65 BCE, Pompey defeated Mithridates.³³

Sometime between 114-107 BCE and the war with Rome, the Bosphoran kingdom under Mithridates Eupator, incorporated the western Pontic cities under its

Mitrea, C. Buzdugan, "Un tezaur de monede istriene descoperit in Moldova", *SCN* 8, (1984): 25-36; idem, "Tezaurul de la Fedesti", *SCN* 9, (1989): 11-22.

³² Alfonso Moreno, "Athenian Wheat Tsars. Black Sea grain and Elite culture", in *The Black Sea in Antiquity. Regional and interregional economic exchanges*. Vincent Gabrielsen, John Lund, (eds.), Aarhus University Press, (2007): 69-84.

³³ Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 114-119, Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 37.

rule.³⁴ It is not clear how this situation came about. Most scholars assume that the Greek settlements welcomed or at least sought the help of another power in the region who could aid them in a very dangerous political context.³⁵ The Getae tribes became increasingly dominant in the area, and some of the inscriptions found at Histria document their constant threat.³⁶ On the other hand, Mithridates himself sought an alliance with the indigenous tribes from the region when the threat of Rome became evident. Justin tells us that Mithridates tried to establish relationships not only with the Scythians but also with the Cimbri, Bastarnae and Sarmatians.³⁷

An inscription from Histria written for Diogenes, son of Diogenes from Amastris, a *strategos* of Mithridates, shows that he was the commander of the garrison stationed at Histria.³⁸ The inscription gives thanks to Diogenes who brought home from captivity Histrian citizens who were held in Byzantium, paying at the

³⁴ F. Hind, Mithridates, CAH IX: *The Last Age of the Roman Republic*, (Cambridge, 1994): 129-164; D.B. Shelov, "Le royaume pontique de Mithridate Eupator", *JS*, jul.-dec.(1982): 244-266.

³⁵ L. Ruscu, (2002): 121.

³⁶ *ISMI*, no. 1, 9, 15, 19, 20, 54, 56.

³⁷ Justin, 38, 3, 6: Mithridates intellecto quantum bellum suscicaret, legatos ad Cimbros, alios as Gallograecos et Sarmatas Bastarnasque auxilium petitum mittit" (Mithridates understanding that he was provoking a war, he sent ambassadors to the Cimbri, the Gallograecians, the Sarmatians, and the Bastarnians, to request aid); also in Cassius Dio, *Hist. Rom.* Books 36 & 37; B.C. McGing, *The foreign policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus*, (Leiden Brill, 1986): 61.

³⁸ Alexandru Avram, Octavian Bounegru, "Mithridates al VI-lea Eupator si coasta de vest a Pontului Euxin. In jurul unui decret inedit de la Histria", *Pontica* 30, (1997): 155-165.

same time the sum that Histria owed. Furthermore, all three major Greek *poleis* on the western coast, Histria, Kallatis and Tomis, minted staters after the Pontic kingdom standard. Kallatis used Mithridates' portrait on the coins while Histria and Tomis used those of Mithridates' sons. This does not mean that Mithridates annexed the west Pontic cities. Histria, Tomis and Kallatis were still autonomous but like most of the Greek cities all around the Black Sea, they were under the strong influence of the Pontic kingdom. The Greeks on the western shore more likely were caught between the rising power of the Thracian and Getae tribes and the authority and ambition of Mithridates.

The first contacts between the west Pontic cities and Rome comes after the death of Mithridates, during the campaign of Terentius Varro Lucullus, which is documented by Eutropius and an inscription from Kallatis.³⁹ The status of the Greek cities in this region after the campaign of Lucullus is unclear. It is unlikely that the

³⁹ ISM III, no. 1; also Eutropius, 6, 10: "The other Lucullus, who had the management of affairs in Macedonia, was the first of the Romans who made war upon the Bessi, defeating them in a great battle on Mount Haemus; he reduced the town of Uscudama, which the Bessi inhabited, on the same day in which he attacked it; he also took Cabyle, and penetrated as far as the river Danube. He then besieged several cities lying above Pontus, where he destroyed Apollonia, Calatis, Parthenopolis, Tomi, Histros, and Biuzone."

Romans left garrisons here since the areas were not yet connected with the other Roman possessions in this region. It was not long though before Rome occupied the western shore of the Black Sea. M. Licinius Crassus annexed the whole of Dobrogea to Rome's Balkan possessions at the end of his military campaign in 29-27 BCE.

CHAPTER 4

HISTRIA (ISTROS)

4.1 Introduction

Histria is the best-known Greek polis on the western shore of the Black Sea. This is due partly to the fact that more ancient literary sources mention it than the rest of the Greek settlements in Dobrogea, and partly because the site has been systematically researched, almost without interruption, since 1914.

Histria is located on a peninsula flanked to the north and east by Lake Sinoe, a sea gulf in antiquity, to the west by Lake Istria and to the south-west, by Lake Duingi.¹ Traditionally, Histria is considered a Milesian creation, the founding of this settlement dates to the middle of the 7th century BCE.²

Little is known from written sources about the settlement's first two hundred years. Most information comes from archaeological excavations that uncovered the so-called "sacred area" and about 5% of the archaic levels.³ The material from the archaic levels is relatively rich which probably means that the settlement was quite

¹ The name of the settlement appears as *Ἰστρος* in Ps-Skymnos, 367, *Ἰσρτίη* in Herodotus II, 33, *Ἰστροπόλις* in a lost inscription from Histria, *Histrus* in Eutropius, *Histria* in SHA, *Vita Max. et Balb*, XVI 3, *Histros* in Amm. Marcell. XXII 8,43 even *Histriopolis* in Pln, *N. hIV* 44, 78-79, Pomp. Mela, II 2,5. In Romanian scholarship the name Histria is usually used although some scholars use Istria too but this could create confusion since the modern village Istria is located 9 km east from the ruins of the Greek settlement.

² 657 BCE in Eusebius.

³ D. M. Pippidi, *Histria I*, (1962), Idem. *Dacia NS VI*, (1962).

successful in the first years of its foundation. From archaeological finds located outside the settlement, some at quite a distance away, it is safe to assume that Histria established a *chora* in its immediate vicinity and a large zone of influence further away inland. Histria minted its first coins around 480 BCE and was a lively centre of commerce by the end of the Archaic period.⁴

The accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few created a tense situation at Histria in the second half of the 5th century which led to the removal of the oligarchic regime and the instauration of democracy. Some scholars have suggested that under the influence of Athens, after the expedition of Pericles to the Black Sea in 436 BCE,⁵ some individuals at Histria and the other Greek Pontic cities who had obtained their wealth maybe from commerce or other means but were not part of the governing class, obtained by force a share of political power. This is what Aristotle seems to imply when he writes that:

There are two patent causes of revolutions in oligarchies: First, when the oligarchs oppress the people, for then anybody is good enough to

⁴ Octavian Iliescu, *Viata Economica in Scythia Minor*, Bucuresti (1967): 11

⁵ Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives, Volume 12*, Bibliobazaar, 2008: 59 *Life of Pericles*: Entering also the Euxine Sea with a large and finely equipped fleet, he obtained for the Greek cities any new arrangements they wanted, and entered into friendly relations with them; and to the barbarous nations, and kings and chiefs round about them, displayed the greatness of the power of the Athenians, their perfect ability and confidence to sail where-ever they had a mind, and to bring the whole sea under their control. He left the Sinopians thirteen ships of war, with soldiers under the command of Lamachus, to assist them against Timesileus the tyrant; and when he and his accomplices had been thrown out, obtained a decree that six hundred of the Athenians that were willing should sail to Sinope and plant themselves there with the Sinopians, sharing among them the houses and land which the tyrant and his party had previously held.

be their champion, especially if he be himself a member of the oligarchy, as Lygdamis at Naxos, who afterwards came to be tyrant. But revolutions which commence outside the governing class may be further subdivided. Sometimes, when the government is very exclusive, the revolution is brought about by persons of the wealthy class who are excluded, as happened at Massalia and Istros and Heraclea, and other cities. Those who had no share in the government created a disturbance, until first the elder brothers, and then the younger, were admitted; for in some places father and son, in others elder and younger brothers, do not hold office together. At Massalia the oligarchy became more like a constitutional government, but at Istros ended in a democracy, and at Heraclea was enlarged to 600.⁶

For the archaic period, the most important political event was the expedition led by the Persian king Darius in his attempt to subdue the Scythians who lived to the north of the Black Sea. Romanian scholars usually connect the destruction of some of the archaic levels at Histria with the coming of the Persians. It is unlikely that the Darius' troops caused destruction in the Greek cities in Dobrogea since some of his allies were Ionian Greeks as Herodotus has recorded.⁷ Recently, a different opinion connects the destructions with the Scythians, who punished the Greeks at Histria for aiding the Persian king.⁸

The events of the 4th century had an even greater impact on Histria and the rest of the Greek cities in this area. Dobrogea was always a bridge that connected the northern steppe populations with the Balkan peninsula and from there with the rest of the Mediterranean world.

⁶ Aristotle, *Pol.* V, 6.

⁷ Herodotus, 4, 137-138.

⁸ Ligia Ruscu, *Relatiile externe ale oraselor grecesti de pe litoralul romanesc al Marii Negre*, Presa Universitara Clujeana, Cluj-Napoca (2002): 39.

The Scythians used this area as a link to the south, where they often led expeditions for plunder. In the 4th century a coalition of several tribes led by Ateas clashed with the Macedonians who tried to stop their invasion. The outcome of this conflict was the incorporation of the Greek colonies of Dobrogea into the Macedonian sphere of influence and, after the death of Alexander, Lysimachus, his successor in Thrace, occupied Dobrogea and the Greek settlements.

The revolt of 313 BCE did not succeed in freeing the cities from Macedonian rule. Histria does not seem to have suffered the consequences that her ally to the south Kallatis did. In 260 BCE, again allied with Kallatis, Histria suffered a defeat against Byzantion, a conflict that would have far reaching consequences for the city. From then on, a series of unfavorable circumstances weakened the city.

Histria's port was gradually clogged by sand brought by the Danube and there are important indications that this affected the maritime traffic in the late 3rd century BCE.⁹ If we believe a 1st century BCE source, the main income of the city came from fishing in the Black Sea.¹⁰ Also, with the many military campaigns of the Scythians and the Macedonians in the area and increase in raids over the Danube by the Getae tribes from the Baragan plain, Histria must have had a very hard time exploiting and defending its *chora*. This situation is well documented in several inscription discovered in the city, which specifically mention the inability of the

⁹ Octavian Bounegru, "Portul Histriei in Antichitate" in: *Economie si societate in spatiul ponto-egean sec. II AC-III PC*, Casa Editoriale Demiurg, Iasi (2003): 34.

¹⁰ ISMI no. 68.

citizens to take care of their food supply. The problem of making use of the *chora* is discussed below.

To all the problems mentioned above we can add that Histria's trade routes to the north over the Danube, in today's Moldova, became hard to maintain because of the settlement in this region of the Bastarnae. On one exceptional occasion, Histria was even forced to ally herself with a Thracian *basileus*, Rhemaxos, who promised to protect the city.¹¹

The end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BCE, came with the extension of the power of Mithridates Eupator over the Greek cities in Dobrogea and a military garrison stationed here supported the city against the neighboring Thracians and Getae.

The Roman conquest would soon change this situation, and in 71 BCE, Roman armies occupied the Greeks cities in Dobrogea after a campaign led by the proconsul of Macedonia, Terentius Varro Lucullus.¹² The subsequent history of Histria is a relatively successful one under the Roman Empire, but it is not part of this study.

Histria and its territory should theoretically be better known and understood simply because the settlement is free from modern buildings, the *chora* fairly accessible to research and the archaeological investigations will soon reach 100

¹¹ The situation and the name of the *basileos* are mentioned in an inscription discovered at Histria, dated around the year 200 BCE. *ISM* I, no. 34.

¹² T. Liv, *Per.* XCVII; App, *Illyr.*, 30; Eutrop., *Brev.*, VI 10; Ruf. Festus, *Brev.*, 9; Amm. Marcell., XXVII 4, 11.

years of activity. Unfortunately this is not the case. Research in the *chora* is disappointing. In 1971, two articles published in the journal *Peuce* talked about the exciting investigations taking place in the territory of the Greek colonies in Dobrogea using aerial photography, the beginning of a fruitful research project that was planned for the near future in order to answer important questions regarding the establishment and organization of the *chora* of Histria and other Greek sites.¹³ Sadly, the research was never finished and subsequent studies used and still use the few data collected then. Few sites in the *chora* of Histria have been systematically researched. One of the most interesting settlements, the one at Tariverde, was excavated in the 1950s, but a complete publication of the material has never occurred.¹⁴ The rest of the material comes from partially excavated sites or from field surveys.

Other important information concerning the territory of Histria can be found in the 3rd and 2nd century BCE inscriptions which mention the *polis* in opposition to its territory, and some inscriptions from the Roman period that reveal a older situation or status of the *chora*. It is usually agreed, that by the Hellenistic period, Histria had an extensive territory. How and when this territory was acquired is not known but from the little information we have some conclusions can be drawn.

¹³ Petre Alexandrescu, "Observatii asupra organizarii spatiale in necropola Histriei", *Peuce* II. (1971), p. 27-36 Emilia Dorutiu-Boila, "Observatii aerofotografice in teritoriul rural al Histriei", *Peuce* II (1971): 37-46.

¹⁴ Tariverde, "Asezare bastinasa sau factorie histriana", *Pontica* 5 (1972): 77-88.

From an archaeological point of view, Histria was built on a site that was never occupied by any other previous population before. The same can be said about the settlements found in its territory. The Getae, who, in theory, were the “owners” of the land in Dobrogea, never established a maritime civilization. The majority of their settlements were located near the Danube but as far as we can tell they were not interested in sailing on the Black Sea. Still, this does not mean there was a complete lack of Getae settlements near the sea. The sites of Enisala and Murigiol are two examples.¹⁵

Romanian scholars generally agree that once the Greeks settled at Histria, they divided the land in its immediate vicinity into lots, which were given to each family.¹⁶ So far though, this cannot be proven. On the contrary, if we are to look at the situation in other places where the Greeks established settlements, for example at Metapontion in southern Italy, the division of the *chora* there was done sometime around 500 BCE, more that 100 years after the first settlers arrived.¹⁷ Plus, at Histria or near the other Greek settlements on the western shore of the Black Sea we cannot identify on the ground the kind of land division, in a grid, that we can

¹⁵ Gavrilă Simion, *Culturi antice în zona gurilor Dunării*. Vol I, Istorie și Proto-Istorie, Editura Nereamia Napocae (2003): 260.

¹⁶ E. Doruțiu-Boila *op. cit.*, p.38, D. M. Pippidi, “Relatiile agrare din cetățile pontice înainte de cucerirea română”, *Contribuții la Istoria României*, ed. 2 (1967): 120-166.

¹⁷ Joseph Carter, “Towards a Comparative Study of *Chora*, West and East”, in *Surveying the Greek Chora, The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*, eds. Pia Guldager Bilde, Vladimir Stolba (Danish Research Foundation. Centre for Black Sea Studies, University of Aarhus Press (2006): 192.

distinguish in Magna Grecia, or on the northern shore of the Black Sea. Nevertheless this does not mean it did not exist, in the case of Kallatis, later Roman border markers seem to have used an older land demarcation. Also, during the communist period, the land of Dobrogea was used for “intensive” agriculture, a process that could have destroyed the ancient land partition.

The first question to ask about the territory of Histria concerns its size. Do we in fact have enough information to establish its limits? Fortunately two inscriptions from Histria, from the Roman period but nevertheless important, specifically mention the *chora* of the city. These documents are 3rd century CE copies of a decree promulgated on October 25, 100 CE which described the limits of the *chora* of Histria.¹⁸ There are several problems associated with these inscriptions. They are both fragmentary so it is not always clear if they can be correctly read. The border indicators are geographic reference points like rivers and elevations that are not always clear on the ground.¹⁹ However Dobrogea does not have a lot of rivers, it is likely that the identifications are for the most part correct. Maybe the biggest issue is

¹⁸ The two inscription are copy A and B of the same document written by the same person according to V. Parvan in Histria IV, p. 559. *ISM* 1, no 67: “[confluentes riu]o[r]um Pisculi et gabani inde ab i]-[mo Gabrano ad c]a[[p]ud [eiusdem inde...iuxta riuum] Sanpaeum inde ad riuum T]u[rg]iculum [...]t[...][a riuo Calabae]o, milia passum [circite]r” *ISM* 1, no. 68: “Fines Histrianorum hos esse con[stitui]...Pe]u]cem laccum Halmyridem a do[minio.] Argamensium, inde iugo summo [...ad c-]onfluentes riorum Piscusculi et Ga[brani inde ab imo] Gabrano ad capud eiusdem inde [...iuxta riuum S]anpaeum inde as riuum Turgicu[lum...] a riuo Calabeo milia passum circi]ter JD (?) XVI.”

¹⁹ Alexandru Avram, “Intinderea teritoriului Histriei in epoca romana in lumina hotarniciei consularului Manius Laberius Maximus. Incercare de reconstituire”. *Cultura si Civilizatie la Dunarea de Jos* 4 (1991): 189.

the fact that the inscriptions record a situation that is much later in the history of Histria and could have no connections with the circumstances the city and the territory were in before the Roman conquest. However, at the height of the city's existence it is possible that the territory stretched considerably inland:

The borders of the territory of Histria are as following...Peuce, the lake Halmyris starting with the territory of Argamum and from here to the heights...until the confluence of the rivers Piscusculus and Gabranus until the mouth of the river Gabranus to the origin of this river, and from here...near the river Sanpacus towards the river Turgiculus...from the river Calabacus...approximately 517 thousand feet...²⁰

For the Roman period the *chora* of Histria stretched to the north all the way to the Danube delta, included lake Razelm (Halmyris), continued to the west along the hills of Enisala and Slava Rusa and then along the rivers Slava Rusa, Slava Chercheza, Beidaud, Ramnic and Casimcea all the way to lake Tasaul in the south. If this situation was possible in the 1st to 3rd centuries CE it seems unlikely in the archaic period. There is no evidence to support the claim that Histria controlled such an extensive territory from the beginning of the city's existence. If indeed Histria extended her "influence" in this area it was a gradual process and so far no written sources have confirmed this situation. Inscriptions found in the city from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE do mention a *chora* without any indication of how far it extended from the settlement or where its limits were.

If the written sources cannot tell us more than already mentioned, then it is up to the material evidence to provide the missing information.

4.2 Settlements in the *Chora* of Histria

The territory around the Greek settlement of Histria has been the subject of intense archaeological research for at least 100 years. Sadly, systematic investigation has not been possible for a variety of reasons. The lack of funds for research was and always is an issue along with the shortage of trained archaeologists and curators. There are numerous ancient sites, probably in the thousands, which have been identified in field surveys but never methodically explored.²¹

Archaeological research done close to Histria has brought to light several Archaic settlements. Two of them are located relatively close 4 to 5 km to the city. One is at Istria Pod and the other one at Histria–Sat with very rich layers dating to the second half of the 6th century BCE and one belonging to the end of Archaic period. The character of this site is difficult to assess. It could have been an agricultural settlement. The second one is poorly investigated and is situated in the vicinity of the present day village of Istria and has a necropolis of its own.²²

Other settlements are situated at a more considerable distance from the city and seem to be concentrated along the small river/creek Junan Dere. In the vicinity of the village of Nuntasi 10 km west of Histria two sites have been identified: Nuntasi

²⁰ *ISMI*, no 67

²¹ Livia Buzoianu, *Civilizatia greaca in zona vest pontica si impactul ei asupra lumii autohtone*, Ovidius University Press, Constanta (2001) passim.

²² Avram, Bounegru & Chiriac ,”Cercetari perieghetice in teritoriul Histriei”, *Pontica* 18 (1985): 114.

II with four levels of Archaic material and Nuntasi I only partially investigated. This site seems to be the oldest in the chora of Histria.²³ The configuration of the territory in the south is much clearer after the discovery of the Greek necropolis at Corbu de Jos which is dated to around 500 BCE.²⁴

Maybe the most interesting settlement is Tariverde, situated 18 km west of Histria. The oldest pottery found here is from the first quarter of the 6th century BCE. Some habitations look like dugouts with an oval shaped or rectangular plan but with rounded corners. Because of this some scholars have interpreted them as a characteristic settlement of the indigenous population.²⁵ Yet, quantitatively, Greek pottery dominates, while Getic ware represents only 10-15%.²⁶ Among the latter, there are some vessels characteristics of Hallstatt D. Also the Greek ware although mostly Ionian is extremely varied with pottery from all over the Greek world.

Whether or not the site of Triverde was part of the Histrian *chora* in the archaic period is still debatable. It is regrettable that this site, excavated in the 1950

²³ C. Domaneantu, "Un sanctuaire hellénistique du site de Nuntasi", *Dacia NS* 37 (1993): 59-78.

²⁴ Mihai Bucovala, Mihai Irimia, "Cimitirul din secolele VI-V de la Corbu," *Pontica*, 4 (1971): 41.

²⁵ Archaeological reports: *SCIV* 3 1952, 269-274, 4 (1953), 130-134, 5 (1954), 100-1008, 6 (1955), 543-551, *Materiale* 4 (1957), 77-78, 5 (1959), 318-322, 7 (1960), 273-281, C. Preda (1972): 77-88.

²⁶ There is no detailed publication of the material from Tariverde. Manucu Adamesteanu "Un'officina istriana per la produzione della ceramica a figure nere" in *Il Mar Nero* 2 (1995-1996): 103-111.

has not been entirely published and that the archaeological research was abruptly interrupted and never completed.

Tarivere is clearly an important site and a very puzzling one too. The archeological excavations uncovered the existence of an archaic level here with a thickness of 0.20 to 0.40 cm. The dugout type of dwellings, so often found in the native sites both in Dobrogea and the north of the Black Sea, were the only kind of constructions identified here in the first level of occupation.²⁷ Because of this, Romanian scholars were convinced that this type of constructions did not accommodate Greek colonists who would not have lived in such meager conditions. The site was first considered a native creation close to Histria. The idea was that the settling of the Greek colonists on the shore of the Black Sea attracted the native Getae closer to the newcomers and this process was possible because both populations were interested in trade.

Lately though, Tariverde is seen as a Greek settlement in the chora of Histria that had an important role in the grain trade in the region. The numerous bell shaped pits found at the site, grouped around the dugout dwellings, are believed to have been storage for grain collected from the area and then transported to Histria and beyond. The Greek pottery, which represents a clear majority at this site, seems to confirm the fact that this was a Greek community. However, it is notoriously hard to

²⁷ Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, "Greek Penetration of the Black Sea", in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonization. Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, G. Tsetskhladze, Franco De Angelis (eds.), (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 40 (1994): 117.

associate pottery with ethnicity; not every Greek shard means that Greek individuals were present.

If the site of Tariverde was indeed a Greek community, then it means that from the very beginning of Histria, the city had enough colonists not only to inhabit the *polis* but also to spread inland and establish settlements in the hearth of the Getae “country”. In order to explain this situation, Alexandru Avram, influenced by Tsetsckhladze, proposed a second colonization around the year 600 BCE that supposedly brought more settlers to the western and northern shores of the Black Sea.²⁸ It was the time when there was a noticeable increase in settlements on the northern shore of the Black Sea. Olbia was also founded at this time, very close to Berezan, the first colony on the northern shore.²⁹

If this second colonization indeed took place, it provided Tariverde and other sites with the inhabitants the archaeological excavations lead us to believe lived in these settlements. This “boom” in population did not last because from the middle of the 5th century and through almost all the 4th century, several settlements, including the one at Tariverde were either completely abandoned or their inhabited

²⁸ Alexandru Avram, “The Territories of Istros and Kallatis”, in *Surveying the Greek Chora. The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*, Pia Guldager Bilde, Vladimir Stolba, eds., Danish National Research Foundation’s Centre for Black Sea Studies, University of Aarhus (2006): 59-80.

²⁹ G. Tsetsckhladze, *The Greek Colonization of the Black Sea Area, Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, Historia Einzelschriften, Franz Steiner Stuttgart, (1998).

area drastically reduced. The same situation has been observed at Histria, where the archaeological remains for the 5th century are few.³⁰

Tariverde, if abandoned, was reoccupied in the 3rd century, when the dugout dwellings became very rare and the surface buildings more numerous. The site took on an urban character with streets and a sewage system. A lively commercial life is attested by a variety of stamped amphorae, bronze coins from Histria, a huge quantity of Greek pottery and some fragments of hand-made local ware.³¹

Still, Tariverde, the best-known site in the territory of Histria, raises more questions than it answers. One of the most remarkable characteristics of this site is its location. It must have taken an individual traveling by foot at least three days to reach Histria from Tariverde. This fact alone is significant because it means that the Greeks were numerous enough to move away from the main colony. The theory of the second wave of colonization could solve this problem. On the other hand, we do not know how the colonists took over the land. How did they provide security for the crops and settlements? Were they the ones that worked the land? What was the situation of the native population?

The only thing we know with certainty is that the archaeological excavations did not reveal any trace of native material on the site of Tariverde before the coming

³⁰ Maria Coja, "Ceramica autohtona de la Histria", *Pontica 3* (1970): 99-122.

³¹ Constantin Preda "Tariverde. Asezare bastinasa sau factorie histriana?" *Pontica V* (1972): 73.

of the Greeks.³² This means the site was settled after this event. The archaeological material in the first level, the archaic one, is identical with the contemporary one at Histria. Also, the Greek pottery, which is clearly the majority, tempts us to attribute a Greek character to this site even though the native element is proven by the presence of the hand-made pottery. As noted before, pottery does not equal ethnic identity. Still, the question remains of how the Greeks and the Getae negotiated their collaboration.

The Romanian scholars who conducted the research at Tariverde are convinced that this site was founded as a direct initiative of Histria which was looking to establish its leadership in the grain trade in this region.³³ The basis for this claim is the existence of the great number of storage pits found on the site, which, even though no specific studies were done, were considered as a place to store up grain before moving it to Histria or for export.

This indeed seems to be part of the economic plan of Histria but, as later records prove, it was not easy to accomplish. There must have been some kind of agreement between the Greeks and the local tribal leaders. For a while, the idea of the enslavement of the local population was popular with the scholars because of similar situations in other colonies on the Black Sea, namely Olbia and Pantikapaion

³² C. Preda, (1972): 82.

³³ D. Berciu, *Din istoria Dobrogei, Getii si Grecii la Dunarea de Jos*, Bucuresti (1965): 90, 94-95.

where a revolt of the slaves may have taken place, although the sources are not entirely clear on the exact status of the local population.³⁴

Another example is Pontic Heraklea, where according to ancient sources, the position of the local population was degraded to the status of “helots”, but even there it is still unclear how the Greeks accomplished this if, indeed, it was the case.³⁵

For the territory of Histria we do not have any sources that even remotely imply the existence of a slave-based agriculture in the city’s *chora*. While there should be no doubt that slavery existed here, and as Moses Finley and others suggested, it could have been a significant part of the commercial life, it is less likely that slaves were used in agriculture.³⁶ On the northern shore of the Black Sea, some evidence from Olbia and the surrounding area, from the Archaic period attests the existence of slaves. For example, the letter of Achillodoros mentions that his family of eight people had at its disposal five slaves.³⁷ Nadezda Gavriijuk, citing in her article several scholars who have studied the written evidence from the northern Pontic colonies, concludes that: “Nothing indicates that large-scale slave-holding

³⁴ D. M. Pipiddi, *Contributii la Istoria Veche a Romaniei*, Bucuresti (1969): 122.

³⁵ Plato, *Leg.* VI 776, Arist. *Polit.* VII, 5.

³⁶ M. Finley, “The Black Sea and Danubia Regions and the Slave Trade in Antiquity”, *Klio* 40 (1962): 51-9.

³⁷ Nadezda Gavriijuk, “The Graeco-Scythian Slave-trade”, *The Cauldron of Ariantas*, Pia Guldager Bilde, Jakob Munk Hojte and Vladimir Stolba eds., Aarhus University Press (2003): 75-86.

was common.”³⁸ More likely is that slaves were transferred from the colonies to other slave-markets as some of the lead letters found on the northern shore indicate. One letter, found in Phanagoria, on the Taman peninsula, is proof of the slave trade with Olbia and Borysthenes and reads: “This slave was exported for sale from Boristhenes, his name is Phaulles. We wish all (debts?) to be paid.”³⁹

There is also the question of how Histria, in the archaic period, could accomplish the very hard task of coming up with enough military support to keep under slavery a local population that would have had strong support from the Getae settlements situated to the north and west along the Danube.⁴⁰ Near the site of Tariverde, archaeological research has unearthed an important tribal centre at Beidaud belonging to the Getae, a settlement that was flourishing at the same time as the Greek centre.⁴¹ This fact alone suggests some sort of cooperation based on similar interests between the Greeks and the Getae.

As far as the trade in slaves goes, several sources imply this region and other areas around the Black Sea were important sources for the heartland Greeks and especially Athenians. The most cited source is Strabo who explains that the names Geta and Daos occurring in the Attic New Comedy were Getae and Dacians.

³⁸ Gavriljuk, (2003): 80.

³⁹ Vinogradov (1998): 160-3.

⁴⁰ Mihai Irimia, “Descoperiri noi privind populatia autohtona a Dobrogei si legaturile ei cu coloniile grecesti”, *Pontica* 6 (1973): 7-71.

⁴¹ Livia Buzoianu, (2001): 43.

But there is also another division of the country which has endured from early times, for some of the people are called Daci, whereas others are called Getae — Getae, those who incline towards the Pontus and the east, and Daci, those who incline in the opposite direction towards Germany and the sources of the Ister. The Daci, I think, were called Daï in early times; whence the slave names "Geta" and "Daüs which prevailed among the Attic people."⁴²

Modern scholarship has demonstrated that such names are rather of Phrygian origin, and not Thracian.⁴³ Nevertheless, it is significant to note that Strabo's explanation could convince his readers only if Getae slaves were common in Athens and more generally in the Aegean world.

An interesting funerary inscription from Rheneia offers a list of the slaves of an individual with the name of Protarchos.⁴⁴ The inscription is dated to the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century BCE. All the slave names are accompanied by the corresponding ethnic most of them of Pontic origin. Three of the names are pertinent to this study: Istrianoi Bithes and Damas and Kalliothe Odessitis. One of the Istrianoi has a very common Thracian name, Bitus. Pippidi suggested that these are "false ethnics" that do not demonstrate the real origin of the slave in question but the

⁴² Strabo, *Geo.* 7.3.12.

⁴³ M. Finley, *Ancient Economy*, Sather Classical Lectures (1973).

⁴⁴ Alexandru Avram, "Some thoughts about the Black Sea and the Slave Trade", in *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, Vincent Gabrielsen, John Lund, eds , Aarhus University Press (2007): 239-52.

market where the slave was sold. Other scholars have also given good reasons why it is wrong to try to infer an ethnic origin from the names of the slaves.⁴⁵

Prudence must also be employed when we find the name of a city as the name of a slave. If we accept that the name means that the slave was sold in that particular place then we have a good proof that Pontic cities like Histria and Kallatis were active slave markets that provided this commodity to the markets in the Aegean. The slaves sold at Histria probably came from the Getan and Thracian hinterland and were sold in the cities on the western coast and then shipped out to cities of the Aegean. There were probably several ways to obtain slaves from the local Thracians. According to Herodotus “the Thracians sell their children for export abroad” (5.6.1) but, more likely, the numerous intertribal wars must have produced a good supply of slaves. Some were freed for ransom but this happened more with Greek citizens than Thracians or Getae. Xenophon describes how, in order to pay Greek mercenaries, Seuthes II dispatched Herakleides to Perinthos to sell 1000 people he had just captured from another Thracian dynast.⁴⁶ This might very well have been the rule and not the exception: “peaceful conditions were not conducive to the production of large numbers of potential slaves internally and many of the

⁴⁵O. Masson, “Le nom de Battos, fondateur de Cyrène et un groupe de mots grecs apparentes “, *Glotta* 54: 84-98.

⁴⁶ Xenophon, *Anab.* 7.4.2.

Thracian slaves documented in the sources were probably acquired from peripheral regions in times of conflict.⁴⁷

From an archaeological point of view, the organization of the Histrian territory looks like it was a process that was done peacefully. The necropolis near Histria contained non-Greek burials, probably local aristocracy, dating to the mid to late 6th century BCE.⁴⁸ In the late 1960s a series of field surveys corroborated with aerial photography revealed the fact that the land north and west of Histria, where the necropolis was located, was cut by several roads that seem to be heading towards settlements in the *chora*, and that these roads also provided a way to access the tumuli in the necropolis. These roads could have had another function. They appear to have been used to mark the lots or land parcels to accommodate funerary constructions. Another structure noticeable on the aerial photographs is a wall, perhaps defensive, that does not cut any of the tumuli but was actually built around some of them. This defensive wall has been destroyed in many places but its main purpose, besides that of protection, could have been to mark the end of the necropolis and the beginning of the *chora*, or the agricultural territory.⁴⁹

Outside this wall, several roads have been identified during field surveys. The distance between each of these roads seems to be constant, a fact that might

⁴⁷ Zofia Archibald, *Discovering the World of the Ancient Greeks*, Facts on File Inc, (1991): 228.

⁴⁸ P. Alexandrescu, "Necropola Tumulara", in *Histria II*, Bucuresti (1966): 133-176.

⁴⁹ P. Alexandrescu, "Peisajul Histrian in Antichitate", *Pontica 3* (1970): 77-86.

suggest some sort of division of the territory. Another interesting observation is that the tumuli further away from the necropolis are always situated on the edge of the road, for easy access.

But the situation on the ground is unfortunately more complicated since it looks like sometime after the initial land distribution a later division took place. Some researchers have placed this second partition during or after the time Histria switched from an oligarchic system to democracy, a situation impossible to prove with the information we have so far.⁵⁰

The territory around Histria suffered important modifications during, and especially after the time this site was inhabited. Significant parts of the *chora* were inundated by seawater, which probably erased important clues on the ground. West of the city, for example, the plain that in ancient times was part of the immediate agricultural land is now under the waters of Lake Istria. Archaeological excavations on the lake's sole, small island have revealed the remains of ancient farm buildings.⁵¹

Most of the sites mentioned above continued to be occupied during the classical and Hellenistic periods. It is not entirely clear if the whole territory saw a drop in population in the 5th century as was recorded at Tariverde. More archaeological research must be done in order to answer this question. At Histria

⁵⁰ D.M. Pippidi, (1969): 121; P. Alexandrescu, "Aristotel despre constitutia Histriei", *Studii Clasice* 24 (1986): 63-70.

⁵¹ G. Caraivan, "Evolutia zonei lacului Agigea in cuaternarul tarziu", *Pontica* 16 (1983): 9-15.

Pod and Nuntasi II so far there are clues that life there continued uninterrupted. Whether or not these sites extended their occupational areas or became smaller is impossible to assess at this point because of the lack of archaeological information. There are other regions colonized by the Greeks that saw a significant settlement and thus population fluctuations in the 5th century BCE. Olbia, on the northern shore of the Black Sea is one example, as well as Metapontum in Southern Italy.⁵²

While there are no obvious reasons why the fifth century was a difficult one for the Greek settlements in Dobrogea, Darius' campaign against the Scythians is almost always used as an event that might have caused disruptions in the life of the settlements in this region. Histria's defensive city wall was destroyed; some houses and temples have traces of burning and were partially demolished.⁵³ It is possible that during or after the conflict between the Persians and the Scythians, some of the rural inhabitants abandoned their settlements and moved or migrated along the coast.⁵⁴ Another reason for the disappearance or the shrinking of settlements in the *chora* of Histria could have been the conquest of Ionia by the Persians, an event that probably severed trade contacts with Dobrogea.

While there is no one explanation for the settlement abandonment in the 5th century, there is also no good explanation why the 4th century sees a boom in

⁵² J. C. Carter, "Metapontum. Land, Wealth and Population", in *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, J-P Descoeudres ed., Oxford (1990): 405-441.

⁵³ Radu Florescu, Ioan Miclea, *Histria*, Bucuresti (1989): 19-20.

⁵⁴ G.R. Tsetschladze, (1994): 125.

settlements. Future research might change the picture entirely and will hopefully clarify the situation.

Considering what we know so far about Histria and its territory, I think that one of the most important issues is how the Greeks managed to administer the city's *chora* which was not only quite extensive but also located in an area that was either under the authority of Getae tribes or at least under their influence and potentially close control.

4.3 Economic and Politic Organization of the *Chora* of Histria

If at the very beginning Histria was a temporary settlement or an *emporion*, very soon, at the end of the 7th century, the city could be described as a *polis* with an urban area of 35ha.⁵⁵ Beginning in the 6th century, the city also built its first defensive wall and established unfortified settlements in the territory at Sinoe, Istria Sat, Istria Pod, Tariverde, Nuntasi, Vadu, Corbu de Sus, Corbu de Jos and possibly other sites situated at distances ranging from 5 to 18km away from Histria.⁵⁶

As far as the native population is concerned, nothing found in the archaeological record shows that they were interested in settling along the shore so the newcomers probably found no opposition from the locals at the time of their arrival. Furthermore Getae ware is present in the very first archaeological layers both at Histria and in the settlements established in the territory, which could also support

⁵⁵ Em. Condurachi, in *Histria* I, Bucuresti (1954): 7.

⁵⁶ Iorgu Stoian, *SCIV* 8 (1957): 183-204, Suzana Dumitriu, *SCIV* 21 (1970): 229-233.

the idea of peaceful relationships. From what we know from ancient sources like Herodotus or the inscription that describes the foundation of Cyrene, usually the Greek colonists were composed of individuals who were male, who, after settling in a location, married native women.⁵⁷

There is some question whether women were included among the settlers. The few women attested elsewhere were priestesses whose presence was necessary for ritual purposes, but ordinary women would probably not have been considered worthy of mention.⁵⁸ For example, settlers at Pithekoussai (on an island off the coast of Italy) took Etruscan wives and Herodotus relates that the settlers of Miletus killed all the local men and took their women as wives.⁵⁹ As the inscription from Cyrene attests, males were chosen by lot and they were sons still living at home.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Herodotus, 4.153.

⁵⁸ Nancy Demand, *Ancient Greece in the Mediterranean Context*, Sloan Publishing (2006): 121.

⁵⁹ Herodotus, 4.145-158.

⁶⁰ Since Apollo on his own initiative told Battos and the Therans to settle Cyrene, it seems right to the Therans to send Battos to Lybia as Archegetes and basileus, and the Therans to sail as his companions. On equal and fair terms they are to sail, according to households, one son from each household...the youths and other Therans, the free-born...[100 in number], to sail. And if they establish the settlement, their kin following later to Libya are to have a share in citizenship, in offices, and in the un-owned land” text from Meiggs, Rissel and David Lewis, eds (1988) *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BCE*, Frag. 5

If this was the case at Histria and the other colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea, then the peaceful relationships with the locals have a relatively simple explanation. In support of this theory comes the fact that the earliest tumuli in the necropolis of Histria have numerous graves that can be attributed to indigenous individuals and some were female.⁶¹ The ratio of Greek graves in the necropolis is at this stage impossible to determine. The necropolis at Histria is composed of thousands of tumuli out of which only 76 have been excavated and, of those, the archaeological material was only partially published.⁶² The political and economic status of the native population is also impossible to determine at this time. As discussed above, the likelihood of them being reduced to a servile position is minimal.

Histria's *chora*, in the first 2 or even 3 centuries after the city's foundation, was not a territory she controlled *de jure*. The city did not have the political and military power to do so. Only after the presence in Dobrogea of either the Scythians led by Ateas or the Macedonians, did Histria have the possibility to negotiate a political and juridical control over the *chora*.⁶³ For the 3rd and 2nd centuries two inscriptions found at Histria shed light on the city's efforts to secure its defense and the safety of her territory.

⁶¹ P. Alexandrescu, Victoria Eftimie, "Tombes thraces d'epoque archaique dans la necropole tumulaire d'Histria" *Dacia* NS, 3, (1959): 143-164.

⁶² P. Alexandrescu, *Histria* II, Bucuresti (1973): 133-294.

⁶³ Em. Condurachi, *Buletinul Stiintific al Academiei*, 4 (1952, 1-2): 59-67 for the Scythians as a power which whom the Greeks negotiated the control and protection of the territory, D.M. Pipiddi, *SCIV*, 4 (1953): 497 for the Macedonian power.

The first document, dating to the 3rd century BCE, honors three citizens of Histria: Diodorus son of Thrasycles, Procritos son of Pherecles and Clearchosson of Aristomachos, were sent to negotiate with a Getae tribal leader, Zalmodegikos, and were successful not only in freeing 60 Greek citizens captive in a barbarian territory but also in securing the city's income.⁶⁴

being sent to Zalmodegikos as ambassadors to discuss the situation of the hostages, they travelled through enemy territory while confronting all kinds of danger, and brought back the 60 hostages and convinced (Zalmodegikos) to return the city's revenues...

It is not clear who Zalmodegikos was or the location of his tribal headquarters was located. His name is Thracian; Herodotus mentioned a similar name, Zalmoxis.⁶⁵ He could have been the leader of a tribe, either in Dobrogea or in the Muntenia plain, over the Danube. Since the inscription mentions the city's revenues, the first location in Dobrogea is more likely and it could mean that the Getae leader and the Greeks were negotiating the revenues from either fishing or agricultural production. The third century marks an increase in power for various Thracian and Getae tribes and in this case Histria was perhaps forced to send hostages as a guarantee of an agreement or as a result of a conflict. For a city like Histria, the number of citizens held in captivity, 60, was probably relatively large although, so far, there is no study that addresses the problem of Histria's population in any period.

⁶⁴ *ISM* 1, no. 8: ...ταχθέντες πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμήρων πρὸς Ζαλμοδεγικὸν ἀπεδήμησάν τε διὰ τῆς πολεμίας πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπομείναντες καὶ πᾶσαν προθυμίαν παρασχόμενοι ἐκομίσαντο τοὺς ὀμηροὺς ὄντας πλείους ἢ ἐξηκοντα καὶ τὰς προσόδους...

Negotiations between Histria and unnamed barbarian tribes were conducted sometime in the same century by another Histrian citizen, Dioskourides son of Strouthion. From a fragmentary inscription discovered at Histria he made several trips to other Greek cities and barbarian tribes representing his city.⁶⁶ Without giving too many details this document is further indication that Histria had to work hard to secure a peaceful existence. The names of the Greek cities and barbarian tribes where Dioskourides had traveled on diplomatic missions are not revealed in the inscription but we can assume that they were relatively close by.

An inscription dating to around the year 200 BCE is extremely important for understanding the difficulties Histria and her *chora* were going through. Agathocles the son of Antiphilos was honored in a decree that praised his good deeds for the city in a very complex and dangerous situation. The document specifies that Histria was experiencing internal political unrest of an unclear nature, and to this problem was added the attacks against the city and the *chora* by numerous Thracians leaving the citizens worried about their ability to harvest their grain. Agathocles, according to this document, hired mercenaries who secured the territory allowing the citizens to get their crops out of the fields. The troubles did not end here since other Thracians under the command of Zoltes, tried again on two different occasions, right at the time when the grain was ready for harvest (ὑπόγυος) to destroy the city and the *chora*. It

⁶⁵ Hdt. 4, 78, Zalmoxis- in Zalmoxis the principal deity in the Getae mythology. Mircea Eliade, *De Zalmoxis a Gengis Khan*, Paris (1970).

⁶⁶ *ISM* 1, no. 12.

is more likely that in the two last cases the Thracians were trying to renegotiate by force the relationship they had with the Greeks. The same inscription mentions another Thracian tribal leader, Rhemaxos, who also had a protection agreement with Histria and it is not quite clear if he was unwilling or unable to help the *polis* against Zoltes.

The political situation these inscriptions describe is one of constant unrest and display of power among the barbarian tribes who were trying under various leaders to fight for domination over the territory and its resources. The Greek cities were an obvious choice for such a demonstration of force. It is very unlikely that the Thracians and the Getae tribes wanted to destroy the Greek settlements or their territory. The Greek presence was vital for the existence of a trade in the region. But the alliance and the resources that could have been extracted from them could be used in the fight for supremacy among the tribes. The inscription mentions the outcome of the conflicts: another payment of money, 600 gold starters, to buy Zoltes' support.

All these events left the Greeks in a very fragile position. Unlike the Dorian city of Kallatis, located to the south, Histria did not build a defensive system in its territory. Kallatis fortified her *chora* by establishing settlements in the territory able to defend themselves with towers and walls, as was the case at Albesti.⁶⁷ In the *chora*

⁶⁷ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu, *Albesti, Monografie Arheologica Constanta*, (2008).

of Histria, none of the settlements seem to have been protected in any way. Future archaeological research might change this picture but it is unlikely.

4.4 Histria and the Grain Trade from the Black Sea

The reason the Greeks established colonies all around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea is without any doubt one of the most interesting questions connected with Greek civilization.

Because Histria is the best-documented site of the western shore of the Black Sea, the city is the obvious example for the discussion on what kind of settlement the Greeks were looking to establish and how they adapted to the political and geographical situation of Dobrogea.

It is clear that in the case of the colonies in Dobrogea, the Greek strategy, both politically and economically, was centered on the relationships with the Thracians to which the Getae belonged and also the Scythians as a more distant power but one that was nevertheless an important factor in the region.

Even though we do not understand with certainty how the Getae civilization controlled the land between the Danube and the Black Sea, it is important to mention here that even without an interest in a maritime commerce some native settlements were built close to the sea: Bestepe, Enisala Murighiol or Babadag. Pottery fragments belonging to the last phase of Babadag culture were found in the first levels of occupation at Histria, and in the sites mentioned above which are considered as part of the territory. I do not think that we can be certain that there

was a *terra deserta* in the area where the future colonies were to be established. Maybe there were no permanent settlements but it is impossible to say that the Greeks did not encounter any natives on their arrival in Dobrogea.⁶⁸ This is actually often the case in other regions where the Greeks settled. For example, in Italy and Sicily, about half of the colonies established were located on a site previously inhabited by the locals.⁶⁹

Even if we accept the theory that the Greeks settled on a site that was not previously inhabited before, the Thracians lived relatively nearby in settlements that survived the 8th or early 7th century collapse of Babadag culture. It is not hard to imagine that from the very beginning some kind of contact and agreement took place between the two civilizations. From what we know about the lifestyle of the Thracians, they practiced agriculture and raised livestock.⁷⁰ Each tribe probably had a territory which they protected and whose integrity they secured. The future *chora* of Histria is one of the most fertile areas in Dobrogea and because of this it is hard to believe it was not under the influence of the local tribes.

⁶⁸ Romanian bibliography is very contradictory on this subject. So far there are no clear reports on where exactly the pre-colonial native pottery was found at Histria if indeed it came from an archaeological level that could be dated before the arrival of the Greeks. Since the pre-colonial level was reached only on a very small portion at Histria, future excavation should be able to address this issue again. Maria Coja and Suzana Dumitriu, *Histria II*, p. 40.

⁶⁹ T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, (Oxford, 1948): 43; Tamar Hodos, *Local Responses to the Iron Age Mediterranean*, London, Routledge (2006): 92.

⁷⁰ D. Berciu, *Din Istoria Dobrogei I* Bucuresti (1965): 19-20, Sebastian Morintz, *Peuce 2* (1971): 20.

If this is correct, it means that the Greeks after their arrival had to somehow negotiate and share the land that was already in use. How was this done?

Thucydides describes how the Greeks who founded Megara Hyblaea negotiated with the locals and it is possible the same situation happened at Histria.⁷¹

About the same time Lamis arrived in Sicily with a colony from Megara, and after founding a place called Trotilus beyond the river Pantacyas, and afterwards leaving it and for a short while joining the Chalcidians at Leontini, was driven out by them and founded Thapsus. After his death his companions were driven out of Thapsus, and founded a place called the Hyblaeon Megara; Hyblon, a Sicel king, having given up the place and inviting them thither. Here they lived two hundred and forty-five years; after which they were expelled from the city and the country by the Syracusan tyrant Gelo”.

In this scenario the *polis* and its *chora* were established as part of an initial agreement with the natives in which both parties shared a common interest. While the majority of scholars believe that the *chora* of Histria was not established until much later because there was no strong political power to guarantee it, there is the other possibility that the territory was negotiated from the very beginning with the power that was already in place, that of the local Getae tribes. Buzoianu is the only Romanian scholar to mention this possibility.⁷² This theory might explain why the site of Tariverde and the one at Nuntasi were so successful in the 6th century.

We do not know the character of Histria’s economy in the archaic period, whether it was centered only on commerce or whether it was agricultural too. The way the *chora* of Histria was organized and protected might suggest how important it

⁷¹ Thucydides, VI, 4.

⁷² Livia Buzoianu (2001): 32.

was in the economy of the city. What the field surveys imply is that there were no fortifications or any other defensive constructions except for the earth wall to the west of the necropolis of Histria whose purpose is not clear. This is different from the situation in Magna Grecia, for example, where from the very beginning the *chora* of the colonies was secured with lines of defensive walls.⁷³

Another place to look for analogies is the *chora* of Miletus, the *polis* that is believed to have sponsored the establishment of the settlement at Histria. The territory of this Ionian polis was not fortified either and Herodotus mentions the practice of the Milesians of abandoning the *chora* during the wars with neighboring Lydia, while all the citizens took refuge inside the city walls. Around the year 600 BCE king Alyattes continued the war with Miletus.⁷⁴

Inheriting from his father a war with the Milesians, he pressed the siege against the city by attacking it in the following manner. When the harvest was ripe on the ground he marched his army into Milesia to the sound of pipes and harps, and flutes masculine and feminine. The buildings that were scattered over the country he neither pulled down nor burnt, nor did he even tear away the doors, but left them standing as they were. He cut down, however, and utterly destroyed all the trees and all the corn throughout the land, and then returned to his own dominions. It was idle for his army to sit down before the place, as the Milesians were masters of the sea. The reason that he did not demolish their buildings was that the inhabitants might be tempted to use them as homesteads from which to go forth to sow and till their lands; and so each time that he invaded the country he might find something to plunder.

⁷³ Y. Garlan, "Echanges d'amphore timbrées entre Sinope et la Méditerranée aux époques classique et hellénistique", in *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, Vincent Gabrielsen, John Lund eds., Aarhus University Press (2007): 143.

⁷⁴ Herodotus. 1, 17.

Alyattes' strategy was to plunder the *chora* of Miletus at the very time the crops were ready for harvest, similar to the tactics used by the Thracians and Getae, as mentioned above. The series of conflicts between the Milesians and the Lydians started before the middle of the 7th century, which means that the colonists from Miletus may have practiced the same strategy at Histria, they knew from the homeland: a *chora* without a defense system. Instead of building defensive structures in the territory, Histria, beginning with the 6th century and continuing until the Hellenistic period, built defensive walls around the city where the population could retreat in case of hostile actions from its enemies.

An inscription found at Histria dating to the 3rd century states that during one of the frequent raids against the territory by Thracian tribes, the citizens and "the barbarians" found refuge inside the city walls.⁷⁵ This might be an important detail regarding the individuals who inhabited the territory and might show that the Greeks and some of the natives at least lived together in the *chora*.

Given the way the *chora* was probably protected and organized, as far as we know, how likely was it for Histria to be a serious and regular grain exporter in the region and beyond? Tsetskhladze, in an important study of the colonization of the Black Sea, which unfortunately does not make much use of the sources from the colonies from Dobrogea, warns against oversimplifying the situation of the Greek settlements in the Black Sea basin. He complains about the simplistic attitude some scholars have taken while writing about this region. Countless studies have

embraced the idea that the Black Sea colonies supplied the Mediterranean world with goods like grain, slaves and other raw materials, this being the main reason the Greeks settled here. The necessity of finding a market for their manufactured goods and agricultural produce like olive oil and wine, land hunger or food shortages in the mother cities are all seen as the factors that triggered the colonization movement.⁷⁶

The movement's main purpose was to provide a relief from the above-mentioned problems. While this might be partially true, the evidence we have from settlements such as Histria paint a rather different picture. One of the most popular examples is that the Greeks established the settlements on the Black Sea in order to exchange agricultural products like wine and olive oil for grain. To support this idea, scholars sometimes use a few excerpts from ancient sources like Herodotus.⁷⁷ He mentions that:

Xerxes saw boats carrying provisions sailing from the Pontus through the Hellespont on their way to Aegina and the Peloponnese. Those sitting besides him learned that these were enemy ships and were only waiting for the king to give his command to seize them. But instead Xerxes asked them where these ships were headed. They answered: To your enemies my lord, carrying grain.

In this passage it is not exactly clear where the grain was coming from. Herodotus does not say that the grain was exported from the Greek cities around the Black Sea, it could have come from Byzantium as well as from the region around the

⁷⁵ *ISMI*, no 15, row 43-44: καὶ τῶν συμφευγόντων βαρβάρων εἰς τὴν πόλιν

⁷⁶ G. Tsetskhladze, (1994): 9.

⁷⁷ Herodotus. 7, 147.

Hellespont. In fact in Herodotus' text there is no explicit reference to any big grain producers around the Black Sea.

Demosthenes on the other hand famously said that: "... the grain that comes to our ports from the Black Sea is equal to the whole amount from all other places of export..."⁷⁸ The passage from Demosthenes, even though it seems to speak about the Black Sea as a whole, in fact refers to the Bosphoran kingdom of the early 4th century where a powerful monarchy generated a large quantity of grain and whose kings had strong connections with the Athenian political leadership.⁷⁹ Nowhere else does Demosthenes, or in fact any other ancient author, specifically mention the colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea in connection with strong and constant supply of grain to Athens or other cities in the Mediterranean. In fact, Histria, and most likely the other colonies in the vicinity, were not in a position to participate on a grand scale in the grain trade of the Black Sea and beyond.

First of all, archaeological research has not brought forth any evidence of the kind of territorial division for agricultural purposes found elsewhere in the Black Sea basin, notably on the northern shores, and especially around Pantikapaion and Chersonesus.⁸⁰ A clear organization of the *chora*, with land divisions and farm

⁷⁸ Dem. 20.30-32

⁷⁹ Alfonso Moreno, "Athenian Wheat-Tsars: Black Sea Grain and Elite Culture", in *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, Vincent Gabrielson, John Lund, Aarhus University Press (2007): 69-84.

⁸⁰ Tat'jana Smekalova, Sergej Smekalov, "Ancient Roads and Land Division in the Chorai of the European Bosphoros and Chersonesos on the Evidence of Air

buildings has not been identified in the territory of Histria. The sites discovered here and mentioned at the beginning of this chapter have either been partially researched or just identified on the ground without systematic investigation. The grain storage pits at Tariverde are an important clue that grain could have been a commodity but it may also have been simply stored there for the winter. From the archaeological reports it is not entirely clear how many pits were located there, and what kind of grain was stored in them. There are no palynological reports from Tariverde.

Secondly, even sites that were successful for a while, like Tariverde and Nuntasi, were abandoned and then reused again, which might be a sign of the struggles the communities was going through.

Thirdly, the lack of defensive systems in the territory could mean either that the colonists made use of traditional ways of organizing the *chora* as mentioned above, or that the population lacked the resources to maintain such structures. It is very possible that the Milesian tradition had a role here since to the south, the *chora* of Kallatis, a Dorinan community, seems to have had fortified rural settlements.

Fourthly, even though most of our written sources come from after the 3rd century, they are strong proof that Histria was in constant negotiation and renegotiation with the local tribal leaders who, more frequently than not, tried to extract additional funds or resources from the city. To this could be added military actions here from Darius' expedition to Scythian raids, Macedonian tribute and taxes

Photographs, Mapping and Surface Surveys", *Surveying the Greek Chora*, Pia Guldager, Vladimir Stolba eds., Aarhus University (2006): 208.

and conflict between the Greek cities themselves. All these events must have seriously disrupted the agricultural activities in the *chora*.

And, finally, it is impossible not to notice the numerous inscriptions that speak again and again of constant struggle to feed the citizens. Besides the inscriptions mentioned before, there are at least five others that either give thanks to prominent individuals who helped their fellow citizens with money to pay for grain, contributed to an established fund specially created for the purchase of grain or, in a very interesting case, recognize a citizen of Carthage who brought to Histria a very much needed cargo of grain from an unspecified location.⁸¹ This last inscription is important not only because it makes a reference to a city that was so far from Histria but also because it mentions again the institution the city had created in order to obtain grain to feed the population, a sign that food was sometimes hard to obtain. The name of the person from Carthage is lost and the inscription is only partially legible: "...the son of Dioscurides from Carthage who brought a transport of grain to our city, asked by our magistrates and the people, accepted...and to give it to the city under advantageous conditions...the funds for grain purchases..."⁸²

All these inscriptions are dated between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BCE. The situation before the 3rd century is not mentioned in any inscriptions for the simple reason that no document from earlier centuries has been discovered yet at Histria.

⁸¹ ISMI, no 2, 9, 19, 20, 54.

⁸² ISM I, 20 :...]ριδου Καρχηδόνιος σιτον μεταπεμψάμενος εις την πολιν παρακληθεις υπο των αρχόντων και του δημον...αι και παραποδόσθαι...ετασθαι τα σιτικά...

In an inscription that honors Diogenes the son of Diogenes, one of the oldest from Histria, dating around the middle of the 3rd century, we read that this particular citizen: “during the time when the people were in need he lent the city 500 golden staters without interest in order to provide grain for the city.”⁸³

Another detail is also worth mentioning here. We know that Histria had a port but we do not yet know its location. Most scholars place it to the south of the city where the shoreline seems suitable for such a function. Polybius mentions that starting in the 2nd or maybe as early as the 3rd century BCE, in front of Histria, a large sand bar began to pose serious problems to the ships trying to enter the port.⁸⁴ It is not clear if this situation slowed down the city’s economic activities. Eventually, several sand bars would close Histria’s port but this did not happen until the 7th century CE.

4.5 Conclusion

Given the information we have from Histria we can no longer generalize about the reasons or the outcome of the Greek settlements overseas. Each Greek community was unique and the result of this remarkable phenomenon was different everywhere. The Greek settlements on the Black Sea were independent bodies with their own diminutive economies that might or might not depended on trade overseas.

⁸³ *ISM I*, 2.

⁸⁴ Polybius. *Hist.* IV, 41; for the 3rd century date: D.M. Pippidi, *Contributii la istoria Romaniei*, (1967): 34-37.

It would be very useful to know what relationships were more important to the Greeks at Histria, the ones with the cities of Ionia and later mainland Greece or the ones that she established with the local tribes in Dobrogea and over the Danube to the north and west. Findings of coins minted at Histria appeared hundreds of kilometers away from the city in the Getae territories. Few of these discoveries of coins and pottery have been published.⁸⁵ The connection with the big Greek centers of the Aegean was probably more cultural than economic. In the case of Histria and the other colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea, trade with the rest of the Greek world, especially in grain, was not a constant activity but rather an irregular one. When conditions of peace and good weather prevailed, there is no doubt that Histria was able to export agricultural products. Most of the time though, Histria and her citizens, struggled and the city never reached the economic level and prosperity the Greeks on the northern shore of the Black Sea seem to have enjoyed.

⁸⁵ Florentina Preda, *Patrunderea produselor grecesti in Dacia extracarpatica. Rezumatul tezei de doctorat*, Centrul de multiplicare al Universitatii din Bucuresti, (1972).

CHAPTER 5

ORGAME/ARGAMUM

5.1 Introduction

Ancient Orgame is located on the promontory identified today as Cape Dolojman on the shore of Lake Razelm (Razim). The Razelm Lake formed probably in late antiquity and today is connected with the Black Sea by a small opening called “La Portita”.¹

Orgame is located approximately 40 km. north of Histria and 25 km east of the nearest major road. In antiquity, before Lake Razelm was formed, Orgame enjoyed a strategic position on the western shore of the Black Sea with easy access to the Danube Delta and also to the interior, being relatively close to important settlements belonging to the Getae. The site was occupied from the 7th century BCE until the 11th century CE when it was completely abandoned.

It is certain that the landscape in antiquity looked quite different than it does today. Paleobotanical and geological studies have stressed the dramatic changes that took place in this area since antiquity.² The position of the site, with an elevation of 55m, offered the city very good visibility both towards the Black Sea and inland. It

¹ To reach Orgame today, one has to take a dusty and seldom used road through a spectacular steppe landscape. It is also possible to reach this site, by water, but it still a difficult undertaking.

² Alexandru Suceveanu, *Viata Economica in Dobrogea Romana*, Bucuresti (1977): 86.

was also a point relatively easy to defend because of the narrow strip of land that forms this promontory and it was also protected from the cold northeast winds. The north part of the promontory slopes abruptly into the lake (the sea in antiquity) but the southern side slopes more gradually and has good exposure to the sun. Today there is no water supply in the region and so far there has been no indication of how fresh water was provided in antiquity. The water supply in the region as a whole is problematic even today. There must have been good sources of water in antiquity or else the site would have not been chosen for settlement.

The future Greek *apoikia* was built on a rocky place, and as far as archaeological research has shown there was no earlier human settlement on this promontory. Close to the site though, there have been from Neolithic and Bronze Age discoveries. About the same time Orgame was founded, 20 km west from this site, an impressive tribal residency belonging to the Getae was found at Babadag. There is no consensus on when the site of Babadag was destroyed but the destruction could have taken place shortly before the Greeks settled at Orgame.³

Orgame was founded in the middle of the 7th century BCE, and first appears in a fragmentary document from the work *Periegesis* written by the Milesian Hekataios at the end of the 6th century BCE and preserved in the *Ethnica* of Stephanos from Byzantion dating to the 4th century CE. The name of the Greek

³ Sebastian Morintz, Gabriel Juganaru, "Raport privind sapaturile arheologice efectuate in sectorul V al asezarii hallstattiene de la Babadag (1991-1992)", *Peuce*, 11 (1995): 177-201.

apoikia was mentioned only once: “the polis of Orgame near the Danube” (Istros).⁴ It has also been very tempting to assume that Orgame was part of the Delian league since, in a fragmentary inscription listing members, the name of one polis starting with O(...) could have been Orgame.⁵

The name Argamum appears in an inscription from Histria, discovered during the first archaeological campaign in 1914. It is a decree from 100 CE by Manius Laberius Maximus, the governor of Moesia Inferior who confirms the limits of the Histrian territory. The decree states that the northern border of Histria’s territory neighbored the domain of the city of Argamum , “*do(minium) Argamensium*”.⁶

Vasile Parvan, who first published this inscription, was also the first to propose that the ruins from Cape Dolosmani be identified with ancient Orgame.⁷ Another inscription, this time from Olbia, dating to the 3rd century CE, mentions a citizen from Orgame/Argamum, Publius Aelius Argamenos, who did important services for the city.⁸ This honorific decree attests the close connection between Orgame/Argamum and Olbia. The last source from antiquity to mention

⁴ Ὀργάμη πόλις ἐπιὼ τῷ Ἰστρῷ, Hecataei Milesii fragmenta a cura di G. Nenci, Firenze (1954) frg. 185; D.M. Pippidi, *Din Istoria Dobrogei I* Bucuresti, (1965):148.

⁵ Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, “Orgame polis” *Pontica* 25 (1992): 35-67.

⁶ Alexandru Avram, “Intinderea teritoriului Histriei in epoca romana in lumina hotarniciei consularului Manius Laberius Maximus. Incercare de reconstituire”, *Cultura si Civilizatie la Dunarea de Jos* 4 (1991): 189-197.

⁷ V. Parvan, *Histria IV*, AARMSI, t. 38, (1916): 556-593.

⁸ D.M.Pippidi, *Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor grecesti si latine.I. Histria si Imprejurimile*, Bucuresti (1983): 106-107.

Orgame/Argamum was Procopius of Caesarea in his work *De Aedificiis* where the city appears under a slightly modified name, *Argamo*, in the list of settlements that received funding for reconstruction during the reign of Justinian (middle of 6th century CE).⁹

The site of Orgame is free from modern buildings but the systematic research of the site has begun relatively recently. Part of the city collapsed into Lake Razelm and today only 2.5ha are visible. Satellite images clearly show the city's walls from the Greek and Roman periods. Inside the walls several buildings have been uncovered belonging to the latest phases of habitation (5th and 7th centuries): four paleochristian basilicas and the structures associated with them, parts of the city walls, several streets and private dwellings. Under these buildings there have been identified older layers of habitation belonging to the 6th and 3rd centuries BCE. On the southern wall of the late Roman fortification archaeologists have uncovered a kiln for firing bricks, roof tiles and pipes and in the same area Greek kilns for kitchenware. The bedrock the city was built on was leveled in the pre-Roman period. The research inside the city walls is still in its early phases. The Greek levels have

⁹ Even though today few scholars argue against the identification of the ancient ruins from Cape Dolosmani with Orgame, important arguments have been published by well known Romanian archaeologists that attribute the name Orgame to other sites: P. Nicorescu, *BSH*, (1944), p.96, D.M.Pippidi, *Din Istoria Dobrogei I*, (1960), p.148, R. Vulpe, I. Barnea, *Din Istoria Dobrogei II*, (1968), p.421-422, D. M. Pippidi, *I Greci nel Basso Danubio*, Milano, (1971), p.36. Em. Popescu, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Scythia Minor*, Bucuresti, (1969), p.24 suggests that Sarichioi is the ancient Orgame and Cape Dolosmani was the ancient Constantiniana.

been only partially uncovered and they might not be available for study any time soon.

Outside the city walls, at approximately 2 km to the north and north west, researchers have identified the Greek necropolis with tumuli still visible even though during the communist period the area was leveled with tractors and agricultural implements. A few tumuli have been spared. One is particularly important since the inventory of the tomb contained artifacts that could date to the middle of the 7th century BCE, making this monument the oldest Greek tomb in the whole Black Sea area. The Greek necropolis was organized according to family groups and was in use from the 7th century BCE to the 3rd century CE.¹⁰

The first attempts to investigate the site at Cape Dolosmani were made in 1926 by Paul Nicorescu from the University of Iasi who discussed the possibility of identifying the site with ancient Orgame.¹¹ The only structures he uncovered were the ones he attributed to the 6th century CE but he also collected Roman and Greek pottery, Greek coins and several inscriptions which he never published and are

¹⁰ Vasilica Lungu, "Les *tumuli* comme repères du territoire de la cite grecque d'Orgame", *A la recherche d'une colonie*, ed. Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, Bucuresti (2006): 117.

¹¹ For Orgame at Cape Dolosmani: P. Nicorescu, *Buletinul Societatii de Istorie* (Bucuresti, 1944): 96; D.M. Pippidi, *Din Istoria Dobrogei I*, Bucuresti, (1965): 148; Radu Vulpe, I. Barnea, *Din Istoria Dobrogei II* Bucuresti, (1968): 421-2; H. Mihailescu, *Fontse Historiae Daco Romanae* Bucuresti, (1972): 475; D.M. Pippidi, *I Greci nel Basso Danubio* (Milano, 1971): 36; A. Aricescu, *Armata in Dobrogea Romana*, Bucuresti, (1977): 57; Maria Coja, "Greek Colonists and Native Populations", in *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, J-P Descoedres ed. (Oxford, 1990): 160, 167; against Orgame at Cape Dolosmani: Emilian Popescu, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Scythia Minor*, Bucuresti (1969): 24, 63.

today lost. Nicorescu also investigated the ruins on the very small island “Bisericuta” east of Orgame and unearthed Neolithic, Greek and Roman pottery and a Byzantine cross, dating to the 11th century.¹² The site was left without legal protection and became a rock quarry for the nearby villages; bombs also destroyed part of the site during the World War II. The entire inventory from the first campaigns was lost.

In 1965, the site became again the focus of archaeological investigations, which were initially started in order to try to preserve the ruins. Starting in 1972 the team of archaeologists increased in number and so did the amount of systematic research. The main goal was to obtain a complete stratigraphy of the site. Several important structures and artifacts were found during the first years of research, mainly from the Roman period. Greek artifacts and building remains were also present but less abundant: part of the wall from the Greek classical period, several Greek kilns and a few buildings from the archaic and classical periods. The most important discoveries from the Greek period were made in the Greek necropolis once systematic research started in 1990. The necropolis was organized into lots and access to it was via a number of streets and small alleys.¹³

The history of the site begins in the 13th century BCE. Some material remains from the Hallstatt period were also found here especially on the southern side of the site. They belong to the Babadag II culture and date to the 10th to 9th centuries

¹² P. Nicorescu, *Buletinul Societatii Historice*, Bucuresti (1944): 97.

¹³ M. Manucu-Adamesteanu, “Orgame polis” *Pontica XXV*, Constanta (1992): 57-59.

BCE.¹⁴ There is a clear hiatus between the Hallstatt archaeological complexes and the Greek layers, which means that when the Greeks arrived, the promontory was free of human habitation. The Greeks did not have to negotiate a settlement with the locals, nor did they have to use military power in order to establish an *apoikia* here. This, of course, does not mean that some sort of relations or even negotiations with the locals did not take place especially since there were still native settlements in the vicinity. But the future site of Orgame was clearly uninhabited at the time the Greeks arrived.

The Greeks who settled at Cape Dolosmani probably came from Asia Minor around the middle of the 7th century BCE and established Orgame, a city near the Danube. There is no consensus on what the political status of this settlement was. There are strong indications that Orgame was established a generation before Histria, especially since the discovery of a tumulus conventionally named TA 95 dated in middle of the 7th century and placed in a central position in the necropolis nearby. This grave must have belonged to an important individual among the first generation of settlers.¹⁵

Inside the polis, the findings dating to the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century are very few and none of the dwellings unearthed could be attributed to this

¹⁴ Valentin Radu, "Study of the faunal material from a pit with human bones (Babadag culture) discovered in precolonial level at Orgame", *Orgame/Argamum, A la Recherche D'une Colonie*, Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu (ed.), Bucharest, (2006): 109-114.

¹⁵ Vasilica Lungu, "Les tumuli comme repères du territoire de la cite grecque d'Orgame", *Orgame/Argamum*, Bucharest, (2006):117-139.

period. This is not surprising since research has covered only a small area and it is expected that later buildings destroyed or covered the earliest structures. The earliest buildings identified on the ground belong to the middle of the 6th century BCE. Their remains, the floors and a hearth, were discovered near the highest point of the promontory (sector F, E). The same area produced 2 kilns, which attest to the local production of pottery as early as the 6th century. Since the excavation is so limited there could be other places in the city where buildings belonging to the archaic level exist. There is also the possibility that some of the archaic remains have collapsed into Lake Razelm.

The main tool for dating a site like Orgame is the Greek pottery. Few vases have been found unbroken, mainly in the necropolis, but the fragments found either in the *polis* or on the burial grounds suggest a reasonably prosperous settlement. The ceramic was imported mainly from Asia Minor: Miletus, Samos, Clazomene or Chios.

The oldest examples belong to the so-called *Middle Wild Goat* pottery dating to the third quarter of the 7th century BCE.¹⁶ This means that the site of Cape Dolosmani can be chronologically placed at the same time as some other important Greek settlements from Berezan, Nemirov, Boltyska or Temir Gora on the northern shores of the Black Sea and it must have been contemporary with sites from other geographic areas as far away as Sicily, and Etruria, Cyprus and of course Miletus,

¹⁶ Pierre Dupont, "Les céramiques locales d'Orgame; approche archéométrique" *Orgame/Argamum* (2006): 141-150.

Samos and Chios. The dominance of the pottery that originated in Asia Minor shows the attachment of the new settlers to their homeland.¹⁷

The amphorae found at Orgame also came from Asia Minor and indicate commerce in oil and wine with that region. But there are also important examples that come from other Greek cities, especially Athens and Corinth, and date to as early as the 7th century as well.

Besides pottery, the archaic levels at Orgame and in its territory contain important hoards of arrowheads. These are objects that look like arrowheads but were never used as weapons. They have been poured into molds and used as coins before the Greek cities minted their own money. These arrowhead objects circulated between the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century in a large area from the western shore of the Black Sea starting from Apollonia (modern Sozopol) all the way to Olbia (the Ukraine). The most interesting observation about these arrowhead “coins” is the fact that inside the Greek cities their presence is limited while in the chora of the *poleis* there were quite a few discoveries made in settlements like Jurilovca, Visina, Enisala, Nuntasi, Tomis or Atya.¹⁸

Some scholars argue that the local Getae/Thracian tribes, or a strong political union of their tribes, produced the arrowhead coins, but more recently this form of

¹⁷ Statistically, the pottery found at Orgame has its analogy with the one found at Histria. P. Alexandrescu, *La ceramique d'epoque archaique et classique*, Bucuresti, (1978).

¹⁸ Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, “Tezaurul de semne premonetare in forma de varf de sageata de la Visina”, *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica* 8 (1984): 17-24.

coinage has been attributed to Histria because some examples have the mark of the Histrian wheel on them, the same mark found later on the first bronze coins minted by this Greek city. Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, the Romanian archaeologist in charge of the site of Orgame, has put forth the hypothesis that Orgame rather than Histria, was at least in the very beginning, the source of the arrowhead “coins” since the majority of the hoards found so far were discovered in the chora of this city and the nearest copper deposits (at Atin Tepe) are closer to Orgame (30 km) than to Histria. This is an interesting possibility although Orgame would never be involved in the production of coins later and currently, it is not even clear that this Greek city had a *chora*. Some scholars doubt that Orgame was actually a *polis*.

The archaic levels at Orgame were destroyed by fire; the same situation was encountered at Histria. The destruction level dates to 520-490 BCE and is either connected with the Persian campaign against the Scythians or the result of natural causes, like an earthquake that affected the area and could have had a dramatic effect here just because the rocky promontory on which Orgame was built is made out of friable chalk. The destruction level is composed of burned materials from dwellings covered with a layer of chalk.¹⁹

The Classical and the Hellenistic periods at Orgame are not very well attested probably because of the destruction caused by later construction. The excavators have observed that the site had been terraced sometime in the classical period (5th -

4th centuries BCE) and the wall may have been built at the same time. This wall remained in use until the 3rd century CE.

From the 5th century BCE to the 2nd century CE the site was continuously occupied but so far none of the usual buildings found in a Greek polis have been unearthed. There has been no sign of any monumental buildings or decorative elements that could be attributed to them, no agora has been identified, nor wells, sanctuaries or amphitheatres. This has led many scholars to doubt its ability to exercise any kind of political and economic power in the region. There is still much to excavate inside the city. The destruction that took place here even before the site was bombed in World War II, especially the erosion of the shore and the use of building materials by the locals, complicates our understanding of the layout of the site.

In addition, during the Roman periods, the city could have been rebuilt and the earthquakes, which are not unusual in Dobrogea, could have damaged the city even more. There is no doubt that so far Orgame has not produced the kind of monumental buildings found at Histria, but rather modest dwellings of stone or clay, some covered with ceramic tiles painted red. Some of the buildings were placed directly on the bedrock while some had stone foundations and the walls built from irregular blocks of stone, seldom cut in the same shape and fastened together with yellow clay. The walls were finished with a layer of clay and the roof, sometimes

¹⁹ The causes of the destruction of Histria at the end of the Archaic period were discussed by Petre Alexandrescu, "Histria in epoca arhaica", *Pontica* 19 (1986): 28-

found collapsed inside the buildings, was made out of wood, but more often out of small branches and “*stuf*” a tall grass that grows in the Danube Delta and other marshy areas from the region. The floors of the dwellings are modest too: a layer of dirt was sometimes covered with a layer of clay or chalk.²⁰

The inventory from the 5th century BCE to the 2nd century CE found on the site is very diverse. Besides pottery, the excavators found numerous objects made out of bronze, coins from the city of Histria and other Pontic sites, colored glass beads, terracotta figurines and Egyptian scarabs.²¹ The pottery is, of course, the main dating tool, usually just fragments which can be easily recognized as belonging to the major forms of Greek pottery: *oinochoai*, *craters*, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi*, all sorts of bowls, fish-plates or lamps. Also, not surprisingly, the number of amphorae is quite large and the stamps found on amphora fragments show that Orgame had commercial connections with the rest of the Greek world. The amphorae came mainly from Thasos, Rhodes, Chios, Cnidos, Sinope, Heracleea, and Chersonesus.²²

Besides the pottery mentioned above, the site has produced pottery for everyday use and it is hard to determine if this pottery was imported or was locally

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²⁰ M. Manucu Adamesteanu, “Orgame polis”, *Pontica XXV*, Constanta (1992): 63.

²¹ Anca Dan, “Deux Scarabées d’Orgame” in *Orgame/Argamum*, (Bucharest, 2006): 171-206.

²² Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, Iulian Birzescu, “Amphores commerciales archaïques d’Istros et d’Orgame. Une approche quantitative”, in *Orgame* (2006): 151-170.

produced. Since several kilns for firing pottery were discovered at Orgame, it is probably safe to assume that some of the kitchenware, if not the majority was made on the site. Other discoveries were connected with some installations used for turning grain into flour.

It is important to mention that besides Greek pottery, considerable quantities of non-Greek ceramics were found at Orgame. They are of the same type found on the sites belonging to the native population, the Getae. The pottery is of poor quality, usually brown, and contains small pebbles and sand. The decorative patterns are not too varied, simple bands under the rim.²³ This pottery has analogies in the sites considered as part of Orgame's *chora* at Visina and Salcioara and in the area perhaps under the influence of the city at Enisala and Lunca, and further inland at Beidaud, Panduru, Ceamurlia de Jos, Agighiol, Sarichioi, Sarinasuf, Murighiol, Bestepe and Dunavatu de Sus.²⁴ The existence of this pottery inside the city wall at Orgame might signal the presence of the local element living together with the Greek citizens. So far, it is impossible to assert their status.

²³ For analogies S. Dimitriu, *Histria II*, Bucuresti, (1966): 48-49, 54-55.

²⁴ Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, "Cercetarile din asezarea antica de la Visina", *Materiale si Cercetari Arheologice Brasov*, (1981): 174-177; idem, "Sondajul efectuat in asezarea antica de la Visina" *Materiale si Cercetari Arheologice* (Tulcea, 1980): 157-160; E. Oberlander-Tarnoveanu, "Statiuni antice pe raza comunei Mahmudia", *Peuce* 8 Tulcea, (1980): 55-76.

5.2 The Territory of Orgame and Its Economic Potential

One of the main concerns of this study is to determine the extent and the importance of the territories of the Greek colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea. The *chora* of Orgame has not been identified with absolute certainty even though it must have existed from the very beginning of the settlement. The *chora* of Orgame will be discussed below from two points of view: the presence of Greek materials inside the settlements identified close to the city and the existence of tumuli as indications of territorial control of the colony over a certain surrounding area.

Greek material has been found as far away as 20 km around Orgame on the sites of Jurilovca, Visina, Enisala and Ceamurlia de Jos. They were all open settlements with no fortifications and according to the director of the Orgame site, Manucu-Adamesteanu, these settlements must have been included in the *chora* from the very beginning.²⁵ She proposes that, according with the distribution of Greek material in the area and considering the geographical characteristics of the region, Orgame's territory must have been bordered by Lake Razelm in the east (a sea gulf in antiquity), the hills of Enisala to the north, and the hills of Babadag and Slava to the west, until the confluence of the small rivers Ceamurlia and Beidaud.

Another argument for this reconstruction of Orgame's territory may be the existence of the arrowheads mentioned already, all of which were found exactly in the area mentioned above. Since it is unclear what role Orgame might have had in

producing these arrowheads, their use in delimiting the territory of the colony is rather problematic.²⁶

Considering the relationship between the locals and the Greek newcomers it is important to mention that beyond the hills (which could have acted as natural borders for the territory of Orgame) archaeologists have identified strong centers of power belonging to the local Getae tribes that were rebuilt after the destruction level in the late 8th or early 7th century. The most important one is located at Beidaud, and another one at Celic Dere.²⁷ Greek pottery is present on these sites starting in the late 7th century or early 6th even though the most predominant category is not the luxurious painted pottery but amphorae and the ceramics produced locally with Greek shapes, perhaps at Orgame or Histria.²⁸

Although some sites close to Orgame have been identified on the ground, only one has been partially excavated, the site near today's village of Visina.²⁹ This site had traces of occupation, though not continuous, from the 12th century BCE until the 4th century CE and again in the 10th century CE. No traces of defensive walls

²⁵ Mihaela Manucu-Adamesteanu, "Orgame polis", *Pontica XXV* (1992): 59-68.

²⁶ idem, 63.

²⁷ Gavrilă Simion, Elena Lazurca, "Asezarea hallstattiana de la Beidaud", *Peuce*, 8, Tulcea, (1980): 37-54.

²⁸ Mihaela Manucu-Adamesteanu, "Amforele arhaice de la Orgame și câteva probleme de economie antică", *Pontica*, 23-24 (2000-2001): 211-218.

²⁹ Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, Gheorghe Manucu-Adamesteanu, "Asezarea de la Visina", jud. Tulcea, *MCA*, I București (1992): 205-216.

have been found, which indicate an open, agricultural settlement that was located on the shore of lake Golovita.

Archaeological research uncovered several dwellings and storage pits, which according to the pottery found *in situ*, can be dated the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. The dwellings are of two types, built on a foundation of stones or dugouts. The storage pits, quite numerous, well built and with carefully finished walls, must have been used for storing grain. The analysis of the ceramics revealed the fact that the local Getae pottery was not predominant, the Greek imported ware forms the majority with amphorae as the main category. This site is similar to the one excavated in the *chora* of Histria, at Tariverde where the same situation was encountered.³⁰ Dwellings are modest, more of the type the local Getae used, but the presence of Greek pottery and storage pits could indicate a settlement. While initially, the site of Tariverde was attributed to the Getae, the latest understanding is that this type of site could very well have been Greek and acted as a market place for colonists and the native populations. Visina is located 10 km west of Orgame and, since the site dates to the 6th century BCE its existence could be connected with the appearance at an early date of the *chora* of this colony. Other sites, especially the ones from Enisala and Jurilovca dating to the same period and with

³⁰ Alexandru Avram, "The Territories of Istros and Kallatis" in *Surveying the Greek Chora. The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*, Pia Guldager, Vladimir Stolba eds., Aarhus University Press (2006): 59-82.

some of the characteristics found at Visina, bring strong arguments in favor of this theory.³¹

The territory of a Greek colony provided the means for everyday existence. It was absolutely necessary for the colony in order to prosper to have strong and permanent connections with the rest of the region. In the case of Orgame, this connection with the native Getae would have been, in theory, easy to maintain since the locals had successful settlements established relatively close by.

The economic connection between the locals and the Greeks cannot be denied but what exactly did they exchange? Mihaela Manucu-Adamesteanu has recently published an interesting study of amphorae discovered in the city and the site of Visina.³² 80.91% of amphorae were wine containers produced in the well-known wine exporting Greek centers of Chios, Lesbos and Klazomenai. The date for these amphorae at the end of the 7th century is very early. This means that from the very beginning of the existence of Orgame, the settlement was involved in commercial exchange. The olive oil amphorae represent only 18.65% and came from several different areas, not just Asia Minor. The centers were Samos, Miletus, Attica, and Corinth.

The preponderance of wine containers is not unusual for the Black Sea area and it might be explained by the fact that the locals saw wine as a more desirable

³¹ M. Manucu-Adamesteanu, "Cercetarile din asezarea antica de la Visina", *Materiale si Cercetari Arheologice*, Brasov (1981): 176.

³² Mihaela Manucu Adamesteanu, "Amfore arhaice de la Orgame si cateva probleme de economie antica", *Pontica XXXIII-XXXIV*, (2000-2001): 211-218.

product than olive oil since they were used to animal fat instead.³³ Also, the Greek practice of symposia might have been something the local elite was attracted to. Wine, given the right conditions, can be stored longer than olive oil, which loses its qualities after 2-3 years. The site of Visina, and others like it could have been the place where the Greeks traded wine and oil for grain and other products. I do not think that it will ever be possible to know the percentage of Greeks that lived at Visina, or whether it was a mixed settlement or not. Maybe Visina was an *emporion*, a centre of commerce that brought Greek artifacts and products closer to the Getic settlement and also acted as a storage facility for grain that the Greek colony at Orgame needed.

It is possible that other commodities, slaves and also fish, were traded with the locals. For the slave trade we have no sources for Orgame. It is reasonable to assume that it existed but so far there is not indication of the extent of this trade.

We could also assume that because of Orgame's geographical position, access to the Danube Delta was easy. Unfortunately, no installations for processing fish were found either at Orgame or anywhere else on the western shore of the Black Sea in contrast to the numerous fish salting installations, which have been

³³ Pierre Dupont, "Amphores archaïques de la Grèce proper en Mer Noire", *Il Mar Nero*, (1995-1996): p.85-98; For Getae agriculture and animal husbandry: Alexandru Suceveanu, *Viata Economica in Dobrogea Romana. Secolele I-III* Bucuresti, (1977).

discovered in some north Pontic cities such as Chersonesos, Myrmekion and Tyritake.³⁴

5.3 Necropolis and Territory: The *Oikistes* of Orgame

Aside from the settlements in the territory of Orgame, another way to investigate the activities of both Greeks and natives in the areas close to the colony is to look at the ancient necropolis. The *tumuli* around Orgame are eroded due to modern agricultural activities and natural processes. Some are more noticeable than others due to the blocks of stone that were part of the ring constructed around the burial site. The necropolis was only recently (in 1995) declared a historical monument and is now protected by law. To date there have been only 72 burials excavated in *tumuli* with graves of both cremation and inhumation.³⁵

The tombs of incineration can be divided in two categories: with one burial and with multiple burials in the same *tumuli*. Cremation in *tumuli* was the most frequent method of disposal of the dead on the western shore of the Black Sea. The cremated bones were placed in burial urns; the most common pottery was the imported kind: amphorae from Samos or Klazomenai, *aryballoi* from Corinth, Attic red-figure craters, Attic *oinochoai*, *hydriai*, and also Getic urns. There were only 3

³⁴ Andrei Opait, "A Weighty Matter: Pontic Fish Amphorae", Vincent Gabrielsen, John Lund eds., *The Black Sea in Antiquity* Aarhus University Press (2007):101-122.

³⁵ Vasilica Lungu, "Nécropoles Grecques du Pont Gauche: Istros, Orgame, Tomis, Callatis", *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2. BAR International Series* Elias K. Petropoulos ed. Oxford (2001): 344-351.

tombs of inhumation at Orgame, one was an *enchytrismos* (an individual buried in an amphora) with similar analogies in other parts of the Greek world while the other two, TB95 and TB99, are somewhat unusual because the individuals buried there were positioned with their heads in different directions.³⁶

Perhaps the most important tumulus from at least two points of view is the one named TA 95, excavated in 1995. First, it was determined to be the oldest burial in the necropolis of Orgame, and second, it must have belonged to a very important individual, maybe one of the original colonists or the founder of the city. The cremated bones were probably placed in a *larnax*, (a wooden box) which was stolen together with parts of the inventory at an unknown date. However, some of the inventory was spared and the pottery found there: two amphorae from Klazomenai, an Ionian cup of type Villard A2 of Samian origin, and the three *oinochoai* date this tomb to sometime around the middle of the 7th century BCE making this site the earliest Greek presence on the western shore of the Black Sea.

Because of this find, the foundation of Orgame is considered to be much earlier than that of Histria. Also, the excavator of this tumulus thinks that the individual buried in this tomb was the *oikistes*, the founder of the colony of Orgame, who, after his death, was celebrated as the “guardian” of the polis.³⁷ Tomb TA95, by

³⁶ Tamar Hodos, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*, London & NY: Routledge, (2006).

³⁷ Vasilica Lungu, “La tombe d’un héros et l’organisation de la nécropole d’une cité milesienne du Pont Euxin”, in *Pratiques funéraires dans l’Europe des XIII-IV s. av. J.-C.*, Actes de III^e Colloque International d’Archéologie Funéraire, Vasilica Lungu ed.

its construction and inventory, seems to be the most important one in the necropolis of Orgame. The subsequent tumuli were placed according to a plan. They were positioned around the earliest tomb and also built along a road connecting the city with the rest of the region.

The research in the necropolis of Orgame suggests that the lots were assigned according to family connections and the tumuli were reused several times, again suggesting nuclear families.³⁸ Some tumuli were marked, especially in the Hellenistic period, with funerary stelae.³⁹ Because research on the necropolis is by no means done and the archaeological material has only been partially published, it is, at this point, impossible to have a clear picture of how the necropolis connected the Greek settlers and the natives living relatively close by. It is generally agreed that the nuclei of settlers attracted local individuals, especially women, into their new community and this should reflect in the necropolis archaeological inventory. Once more research is completed the necropolis will be one of the main sources for a better understanding of the connection between Orgame and its *chora*.

Tulcea, (1997): 67-87 she attributes to this tomb the character of a *heroon* burial as described by Homer in the Iliad (23.175).

³⁸ Not unusual for the Greeks, for example the same customs indicative of nuclear families were discovered in other Greek colonies. See: Tamar Hodos, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean* London & NY: Routledge, (2006).

³⁹ M. Oppermann, *Die Westpontischen Poleis und ihr indigenes Umfeld in vorromischer Zeit*, Bucuresti, (2004): 188-189.

5.4 Conclusion

Research at Orgame is still in a very early phase; however it has produced a very interesting body of information. The location of the site was clearly chosen to give the settlers economic and strategic advantages. The Danube Delta was rich in fish and the promontory chosen for settlement offered a good defensive position. As in the case of Histria, Orgame was not built on a site with contemporary habitation, which implied that the Greeks did not take over an indigenous settlement. Looking through the perspective of location and resources, Orgame could have been a very successful *polis*. If resilience equals success, this *polis* has for sure accomplished just that, having survived well into the Roman period.

CHAPTER 6

TOMIS

6.1 Introduction

The Greek city of Tomis was founded, together with Histria, Orgame and Kallatis during the Greek colonization of the western shore of the Black Sea in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. Today the site is completely covered by the modern buildings of Constanta, Romanian's main port to the Black Sea and the biggest city in Dobrogea. Tomis has a long history and has been inhabited, more or less intensely, from its foundation until today. This site is situated on a peninsula with the best harbor on the western coast of the Black Sea, offering good protection from the north and east winds.¹ The high cliffs of the peninsula are relatively easy to protect from attacks from land and sea and the territory surrounding the site is good agricultural ground.²

The site is also located at the end of the valley of Carasu which forms a natural route inland from the sea to the Danube. During the communist period

¹ Radu Vulpe, *Histoire ancienne de la Dobroudja*, (Bucuresti, 1938); Vasile Canarache, *Tomis*, (Bucuresti, 1961), Adrian Radulescu, *Tomis*, (Constanta, 1967), A. Radulescu, I. Bitoleanu, *A Concise History of Dobruja*, (Bucharest, 1984); idem, *Istoria Dobrogei*, (Constanta 1988); Vasile Parvan, *Zidul cetatii Tomis*, (Bucuresti, 1915); Alexandru Suceveanu, *Viata economica in Dobrogea Romana*, (Bucuresti, 1977); D.M. Pippidi, *Contributii la istoria veche a Romaniei*, (Bucuresti, 1967); Maria Barbulescu. *Viata rurala in Dobrogea Romana*, (Constanta 2001), Livia Buzoianu, *Civilizatia greaca in zona vest pontica si impactul ei asupra lumii autohtone*, Constanta (2001.)

² Alexandru Suceveanu, (1977): 42, Maria Barbulescu, (2001): 23.

Carasu valley was transformed into a navigable channel in order to provide a shorter route from the Danube to the sea. From an archaeological point of view, the immense human and financial cost of this undertaking offered the opportunity to “clear the land” of ancient remains, Greek and native pottery and other artifacts from later historical periods, which marked the landscape from the Danube all the way to the Black Sea.

Tomis is probably best known in the scholarly literature for being the city where Ovid the Latin poet was sent in exile at the beginning of the 1st century CE.³ Ovid’s description of Tomis, written more than 600 years after the first Greek colonists arrived on the Black Sea coast, is a bleak and depressing description of the region.⁴

The power of Aquilo’s northern gales is such/ it razes high towers, and
blows away the roofs. / Men keep out the dreadful cold with sewn
trousers / and furs: the face alone appears of the whole body. / Often
their hair tinkles with hanging icicles,/ and their beards gleam white
with a coat of frost. / Wine stands exposed, holding the shape of the
jar, / and they don’t drink draughts of mead, but frozen lumps. / Shall I
speak of solid rivers, frozen by cold, / and water dug out brittle from the
pools?

Ancient literary sources place the settlement of Tomis between Histria and Kallatis.⁵ According to Strabo, this site was located 250 *stadia* from Histria (28.7

³ Ovid, *Trist.* I.

⁴ Ovid, *Trist.*, III, 17-26.

⁵ Strabo, *Geogr.* VII, 6, 1; Pomponius Mela, *De Chorogr.*, II, 2, 22; Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, III, 10, 3; Arrian, *passim* in *Fontes ad Historiam Dacoromaniae Pertinentes*, I, Bucuresti, (1964); *Tabula Peutingeriana; Itinerarum Antonini; Scutam Durae Europi repertum.*

miles) and 280 from Kallatis (32.1 miles), or 300 *stadia* (34.4 miles) from both according to Arrian.⁶ All the sources record that Tomis was located between the two more important sites of Histria and Kallatis.

The name Tomis varies in Greek, Τόμις or Τόμεύς and in Latin, Tomi or Tomis.⁷ Other forms Τόμεοι in Pseudo-Scymos, Tomoe in Pomponius Mela, Tomos or Tomoi in Pliny the Elder or Τόμεῖς in Arrian are considered incorrect and rare forms.⁸ The coins minted at Tomis have different legends on them: Τόμι, Τόμεως, Τόμος, Τόμεών, but in the period before the Roman occupation the most frequent form was Τόμι.⁹ Ovid calls the city *terra Tomitana* and the inhabitants *Tomitae*.¹⁰ Ovid also mentions that the name of the place is older than the city.¹¹ This led some researchers to suggest an Iranian root of the name Tomis: *tum-* as a higher ground elevation, which would describe the geographical aspect of the area.¹² There is

⁶ for a discussion on the location of Tomis according to the ancient literary sources: Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu, "Tomisul in lumina izvoarelor literare antice", in *Din istoria Europei romane*, Oradea, (1995): 61-68.

⁷ Iorgu Stoian, *Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor Grecesti si Latine*, Bucuresti, (1987): 13.

⁸ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu, "Tomis", in *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2. BAR International Series* Elias K. Petropoulos ed. Oxford (2001): 287.

⁹ C. Moisil, "Cresterea colectiilor", *The Numismatic Office of the Romanian Academy*, (1912): 21-102.

¹⁰ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, I, 1, 1-2.

¹¹ Ovid, *Tristia*, III, 9, 5.

¹² W. Tomascheck, *Die alten Thraken: eine ethnologische Untersuchung*, Wienne, (1893-1894): 75, Ovid in *Tristia*, III, 9, 1-10, describes the death of Absyrtos and his choice of words from the Greek *tomos* meaning cutting, or *tomeus* meaning knife

another name used to designate this city, mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea: Konstantiana.¹³ It is not clear if the two names were used interchangeable or if they represent 2 different *topoi*. Later sources from the 7th and 8th centuries CE mention the name Tomis but in the 10th century Constantinus Porphyrogenetus uses both Tomis and Konstantiana.¹⁴

Italian nautical maps from the 14th and 16th centuries use the name *Constanza*.¹⁵ Under the Ottoman administration the adapted name *Kiustenge* did not eliminate the old one Constanza and after Dobrogea became part of Romanian territory the final name used today, Constanta, is established.

Because the two names seemed to be used in the same time, for a short period scholars looked for two different locations. But as early as the 19th century the identification of the Greek city Tomis and today's Constanta has been accepted by all scholars.¹⁶

led some scholars to speculate on the name of Tomis. Iordanes in *Getica* tried to explain the presence of the Scythians in Dobrogea by telling the story of the Scythian queen Tomyris and the fact that she built a city on the Black Sea, which was later named after her.

¹³ Procopius of Caesarea, *De Edificiis*, IV, 11.

¹⁴ *Cosmographia*, Ravenna, IV, 6, 47, Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *De Thematibus*, 47, I, 58-60.

¹⁵ N. Gramada, "La Scizia Minore nelle carte nautiche del Medio Evo", *Ephemeris Daco-Romana* 4, (1930).

¹⁶ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu, "Tomis", in *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2. BAR International Series* Elias K. Petropoulos ed. Oxford (2001): 289.

Literary sources do not give us the date of foundation. However, scholars agree that Tomis was a Milesian colony.¹⁷ This settlement was probably founded at the same time as the first Milesian colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea or shortly after.¹⁸ The date accepted by most scholars is the first half of the 6th century.¹⁹ It was also suggested that a group of colonists left Miletus between 549 and 494, settled on the peninsula and established here the future colony Tomis.²⁰ Leaving aside the question of when Orgame was founded, Histria is considered the oldest colony on the western shore of the Black Sea. The second colony in Dobrogea could have been either Tomis or Kallatis. Pippidi suggests that Kallatis must have been established after Histria, with Tomis founded very soon after.²¹ The debate will not be settled soon because other scholars who have recently excavated both locations found that the material from Tomis can be dated earlier than that from the Greek archaeological levels at Kallatis.²² Considering that both Tomis and Kallatis are completely covered by buildings belonging to later historical periods, and

¹⁷ Ps. Skymnos 765-6; Anon. *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 71-73, Ovid, *Trist.* I, 10, 41; C. Preda, "Cu privire la inceputurile orasului Tomis", *Istro-Pontica* (2000): 113.

¹⁸ Beginning of the 6th century the latest, according to Radu Vulpe, "Note de istorie tomitana", *Pontica 2*, Bucuresti (1969): 152.

¹⁹ Barbulescu, Buzoianu, (2001): 289.

²⁰ Adrian Radulescu, C. Scorpan, "Rezultate preliminare ale spaturilor arheologice din Tomis, Parcul Catedralei", *Pontica 8*, (1971-1974): 9-54.

²¹ D.M. Pippidi, *Contributii la Istoria Veche a Romaniei*, Bucuresti, (1967): 25.

²² A. Radulescu, "Stiri despre inceputurile orasului Constanta", *Pontica 10*, (1977): 53-57.

accessibility to the Greek archaic levels is very limited, future excavations might change this conclusion.²³

As far as the origin of the colonists is concerned, the ancient sources mention a Milesian background. Demetrios of Kallatis affirmed that: “the city of Tomis was a Milesian colony”. Pseudo-Skymos and later Ovid confirm this fact.²⁴ The most interesting information about Tomis comes from Memnon²⁵ who describes an event that took place in the middle of the third century, “the war for the *emporion* of Tomis.”²⁶ This could mean that Tomis was a sub-colony of Histria, an *emporion*, not an *apoikia*. If so, it was not established directly by the Milesians, but by the Milesians from Histria, sometime in the first half of the 6th century.²⁷ Histria could have used Tomis as an additional harbor which could have supported her commercial interests on the western shore of the Black Sea and expanded her influence to the south.²⁸

²³ A. Radulescu, I. Scorpan, “Rezultate preliminare ale saptaturilor arheologice din Tomis, Parcul Catedralei 1971-1974”, *Pontica*, 8, (1975): 46.

²⁴ Ovid Trist. 9, 1-4: “So there are Greek cities here – who’d believe it?among the place-names of the savage barbarians:/here too colonists came, sent by the Miletians,/ to found Greek holdings among the Getae”; Pseudo Skymnos, 765-6.

²⁵ Memnon wrote a history of Herakleea Pontica, he lived in the 1st century CE.

²⁶ Memnon, *FHG* III, p. 537.

²⁷ Radu Vulpe, *Pontice* 2, (1969), considers that Miletus ended its colonizing efforts in the first half of the 6th century.

²⁸ C. Preda, (2000): 108.

Supporters of this opinion are looking at the archaeological evidence like monetary arrowheads and coins with the “Histrian wheel” found both at Tomis and in the Histrian territory.²⁹ Other scholars are not convinced the Greeks from Histria needed another harbor and trading posts. Still, the numerous findings of native, hand-made pottery at Tomis and around this site, might suggest that the local population, the Getae, could have been valuable exchange partners.³⁰ As a matter of fact, Histria founded another *emporion* Nikonion, north of the Danube Delta at Roxolani.³¹ The majority of Romanian archaeologists and historians would argue for a direct Milesian foundation of Tomis because the inscriptions found at the site are in Ionian dialect.³²

Ptolemaios, Arrian and Zosimos mention Tomis as a *polis*.³³ The two terms *emporion* and *polis* do not necessarily exclude each other, the first term could imply the character of the settlement a port of trade..³⁴ Also, the term *emporion* might be

²⁹ C. Preda (2000): 112; for arrowheads: 28-39.

³⁰ L. Buzoianu, “Tomis-oras comercial la Pontul Euxin” in *Portul Constanta intre Traditie, Actualitate si Perspective*, Constanta (2007): 17-28.

³¹ A. Bresson, “Les cites grecques et leur emporia” in *Emporion*, P. Rouillard, A. Bresson eds., Paris, (1993):163-226.

³² D. M. Pippidi, “Le culte des Dioscures et les tribus tomitanes a la lumiere d’un monument récemment publiés”, *Dacia NS*, 10 (1966): 347-356; R. Vulpe, Note de istorie tomitana, *Pontica 2*, (1969): 151-152.

³³ Ptolemaios, Arrian and Zosimos all use the term *polis* while referring to Tomis, while Ovid uses the Latin equivalent *urbs*.

³⁴ R. Vulpe, Note de istorie tomitana, *Pontica 2*, Constanta (1969): 153.

associated with the earliest character of the settlement, until the mid 3rd century, after which Tomis expanded and the term *polis* better suited its characteristics.

To sum up, the Greek settlement of Tomis was established, according to the archaeological record, but not the literary one, probably in the 6th century (perhaps in the latter half of this century). The history of Tomis could be divided in two main stages. The first one covers the time from the establishment in the 6th century, until the 3rd century BCE “war for the *emporion* of Tonis” recorded by Memnon, and the second one from the middle of the 3rd century until the Roman military presence in Dobrogea (first decades of the 1st century CE).³⁵

6.2 Political Events with Consequences for Tomis and Its Territory

The research done in Greek settlements on the western shore of the Black Sea is extremely uneven, and the area surrounding Tomis is very hard to survey because of the amount of modern construction and numerous villages located close to the modern city of Constanta. Archaeological research on a large scale is impossible both in the city and in the territory near it. Because of this, scholars have little to work with. However, it is possible with the evidence we have and with some analogies with the nearest settlements from Histria and Kallatis, to sketch the history of Tomis.

³⁵ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu, “Tomis in perioada autonoma (sec. VI-IV a.Chr.) Relatiile Greco-Orientale” in *Revista Romana de studii euroasiatice*, Ovidius University Press, Constanta (2006).

The excavations at Tomis between 1971 and 1974 have uncovered dwellings dug into the earth dating to the latter half of the 6th century. The same modest structures have been found both at Histria and Orgame in conjunction with Greek pottery as well as local, hand-made vessels.³⁶ At Tomis, Chian and Corinthian pottery was found together with monetary arrowheads and coins from Histria.³⁷ Houses built out of stone were not erected on the peninsula until the next century.

There is absolutely no information about the history of Tomis in the 6th century. We do not know if the Persian invasion at the end of the 6th century affected the settlement or whether it was too small to count in the great scheme of events.³⁸ Tomis was probably not developed enough to be a member in the Delian League. Jordanes in his work *Getica*, mentions that Tomis was under Getae authority but he probably referred to a Scythian domination or control. It is possible that the Scythian enclave in southern Dobrogea was strong enough to have had some influence over the *emporion* of Tomis. Maybe the settlement had to pay a tribute in produce or money.³⁹

³⁶ Radulescu, Scorpan "Rezultate preliminare ale saptaturilor arheologice din Tomis, Parcul Catedralei 1971-1974", *Pontica*, 8, (1975).

³⁷ A. Radulescu, I. Scorpan (1975) :11.

³⁸ Petre Alexandrescu, "Izvoare grecesti despre retragerea lui Darius din expeditia scitica, *SCIV* 7, 3-4 (1956): 319-341; Petre Alexandrescu "Histria in epoca arhaica," *Pontica* 19, (1986): 28-31; Suzana Dumitriu, Événements du Pont Euxin de la fin du VI siècle reflétées dans l'histoire d'Histria ", *Dacia NS* 8, (1964): 133-144.

³⁹ Ligia Ruscu, *Relatiile externe ale oraselor grecesti de pe litoralul romanesc al Marii Negre*, (Cluj-Napoca, 2002): 66-67.

There is also no evidence of the involvement of Tomis in the Pontic cities' uprising against the Macedonians under the rule of Lysimachus at the end of the 3rd century BCE. Maybe the city was part of the alliance against the Macedonians established in the region by the city of Kallatis. According to Diodorus:⁴⁰

The people of Kallantia, who lived on the left side of the Pontus and who were subject to a garrison that had been sent by Lysimachus, drove out this garrison and made an effort to gain autonomy. In like manner they freed the city of the Istrians and other neighboring cities, and formed an alliance with them binding them to fight together against the prince.

At about the same time, archaeological evidence from the Milesian settlements of Histria and Tomis, shows a level of burning and destruction some scholars connect with the Macedonian conflict.⁴¹ If Miletus participated in the conflict against Lysimachus, Tomis was no doubt part of this conflict as well.⁴² During this war, Kallatis was defeated but we have no information about the political situation after Lysimachus' death.⁴³ The Seleucid "protection" which probably followed was only a distant influence that affected the Thracian shore more than the west Pontic region.

⁴⁰ Diodorus, XIX, 73, 1-2; The "neighboring cities" could have also included Tomis in which case this would be an indirect and the earliest mention of this settlement. Diodorus, 19, 73, 1-2.

⁴¹ Maria Coja, "Zidul de aparare al cetatii Histria si imprejurarile istoice ale distrugerii lui in secolul al 4lea". *SCIV* 15, 3, (1964): 383-398.

⁴² Pippidi, D.M., *Contributii la Istoria Veche a Romaniei*, Bucuresti, (1967): 216-217.

⁴³ Diodorus, 19, 73, 5.

For the 3rd century we have important literary information concerning the settlement at Tomis.⁴⁴ The war for the *emporion* at Tomis is of great significance for the history of the west Pontic cities. Pontic Heracleea and Byzantium were part of a temporary alliance called the Northern League, a coalition against the Seleucid Empire. Kallatis was a colony of Pontic Heracleea and this is why Heracleea sought a peaceful negotiation since it was also allied with Byzantium.⁴⁵ The date for the war for Tomis is usually placed either in 256/255 BCE or in 254 BCE.⁴⁶

Supposedly, Kallatis was under Seleucid influence at this time, and the fact that Byzantium started the conflict would have been consistent with the interests of the Northern League, which nevertheless coincided, with those of Byzantium in making Tomis a free port. Memnon's statement had also led some scholars to wonder if Histria was interested in annexing part of Tomis' rural territory.

Not long after that, a war broke out, which the Byzantines began versus Kallatians (these being colonists of Heraclea) and at the same time against the Histrians for the emporion of Tomis, which was close to Kallatis. They were thinking about their monopoly here. Both of them sent messengers to Heracleea to help them, but Heracleea offered military support to neither of them. It sent messengers to both cities to pacify them, but this effort was in vain. The Kallatians suffered many losses from their enemies and later on they started peace negotiations, but they could not recover themselves from this misfortune.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Memnon, *F. Gr. Hist.* III B.

⁴⁵ M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, (1941): 26-27.

⁴⁶ Buzoianu, *Civilizatia Greaca in Zona Vest-Pontica si impactul ei asupra lumii autohtone*, Constanta (2001): 31.

⁴⁷ Memnon, *F. Gr. Hist.* III B.

Histria might have aimed for a monopoly over the transit trade through Tomis which some assume Kallatis had, although this is rather unclear.⁴⁸

Another theory takes into consideration an inscription from Tomis that mentions a conflict between Histria and Kallatis.⁴⁹ This conflict has been interpreted as a first phase in the war. First Histria and Kallatis fought against each other over the *emporion* at Tomis but later, when Byzantium became interested in taking control over the same settlement, Histria and Kallatis became allies against the newest aggressor. Still, Memnon's text does not mention Histria as suffering any consequences after this conflict. It is probably safe to assume that there must have been two conflicts separated with a short period of time when the initial disagreements shifted around and alliances were renegotiated.⁵⁰

No matter how the conflict or conflicts began, the winner of these contests seems to have been Tomis which started to see significant development from then on. In the second half of the 3rd century the city issued its first coins, more numerous than the coins issued by Histria and Kallatis in the same time period. Small amounts of these coins circulated beyond the city markets and spread in the vicinity of the

⁴⁸ D. M. Pippidi, *Contributii la Istoria Veche a Romaniei*, Bucuresti, (1967): 175.

⁴⁹ *ISM* III, no. 7.

⁵⁰ M. Barbulescu, L. Buzoianu, "Tomis", in *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2. BAR International Series* Elias K. Petropoulos ed. Oxford (2001): 295.

Danube. The first official inscriptions are dated in the 2nd century BCE.⁵¹ In the 1st century BCE, the powerful kingdom of Mithridates might have influenced life in Tomis. Pompeius Trogus wrote that the Pontic cities maintained some sort of autonomy by sending gifts to Mithridates.⁵² Other than this information, little is known about the actual relations between the Greek poleis and Mithridates' kingdom.

6.3 The Territory of Tomis

As mentioned above, the modern city of Constanta covers the whole peninsula and goes well beyond the area occupied by the ancient Greek settlement. The region into which the *chora* of Tomis probably extended is today extensively inhabited and systematic research is impossible. Constanta is one of the largest cities in Romania and the main port on the western coast. The area surrounding the city has seen a boom in construction and the little information we have for the *chora* of Tomis is probably not going to be enriched by any future excavations.

Systematic research is impossible inside the city too, but several limited-area excavations have been done. Such an excavation took place in 1959-1969 and brought to light some interesting finds. At 4 meters deep, where the first occupation level was located, the pottery belonged to the Hallstatt type of hand-made pottery

⁵¹ G. Talmatchi, *The mints' issues from the Black Sea coast and other areas of Dobrudjea, 6th -1st*, Mega Printing House, Cluj Napoca, (2007).

⁵² Trogus Pompeius, XXXVIII, 3. 6.

and was dated to the beginning of the 5th century or the end of the 6th century.⁵³ Together with this pottery belonging to the Getae, the excavations uncovered Greek pottery similar to that found at Histria in the level corresponding to the Archaic period.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the pottery found at Tomis is still unpublished and only partially discussed by Buzoianu in her study of Greek colonization in Dobrogea.⁵⁵ Eastern Greek ceramics are the most representative for the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. There are some Corinthian vessels as well, only in small fragments that might belong to either the late or middle phase of this style.

The Attic pottery, as in the case of Histria, is relatively common in the 6th century and late 5th century, completely absent in the first part of the 5th century while at the end of the 5th and the 4th century is present again a relatively large numbers.⁵⁶ The Attic ceramic fragments from the end of the 6th century belong to the category of high footed cups and cups decorated with stripes, dating around 530-520 BCE, cups with black varnish without decoration (about 525 BCE) and fragments with black figures which can be dated 520 to 510 BCE. For the late 5th and the 4th centuries ceramics with black varnish are present and represented by cups, *skyphoi* and

⁵³ A. Aricescu never published this material, which is stored at the National Museum of History and Archaeology in Constanta, according to Dr. Livia Buzoianu. Livia Buzoianu, *Civilizatia Greaca in Zona Vest-Pontica si impactul ei asupra lumii autohtone*, Constanta (2001): 292.

⁵⁴ Radulescu, Scorpan, "Rezultate preliminare ale sapaturilor arheologice din Tomis, Parcul Catedralei 1971-1974", *Pontica*, 8 (1975): 25-27.

⁵⁵ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu "Tomis", in *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2. BAR International Series* Elias K. Petropoulos ed. Oxford (2001), passim.

bowls with a low edge/lip. For the first half of the 4th century there are also fragments with red figures belonging to *pelike* or *skyphoi*. The decorative themes are the common ones found on this type of pottery: clothed individuals, Satyrs or *palmettes*.⁵⁷

As in the case the other Greek settlements from Dobrogea, the Greek pottery made locally, so called colonial pottery, could have been made either at Tomis, or maybe at Histria or Kallatis. The analysis of the clay deposits in Dobrogea has proven the very similar composition of the clay in this whole area. The paste used for the colonial pottery has never been analyzed to find out the nature of its composition. A closer look at this problem could answer the question whether or not Tomis produced any pottery either for local consumption or for export.⁵⁸

The amphora fragments prove that Tomis was a busy commercial city in the 5th century BCE.⁵⁹ As in the case of Histria, the commercial connections were mostly with Chios, Lesbos and Thasos. The second half of the 4th century saw a decrease in imports, perhaps because of the political insecurity Dobrogea experienced.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Petre Alexandrescu, Peisajul histrian in atichitate, *Pontica* III, (1970) passim; Adrian Murau, Alexandru Avram, "Consideratii preliminare asupra pietrei de constructie folosite la Histria", *Pontica*, 16, (1983): 189.

⁵⁹ Livia Buzoianu, "Tomis, oras comercial la Pontul Euxin", in: *Portul Constanta, intre traditie, actualitate si perspective*, (Editura Companiei Nationale Administratia Porturilor Maritime, Constanta, (2007).

⁶⁰ Livia Buzoianu, "Les premieres importations d'amphores timbrées dans les cites grecques de Tomis et de Callatis", *BCH* Suppl. 13, (1986): 406-415.

A comparison of stamped amphora between Tomis and Kallatis has shown that Thasos began trading with Tomis sooner than with Kallatis sometime in the second quarter of the 4th century BCE. Unlike Histria and Tomis, the Kallatis market was more oriented towards trading goods with Pontic Herakleea and this might prove that Kallatis had more restricted economic activity compared with more developed cities like Histria.⁶¹

As far as the pottery belonging to the native population, the Getae, its presence can be documented at Tomis from the very beginning of the life of the Greek settlement. The Getae pottery is not present in great numbers but is consistent throughout the archaeological layers. Because of the limited area of research it is not clear if a Getae settlement was in existence here at the time the Greeks colonized the peninsula. From what we know of Histria and Orgame, the Getae did not develop their own maritime trade and no settlements belonging to them were discovered on the shores of the Black Sea in Dobrogea. Nevertheless, the appearance of this pottery at Tomis, usually attributed to the natives and found in the Getae settlements along the Danube, beginning with the 6th century BCE, is very important.⁶² Over time, the locals would adopt Greek shapes but still use the more rough paste for the pottery and also preferred to shape their vessels by hand, rather than using the potter's wheel.

⁶¹ Barbulescu, Buzoianu *BAR*, (2001): 293.

⁶² There is only one short study of this type of pottery: Lucian Arsenie, "Ceramica lucrata cu mana de la Tomis", *Pontica* 33-34 (2000-2001): 283-297.

In the archaeological material belonging to the 6th and 5th centuries BCE researchers have found numerous arrowheads with monetary value. In 1992 a hoard of such “coins” was unearthed at Tomis, a discovery that seems to support the idea of the status of this settlement as an *emporion* not an *apoikia*.⁶³

An interesting fact is that the coins minted at Histria, the type with a “wheel”, were found in the levels belonging to the 5th century but they are completely absent in the 4th century. The number of these coins is so small and again the area of research so limited that is probably impossible to make any kind of assumptions about monetary circulation at Tomis. It is very possible that the settlement was under Histria’s influence at least halfway through the 4th century and benefitted commercially from its position close to a more economically powerful neighbor.⁶⁴ From an archaeological point of view, the materials from the Hellenistic period are few and the archaeological layers are fragmented. This has to do with the very limited area of research and not with the actual situation.

Since no settlements in the *chora* of Tomis have been systematically surveyed or excavated all the information we have is incidental. Stoian claims that Tomis had a *chora* in the 6th century as soon as the first colonists settled on the promontory.⁶⁵ Condurachi held a different opinion according to which Histria and

⁶³ The hoard is only mentioned by Gabriel Talmatchi, *Pontica* 35-36, (2002-2003): 360.

⁶⁴ *idem*: 357.

⁶⁵ Iorgu Stoian, Tomitana, Contributii epigrafice la istoria cetatii, *SCIV*, 8, (1957): 31.

Kallatis bought their territory from the Scythians under their king Ateas sometime after 341 or 339 BCE and so did Tomis.⁶⁶ Pippidi believed that the Greek colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea could have not been able to sustain a *chora* without strong political support from an outside authority. Because, in his opinion, the influence of the Persian Empire at the end of the 6th century, and that of the Odrysian Kingdom from the 5th century were not strong enough in this region, the acquisition of agricultural territories must have happened under the rule of Lysimachus.⁶⁷

Commenting on Memnon's text, Pippidi suggests that the Greek historian, when mentioning the fact that the cities of Tomis and Kallatis had the same border, he must have meant that their rural territories shared the same border.⁶⁸ This would not be surprising since the border of a Greek *polis* was not the city wall but the limit of its rural territory.

Another Romanian historian, Iliescu, strongly supports the idea that the Greek cities on the western shore, including Tomis, must have had their *chorai* only in the 4th century and only after they obtained the support of Ateas who had the political and military strength to guarantee their territories through political alliances.

This last theory does not explain the numerous settlements that were established in the area around Histria starting in the 6th century. Avram points out

⁶⁶ E. Condurachi, *Buletinul Stiintific al Academiei Romane*, IV, (1952): 65-67.

⁶⁷ D. M. Pippidi, (1968): 154-156; idem, *DID*, I, p. 195-197.

⁶⁸ D.M. Pippidi, "In jurul relatiilor agrare din cetatile pontice inainte de cucerirea romana", *Contributii la Istoria Veche a Romaniei*, Bucuresti (1967): 150.

that the city of Histria expanded in the 6th century, the first tumuli were built in the necropolis and the list of settlements under the influence of Histria or part of its territory is indeed quite long: Tariverde, Nuntasi I and II, Vadu, Histria Pod, Istria-Sat, Sinoe-Zmeica, Sinoe-Insula Lupilor, Caraburun, and the necropoleis from Istria-Sat and Corbu de Jos.⁶⁹ Other settlements dating from the same century, considered by some as part of the territory of Orgame, were excavated at Visina and partially at Sarinasuf.⁷⁰ Other sites like Beidaud or Babadag could have been part of the “zone of influence” of Histria or Orgame, in the case of the settlement and necropolis from Celic-Dere.⁷¹

As far as Tomis is concerned, besides the note from Memnon, there is no literary or even archaeological evidence for the existence of a *chora*. No systematic research has been done except for limited area surveys and salvage excavations. Nothing is known for sure about the extent of the rural territory, type of settlements, type of dwellings or its ethnic composition.

Information could only be collected from indirect sources and, because we have more data for Histria and Kallatis and Tomis was located between them, the limits of their territories to the south in case of Histria and to the north in case of Kallatis could provide us with the boundaries of the Tomitan *chora*.

⁶⁹ Alexandru Avram, *Symposia Thracologica*, 7, Tulcea, (1989): 72.

⁷⁰ M. Manucu Adamesteanu, “Orgame polis”, *Pontica* 25, (1992): 55-69.

⁷¹ G. Simion, *Culturi antice in zona gurilor Dunarii*, Vol. I, Istorie si protoistorie, Editura Nereamia, Cluj Napoca, (2003).

For Histria, an important inscription from the Roman period delineates its *chora* in the year 100 CE.⁷² Unfortunately, the document does not mention with certainty the southern limit of Histria's territory.⁷³ Because of geographical features like rivers and lakes, there is an agreement among Romanian scholars that the northern limit of the territory of Tomis must have been Lake Tasaul.⁷⁴ In the Roman period, an inscription from Capidava, a Roman city situated on the Danube, delineates its eastern territory on the river Casimcea, which flows into lake Tasul.⁷⁵ The territory of Tomis in the Roman period bordered the one of Capidava. The size of the territory must have suffered changes over time. Some discoveries very close to Constanta probably belonged to the territory of Tomis, Greek pottery was found on the south-west shore of the Siutgiol Lake and at Palazu Mare. Between Siutgiol Lake and Tasaul Lake field surveys have located Greek and Getae pottery dating from the 4th to 1st centuries BCE. Also at Cape Midia several Greek pottery fragments have been interpreted as attempts made by the Greeks to establish a settlement here.⁷⁶

⁷² *ISMI*, no 67.

⁷³ See discussion in chapter 4.

⁷⁴ Mihai Irimia, "Consideratii privind teritoriul Tomisului in perioada elenistica", *Studiilistorice Dobrogene*, Constanta, (2003).

⁷⁵ M. Barbulescu, *Viata rurala in Dobrogea romana*, Biblioteca Tomitana, III, Muzeul de Istorie Nationala si Arheologie Constanta, (2001).

⁷⁶ Mihai Irimia, *Pontica* 24, (1991): 112.

To the south the territory could have stretched to the former Lake Agigea , today incorporated in the man-made channel that connects the Danube with the Black Sea. This limit suggests a natural border. Some discoveries, further to the south, at Techirgiol-Urluchioi and Tuzla, could have been at one point part of the Tomitan territory, although they could have also been incorporated into the *chora* of Kallatis.

Finally, to the west, the limit of Tomis' agricultural territory was today's villages of Constanta-Pallas and Valul lui Traian. As in the case of the northern and southern border, the geography of the landscape is the main reason why the border of Tomis' *chora* could have been stretched to these limits. Other findings from Basarabi and Poarta Alba could suggest a further expansion to the west.⁷⁷

Since there has been no systematic research done in the *chora* we can only assume that the settlements were similar to the ones found in the territory of Histria since Tomis was either a Milesian colony or founded by the Milesians from Histria. Unlike the settlements in the *chora* of Kallatis, a Dorian colony, the settlements in the territory of Histria are open, unfortified and with an agricultural character. This is consistent with Miletus' approach of securing with defensive walls only the main city but not the minor settlements.⁷⁸ On the other hand, Dorian colonies and the settlements in their territories tend to be surrounded by walls or other kind of

⁷⁷ The material discovered in field surveys is published only partially with very few details, some observations about the territory of Tomis in: Mihai Irimia, *Pontica* 6, (1973); idem, *Pontica* 13, (1980).

⁷⁸ Alexandru Avram, *Symposia Thracologica*, 7, Tulcea, (1989): 78-81.

defensive structures. This is true for the rural settlements in the territory of Kallatis from Albesti, Hagieni and Coroana.⁷⁹ Since no defensive walls or other structures that might serve as protection were identified near Tomis it is probably safe to say that the rural settlements in its territory were similar to the ones found in the *chora* of Histria and Orgame.

The territory of Tomis no doubt evolved together with the city and it was probably much smaller in the archaic period than in the Hellenistic period. If Tomis was just an *emporion* until the 3rd century, as the written sources suggest, its territory must have been very limited and the city acted just as a commercial site that had a very good harbor facilitating maritime trade and connections with the native population. Only later, and especially after the 3rd century, did its population increase. Once the connection with the locals became stronger so did its commercial activities while its importance as a Greek polis increased.

6.4 The Non-Greek Population in the Territory of Tomis

It is always risky to associate a certain type of pottery with an ethnic element, but it is certainly tempting to try to understand the ethnicity of the people that lived close or inside the walls of Tomis using the archaeological findings. The mixed material, Greek and native/Getae, speaks of peaceful collaboration between the two peoples or perhaps three, if we accept the possibility of a Scythian element in the

⁷⁹ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu, *Asezarea fortificata de la Albesti, Constanta* (2008).

mixture, even though they were more numerous at Kallatis than anywhere else. Later literary sources, like Ovid and Strabo, speak of the Greeks mixed with the Getae.⁸⁰ As mentioned above, Getae material was found together with Greek in all the field surveys.

The other ethnic element, the Scythian, was present especially in the Hellenistic period as attested by a few pottery fragments near Tomis at Medeea, Fabrica de Oxigen and Cumpana.⁸¹ At the beginning of the Roman period, the Scythians were very much present near Tomis, with several important discoveries of coins and tombs attributed to them.⁸² It is not clear at this point if the presence of the Scythians in the Roman period in the territory of Tomis was a sign of continuity or change. Only further archaeological research can resolve this issue.

Ovid also talks about the presence near and at Tomis of the Sarmatians who often came to the city after crossing the frozen Danube:⁸³

The sea, too, is no longer solid with ice, nor
As before, does the Sarmatian herdsman drive his
Creaking wagon across the Ister.

⁸⁰ Ovid, *Trist.* III, 9, 4; V, 5, 28; V, 7, 11-12, *Ex Ponto*, I, 1, 1-2; I, 9, 45; II, 10, 50; III, 7, 19; IV, 4-8, Strabo, *Geogr.*, VII, 3, 2; 3, 12; 3, 13.

⁸¹ Mihai Irimia, *Pontica*, 33-34, (2000-2001): 299-317.

⁸² Ibidem.

⁸³ Ovid, *Tristia*, I, 2, 82; I, 8, 39-40; II, 191-192; IV, 8, 16; IV, 10, 110; *Ex Ponto*, I, 2,60; I, 2, 79; I, 2, 81-82; III, 8, 8; Ovid claims he learned how to speak the language of the Sarmatians, *Ex Ponto*, III, 2, 40.

Some pottery fragments belonging to this ethnic group and dated in the 1st century BCE were found in a level at Histria that was destroyed by fire.⁸⁴ Two tombs of Sarmatian character were discovered in the necropolis of Histria and were both dated to the 2nd century BCE.⁸⁵ In the partially excavated necropolis at Tomis, most of it covered by modern buildings, some tombs were attributed to the Sarmatians and dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.⁸⁶ The Sarmatian material is rather later than with the period this study is concerned with, but it is possible that some Sarmatian elements came to Dobrogea sooner and established themselves here.

6.5 Conclusion

As a commercial center Tomis was very active in the 5th and the first part of the 4th century. Amphora finds indicate that the main imports came from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos.⁸⁷ The research done, both in the territory and in the city itself, is very limited and does not provide us with a complete or clear understanding of the economic position Tomis had in the Black Sea basin and beyond.

The very few inscriptions found at Tomis give us just a glimpse of the economic life of the city. In a special case, the *archontes*, who normally had general

⁸⁴ Petre Alexandrescu, *SCIVA*, 44, 3 (1993): 231-266.

⁸⁵ idem, *Histria II*, (1967): 281.

⁸⁶ El. Barladeanu, *Pontica*, 10, (1977): 127-152.

⁸⁷ see note 46, and Livia Buzoianu, "Tipuri de amfore de secol VI-IV a. Chr. Descoperite la Tomis", *Pontica* 24, (1991): 75.

administrative duties, are mentioned as administrators of the port.⁸⁸ This is the first document to mention the commercial harbor, even though from archaeological point of view, it has not been located yet. Another Hellenistic inscriptions mentions the *agoranomos*, the administrator of the market, while the *emporoi*, the ones who bought and sold products, only appear in a later inscription from the 1st century BCE.⁸⁹

Other inscriptions attest the connections Greek citizens from Tomis had with the rest of the Pontic cities. Euenorpidēs, son of Philolaos from Tomis is a beneficiary of a decree from Histria, according to an inscription dated late 2nd or 1st century BCE.⁹⁰ Another citizen from Tomis, his name lost, is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Histria from the 2nd century BCE.⁹¹ A decree from Odessos honors Artemon Chairionos from Tomis and dates in the 1st century BCE.⁹² In return, Tomis honors a citizen from Tyras who helped traders from Tomis in the city of Olbia.⁹³ The inscription mentioned above is not an unusual find on the western shore of the Black Sea. All the colonies here left inscriptions that attest the hardships

⁸⁸ *ISM* II, 2.

⁸⁹ *ISM* II, 4 and *ISM* II, 5.

⁹⁰ *ISM*, I, 48.

⁹¹ *ISM*, I, 38.

⁹² *IGB*, I (2), 43.

⁹³ *ISM* II, 5.

their citizens encounter in a territory that many times provided challenges and tests that sometimes looked insurmountable.

The knowledge we can acquire about Tomis its territory will likely be spotty and incomplete. The modern city of Constanta is continuously expanding into the former *chora* of the Greek city. On the one hand this expansion could provide more information, provided the laws that protect the archeological material are followed. On the other hand, Constanta's sprawl westwards has occurred at record rate, leaving little or no time for archaeological research.

CHAPTER 7

KALLATIS

7.1 Introduction

The Greek settlement Kallatis was founded by another colony, Pontic Heraklea, which is located on the southern shore of the Black Sea, and was itself founded by colonists from Megara. Kallatis today is completely covered by the modern buildings of the city port of Mangalia. Kallatis was mentioned in several sources. It appears under the name Κάλλατις in Ps.-Sylax, Ps.- Scymnos and Strabon, Κάλατις in the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, or Cal(l)atis, Callati in Latin sources.¹ On the first coins issued here the name of the city is written as ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙΑ.²

The site of the Greek city has been continuously occupied from antiquity until today.³ According to Ps. Skymnos, who used Demetrios of Kallatis as his source,

¹ Ps. Sylax, 67 (*GGMI* 56-56), Ps. Symnos, v. 760; Strabon, VII 6, 1; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* IV 11, 44; Eutropius, VI 10, Anon. *Per. Pont. Eux.* p. 136 (Diller), Ovid, *Trist.* I, 10, 30.

² D. M. Pippidi, "Stiri noi despre raspandirea callatienilor in epoca elenistica", *Studii Clasice* 15, (1973): 172.

³ For medieval discoveries: I. Barnea, St. Stefanescu, *Din Istoria Dobrogei III. Bizantini, romani si bulgari la Dunarea de Jos*, (1971). Mangalia was mentioned as *Pangalia* in a medieval map (the portulan from Pisa) dated the 13th century in: N. Gramada, "La Scizia Minore nelle carte nautiche del medio evo. Contribuzione all topografia storica della Dobrogea", *ED* 4, (1930): 236-241; C. Cihodaru, "Litoralul de apus al Marii Negre si cursul inferior al Dunarii in cartografia medievala (secolele XII-XIV)", *Studii* 21, (1968): 217-241; specific medieval archaeological discoveries: I.

Kallatis was an *apoikia* of Pontic Heraklea and was founded in accordance with an oracle at the time when Amyntas was the ruler of Macedonia.⁴ While scholars do not doubt the foundation of Kallatis by Heraklea, the date of its establishment is a matter of debate though, since it is not clear if Ps. Schymnos was writing about Amyntas I or Amyntas III. Amyntas I ruled in the second part of 6th century, while Amyntas III ruled between 393 and 370/69 BCE. Romanian scholars favor the earliest date although there is no clear archaeological evidence to prove this. When it comes to the territory of Kallatis, the earliest archaeological findings are dated in the 4th century BCE.⁵ If the earliest date is accepted, it means that Kallatis was the earliest Megarian colony on the western shore of the Black Sea.

Even less clear is why this site was considered for settlement since it has no good harbor, at least today, and it looks like the territory was not exploited right away but only a century after foundation.⁶ It is possible that, in antiquity, the shore was more suitable for a port since we know that important geomorphologic changes occurred in this area.⁷

Barnea "Descoperiri arheologice din epoca feudala la Mangalia", *Materiale si Cercetari* 6, (1959): 903-911.

⁴ Ps. Skymnos 761-764.

⁵ For a 6th century foundation, D. M. Pippidi, *I Greci nel Basso Danubio dall'eta arcaica alla conquista romana*, Milano, (1971).

⁶ There is no archaeological evidence for settlements in the chora of Kallatis until the 4th century BCE .

⁷ Histria's harbor was clogged with sand starting in antiquity, 3rd or 2nd century BCE, Polybius, *Hist.*, IV, 41.

South of the city, there was a natural bay; today it is cut off from the sea by a sandbar and now outlines lake Mangalia. Sources from the Middle Ages mention an ancient structure, a dike, along the shore of the sea next to the city.⁸ Also, some underwater archaeological excavations were done near Mangalia, and a few Greek anchors were found near the shore.⁹ It is possible that Kallatis had two harbors, one to the south, a natural bay, and another one, manmade and near the city, to the west.

The name of Kallatis is Thracian, although no traces of earlier native settlements were found here.¹⁰ Modern occupation severely hampers archaeological research, but excavations were carried out in several places in Mangalia. The campaigns of 1958-1967 and 1993, uncovered some of the fortification walls that surrounded the city and buildings from the Roman period.¹¹

The Hellenistic necropolis, excavated in a few accessible parts, revealed rich offerings. The rites performed were both cremation and inhumation, in simple

⁸ M. Holban, *Calatori straini despre tarile romane I*, (1968): 82.

⁹ C. Scorpan, "Ancore antice descoperite pe coastele submarine ale Callatisului si unele probleme ale navigatiei in Pontul Stang", *SCIV* 21, (1970): 639-647; C. Scarlat, "Portul antic Callatis. Cercetari de arheologie submarina," *AMN* 10, (1973): 529-540.

¹⁰ Dimiter Detschew, *Die Thrakischen Sprachreste*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (1957): 223.

¹¹ C. Preda, *Callatis*, (1968): 22, M. Ionescu, V. Georgescu, "Le system défensif callatien". *The Roman Frontier at the Lower Danube 4th-6th centuries. The Second International Symposium*, Murighiol/Halmyris, (1998).

graves.¹² Outside the city, beyond the Roman wall, to the northwest, there is a necropolis that was partially researched. The excavated complexes are dated the end of the 4th century BCE. Other remarkable funerary complexes were found very close to Kallatis. The most interesting one is the necropolis with tumuli that cover vaulted funerary chambers (*tholo*) with a long entryway (*dromos*) dated from the 4th to the 3rd centuries BCE. This necropolis must have belonged to a non-Greek population who lived near the city, probably Scythian.¹³

7.2 The Territory of Kallatis

Literary sources never specifically mention the territory of Kallatis. Memnon,¹⁴ discussing the war between Kallatis and Histria for the *emporion* of Tomis, suggests that the territory of Kallatis neighbors that of Tomis or that the *emporion* was located

¹² C. Preda, "Cateva morminte de epoca elenistica decoperite la Callatis", *SCIV* 17, (1966): 137-146, N. Cheluta-Georgescu, "Morminte elenistice si romane descoperite in zona de nord-vest a necropolei callatiene", *Pontica* 7, (1974): 191-197, C. Preda, N. Georgescu, "Sapaturile de salvare de la Mangalia din 1972, necropola callatiana din zona stadionului", *Pontica* 8, (1975): 55-75; C. Preda, E. Barladeanu, "Sapaturile de salvare din zona santierului naval de la Mangalia", *Pontica* 12, (1979): 97-107, E. Barladeanu-Zavatin, "Noi descoperiri in necropolele callatiene", *Pontica* 13, (1980): 216-240, *eadem*, "Statuete de teracota dintr-un complex funerar descoperit la Kallatis", *Pontica* 18, (1985): 85-98.

¹³ M. Irimia, "Despre Sciti si Scitia Mica in ultimele secole ale mileniului I a. Chr"., *Pontica* 33-34, (2000-2001): 299-318.

¹⁴ Very little is known about Memnon; he may have lived in the first century CE. He wrote a local history of the city of Heracleia Pontica, an important Greek colony on the south coast of the Black Sea. The Byzantine scholar Photius has preserved excerpts from this history. The surviving portion of the history covers the period from the tyrant Clearchus (364-353 BCE) down to the capture of the city by the Romans (70BCE).

between the cities of Kallatis and Histria.¹⁵ Another indirect source could be Diodorus Siculus when he describes the hardships endured by the people of Kallatis after Lysimachus attacked them. We find out that 1000 Greeks from Kallatis were sent to colonize an area near Bosphorus.

For Eumelus continued to show kindness to the people of Byzantium and to those of Sinope and to most of the other Greeks who lived on the Pontus; and when the people of Callantia were besieged by Lysimachus and were hard pressed by lack of food, he took under his care a thousand who had left their homes because of the famine. Not only did he grant them a safe place of refuge, but he gave them a city in which to live and allotted to them the region called Psoancaetice.¹⁶

It is probably safe to assume that they were people who lived not inside Kallatis' city walls but in its territory.¹⁷ They were probably farmer-soldiers from Albesti or other settlements in the *chora* of Kallatis. The coins issued by Kallatis in the 4th century also allude to the agricultural character of the *polis* with its

¹⁵ Memnon, *FGrHist* III B, F 13 (21), p. 345-347 "Not long afterwards, a war broke out between the Byzantines and the inhabitants of Kallatis (a colony of Heracleia) and of Istria. The war was caused by the trading post at Tomis, which the inhabitants of Callatis wanted to run as a monopoly. Both sides sent envoys to the Heracleians to ask for assistance; the Heracleians gave no military aid to either side, but sent arbitrators to each of them to arrange a truce, though at the time they did not accomplish this. After suffering greatly at the hands of their enemies, the inhabitants of Callatis agreed to a truce, but by that time they were almost incapable of recovering from the disasters which had struck them".

¹⁶ Diodorus Siculus, 20.25.1.

¹⁷ Diodorus Siculus, 20, 25 .

surrounding territory. The most represented divinities were the ones with an agrarian character like Dionysus and Demeter.¹⁸

In the inscriptions found at Kallatis, the word *chora*, (χώρα), meaning agricultural territory is mentioned in a honorific decree for a *strategos* dating to the 3rd century BCE (ISM III, 106) and in a fragmentary degree from the 1st century BCE (ISM III, 26).

An inscription from Dionysopolis (in Bulgaria), discovered in 1982, preserves a text which attests that under Cotys, the son of the Thracian Rhoemetalkos, a boundary was established between Odessos and Kallatis (ISM V 5011). The Thracian king and the two *poleis*, Odessos and Kallatis, sent representatives to Dionysopolis to look at the archives there in order to establish the limits of their territories.¹⁹ The inscription attests that the common boundary starts at Carbatis, the same location mentioned by another source, Pliny the Elder.²⁰

The inscription mentions an older boundary between Kallatis and Dionysopolis, suggesting that some changes occurred by the 1st century CE, either with respect to the territory of Dionysopolis or that of Kallatis.²¹ This inscription does

¹⁸ G. Poenaru-Bordea, "Un tezaur de monede callatiene din perioada autonomiei", *SCN* 4, (1968): 103-124.

¹⁹ Ligia Ruscu, *Relatiile externe ale Oraselor Grecesti de pe Litorlul Romanesc al Marii Negre*, Cluj Napoca, (2002): 251.

²⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Hist Nat.* IV 11 (18), 44: *Callatim, quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur*.

²¹ Ligia Ruscu, *Relatiile externe ale Oraselor Grecesti de pe Litorlul Romanesc al Marii Negre*, Cluj Napoca, (2002): 164.

not mention the *polis* of Bizone, which was destroyed by an earthquake but rebuilt later in the Roman period.²² Bizone was located between Dionysopolis and Kallatis. In the Hellenistic period it probably had a very small territory, closer to the shore of the Black Sea. Inland, since the inscriptions mention an old arrangement, the territories of Dionysopolis and Kallatis probably had a common border. In this situation the southern limit of the *chora* of Kallatis stretched to Cape Sabla (ancient Karon Limen), but after the destruction of Bizone and before its reconstruction (1st century CE) the territory of Kallatis could have stretched further south to Nymphaion (which has not yet been located) mentioned in the inscription from Dionysopolis.²³ The southern limit to Cape Sabla is mentioned in the Roman period in an inscription found at Kallatis.²⁴

The western and the northern limits of the *chora* of Kallatis are not known but archaeological finds in the region and the topographical layout of the landscape allow us to make plausible suggestions. To the north, the territory stretched probably to Lake Techirgiol, a sea gulf in antiquity, while to the west, it must have included the fortified settlement from Albesti and most likely some land beyond this site.

Thanks to literary and epigraphic sources we have the names of several sites that must have been located in the *chora* of Kallatis (or near it). Besides *Nymphaion*

²² Strab. VII 6, 1; Pomp. Mel., II 2, 22, Plin. LIV 11(18), 44.

²³ Ligia Ruscu, *Relatiile externe ale Oraselor Grecesti de pe Litorlul Romanesc al Marii Negre*, Cluj Napoca, (2002): 171.

²⁴ *ISM* III, 241.

and *Karon Limen*, mentioned above, another site was Amlaidina, north of Kallatis, near the sea shore, today's village 23 August which appears in an inscription from Kallatis.²⁵ Another site was Parthenopolis, situated near Schitu Costesti between 23 August and Tuzla, Pliny, Eutropius and Iordanes all mention it.²⁶ Only late sources mentioned Stratonis, probably at Cape Tuzla, but Strabo²⁷ mentions a Stratonis Turris, which could be the same site. Finally, Pliny mentions Gerania, Aphrodisias, Heracles, Libistos, Zygere, Rhocobae and Eumenia, but so far these settlements have not been identified archaeologically.

The territory of Kallatis was probably divided into two parts, an area near the city, composed of the *cleroi*/lots belonging to the Greek citizens, and a larger area inhabited not only by the Greeks but also other populations, in case of Kallatis' territory probably local Getae and the Scythian farmers (*Scythae aroteres*) mentioned by Pliny, archaeologically identified in the area.²⁸

²⁵ *ISM* III, 237

²⁶ Plin. IV 11, (18), 44: Namque Thracia altero latere a Pontico litore incipiens, ubi Hister amnis inmergitur, vel pulcherrimas in ea parte urbes habet, Histropolim Milesiorum, Tomos, Callatim, quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur, Heracleam. habuit et Bizonen terrae hiatus raptam; nunc habet Dionysopolim, Crunon antea dictam; adluit Zyras amnis. totum eum tractum Scythae Aroteres cognominati tenuere. eorum oppida Aphrodisias, Libistos, Zygere, Rhocobae, Eumenia, Parthenopolis, Gerania, ubi Pygmaeorum gens fuisse proditur; Catizos barbari vocabant, creduntque a gruibus fugatos.; Eutr. VI 10; Iord. 221.

²⁷ Strabo 16, 2.27: "Next to Ace is the Tower of Strato, with a station for vessels."

²⁸ Mihai Irimia, "Despre Sciti si Scitia Mica in ultimele secole ale mileniului I a Chr." *Pontica* 33-34 (2000-2001): 300.

As far as the division of land is concerned, we have later information that is dated from the Roman period. Nevertheless, it is possible that the land division during the time of Trajan followed a much older division inherited from the Hellenistic period or before.²⁹ On the ground though, unlike other colonies on the northern shore of the Black Sea (Berezan/ Olbia or Chersonesos in Crimea), there are no visible traces today of the old land division from antiquity.³⁰

The sites surveyed in the territory of Kallatis were different in character. Several were located on the shore of the Black Sea and probably were fishing as well as agricultural communities, some were located inland with clear agricultural character and as in the territory of other Dorian colonies, some sites are fortified and the construction of towers was common.³¹ In accordance with custom, probably one tenth of the ground was allocated to the sacred land.³² The site of Durankulak, for example, possible part of Kallatis' territory, had a rural sanctuary which had been systematically researched by Bulgarian archaeologists.³³

²⁹ *ISM* III, 51-55.

³⁰ Petre Alexandrescu, "Observatii asupra organizarii spatiale in necropola Histriei", *Peuce* II, (1971); Emilia Dorutiu Boila, "Observatii aerofotografice in teritoriul rural al Histriei", *Peuce* II, (1971); Galina Nikolaenko, "The chora of Tauric Chersonesos and the Cadastre of the 4th-2nd Century BC", in *Surveying the Greek Chora. The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*, Pia Guldager Bilde, Vladimir Stolba eds. Aarhus University Press, (2006)..

³¹ Maria Babulescu, Livia Buzoianu, *Albesti*, (2008), passim

³² Thucydides 3.50.2.

³³ Henrieta Todorova, "Durankulak- a Territorium Sacrum of the Goddess Cybele", in *BAR* (2001): 175-227.

All the sites discovered in the *chora* of Kallatis date no earlier than the 4th century BCE. Thus, it is possible that Kallatis did not have a territory immediately after its establishment but only much later, a century after the first colonists settled in this area.³⁴ However it is reasonable to assume that, immediately after the arrival of the colonists, some sort of land division or land exploitation took place at least on a very small scale.

As in the case of Orgame, Histria and Tomis, there is no evidence of prior indigenous/native settlements on the site of Kallatis. In the immediate vicinity of the *polis* field surveys uncovered about 31 sites with discoveries from the Neolithic to the medieval period and almost all contain some Greek material from the 4th century up to the Roman period.³⁵

Surveys conducted around the modern city on Mangalia have identified 2 areas that produced ancient materials, attributed to settlements in the *chora* of Kallatis. North of Mangalia, archaeological materials came from or near the modern villages of Dulcesti, Pecineaga, 23 August and Mosneni, to the West from Arsa, Albesti and Hagieni and finally to the south at Limanu, 2 Mai, Vama Veche and Sabla.³⁶ The site of Hagieni is of extreme importance because it could have been the

³⁴ Suzana Dumitriu, "Discutii despre orasele pontice si teritoriile lor in perioada arhaica pe marginea unor studii recente", *SCIV* 1, (1972).

³⁵ Mihai Ionescu, Nicolae Georgescu, "Cercetari perieghetice in teritoriul callatian", *SCIVA* 2, (1997): 156-175.

³⁶ Mihai Irimia, "Descoperiri noi privind populatia autohtona a Dobrogei si legaturile ei cu coloniile grecesti" *Pontica* 6, (1973): 48-60, Mihai Irimia "date noi privind asezarile getice din Dobrogea in a doua epoca a fierului" *Pontica* 13, (1980): 89, 96, 102-104,

location from which both Kallatis and the site of Albesti took their supplies of fresh water. There is no archaeological evidence to prove this for the classical or Hellenistic periods but for the Roman period a recently excavated aqueduct brought its water supply from here to Kallatis.³⁷ The region around Hagieni is very rich in underground springs, an important advantage since Dobrogea does not have a good supply of fresh water. In the area around the site of Albesti field surveys identified 6 sites with Greek and Getic material but none have been systematically researched.³⁸

7.3 Albesti, A Fortified Settlement in the Territory of Kalatis

The fortified settlement at Albesti is located 15km WSW from Kallatis and is considered as part of the city's *chora*. The fortification was built according to the Dorian tradition of defending both the city and its territory.³⁹ In the case of Dorian settlements both the city and its *chora* are equally important, as some of the inscriptions from Kallatis and Appolonia seem to attest.⁴⁰ Sites similar to the one at

Mihai Irimia "Date noi privind necropolele din Dobrogea in a doua epoca a fierului" *Pontica* 16, (1983): 94; Mihai Irimia "Noi descoperiri getice si grecesti din Dobrogea si din stanga Dunarii" *Pontica* 39, (2006): 129-130, 133-136, 144-145; A. Radulescu, M. Barbulescu, L. Buzoianu, "Observatii privind importul amforelor stampilat in sud estul Dobrogei" *Pontica* 18 (1985): 55-74.

³⁷ Gheorghe Papuc, "Depre alimentarea cu apa potabila a cetatii Calatis in epoca romana", *Pontica* 40(2007): 351-358.

³⁸ V. Boroneant, "Ceretari perieghetice pe malul Marii Negre intre Constanta si Vama Veche", *Pontica* 10 (1977): 319-324.

³⁹ Y. Garlan, *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque*, Paris (1971): 31.

⁴⁰ *ISM* III, 106, *IGB*, I2, 388 bis and *ISM*, I, 64.

Albesti have also been identified in the territory of Kallatis, but none of them have been systematically researched.⁴¹ It is true, though, that we do not have contemporary sources, from the beginning of the settlement that would attest such an organization. Our sources are rather late, from the 1st to the 2nd centuries CE.⁴²

The settlement of Albesti has two distinct areas. One is the inside of the fortification and the second one the area outside it. One important observation at this site is that the two areas are contemporaneous but pottery dating before the construction of the fortification was found scattered around the settlement.⁴³ There is no evidence that the native Getae inhabited this site before the arrival of the Greeks. The earliest archaeological finds belong to the end of the Paleolithic period and beginning of the Neolithic and there are no additional findings until the establishment of the Greek settlement.⁴⁴

There are also no literary sources that mention the site from Albesti. Romanian scholars apply the term *frurion* or to it, a settlement with a tower.⁴⁵ On the

⁴¹ V. Boroneant “Ceretari perieghetice pe malul Marii Negre intre Constanta si Vama Veche”, *Pontica* 10 (1977): 321.

⁴² *ISM*, III, 51-55. For Kallatis an inscription from Dyonisopolis talks about ancient borders of its territory: ἀρχαία ὄρια.

⁴³ Livia Buzoianu, Maria Barbulescu, *Albesti, Monografie arheologica*, Constanta (2008): 28.

⁴⁴ Alexandru Paunescu, “Evolutia istorica pe teritoriul Romaniei din paleolitic pana la inceputul neoliticului” *SCIVA* 31, 4 (1979): 511-512.

⁴⁵ For the term *frurion*: Velizari Velkov, *Serdicae*, (2000): 11 “This word may be understood in many ways. It is possible to see behind it a small fortress, but also a market place, a village, a port or just a part of a town with its own fortification, but

western shore of the Black Sea the only other site epigraphically identified as a *frurion* was identified in one inscription from Histria, and was attributed to a site near Apollonia, the *frurion* near Anchialos.⁴⁶ In case of Albesti, its status as *frurion* does not preclude the possibility that it was also a commercial settlement, an *emporion*.

Albesti seems to have been developed from a fortified farm, the so-called *purgos* (πύργος).⁴⁷ The way the space in the site was used, the buildings and the archaeological material clearly points out that Albesti had an economic function.⁴⁸ It seems natural that the site of Albesti was a creation of Kallatis because of the proximity to the Greek colony, the preponderance of the Greek material and the urban character of the settlement.

certainly not a big center.” Also: A. Bresson, *Les cites Grecs et leurs emporia*, in *L’Emporion*, A. Bresson, P. Rouillard eds. Paris, (1993): 217 where *frurion* is seen as a fortified *emporion* which “... s’effectuait le contact entre l’arrière-pays, souvent barbare, et les intermédiaires grecs” a situation similar to the one at Albesti: Alexandru Avram, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Territoriums von Kallatis in griechischer Zeit“, *Dacia* NS 35, (1991): 104.

Rural settlements with towers as defensive systems or part of storage facilities were also found in Greece: Sarah P. Morris, “The Towers of Ancient Leukas: Results of a Topographic Survey, 1991-1992”, *Hesperia*, vol. 70, No. 3 (2001): 285-347.

⁴⁶ *ISMI*, 64.

⁴⁷ A. Bresson, “Les cites grecs et leurs emporia”, in A. Bresson, P. Rouillard (eds) *L’Emporion*, (Paris 1993): 163-226.

⁴⁸ On the northern shore of the Black Sea , especially in Chersonesos, we find the same situation. The farms there are fortified, most of them have a tower and their function is mainly agricultural. Galina M. Nikolaenko, “The Chora of Tauric Chersonesos and the Cadastre of the 4th -2nd Century BC, in *Surveying the Greek Chora*, Pia Guldager, Vladimir Stolba, eds. (Aahurst, 2006): 151-174.

The existence of pottery that can be attributed to the Getae and also to the Scythians makes Albesti a settlement that was very likely inhabited not only by the Greeks but also by the local population, even if we do not understand the character of their co-habitation. Most scholars agree that Kallatis established its territory at the beginning of the 4th century BCE. The first defensive wall at Albesti was built at the beginning of the 4th century and the earliest pottery from the site can be dated to the same period. Another link to Kallatis is the amphora stamps that have on them the same names found both at Kallatis and Albesti, which prove the close economic relations between the polis on the shore of the Black Sea and the inland *frurion/emporion* of Albesti.⁴⁹

7.4 Political and Economic Events with Consequences for Kallatis and Its Territory

Without direct textual sources discussing the site of Albesti we can only speculate about its history. The second half of the 4th century is marked by the conflict between the Scythians and the Macedonians in 339 BCE with the siege of Kallatis probably in 313-311 BCE.⁵⁰ This conflict ended with the Macedonians dominating southern Dobrogea and we can assume the Greek cities had to pay

⁴⁹ Livia Buzoianu, Nicolae Cheluta Georgescu, "Stampile de amfore inedite de la Callatis", *Pontica* 16, (1983): 149.

⁵⁰ The event is mentioned by Diodorus of Sicily XIX, 73; also: Alexandru Avram *ISM* III: 22-25 and Ligia Ruscu, *Relatiile Externe ale Oraselor Grecesti de pe Litoralul Romanesc al Marii Negre*, Cluj (2002): 78-88.

tribute or taxes and possibly Macedonian troops were stationed in the area. At the time of this conflict the site of Albesti was fully established. The Macedonian influence over Dobrogea lasted from 339 to 281 BCE and was not a particularly bad time for the Greek cities on the western shore of the Black Sea. They were allowed to issue their own coins, trade was probably not disrupted but there must have been a general discontent with the Macedonian occupation hence the revolt of 313 BCE.⁵¹ If Diodorus is right about the role Kallatis played in the revolt against the Macedonians, it means that this Greek city became much stronger than Histria or Tomis.

Then, encamping about the city of the Callantians, he (Lysimachus) laid siege to it, since he was very eager to chastise in every way those who were responsible for the revolt. While he was thus engaged, there came certain men bringing word that Antigonos had sent two expeditions to the support of the Callantians, one by land and one by sea, that the general Lycon with the fleet had sailed through into the Pontus, and that Pausanias with a considerable number of soldiers was in camp at a place called Hieron⁵²

The second event mentioned by Diodorus involves only the Greeks from Kallatis who were seriously defeated by the Macedonians.⁵³ A thousand of them had to relocate on the northern shore of the Black Sea under the protection of king Eumelos. This incident must have seriously affected the *chora* of Kallatis and the site

⁵¹ D. M. Pippidi, "Les macedoniens sur le bas-Danube de Philippe II a Lysimaque" in *Ecrits de Philologie, d'Epigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne*, (Bucuresti-Paris, 1984): 151-163; about coins issued by the Greek colonies on the western shore of the Black Sea: Constantin Preda, *Istoria monedei in Dacia preromana*, Bucuresti(1998).

⁵² Diodorus Siculus, XIX.73.5.

⁵³ Diodorus Siculus, XX.25.

of Albesti. Some changes in the defensive wall at Albesti, so-called phase II of the site, could have been built by the Macedonians who might have used this site to control the main east-west road going to the city of Kallatis. The Macedonian “occupation” could have also triggered the construction of other sites similar to Albesti in the *chora* of Kallatis.⁵⁴ None of these sites were excavated but they were identified on the ground by field surveys. The Macedonian presence in the area must have generated hostilities with the local populations, the Getae and the Scythian enclave near Kallatis. The Macedonian influence disappeared only with the death of Lysimachus in 281 BCE.

From an economic point of view, the second part of the 4th century and the first part of the 3rd century was a period of strong development for Kallatis and its *chora*. The site of Albesti produced important archaeological material, especially amphorae, that emphasize the economic connections of this site with Pontic Heraclea and Sinope.⁵⁵ The only silver Kallatian coin we have (a *drachma*), dating to the middle of the 4th century, was found at Albesti. Also at Albesti, archaeologists found three Histrian drachmas, a coin from Aegina, another one from Tauric Chersonesus and a Thracian coin from the reign of Amatokos II (359-351 BCE).⁵⁶ The Macedonian occupation brought coins of Philip II and Alexander to the area. For

⁵⁴ Maria Barbulescu, Livia Buzoianu. *Albesti, Monografie arheologica*, (Constanta 2008): 43.

⁵⁵ Livia Buzoianu, Maria Barbulescu, Nicolae Cheluta-Georgescu, “Stampile amforice recent descoperite la Albesti, *Pontica* 33-34, (2000-2001): 219-243.

⁵⁶ C. Preda, *Istoria monedei in Dacia preromana*, Bucuresti (1998): 74-77.

example, a hoard of 206 bronze coins (147 from Philip II and 56 from Alexander III), were found at Pelinu in the *chora* of Kallatis. This hoard must have been buried sometime around the end of the 4th century BCE.⁵⁷

Between the death of Lysimachus and the “war for Tomis” in the second half of the 3rd century, Kallatis and its territory enjoyed a period of economic prosperity but were vulnerable to the periodic attacks of the Getae who lived further inland and to the west over the Danube. It seems that Kallatis had a better position to fight these attacks than Histria and Tomis did and managed to cultivate better relationships with the locals and with the Scythian kings and their tribes who lived near the Greek *polis*.⁵⁸ None of the inscriptions found so far mention any conflict between Kallatis and the natives, while Histria, for example, found herself in permanent conflict with the Getae. The dispute around the year 200 BCE, between the Getic tribal chief Zoltes and the Greek cities on the Western shore of the Black Sea, did not include Kallatis but did include Bizone and Histria.⁵⁹

The war for the *emporion* of Tomis mentioned by Memnon would weaken Kallatis but not its territory because the site of Albesti seems not to be affected by the conflict. The Romanian scholars who studied the site of Albesti are convinced that the *chora* of Kallatis enjoyed a period of prosperity after this war, and found

⁵⁷ Radu Ocheseanu, “Le trésor de monnaies macédoniennes de bronze découvert a Pelin” *Pontica* 7, (1974): 147-155, Gabriel Talmatchi, *Monede de tip macedonean in Dobrogea*, (Sfantu Gheorghe, 2006): 9.

⁵⁸ D. M. Pippidi, *Contributii la istoria Dobrogei*, (Bucuresti, 1968): 32-67.

⁵⁹ D. M. Pippidi, *Contributii la istoria Dobrogei*, (Bucuresti, 1968): 36.

economic partners and benefited from a vigorous trade. The site extended its living area and the archaeological record for the 3rd century BCE is rich and diverse. One justification for this idea of autonomy and separate economic development of the territory, and especially for Albesti, is the fact that the amphorae of Sinope are more numerous here than at Kallatis for the same time period. This could be a sign of a more dynamic economic life at Albesti and other sites in the *chora*, than Kallatis.

At end of the 3rd century BCE Albesti ceased to exist. It is not clear why. At approximately the same time the archeological levels come to an end at the Getae tribal headquarters from Satu Nou “Valea lui Voicu” located near the chora of Kallatis. The end of the Getae site was connected with a Bastarnae invasion, pottery belonging to this Germanic population was found at Satu Nou in the last archaeological level of the site.⁶⁰ The site of Albesti, though, did not produce any material that can be connected with the Bastarnae, so it is not clear if they had played any part in the termination of the settlement.

7.5 The Scythians in the Territory of Kallatis

The end of the 3rd century saw the increasing of the power of the Scythians in this area, a time when they were attested in the literary record as well as in the archaeological evidence. At the end of the 3rd century the Scythians created small

⁶⁰ Mihai Irimia, “Prezenta bastarnilor in zona Dunarii de Jos in ultimele secole ale mileniului I a. Chr.”, in *Germanii dobrogeni. Istorie si civilizatie* (Fundatia Hanns Seidel, Universitatea Ovidius Constanta, Facultatea de istorie si stiinte politice, Constanta, (2006): 251-262.

kingdoms in Dobrogea and their kings issued coins that were minted at Kallatis and at Dionysopolis.⁶¹ Because the presence of the Scythians in Dobrogea is very important for understanding the development of the Greek colonies and their territory the information we have about this population and the local Getae deserves special attention. The Scythian presence was closer to Kallatis and its *chora* than in any other colony on the Romanian shore of the Black Sea.

The geographical position of Dobrogea between the northern steppe of the Black Sea and the southern regions and ultimately the Greek world allowed it to act as a bridge to the Pontic world. Our evidence about who lived in this area is very limited; it is very hard to distinguish newcomers from the indigenous populations.

For Herodotus, the Thracians are the largest group of people that lived near the Pontic Greeks, other than the Scythians⁶². But we have no idea exactly how numerous the Thracians were and if they were composed of other groups, such as the Getae, as Herodotus lead us to believe.⁶³

Also, there is no clear-cut distinction between Illyrians and Thracians at the margins of both cultures. The ancient sources indicate the arrival, starting in the 7th century BCE, of several important populations in the Pontic area, including Dobrogea, populations that will have a considerable influence on the development of

⁶¹ G. Talmatchi, *Monedele de tip macedonean in Dobrogea*, Sfantu Gheorghe, (2006): 57-61.

⁶² Herodotus, 5.3.1.

⁶³ Herodotus, 4.95.

this region. From the south came the Greeks who established permanent colonies on the Pontic shores. From the Caucasus region the Cimmerians, Sigynnai, Agathyrsi and Alani, from the central Asian steppes the Sarmatians and Scythian tribes, the Bastarnae from the north-west and the Celtic Scordisci and Autariate from the middle Danube basin and the western part of the Balkan peninsula.

Several waves of Scythians have passed through Dobrogea some settling to the south of the Greek city of Callatis. The Romanian historiography considers that the Getae inhabited Dobrogea even though sometimes the term Geto-Dacians is used. This last term is a modern construction that designates a shared material culture between the Getae and the Dacians even though the two “communities” had different histories.

A lot of scholarly effort has gone into proving that the Getae inhabited Dobrogea continuously down until the time of Roman annexation. Numerous literary sources mention the political entities of the Getae and their leaders: Roles, Dapyx and Zyraxes located in Dobrogea and also their relationship with the Greek colonies of Histria, Callatis or Tomis.⁶⁴ There are numerous sites considered as belonging exclusively to the Getae in Dobrogea at the fringes of the territories of the Greek colonies such as Satu Nou (Valea lui Voicu, and Valea Vacilor), Izvoarele ,

⁶⁴ Cassius Dio, 51, 23, 2-26, 6, Strabo, VII, 3, 15; 3, 17; 5, 12. Ovid, *Trist.*, I, 5, 62, III, 3, 6; 9, 4; 10, 19-20; 21-34; V, 1, 1; 1, 46; 3, 22; 5, 28; 10, 38; *Ex Ponto*, I, 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* IV, 11, 41; Ptolemy, *Geo.* III, 10, 4; Seneca, *Hercules Oetacus* mention that the Haemus Mountains are located in the Getae territory, Martial in *Epigrammata* VII, 84, 3 considers the island of Peuce was located in the Getae territory. A later source,

Coslucea, Adancata, Semenii Mari, Aegyssus, Murighiol.⁶⁵ These examples could illustrate the complexities involved in the assessment of ethnicity in antiquity and in Dobrogea in particular.

7.6 Conclusion

From the outset, the history of Kallatis was intertwined with that of local populations whether Getae, Scythian or Thracian populations. The same situation encountered in the other western colonies Orgame, Histria or Tomis. The main difference between Kallatis and the rest of the Greek *poleis* of Dobrogea is that they have approached the management of their territory much differently. Because Kallatis was a Dorian colony, naturally the Greeks here used defensive walls and in the case of Albesti towers, to protect and control their *chora*, a system they inherited from their mother-city, Megara. However, Kallatis also had even more diverse local populations to cope with. The Scythians were certainly an important local power even though at this point it is hard to understand the political and economic relations between them and the Greek colonists.

The site of Kallatis itself is unlikely to produce too much information. The site of Albesti though, may present the opportunity for future discoveries that could

Theophrastus, *P G*, LXXXV, 940 mentions that “the Getae live in Thracia by the Ister river.”

⁶⁵ There are numerous studies by M. Irimia and N. Conovici on the presence of the Getae in Dobrogea. Some of the most important ones were published in: *Thraco Dacica*, 10, (1989) 115-154; *Pontica*, 23, (1990): 81-96; *Dacia NS* 35,(1991): 39-175; *Pontica*, 26, (1993): 51-114.

explain the nature of the economy in the *chora* of Kallatis and the dynamics of the relationships between the colonists and the locals.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

For more than 150 years, scholars have argued about the highly complex problem of Greek colonization. One of the most intriguing questions has to do with the reason the Greeks chose to move from their homes into foreign lands. Those territories were sometimes very different from what they experience in their homeland.¹ The Greeks themselves told us many times they were forced to leave home to search for a new place to live. This means they were unwilling colonists driven from home because of various disasters. Rarely do we find in the written sources explicit references to the commercial and agricultural benefits that must have lured the Greeks to explore and inhabit new sites. Instead, we are left to believe that negative factors such as political, personal, or natural disasters encouraged the colonists to leave their homeland.²

The kinds of crises that motivated a colonial movement were numerous. Some say that a shortage of land or food in mainland Greece, exacerbated or

¹ Adelaide Glynn, "The Character of Greek Colonization", *JHS* 38, (1918): 88-123; A. J. Graham "Patterns in Early Greek Colonization", *JHS*, 91, (1971): 35-47; A. Snodgrass *Archaic Greece. The Age of Experience* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980); D. Ridgway, "The First Western Greeks and their Neighbors, 1935-1985" *GCNP* (1990): 61-72; G.L. Cawkwell, "Early Colonization" *CQ* 42 (2) (1992): 289-303; R.Hopper, *The Early Greeks* New York (1976); O. Murray, *Early Greece*, London (1993).

² C. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization. From City to text in Archaic Greece* Oxford (1993): 16-18.

created by natural disasters led the Greeks to consider overseas settlements. Strabo tells us, for example, that Chalcidians founded Rhegium because of crop failure.³ Plato, in the *Laws* mentions colonization as a method of population control when the land is insufficient to support all the households:

Moreover, in the end, if there is a complete failure in keeping the number of five thousand and forty households constant, if there is an increase in the population on account of the mutual affection between those who cohabit, and we find ourselves at a loss, the age-old contrivance is at hand -which we have often spoken of – we can send out colonies of such persons as is appropriate, as friends setting out from friends (740e)

The literary sources often mention overpopulation, or too many people competing for limited resources as a cause of colonization and connected to this, conflict within the family over fortune and power. Herodotus tells us about the Spartan Dorieus who established a colony because he could not live under the rule of his brother Cleomenes.⁴ Political crisis also appears as a motive in colonial traditions. The Partheniae expelled from Lacedaemonia after the Messenian war founded the colony of Tarentum (Strabo 6.3.2). The colonists of both Elea and Abdera left their Ionian homelands in order to escape the tyranny of Harpagus (Herodotus 1.164-68). Plato also mentions that political factors could cause colonization: "...at times the violence of civil strife might compel a whole section of a state to emigrate; and on one occasion an entire state went into exile, when it was totally crushed by an overpowering attack" (*Laws*, 708b).

³ Strabo 6.1.6.

⁴ Herodotus 5.42.

The range of motives that initiated a colonial movement, as recorded in antiquity, were mainly negative. The positive, lucrative aspects of colonization are usually downplayed which leave us with the impression that the colonists were more often than not unwilling exiles in desperate search for a place to settle.

Why the Black Sea? Scholars usually argue that the richness in raw materials, slaves, and agricultural lands were the main reasons the Greeks established themselves here. This can be summarized in the words of Fine:

Greek colonization of the Black Sea region was of great importance for subsequent Greek history. A huge area, rich in metals, timber, grain, fish and many other products was thus opened to a Greek world, whose resources in raw materials and food products were inadequate for the constantly growing population. The necessity to pay for those imports stimulated the activity of Greek craftsmen-especially the potters and metal-workers.⁵

The metal deposits in the southern and eastern parts of the Black Sea areas were, according to some scholars, the reason the Greeks travelled north and from there it was just a matter of time since the whole region was explored and ultimately settled.

The most popular reason among scholars was the grain supply that supposedly came in great quantities from this region. Several scholars, who write, especially about the northern shore of the Black Sea, have lately challenged this idea. As I hope this study has proven, the western shore of the Black Sea was not in the position to produce a regular supply of grain for export either.

Grain was sometimes exported from the Black Sea to the Aegean cities but not in constant quantities. The Greek cities of the Black Sea certainly exploited their

territories for agricultural purposes and, when the harvest was plentiful, exported the surplus. The settlements from the northern shore were more successful in doing so, than the ones on the western side. But the grain trade was never a permanent or a regular phenomenon that continued without interruption or was done on a significant scale.

Gotcha Tsetskhladze observed that it is wrong to look for reasons for colonization in the regions that the Greeks moved to. Instead, scholars should investigate the situation in the mother cities and the reasons they had to send out colonies rather than to start with the natural resources around the Black Sea.⁶

Almost all the colonies around the Black Sea were established by Miletus.⁷

According to Herodotus, who was from the region, Miletus, was very fertile:

Of all the people we know, these Ionians, who are members of the Panionion have happened to build their cities in a region whose climate and skies are the most fair. The regions north and south, as well as those east and west, do not have weather as fine as that of Ionia; some are oppressed by cold and dampness, others by heat and drought. (1.142)

Herodotus also describes Miletus as “the pride of Ionia” (5.28), a city that was rich and where citizens lived in affluence. Towards the end of the 8th century the

⁵ J. Fine, *The Ancient Greeks. A Critical History*, Cambridge (1983): 81.

⁶ G. Tsetskhladze, Franco De Angelis, (eds) “Greek Penetration of the Black Sea”, in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonization, essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, Oxford (1994).

⁷ The number of Milesian colonies identified by archaeologists reached approximately seventy, close to the number given by Seneca *Consol.ad.Helv.Matr.* VII.2.

Ionian *poleis* started to extend their territories. But after the Mermnad dynasty was established around 675 BCE, clashes begun between Lydia and the Ionian cities. The hostile attitude of Lydia towards the Greek cities continued under Gyges who led an invasion of Milesian territory.⁸ Particularly hard on the Milesians was the war Alyattes waged against them for eleven years, ravaging the *chora* every year when the crops were ready for harvest.⁹ Alyattes' successor, Croesus, was also known for his hostile attitude against the Greeks and in a series of wars he managed to force the Ionian cities into paying a tribute.¹⁰

Herodotus tells us that one the reason for the Lydian aggression was to acquire more agricultural land and also to stop the increasingly powerful Persian expansion.¹¹ The result of the Greek and Lydian wars was that the Ionians had their territories diminished and were in the position of being unable to feed their population. Again, Herodotus, our main source, mentions that the Milesians were

⁸ Herodotus 1.15: "After Gyges had gained control of the government, he led his army in an invasion of Miletus and Smyrna, and he took Colophon."

⁹ Herodotus 1.18: "In this way he waged war for eleven years during which he inflicted two serious defeats on the Milesians, one in their own Limeneian territory, and another on the plain of the River Maeander."

¹⁰ Herodotus 1.26-28.

¹¹ Herodotus uses the war against Cappadocia as an example of Lydian's motives : Herodotus 1.73: "There were several reasons why Croesus wanted to wage war against Cappadocia. Of course he coveted more land and wanted to increase his own domain, and he was entirely confident that the oracle had predicted victory for him; but he also wished to punish Cyrus on behalf of Astyages his brother-in-law. Astyages son of Cyaxares had been king of the Medes until he was conquered by Cyrus son of Cambyses."

also struggling with a incompetent government and were forced to ask the help of the Parians to put an end to factional disputes.¹²

If we combine the information from Herodotus with the archaeological sources we can see a correlation between the Lydian expansion and the foundation of the Black Sea colonies. Both these events took place after the middle of the 7th century. At this point in time, the Milesians founded seven colonies in the Black Sea on the southern, northern and the western coasts. Two of them are the settlements discussed in this study, Histria and Orgame. All the settlements founded at this time were very small. Some scholars argue that they were established for the purpose of collecting information and forging relationships with the local populations.

If the interpretation of the tomb TA95 at Orgame is correct and it belonged to the *oikist*, the founder of the Greek settlement, then this version of the events is more complex. This means that Orgame was from the very beginning a colony in its own right not just a trading post.

At the beginning of the 6th century the Milesians sent a new wave of colonists into the Black Sea, attested archaeologically by Greek pottery in Dobrogea and the establishment of settlements in the *chora* of Histria as well as settlements inland on the northern shore. This may be the consequence of the treaty between Miletus and Lydia, which reduced the Greek possessions in Ionia.¹³ This led to an internal crisis

¹² Herodotus 5.28-29 "...the Parians reestablished order there, for the Milesians had chosen them out of all the Hellenes as their arbitrators, to restore order among them..."

¹³ Herodotus, 1.25.

and one of the ways to resolve it was to send out more colonists. This move could have initiated the second wave of colonization.

In the middle of the 6th century, the Persian king started to conquer the Greek cities of Asia Minor. This would also have encouraged more Milesians to leave their homeland and it was probably easiest to go where others from Ionia and especially Miletus had already settled. This could be considered a third wave of settlement traces of which appear in the archaeological discoveries in the *chora* of Histria and perhaps at Orgame and in the expansion of the settlement of Olbia near Berezan on the northern shore.

The written sources inform us that the Phocaeans and the Teans (both from cities located north of Miletus) fled the Persian conquest also.¹⁴ And, after the defeat of the Ionian revolt in the first quarter of the 5th century, another wave of colonists probably left for the Black Sea. This would constitute a fourth wave.

What made the population move was not so much an unwillingness to pay a tribute, as the Milesians had done under Lydian pressure, but the fact that the invaders, both Lydians and Persians, took land from Miletus and this land was the city's greatest asset.

¹⁴ Herodotus 1.168-169, Arrian, *Bithynia*, fr. 56

In the Hellenistic period, another wave of people left for the Black Sea and for Athens, this time because of the alluviation of the Gulf of Latmos by the Meander River, which directly or indirectly prompted more Milesians to emigrate.¹⁵

Trade is often the main reason mentioned in the scholarly literature for why Miletus was interested in the Black Sea area. But was trade the *raison d'être* or a consequence of colonization? John Hind, in an article that collected together all the references in Greek literature about *emporoi* and *emporía* (traders and ports of trade), came to the conclusion that the Milesian colonies in the Black Sea were established because trade was Miletus' main reason for colonization. This view was promoted early in the 20th century by the work of Adelaide Glynn Dunham, who wrote what was, until recently, the main study on the history of Miletus.¹⁶ This study created the impression that the Black Sea was turned into a Milesian empire, which was surely not the case. In fact, in the archaic period, Miletus was not an important trading power. Herodotus never once mentions Miletus as connected with trade. This means that trade became very important after the establishments of the colonies in the Black Sea but it was not the main reason for colonization.

There is still no consensus on the causes of Greek colonization *Stenochoria* (lack of land), not because of overpopulation, but because of political strife, does

¹⁵ Alan Greaves, "Milesians in the Black Sea", *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, Vincent Gabrielsen, John Lund eds. Aarhus, (2007): 9-23.

¹⁶ A. Glynn Dunham, *The History of Miletus: Down to the Anabasis of Alexander*, (1915) The most recent work on Miletus is: Alan Greaves, *Miletos: A History*, Rutledge, (2002).

look like the best explanation we have so far. Trade however must have come hand in hand with the foundation of new settlements. As mentioned in this study, all the Greek settlements founded in the Black Sea area had to negotiate their existence with the local tribes. Trade, or at least connections between the areas around the Black Sea, Mediterranean and Aegean existed even in the Neolithic period. There are strong reasons to believe that exchanges between the Greeks and the locals took place from the very beginning and in a short time became an important enterprise for both sides.

The main problem with our sources is that the literary information is fragmentary and the archaeological material is limited to “visible” commodities, like pottery. This “visible” archaeological material gives us only a glimpse into the possible goods that were traded in this area. As shown in the chapters about the western Pontic colonies, Greek pottery is present in a range of styles from the highly sophisticated to plain tableware, amphorae of wine, and personal adornments. But trade implies counter goods of equivalent value and we can only guess what the Greeks obtained from the Thracian tribes.

Slaves may have been an important commodity, but the archaeological sources from the western shore of the Black Sea are silent on this matter. There are no inscriptions attesting slaves, nor are there objects in any archaeological sites that could be attributed to the slave trade or slave ownership. Ancient literary sources speak of the existence of slave trade from the Black Sea but only in general terms. All we can do is assume that the slave trade existed since some sources from the

northern shore seem to confirm it and we know that in mainland Greece slave labor was widely used.

The practice of selling in Greece slaves from the Pontic regions, especially Scythia, existed as early as the 6th century BCE. This is suggested by the name of slaves such as Kolchos and Skythas among the painters of Attic pottery.¹⁷ The inventory of the belongings of a certain metic, Kephisodoros, mentions a Scythian slave with a price of 144 drachmas among a dozen of slaves put up for sale.¹⁸ Polybios and Strabo also wrote about the export of slaves from the region. Polybios mentions the export of slaves from the Black Sea in general and he claims their quality was high.¹⁹ Paulus Orosius writes that 20,000 Scythians, boys and women, were enslaved as the result of the war between Philip II and Ateas.²⁰ This last

¹⁷ That is if we accept the an ethnic name for a slave. Nadezda Gavriljuk, The Greco-Scythian slave trade, in *The Black Sea in Antiquity*, (2006): 77.

¹⁸ Gavriljuk, (2006): 78.

¹⁹ Polybios 4.38.4, Strabo, 11.11.12.

²⁰ Oros. 3.13.4: "He (Philip II) and his son Alexander also crossed to Scythia with the intention of plundering that country. Atheas was then reigning over the Scythians. When he was hard pressed in his war with the Istriani, he had sought assistance from Philip through the people of Apollonia; but as soon as the king of the Istriani had died, feeling free from any threat of war and need of assistance, he broke the treaty of alliance he had made with Philip. Philip at once abandoned the siege of Byzantium, marshaled all his forces, and began war against the Scythians. When battle was joined, the Scythians, though they outnumbered him and exhibited greater courage, were defeated by trickery. In that battle twenty thousand Scythian women and children were captured, a great number of cattle were carried off, but no gold or silver was discovered."

reference does not prove that a regular trade existed just that military conflicts were sure to produce important number of slaves.

The numerous conflicts did not create an environment for regular agricultural exploitation of the *chora* but they could have created a good supply of slaves. So far there are no studies of agriculture in Dobrogea. The storage pits at Tariverde, in the territory of Histria, are the only archaeological proof that the inhabitants of this region collected grain. It is not clear whether this grain was traded or how long these storage pits were in use.

Nadezda Gavriljuk made an attempt to prove that the grain trade from the northern shore of the Black Sea with mainland Greece was unlikely and that the slave trade was more lucrative for both Greeks and Scythians.²¹ She noted that the price of a slave from the Black Sea region in the late 5th century BCE (144 drachmas) was approximately the same as 624 liters of wheat and occupied 10 times less space than the grain. In the same article, she makes the case that because of the political instability in the north Pontic region, it was easier to find a regular supply of captives, while the same reason made it difficult to plant and harvest enough grain for local consumption and export.

The same situation could be extrapolated for Dobrogea. The Thracian tribes were known for raising livestock.²² They had more stable communities than the

²¹ Gavriljuk, (2006): 79.

²² Alexandru Suceveanu, *Viata Economica in Dobrogea Romana, Sec. I-III*, Bucuresti (1977): 76-95.

Scythians, but intertribal wars were frequent and they could have provided a constant source of captives. Ovid describes a the pastoral economy of the Getae and even though he mentions the situation in the 1st century CE there are reasons to believe that the same circumstances were present before and after the arrival of the Greeks in Dobrogea. He repeatedly notes in his works the disruptions in the production of crops and the destruction caused in the region by nomadic raiders:²³

Few then venture to till the fields, for the wretch
Must plough with one hand, and hold the weapon in the other
The shepherd wears a helmet whilst he plays upon his
Pitch-cemented reeds, and instead of a wolf, the
Timorous ewes dread war.

Inscriptions from Histria dating 300 years earlier mentioned the same situation. Nevertheless the Greek cities on the western shore of the Black Sea managed to live in a fragile symbiosis with the surrounding people. These cities were part of a middle ground, where their existence could hardly be guaranteed. Their survival on the edge of the “civilized” world into the antiquity was due to continuing negotiations with the indigenous peoples.

²³ Ovid, Trist. 5.10.23.

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