

The Formation of a Russian Science of Classical Antiquities of Southern Russia in the 18th and early 19th century¹

Irina V. Tunkina



“Those who believe science begins with them do not understand science”
(M.P. Pogodin, 1869)

It is my firm belief, that studies of the history of science are possible only on the basis of a wide and detailed analysis of its authentic facts: this is inconceivable without proper consideration of the archival heritage of our predecessors. Without an examination and a critical analysis of various archive material, it is altogether impossible to write the history of any science at the level which scholarship has reached at the beginning of the third millennium. Most Russian archaeologists have paid little attention to, or have even completely disregarded, the history of their science, as demonstrated by the fact that no monograph about the foundation and activities of the central state body of pre-revolutionary Russian archaeology – the Archaeological Commission (1859-1919) has yet been published. There are still many gaps in our knowledge of the scientific heritage of Russian Classical studies. Quite a number of scholars whose field of study was the northern Black Sea region in Antiquity have simply been forgotten by modern archaeologists and thus deleted from the historical memory. Working from an investigation of the extensive archive materials, scientific literature and social-political periodicals of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries, I will attempt to present a general account of the establishment of the Russian school of Greek and Roman archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics of the northern Black Sea.²

The first stage of acquaintance with antiquities from the northern Black Sea region

The early period (1725-1802) was in fact concerned exclusively with the activities of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences (founded in 1724) and those of the travellers with inquiring minds so characteristic of the Age of Enlightenment. This period can be subdivided into two chronological phases, the division between them being the year 1774 when Russia gained

access to the Black Sea coast. At the time of the final reforms of Peter the Great, the social and cultural basis emerged which was necessary for the development (under rigid state control) of the basic research and the public institutions associated with it – the Academy of Sciences, the universities and the museums. The evolution of European science, based on the data of scientific fact and the consolidation of the inductive methods of cognition, was also reflected in Russia in the incipient science of antiquities, a field which had attracted the attention of academic scholars and well-educated officials, mostly foreigners in Russian service. In Russia in the 18th century, the humanities had not yet been differentiated into separate disciplines. Scholars of that time were true encyclopaedists applying their knowledge freely in a wide variety of fields. With the exception of a few scholars from the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences, no circle of specialists making a professional study of the material remains of the Greek and Roman periods had yet been formed. The scholars limited themselves to investigations of the literary tradition, the small number of ancient coins known at the time and a few other *Antiquitäten*, which had been assembled in various state and private collections in the capital.

The Classicism and Neo-Classicism of the 18th century, had established Antiquity as the normative ideal of science and the arts, and given rise to a group of antiquarians, brought up in the traditions of worshipping “antiquities”, among the milieu of Russian educated society. It is during this period that the creation of the funds for the study of antiquities was started in Russia. Different cabinets of curiosities reflected the expansion of Russian science in the 18th century, accumulating along with specimens of natural history various objects of ethnography, epigraphy, numismatics, and archaeology. Private collections and the first museums (the *Kunstammer* founded by Peter the Great in 1714, and the Hermitage founded by Catherine II in 1764) acquired antiquities – chance finds and artefacts from robbers’ excavations of Sarmatian and Scythian barrows in the Don and Azov Sea areas. The most outstanding of these was the early Scythian Mel’gunov’s hoard discovered in 1763 by General A.P. Mel’gunov during the excavation of the Litoj Kurgan and investigated by Academician G.F. Mueller (1705-1783).³

After the northern Black Sea region became part of Russia, Russian science during the period of encyclopaedism found a new object for study in the form of remains from the Greek and Roman periods. It became possible for the educated class of Russian society to familiarise itself with ancient sites not only in the Mediterranean but also in Southern Russia. The end of the 18th century saw the beginning of a virtual pilgrimage to Tauris and this became especially fashionable after the visit of Catherine II to the Novorossijskij Kraj (1787). The adoration of Antiquity is also reflected in the renaming of quite a number of Turkish and Tartar towns and fortresses in the Greek fashion. On maps of the newly acquired territories names like

Cherson (1778), Olbiopol (1781), Eupatoria, Leukopol, Sevastopol, Simferopol, Phanagoria, Theodosia (now Feodosia, 1784), Ovidiopol (1792), and Odessa (1795) appear. Simultaneously with the arrangement of the system of administration of the vast but sparsely populated steppe region, various large-scale interdisciplinary natural-science and geographical studies of these territories began.

Much of the land description consisted of topographical surveys of different archaeological sites in the context of the natural and anthropogenic landscape including the recording of different natural features as well as ancient architecture on the same basic maps. The name of the Prince of Tauris, G.A. Potemkin (1733-1791), is associated with the order to carry out surveys in the Crimea of all "sights and old buildings" (1777), a description of the lands of Novorossia (New Russia) and the Azov Province with drawings of "all the most important places" (1782), composing a natural-science description of Tauris and a "review of the Ekaterinoslav region" (1783), and to describe "roads and localities of the Crimean Peninsula with historical comments" each illustrated by "plans and facades" (1784). At the same time, the activities of General Land-Surveying (1766-1843) and mapping of the Tavričeskaja Oblast (Tauric Province) were conducted by military topographers from the General Staff. The latter were ordered to make descriptions of all towns and fortresses (1784), including Chersonesos and Kerch. It was during the same period that maps were drawn with tentative locations of the ancient cities known from written sources and a plan of the ruins of Chersonesos with registration of the urban system of defence and foundations of Christian churches visible on the surface was made. In December 1786, Potemkin ordered the Tauric governor V.V. Kachovskij to organise searches for ancient coins. Thus, the first information on antiquities in the Crimea was collected on the initiative of the military and civilian administration of Novorossijskij Kraj.

During the years of the famous "scientific travels" to Siberia by the Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the 18th century, the interdisciplinary programme of research objectives was developed. This was later successfully employed in the Black Sea area with the aim of investigating the material culture in general based on the understanding of the significance of antiquities as objective sources of information about the past. The scholar-encyclopaedists from the Academy of Sciences carried out precise and detailed descriptions of the finds, they learned to identify various tools and animal bones, and even attempted to classify chronologically different types of artefacts. Special attention was focused on the technique of investigation – the necessity of total registration of all finds (regardless of their "intelligibility" to the researcher or general "importance" to the science of the time), drawing the objects discovered, mapping the country, compiling dictionaries of local terms, the drawing of ethnographic parallels, and comparative analy-

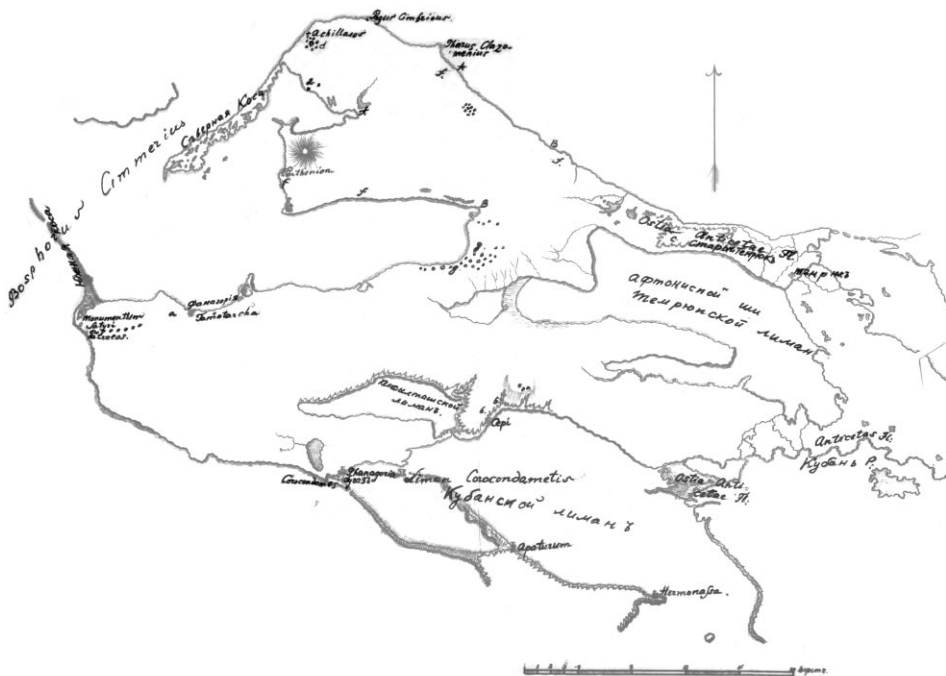


Fig. 1. Friedrich Marschall von Bieberstein. Archaeological map of the Taman Peninsula with location of ancient centres mentioned by Strabon. 1796. St Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences (PFA RAS), category 1, inventory 110, file 9, sheet 15.

sis of various written and archaeological sources. A detailed account of the academic program was represented in the instructions of G.F. Mueller to Adjunct J.E. Fischer (1740). In the opinion of G.V. Vernadskij, this document is “the basic memorial of the methods of Russian historical studies” of that period. The interdisciplinary approach used by those scholars, which is reflected in descriptions and cartographic material of the time, yielded results which have not lost significance even today. This technique was most fully realised in the work of the predominantly nature science oriented expeditions of J.A. Gueldenstaedt (1773-1775), V.F. Zuev (1781-1782), K.L. Hablitz (1783-1796) and P.S. Pallas (1793-1794), who succeeded in locating and making detailed descriptions of the ruins of different fortifications, towns, settlements, systems of land-tenure and necropoleis which had not yet been excavated.

A wholly forgotten scholar of antiquities from Bosphoros is the naturalist Baron F. Marschall von Bieberstein (1768-1826), who left an unsigned article about the epigraphic evidence from the European and Asiatic Bosphoros and an unpublished treatise about monumental structures visible on the surface

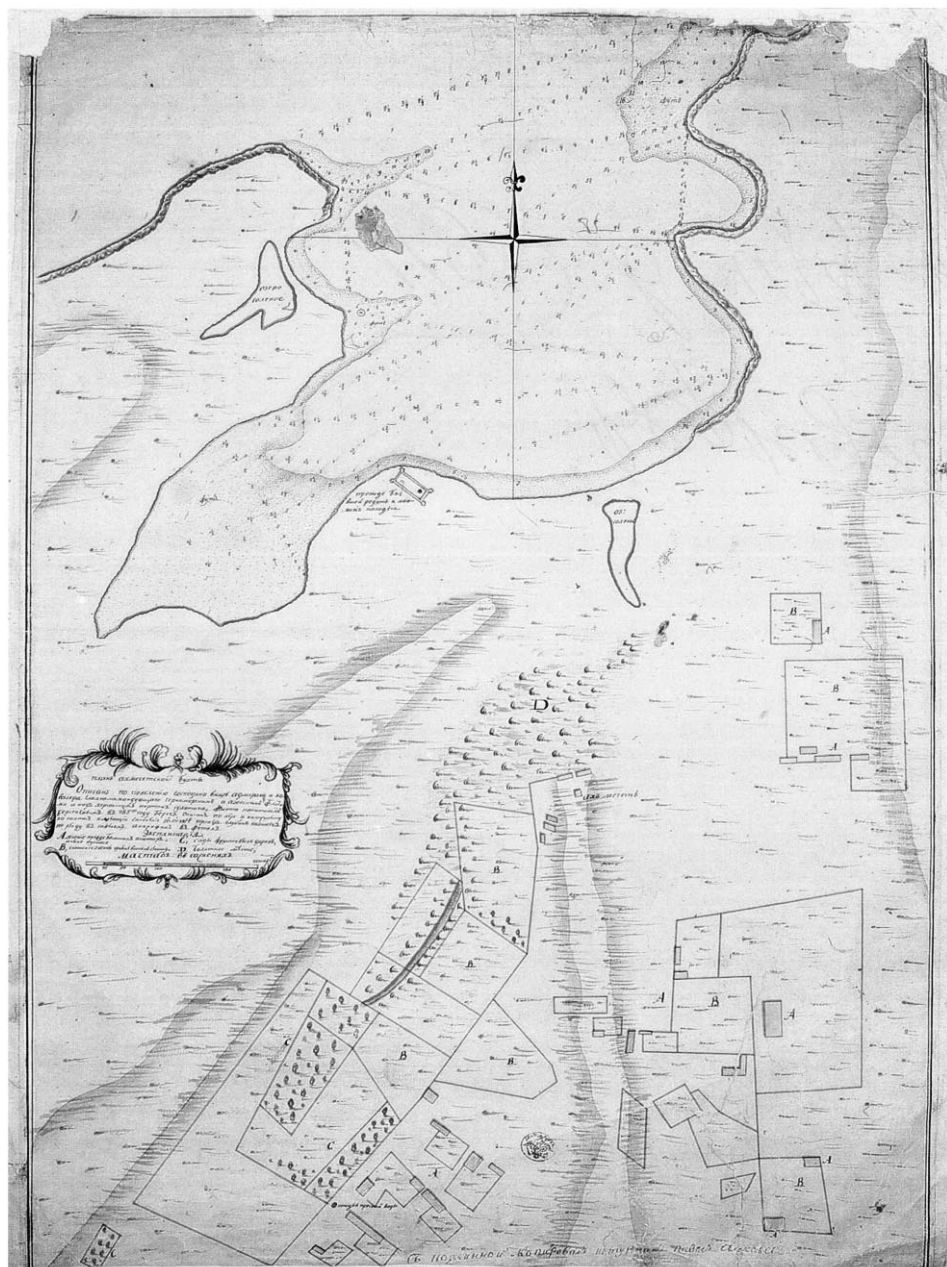


Fig. 2. Plan of Akmechet Bay ... by Captain of the Fleet Bersenev. Copied by Navigator P. Alekseev. End of the 18th century. Russian State Military-Historical Archives (RGVIA), manuscript group 846, inventory 11, file 23565, sheet 1.

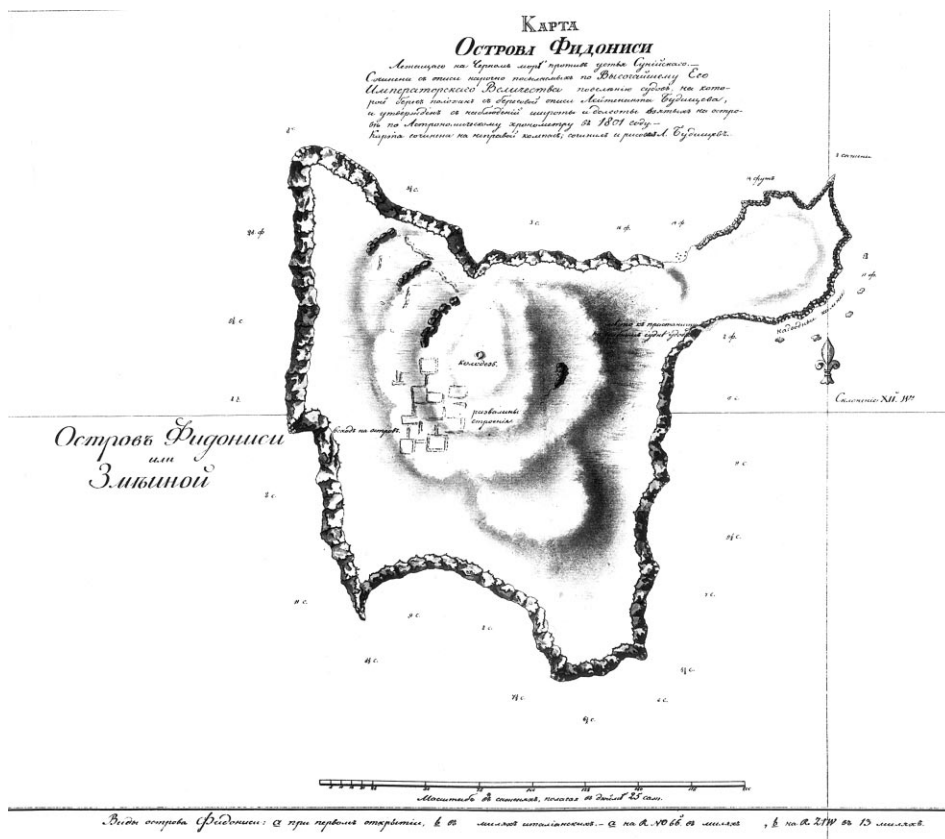


Fig. 3. Map of the Island of Phidonisi ... Composed from the description ... of Lieutenant Budiščev ... in 1801. Composed and drawn by Lieutenant Budiščev (Scale: 27 sazhen to one English inch, 1:2100). Scientific Research Division of Manuscripts of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (NIOR BAN), manuscript group 35, additional inventory 2, no. 331, sheet 1.

in the Eastern Crimea and Taman (1796), illustrated with the first archaeological map (drawn by him personally) of the Taman Peninsula with tentative location of ancient cities according to Strabon's information.⁴ Similar work by K.L. Hablitz (1752-1821) and P.S. Pallas (1741-1811) has recorded traces of a uniquely preserved ancient cultural landscape on the Herakleian Peninsula in the Crimea. Hablitz ensured that topographical surveys of the Herakleian Peninsula were carried out with registration of the network of ancient roads visible on the surface and of various ancient structures. These surveys are now a document of great importance for studies of the agriculture of the Tauric Chersonesos during the Classical period. In the Russian State War-Historical Archives, I found the original of this document, which had previously been thought lost: "Plan of the ruins of ancient Cherson.

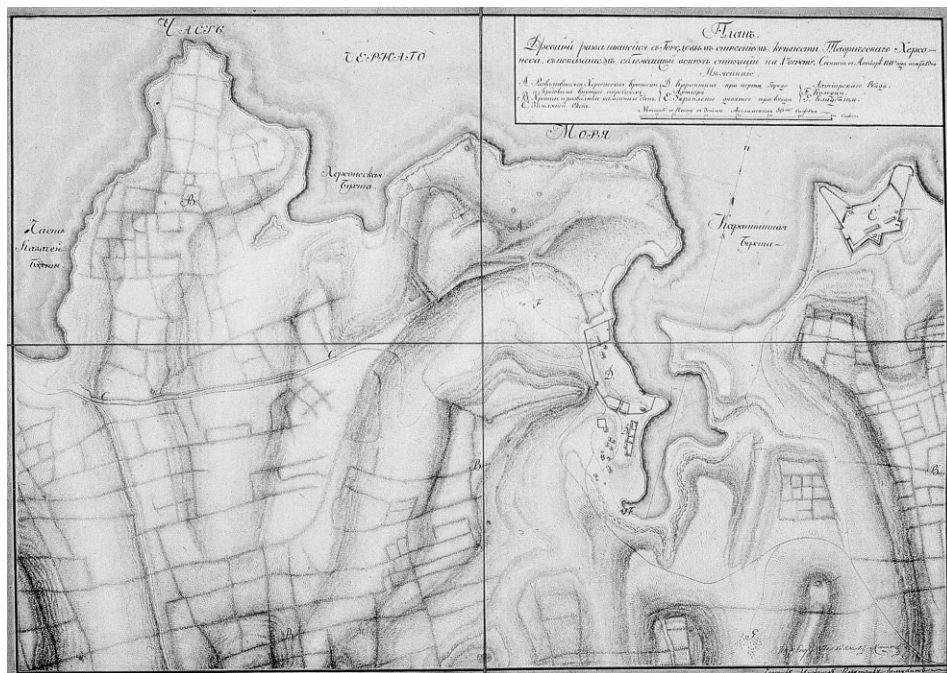


Fig. 4. Plan of the ruined ancient fortress of Tauric Chersonesos and an urban building, shown together with the surrounding area to within 1 verst. Composed in Akhtiar, 1st November, 1811. A – The ruined Chersonesean fortress with an urban building inside; B – The ridges and ruins of stone walls; C – Earthen trench; D – The quarantine of the port of the town of Akhtiar; E – The Tenth Fort at the entrance to the Akhtiar Roadstead; F – Wells; G – Cemetery. Scale of the plan – 50 sazhen to one English inch (1:4200). Drawn by Engineer-Lieutenant Ivan Simučin, certified by Engineer-Colonel Čaponov. Russian State Military-Historical Archives (RGVIA), manuscript group 349, inventory 37, file 3574, sheet 1.

With indication of former straight streets marked with earth-coloured lines and living blocks marked in red. Composed in 1786. Drawn by Topographer of the Second Class Pepelev"; it was presented to Empress Catherine II (in the right upper part of the plan is the signature of Hablitz). This plan was drawn with high precision to a scale of 1:21000, and the total area surveyed exceeded 100 km². This is the first map to indicate the remains of the ancient land-division system (cadastre) in the *chora* of Tauric Chersonesos. The map is an excellent example of the scientific documentation of "the brilliant age of Catherine". We can discern here not only the hand of a very skilled topographer but also a reflection of the "ecosystematic" approach to landscape by the initiator of the surveys – Hablitz. An engraving made after Hablitz's plan, on which the surveys were erroneously attributed by A. Bertier de la Garde (1842-1920) to A. Strukov, was republished by V.D. Blavatskij⁵ and has

since taken its rightful, important place in the world literature of Classical studies. The plan has been used by many different scholars as an indispensable source for the reconstruction of the total number of land-plots demarcated on the basis of the rectangular grid on the Herakleian Peninsula in the Crimea.⁶

The descriptions and plans produced at the end of the 18th century are of a high source value as the only documents about sites which, having been partly disturbed or completely destroyed, may now only be discovered by chance or by means of aerial photographs. Students of Antiquity only returned to the “ecosystematic” approach, albeit at a new scientific level, in the second half of the 20th century within the frame of what is now one of the most rapidly developing fields concerned with the spatial organisation of Greek the *poleis*. The works of the encyclopaedists from the Academy of Sciences proved to be actually the first interdisciplinary regional studies and yielded results which are, at present, a primary source of the highest value.

However, in the 18th century archaeological methods were at a rudimentary level. Excavations in the northern Black Sea region were sporadic, and discoveries were made primarily during construction of fortification works. The primary “excavators” continued to be the armed forces: A.P. Mel’gunov (the Litoj Barrow, 1763), Van der Weide (the necropolis of Phanagoria, not later than 1793), F. de Wollant (Ovidiopol, 1795), et al. Only a few of the field works were documented – the officers, enthusiastic about antiquities, sent reports to the capital and articles about their finds to scientific societies in Europe. The search for antiquities pursued merely antiquarian objectives, and it was indeed the officers themselves who became the first collectors of *Antiquitäten* (V.M. Dolgorukov-Krymskij, P. van Suchtelen, F. de Wollant, L. de Waxel, et al.).

Thus, the initial stage included the acquaintance of Russian society with problems of the ancient world and with authentic antiquities, which became available for study after the northern Black Sea region became part of the Russian Empire. In the 18th century, scientific results were obtained and interpreted not only within the scientific community of the Academy of Sciences and the universities in Moscow and St Petersburg, but also outside that community. During the Age of Enlightenment, archaeology developed, in fact, from the “geographical practice” as a constituent element of land-description. Concerned with land-description (and within its context with archaeological, cartographical and topographical investigations), though from widely differing motives, were naturalists, naval officers, military engineers, statesmen, diplomats, land-planners, missionaries, and colonists. The most significant achievement of this phase was the development of the “ecosystematic” method of studies of ancient immovable objects within the context of the anthropogenic and natural landscape. At the same time, the science of antiquities was also regarded as part of museum and antiquarian

research undertaken to serve as “illustration” for the narratives of ancient authors, and, according to the aesthetics of J.J. Winckelmann, it was also expert technical examination of art criticism.

The second stage of the formation of a Russian science of the antiquities in the northern Black Sea region

The period from 1803 to 1838 is characterised by the process whereby the study of Classical Antiquity came to recognise and define itself as a distinct discipline. During these years, two centres of ancient studies were established in Russia – in St Petersburg and Novorossia (Odessa and Kerch). In the northern capital, the Academy of Sciences lost its monopoly of studies of the ancient world. Various experts in the branch of ancient studies had appeared in the Academy of Arts, the Public Library, the Hermitage, and the University. In 1803, in the Academy of Sciences new regulations were accepted by which history was included in the circle of disciplines studied. The academic studies of the ancient world, represented particularly by certain purely armchair scientists, focused not on the archaeological evidence, but on various written, numismatic and epigraphic sources. The study of medieval traditions in the history of ancient Rus resulted in several unpublished works by the Academician J.Ph. Krug (1764-1844) about the island of Phidonisi (Leuke of the Classical tradition), which was renowned for its Sanctuary of Achilles. Academician Fr. Graefe (1780-1851), who was professor at St Petersburg University and the curator of the coins in the *Münz-Kabinett* and the Hermitage, is also known for his epigraphic studies. The first prominent scholar to enter the Academy of Sciences was H.K.E. Koehler (1765-1838), the curator of the Hermitage. In 1804 and 1821 Koehler made two archaeological expeditions across the Novorossijskij Kraj. He carried out excavations on the Majak Peninsula near Sevastopol (1804) and in Olbia (1821). Following this scholar’s report, a decree of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, approved by Tsar Alexander I, was issued forbidding travellers to collect antiquities on the state lands of Tauris (1805). Koehler’s journey of 1804 led to a remarkable discovery – the monument to the Bosporan Queen Komosarye, whose name was not known from the ancient literary tradition. From the inscription on its pedestal (CIRB 1015), the system of titles of the Bosporan kings became known for the first time. To this monument Koehler devoted a special treatise (1805) which laid the foundations for the study of the antiquities of the Bosporan Kingdom.⁷ What one might call the “pearl” of Olbian epigraphy – the decree in honour of Protogenes (IOSPE I², 32)⁸ – was first published in 1822, another of Koehler’s achievements.

Having returned from his expedition of 1821, H.K.E. Koehler argued that enormous damage to science was caused by robbers’ excavations conducted without permission of the authorities. The Academician proposed to forbid any excavations until some means were found to conduct them “with



Fig. 5-6. 5) Portrait of the Curator of the Hermitage, Academician H.K.E. Koehler. Engraving by A.G. Afanas'ev after F. Krüger's drawing. 6) Portrait of J. de Blaramberg. Engraving by Kriguberi (1837) after M. Blaramberg's drawing. Odessa Regional Museum.

advantage to science". In Koehler's opinion, the excavations of barrows in the Crimea were to be entrusted to two officers who would undertake such work near Sevastopol, and then transfer their activities to the vicinity of Kerch and to the Taman Peninsula, in order to ensure that all the antiquities found, without exception, would be sent to the Ministry of the People's Enlightenment, under the jurisdiction of which the Academy of Sciences had been since 1802. This proposal was in no way fortuitous, since it was the army rather than the scientists who were the first excavators at archaeological sites in southern Russia. The field work was of a merely antiquarian character, being intended to satisfy the curiosity of the army and those officials who joined the rush to unearth monumental Greek architecture and spectacular antiquities – golden adornments, Greek sculpture, painted pottery, gems, coins, etc. In the course of such searches, a number of fine or valuable objects were torn out of their archaeological context, while most of the archaeological material failed to receive the attention it deserved. Most of the discoveries were made by chance; the finds were seldom transferred to museums, but were mostly distributed among various collectors, and thus as a rule lost for scientific research. Among such activities we should mention excavations at various ancient necropoleis: barrows near the village of Taman by Colonel Ja.L. Parok'ja (1817-1818), two barrows near Kerch by the



Fig. 7. Portrait of Duke A.E.S. Richelieu's aide-de-camp, Captain of Lifeguards of the Izmajlovskij Regiment I.A. Stempkovski. Lithograph after E. Buchardy's portrait (Paris). Between 1816 and 1818.

Commander of the Rowing Transport Flotilla N.Ju. Patignoti (1820-1821),⁹ barrows in the neighbourhood of Anapa by Lieutenant-colonel Grinfel'd (1837), etc. The main task of the *Planter* (gardener) of the Black Sea Fleet, K. Kruze at the town-site of the the Chersonesos-Korsun was to bring to light the architecture of ancient buildings. By excavating the fills without making any records, Kruze unearthed the remains of three Byzantine churches and carried out excavations on the islet of St Climent near Sevastopol (1827, 1833). The excavations of the sanctuaries of Achilles conducted by hydrographers of the Black Sea Fleet, Lieutenant-commander N.D. Kritskij (1823, the island of Phidonisi; 1824, Tendra Spit) and Midshipman K.M. Navrockij (1824, Tendra Spit) also belong to this group. The sanctuary on the Tendra was an earthen hill, which was excavated to its full extent, though not all the way down to the bedrock. Having encountered marble statues and inscriptions, the naval detachment proceeded to sift the excavated soil through a sieve in order not to miss coins and graffiti. This site, which had not only been considered lost, but whose very existence had been doubted by a number of scholars, is now again becoming a subject of study owing to the survival of drawings and lists of coins.¹⁰

In his work based on the results of the archaeological expedition of 1821, Academician H.K.E. Koehler published a considerable volume of previously unknown evidence. A number of his works are devoted to an analysis of the literary tradition concerning the northern littoral of the Pontos and to different problems of the historical topography of the Black Sea area. Koehler, like the majority of the professional scientists-antiquarians of his

time, interpreted the objectives of the science of antiquities within the conventions of aesthetics as laid down by J.J. Winckelmann. The St Petersburg Academician published mostly the new epigraphic and numismatic material, along with a few sculptures and in this his merits cannot be doubted. A professor at Moscow University P.M. Leont'ev¹¹ said of Koehler that, he "laid the foundation for the study of antiquities found in the south of Russia and raised this study to a high level of strict, scientific clarity". Nevertheless, as is clear from Koehler's published works, and the unpublished diary of his journey to Novorossia in 1821, the Academician was very poorly conversant with the building remains of Classical Antiquity, and quite often he was not capable (in contrast to the naturalists K. Hablitz and P.S. Pallas, who had described the same locations thirty years before Koehler, though they were not especially concerned with antiquities) of correctly evaluating and interpreting the particular archaeological situation of the immovable objects visible on the surface. Koehler manifestly neglected the cognitive possibilities of the archaeological evidence and underestimated its value. Thus, he spoke extremely sceptically of the ruins he examined in Pantikapaion: "Except for two or three ruined architectural memorials nothing has remained of this city".¹² This verdict was pronounced by the metropolitan antiquarian in the first quarter of the 19th century when most of the town-sites in the European Bosporos had not yet been treated as stone quarries, and the ground plans of different fortifications and separate buildings were easily discernible on the surface. In contrast, an Odessa antiquarian I.A. Stempkovskij, during the same years urged scholars to turn their attention without delay to the "most important site on the European coast of the Straits" – the capital of the Bosporan Kingdom – Pantikapaion (Kerch), and moreover not only to the barrows surrounding it but also to the city itself, especially its citadel, and to draw a detailed plan, as well as to record graphically the remains of other town-sites and ramparts in the Eastern Crimea.¹³

A "counterbalance" to the St Petersburg academic science was established by informal societies of antiquarians – various circles of laymen, which were arising spontaneously in various provinces across the country. Metropolitan historical and archaeological circles (that of A.I. Musin-Puškin, N.P. Rumjancev, A.N. Olenin, et al.) and literary and historical societies such as the Society of Russian History and Antiquities attached to Moscow University, the Free Society of Amateurs of Russian Letters, etc., had, as one of their activities, the history of Russia and a broadly conceived science concerning antiquities including epigraphy, numismatics, and archaeology. The informal social scientific organisations brought together professional historians and various amateur antiquarians, patrons of arts, collectors, servicemen, and representatives of the aristocracy and the local upper bureaucratic strata. Apparently, at the initial stage of the development of the science, the predominance of *dilettanti* in such groups was inevitable due to the

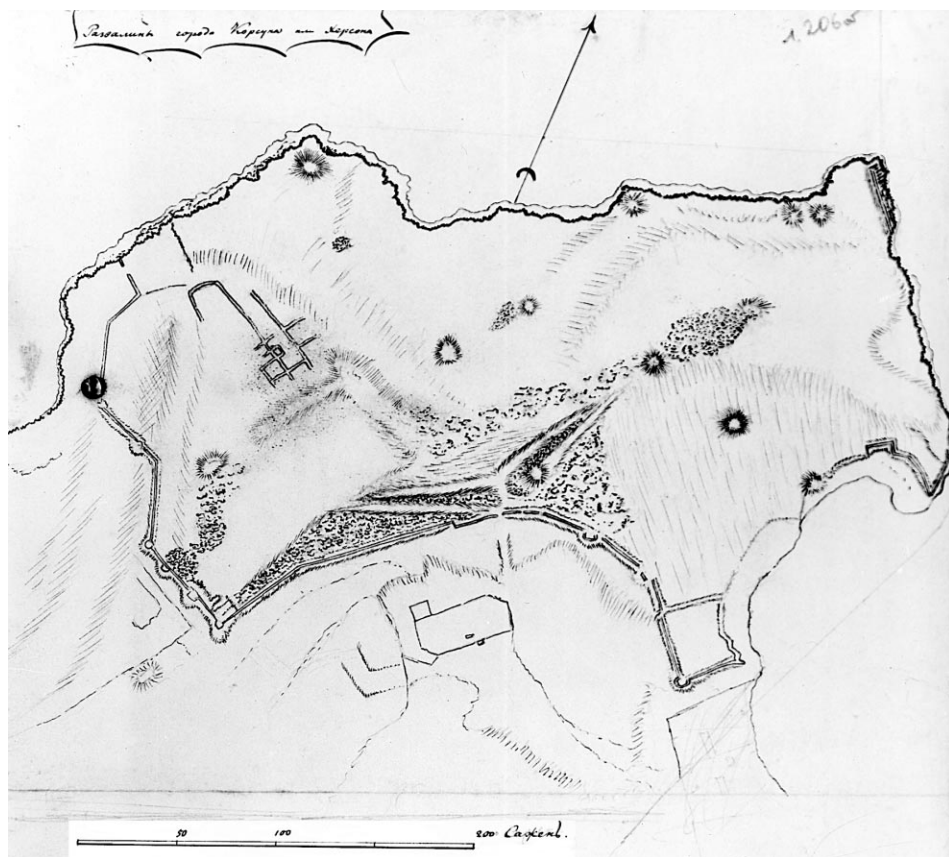


Fig. 8. Ruins of the town of Korsun' or Chersonesos. Copy by I.P. Koeppen from 1819. St Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences (PFA RAS), manuscript group 30, inventory 1, file 475, sheet 206 (verso).

absence of a body of really scientific knowledge and principles, which was as yet unformed. Among those interested in the history and antiquities of Southern Russia were I.M. Murav'ev-Apostol, E.A. Bolchovitinov, V.V. Kapnist, S.V. Kapnist, N.I. Gnedič, A.S. Griboedov, P.P. Svin'in, K.N. Batjuškov, J.G.M. von Strandman, and A.A. Pisarev.

Among the most prominent scholars concerned with the antiquities of Southern Russia was the Russian German P. Koeppen (1793-1864), who lived alternately in St Petersburg and the Crimea. Results of his first trips to Novorossia have been reflected in the manuscript of his unpublished monograph about Olbia and two pamphlets published in Vienna.¹⁴ His "Krymskij Sbornik" (Crimean Collection, 1837) comprising descriptions of different historical sites and records of toponyms of Tauris is rightly considered one of the principal works in this field.¹⁵ Preserved among Koeppen's docu-

ments in the archives are diaries of his travels and materials for scientific works on the archaeology of Southern Russia, which have still not been used to their full potential. Another traveller, the Swiss naturalist F. Dubois de Montpéroux (1798-1850) made a trip to the Crimea and Caucasus (1832-1834) and published a six-volume description of his journey illustrated with a magnificent atlas.¹⁶ However, a considerably greater volume of information is represented by his manuscript materials acquired by the Imperial Academy of Sciences (1903) and kept in the St Petersburg Academic Archives. Of the highest value are the rough drawings and plans from his diaries, which remain undistorted by subsequent lithography or engravings and only partly used in the published volumes and atlas. These documents are still awaiting detailed investigation.

An informal circle of antiquarians also arose in the Novorossijskij Kraj, having brought together among its numbers various amateur antiquarians from Odessa (I.A. Stempkovskij, J. de Blaramberg, A.F. Panagiodor-Nikovul, A.Ja. Fabr, E. Taitbout de Marygny, A.F. Spada, A.I. Lëvšin, V.G. Tepljakov, et al.) and Kerch (P. Dubrux, R. Scassi, A. Digbi, A.B. Ašik, D.V. Karejša). These two informal colleges should be considered as a single Southern Russian archaeological centre, the further development of which by the beginning of the 20th century had given birth to a scientific milieu extremely fecund for Russian science. Antiquarians of the New Russia devoted several decades to particular historical and archaeological investigations under the patronage of such sponsors of Southern Russian science as Governor-Generals A. de Richelieu, L.A. de Langeron, M.S. Voroncov, the Commanders in Chief of the Black Sea Fleet and Ports J. de Traversay and A. Greig. The leading role in the Novorossiysk circle was played by persons superior to the average amateurs (the latter word being devoid here of any disparaging tinge) by their level of intellectual and scientific development. Such were the Corresponding Member of the Paris Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, J. Stempkovskij (1788-1832); Corresponding Member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences J. de Blaramberg (1772-1831), and the initiator of Kerch field archaeology P. Dubrux (1770-1835). The amateurs commenced the investigation of town-sites and excavations of barrows: having a scientific perspective, they understood the necessity of properly documenting their excavations and the importance of topographical recording of the sites. The Polish archaeologist, Count J. de Potocki, then Dubrux, and later Ašik (1801-1854) developed the technique of the complete excavation of barrows down to the bedrock. Antiquarians from Southern Russia established active contacts with western researchers, adopting their methods of scientific source criticism (A. Boeckh, D. Raoul-Rochette, F. Dubois de Montpéroux, et al.), and published the first scientific works open for discussion, which received a broad reaction both in scientific studies and in Russian periodicals, as well as a certain resonance abroad.

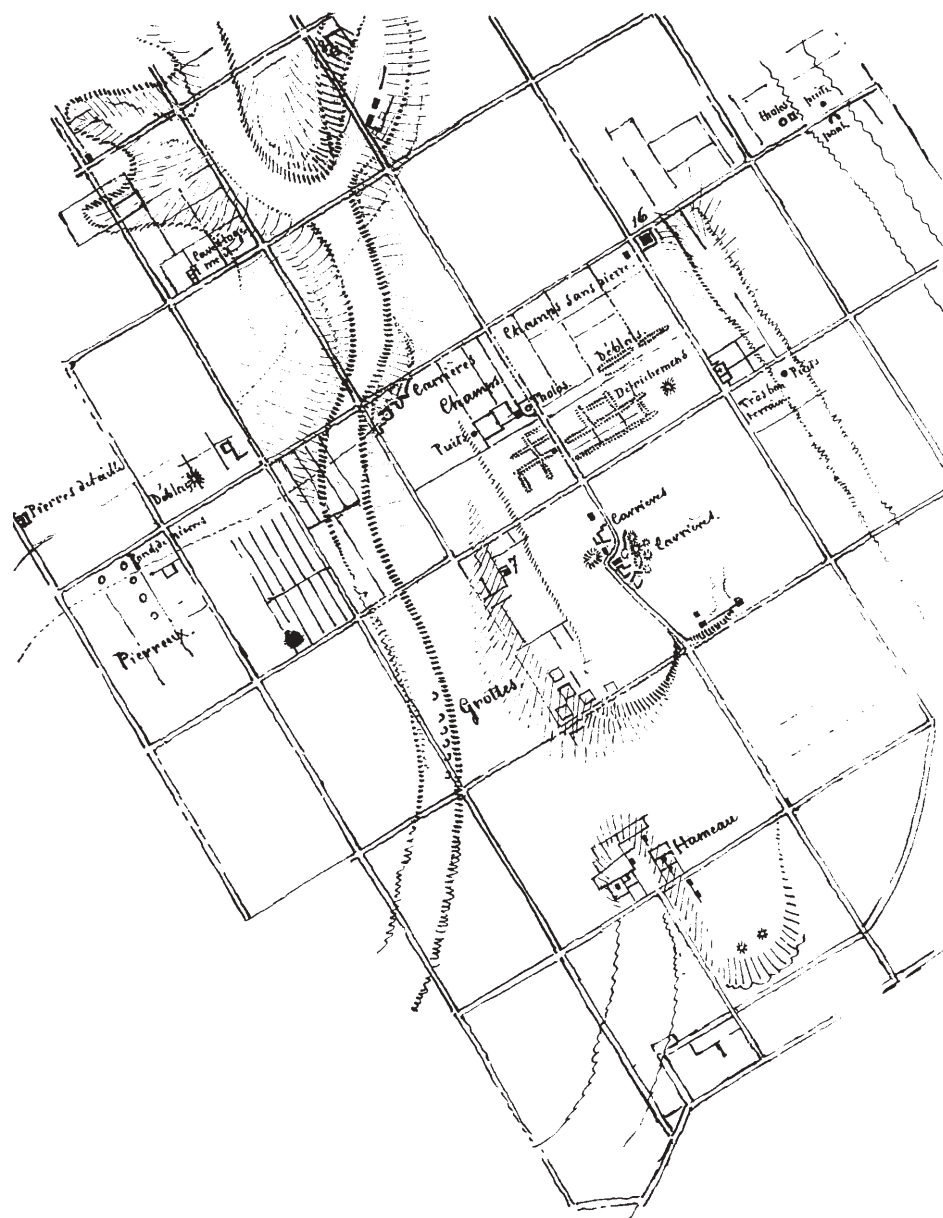
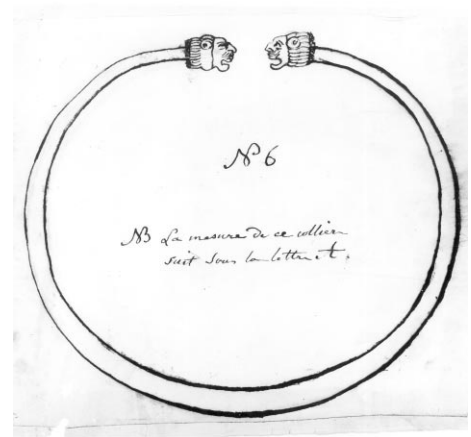


Fig. 9. F. Dubois de Montpéreux's travel diary with a plan of ancient land plots and indication of farmhouses on the Herakleian Peninsula in the Crimea. St Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences (PFA RAS), manuscript group 86, inventory 1, file 24, sheet 176.



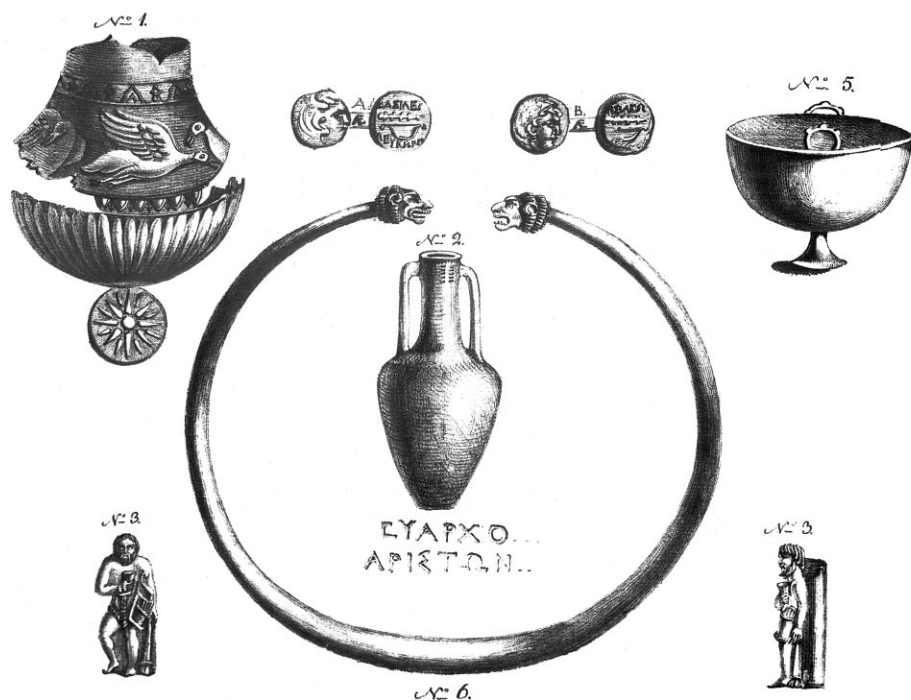


Fig. 10-13. Finds from a kurgan excavated by N. Ju. Patignoti near Kerch (1821). 10-12) Left. Drawings by J. de Blaramberg. No. 1: round-bottomed vessel in two fragments of silver, incrustated with gold, with swimming geese catching fish. No. 3: electron figurine of a standing Scythian with a gorytos at his belt and a rhyton in his hand. No. 6: large silver torque weighing 480 g and 48.2 cm in diameter, decorated with lion heads at each end. The Manuscript Archives of the Institute of the History of Material Culture RAS (RA IIMK), manuscript group 7, inventory 1, file 11, sheets 85, 87, 90. First publication. 13) Above. Lithograph in I.P. Blaramberg's article "Aperçu, ou notice explicative de quelques objets d'antiquité découverts en Tauride dans un tumulus près du site de l'ancienne Panticapée" (*Scientific Research Division of Manuscripts of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (NIOR BAN), F229*).

It is characteristic, that it was precisely among the milieu of provincial rather than metropolitan antiquarians, that the first research programme in the Russian science of Classical Antiquity in the northern Black Sea region was developed, as formulated by J. Stempkovskij in his note to M. de Voroncov: "Note sur les recherches d'antiquités qu'il y aurait à faire dans la Russie Méridionale" (1823).¹⁷ In this paper, the strategic aims and tactical objectives of the development of the science are set out for the first time.

These include composing corpora of the narrative tradition, exhaustive corpora of epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidence, total records and study of all ancient sites, in particular of town-sites, and carrying out excavations for scientific purposes, taking measures towards preservation, restoration and protection of antiquities, drawing plans of the architectural remains. It was the author's belief that antiquarians should be brought together in a scientific society with a common programme of field and theoretical studies, and that they should promote the establishment of a network of specialised archaeological museums. According to Stempkovskij, all antiquities without exception had to be subjected to scientific studies, irrespective of their material and artistic value: "We must gather carefully and store each fragment of ancient manuscripts, inscriptions on stones, each medal, and each fragment of statues or bas-reliefs: the most insignificant thing can sometimes explain some ancient tradition and disperse the darkness obscuring it".

In the first third of the 19th century the Russian government and the local military and civil authorities took a number of measures for the protection of antiquities (1805, 1822, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1836, 1837, etc.). Objects of the Greek and Roman period, acquired with considerable difficulty in the course of wartime activities and marine and land travels started to accumulate in state and private museum collections in Southern Russia. The realisation of the significance of *Antiquitäten* not only as works of ancient art but also as historical evidence led to the foundation of the first public archaeological collections: the Chamber of Rarities of the Black Sea Depot of Maps in Nikolaev (1803); the Cabinet of Curiosities and the *Münz-Kabinett* of the Kharkov University (1805), and the Theodosian (Feodosian) Museum of Antiquities (1811). While at the beginning of that century, museums were created whose displays presented a wide range of exhibits, towards the end of the first quarter of the 19th century two specialised archaeological collections had been formed in those regions where numerous finds of antiquities had been made. These were: the Odessa Municipal Museum of Antiquities (1825) and the Kerch Museum of Antiquities (1826), which were headed by the Odessa antiquarian J. de Blaramberg. Blaramberg had built up a remarkable collection of Greek and Egyptian antiquities some of which later became part of the collections of the Odessa Museum.

The beginning of large-scale excavations at ancient necropoleis in the Novorossijskij Kraj was connected with the discovery of an extremely rich vault in the Kul'-Oba Kurgan near Kerch (1830). This event is rightly called the turning-point in the history of Russian archaeology, since from that time the Government began to consider the lands of Southern Russia as a source from which to supplement the Hermitage collection with works of ancient art of high artistic and material value, and to regularly allot considerable funds for excavations in the Crimea and on the Taman Peninsula. The event

had significant consequences for the fate of Russian Classical archaeology, which from that time was oriented towards first and foremost Bosporan archaeology. According to the directive issued by the Minister of the Imperial Court, P.M. Volkonskij, H.K.E. Koehler and the President of the Academy of Arts, A.N. Olenin were to examine and investigate the objects delivered to the Hermitage from the northern Black Sea region. The carrying out of systematic excavations at the expense of the government, which commenced in March 1831, was entrusted to an official of the Chancellery of the Kerch-Yenikale City-Governor, D. Karejša (1808-1878) and to an official of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs A. Ašik (1801-1854), who since 1833 had occupied the post of Director of the Kerch Museum following the death of J. de Blaramberg.

During the second phase, local antiquarians in the northern Black Sea region developed empirical field methods of excavation in settlement and cemetery sites. From the simple collecting of antiquities and digging into the cultural layer in search for works of art of the ancient times, they progressed to excavations with scientific purposes and realised the necessity of keeping a field record. The importance of recording features of the construction of ancient buildings and topographical location was recognised. They either drew personally or directed the drawing of the first plans of ancient town-sites of Bosphoros and carried out the measurement of sepulchral vaults and catacombs. Comparing various information of ancient authors about the northern Black Sea region with the data of epigraphic and numismatic evidence, actually found within a layer at a site, yielded the first reference points for chronological identifications in the archaeology of Classical Antiquity. Having taken notice of the evolution of the standards of different artefacts in time, the antiquarians attempted to develop on the basis of the correlation of separate objects, in particular coins and inscriptions, a chronology and an ethnic and typological classification of different burial groups in Bosphoros. The antiquarian approach to various ancient works of arts became a precursor of a whole scientific direction, which continues to develop even today at the point where the history of art and archaeology meet. It gave impulse to the first initiatives in the branch of iconographic and stylistic classification, as well as to the study of the development of the shapes of artefacts, in particular of ancient pottery.

The French emigrant P. Dubrux instituted a new practice for excavating barrows, which included excavation down to the bedrock, the keeping of progress reports, the drawing of scale plans and the writing of detailed descriptions of the objects unearthed. Of the utmost value for present-day science are the plans and descriptions of various ruins in Eastern Crimea, produced by Dubrux in the 1820-1830s with the assistance of Kerch-Yenikale City-Governor J. Stempkovskij at the request of the Grand Duke Michail Pavlovič.¹⁸ Dubrux initiated surveys of the archaeological remains in Eastern

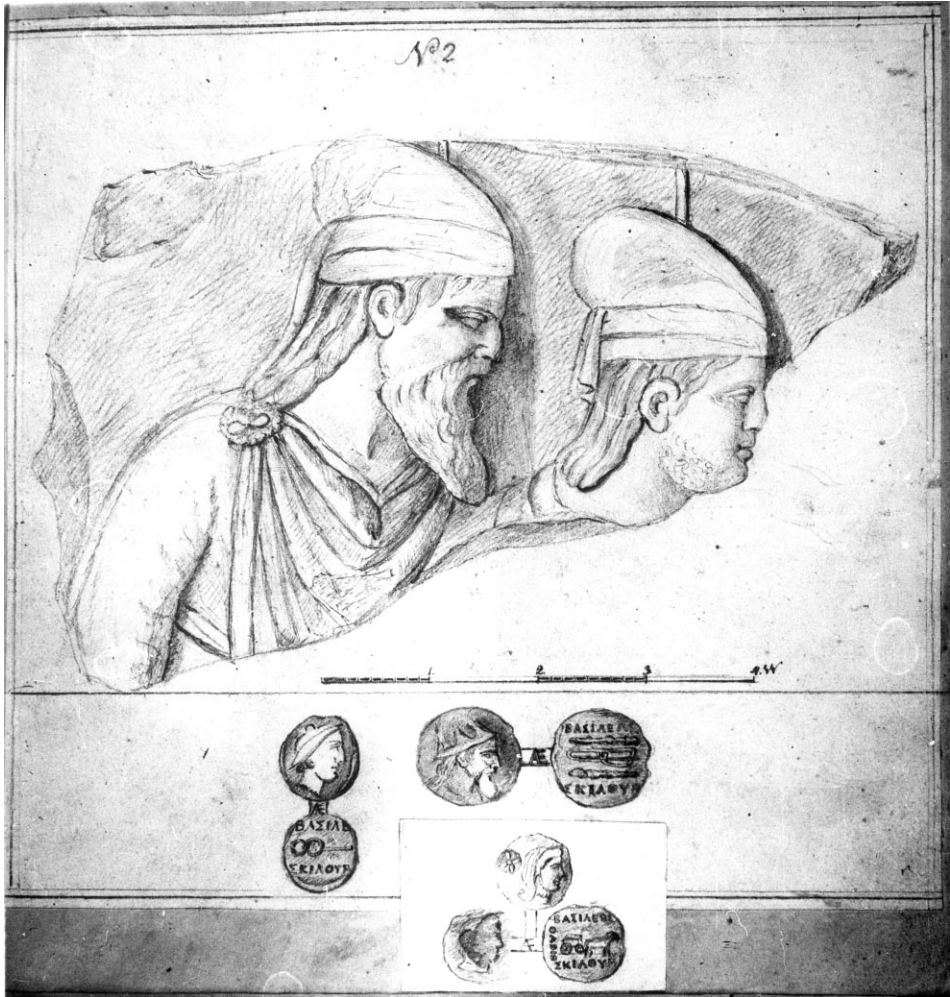


Fig. 14. Relief of Skilouros and Palakos from Scythian Neapolis (1827) and Olbian coins of Skilouros. Drawing by Michail Blaramberg. Institute of Manuscripts of the V.I. Vernadskij Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (IR NBU), V, 1048, sheet 4.

Crimea with a clearly defined scientific goal: to gather detailed information about various immovable memorials of the ancient period on the European coast of the Kimmerian Bosphoros. By means of a plane-table with a compass for measuring angles and a rope for measuring distances, Dubrux would perfect his plans, returning occasionally 20-30 times to the same locations, which in some cases were situated up to 60 km from Kerch. He devoted 14 years of his life to these extremely painstaking investigations, by which he erected for himself an eternal monument in the history of world archaeolo-

gy. Dubrux took notice of the ruins of cities and settlements and large barrows and their relation to the surrounding landscape, i.e. he studied simultaneously the adjacent territory according to the traditions of land description of the 18th century. The sites examined by him were described, measured and plotted on plans and maps. The graphical record was carried out by Dubrux first in rough drafts in black and white, then on fully coloured plans and drawings precisely measured and verified, which several generations of scholars of Antiquity have tried unsuccessfully to find in various archives. In 2000 I found in the State Archives of the Russian Federation the most complete manuscript of the key work of Dubrux containing a description of the ruins in Eastern Crimea illustrated with coloured plans and a map, which had previously been thought lost. In Kiev, a draft manuscript of the same work was found, and in the Archives of the State Hermitage, the author's corrections and supplements to it and some more exact plans turned up. As was proved by V. Schilts, a number of Dubrux's manuscripts are preserved in the Archives of the Institut du France in Paris.¹⁹ Two years ago, preparations were commenced for a publication in French and in Russian, with commentary, of all the texts of Dubrux from the 1810-1830s based on the manuscripts preserved in the archives in Moscow, Kiev, St Petersburg and Paris. With the help of Dubrux's descriptions and plans, modern researchers will be able to better understand and reconstruct the vanished objects and to identify the features of the construction and ground plan of the town-sites of the European Bosporos, which for a very long time have been quarried for stone to be used in the construction of new buildings. The objectives put forward by Dubrux and Stempkovskij as early as the beginning of the 19th century in the sphere of archaeological and topographical investigation of ancient towns and settlements on the Kerch Peninsula, have only become pressing for Russian science since the middle of the 20th century.

The research tasks and technique of field works of D.V. Karejša and A.B. Ašik, who were entrusted with field investigations in the name, and at the request of, the authorities, developed under the influence of a certain regimen: the authorities in St Petersburg demanded the delivery to that city of ever greater numbers of golden objects and other works of superb ancient craftsmanship, choosing to neglect the various "poor" finds, which were accumulating in the Kerch Museum. Judging by the surviving field reports, the main attention was focused on the excavations of cemeteries which, from the modern viewpoint, were carried out in a manner resembling treasure hunting. There was a practice of selective excavation of single barrows or clusters of mounds at the necropoleis of ancient towns in the Crimea and on the Taman Peninsula. The excavations were conducted at different places simultaneously, and not infrequently the individual excavations were left incomplete. The originals of the reports of the excavations were sent to St

Petersburg where they were examined by metropolitan experts – H.K.E. Koehler, A.N. Olenin, and later by the curators of the Hermitage: F.A. Gille, B.K. von Koehne, E. von Muralt, L.E. Stephani. Regrettably, the development of methods of investigation of archaeological remains had not been reflected in any regulations on how to carry out excavations. The necessity for such regulations was noted by Olenin as early as 1833. Reports by Ašik and Karejša were often illustrated with drawings of finds, but very seldom with plans, drafts and sections of the sepulchral structures. A.B. Ašik, who at the beginning of his archaeological practice believed it unnecessary to follow the advice of Dubrux, came to the same conclusion as his predecessor only two years later, namely that barrows must be excavated not by trenches but rather removed completely down to the bedrock, and that it was indispensable to record the positions of the grave goods during excavation of the burials in order to be able to date them and identify the characteristic details of the burial rite.

A.B. Ašik and D.V. Karejša are often believed to have been odious figures – ignorant officials and career bureaucrats who thought exclusively about distinctions and rewards for their finds and who by their excavations damaged rather than benefited the science. In my opinion, such exclusively negative evaluation of their activities is in many respects unfair and one-sided – one should not condemn them out of hand since they worked within the limits of their abilities, powers and knowledge, and strictly adhered to the demands of the St Petersburg authorities, in the solution of archaeological problems which were interpreted by them according to the viewpoints of their time. Ašik and Karejša were accused of abusing the trust of the Government by selling antiquities abroad for the purposes of personal enrichment. Still, up to the middle of the 1840s their mode of living disproves such assertions. Notwithstanding a number of improper acts towards the end of their archaeological activities, which have been registered in documents (the affair of the discovery of two statues in Kerch linked with the resignation of Ašik in 1852; accusations that Karejša embezzled public funds in the last years of his archaeological excavations), many of the accusations are unfounded. These charges are disproved by certain documents preserved in the archives, in particular by the illustrated reports of Ašik and Karejša themselves which in the 1840s were received for examination by the Director of the 1st Department of the Hermitage F.A. Gille. In 1848 he and Karejša, examined the reports concerning the excavations of the years 1830-1847 checking them against the objects, which had actually been delivered. "I am convinced", Gille wrote, "that his manner of speaking, always simple and exact, is based on the things which he himself saw or found in the earth, and for that reason his reports about searches for Kerch's antiquities are in my opinion quite trustworthy documents". In 1843-1844 Gille visited the majority of the European museums with ancient collections,

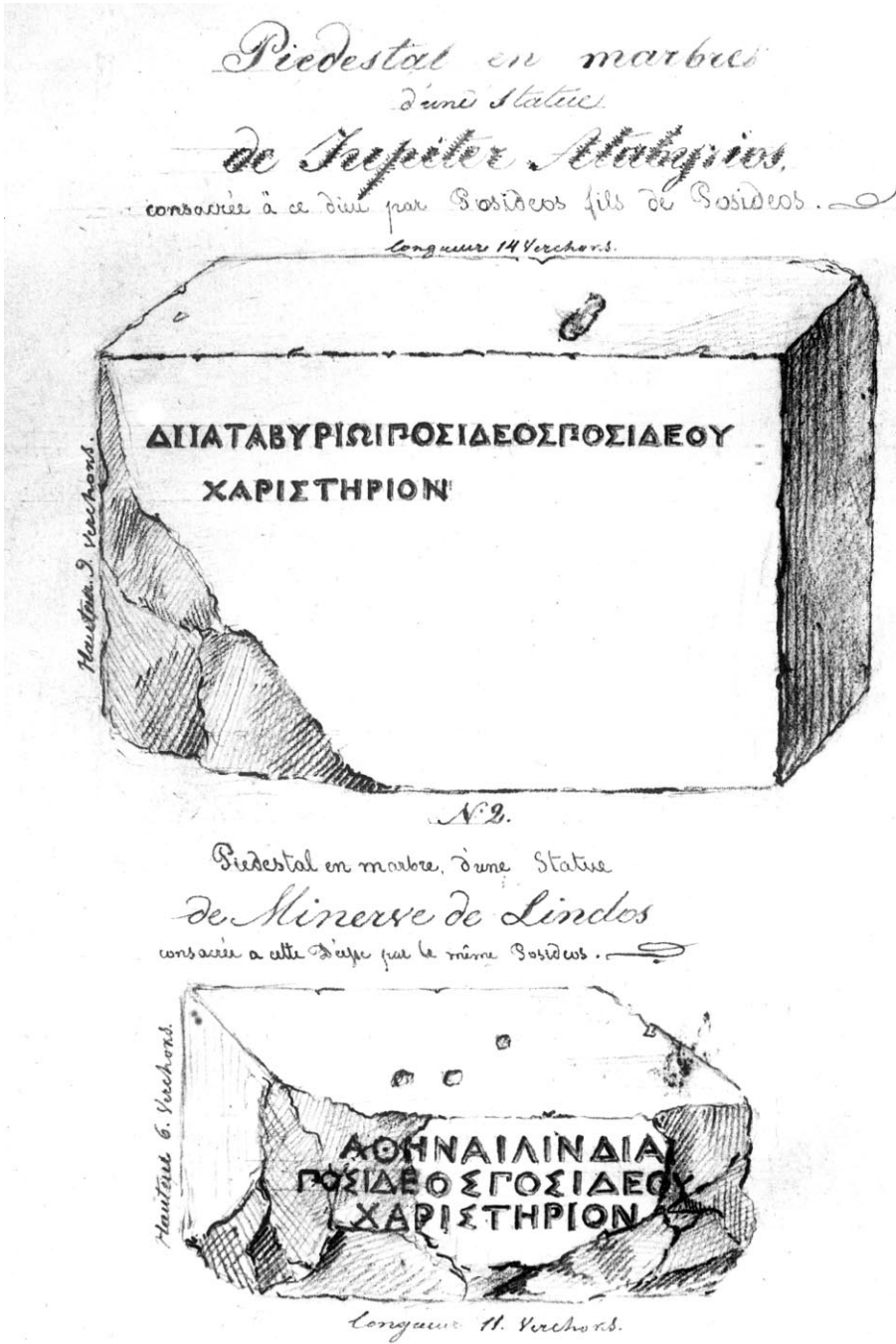


Fig. 15. Inscriptions with dedications to Zeus Atabyrios (IOSPE F, 670) and Athena Lindia (IOSPE F, 671), found in 1827 in Scythian Neapolis. Drawing by J. de Blaramberg. Institute of Manuscripts of the V.I. Vernadskij Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (IR NBU), V, 1048, sheet 6.

and in none of them did he find “any gold objects, which ... could have belonged to the Kul’-Oba or any other barrows in the neighbourhood of Kerch”. The legend about a “shop” of antiquities from which the finds would have been delivered to the Hermitage is made up, since, in addition to the attentions of various St Petersburg officials, the field works were continuously monitored by the Kerch-Yenikale City-Governor and the administration of the Novorossijskaja Province, through the mediation of which the financing of these works was carried out. The repeated inventories of grave goods, in particular the black-glazed pottery and the vases in the “Kerch style”, cast doubt on many of the above mentioned accusations. In the long run, the scholars from the Hermitage had not issued any instructions on excavations in Southern Russia, therefore the methodological level of Ašik’s and Karejša’s works must be considered to remain above criticism. The disregard of the “official tomb robbers” documenting the locations of the investigated sites caused many first-rate burials, in particular a number of vaults with wall-painting from the Greek period, to be lost. However, we can reproach Ašik and Karejša’s successors – M. de Blaramberg, K.R. Begičev and A.E. Ljucenko for the same lack of precision. The reports dealing with the excavations in Kerch during the 1850s published in the *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* (Memoirs of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities), give no indication of the location of the excavations, although they contain day to day progress records.

The accusation that the field works of the first half of the 19th century were scientifically useless due to the imperfection of their methods is in my opinion unfounded since many of these works are properly documented. From the modern viewpoint it is senseless to discuss the “correctness” of such excavations since after a lapse of 150 years any field investigations look poor in terms of methods. The truth that “everything is historical” is something of a commonplace – techniques of field archaeology investigations are constantly being improved, and the methods of fieldwork practised by many archaeologists now already seem to be anachronisms. All the surviving manuscript field reports (and the illustrations attached to them) of the first half of the 19th century, without exception, enable modern researchers to make a retrospective reconstruction of a number of archaeological complexes of basic importance. From the number of the excavation reports we are able to estimate the intensity and range of the works carried out in the European and Asiatic Bosporos in the 1830-1840s. Notwithstanding the fact that no daily diaries were kept of these excavations, the reports were submitted by Ašik and Karejša almost every month or every half year. Only by the end of the 1840s did these reports become more infrequent, provoking reproaches from the St Petersburg authorities.

While initially, the antiquarians focused their attention on excavations at necropoleis in the Eastern Crimea – those of Pantikapaion, Nymphaion, and

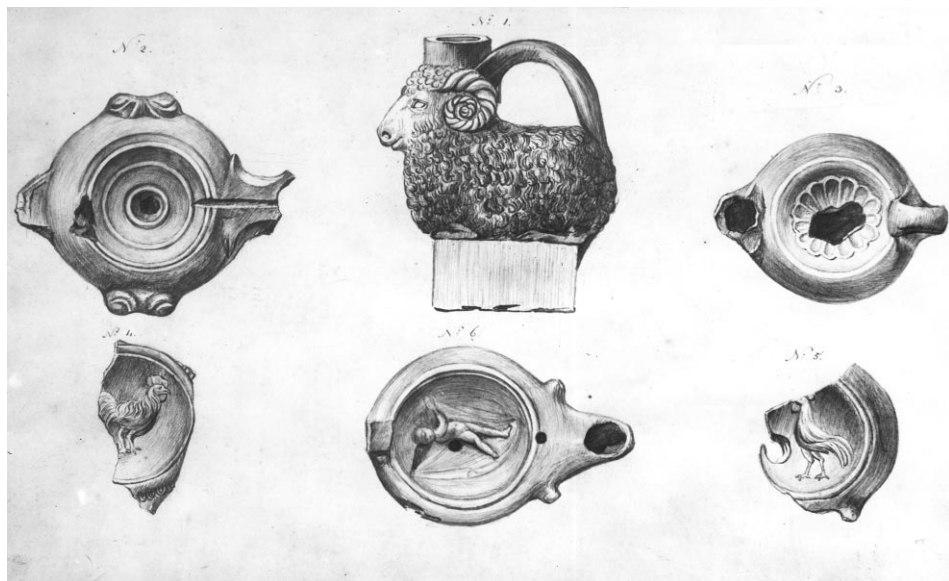


Fig. 16. Figured vessel (lekythos) in the form of a ram, lamps and fragments of the disks of terracotta lamps, found in Olbia. Collection of J. de Blaramberg. The lekythos was recently published as a "figured vessel in the form of a ram" in *Ancient Greek Sites on the Northwest Coast of the Black Sea*. Kiev 2001, p. 99. Drawing by V. Blaramberg for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". I Cahier. Pl. I. Russian Section of the Archives of the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RSA SPbII RAS), manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 779. Not earlier than 1822 g. First publication.

Myrmekion – later, the Taman Peninsula also fell into the sphere of their interests. There, the main objects of excavations became the large barrows, most of which proved to have been robbed already.

As early as the beginning of the 19th century the first articles appeared in Russian literary and social-political periodicals attempting a definition of archaeology as a science, to mark the priorities and aims of the studies of the antiquarians, define the place and objectives of the science within the structure of other disciplines, and to identify the actual essence within the concept of "archaeology". During this period, the term "archaeology" was firmly introduced into the Russian vocabulary under the influence of Western-European literature. Archaeology was interpreted broadly as the science concerned with material objects associated with human activities, including both written documents (manuscripts, epigraphic evidence, coins) and works of ancient art, architecture and everyday life. Initially the only things which were regarded as legitimate objects of archaeological study were artis-

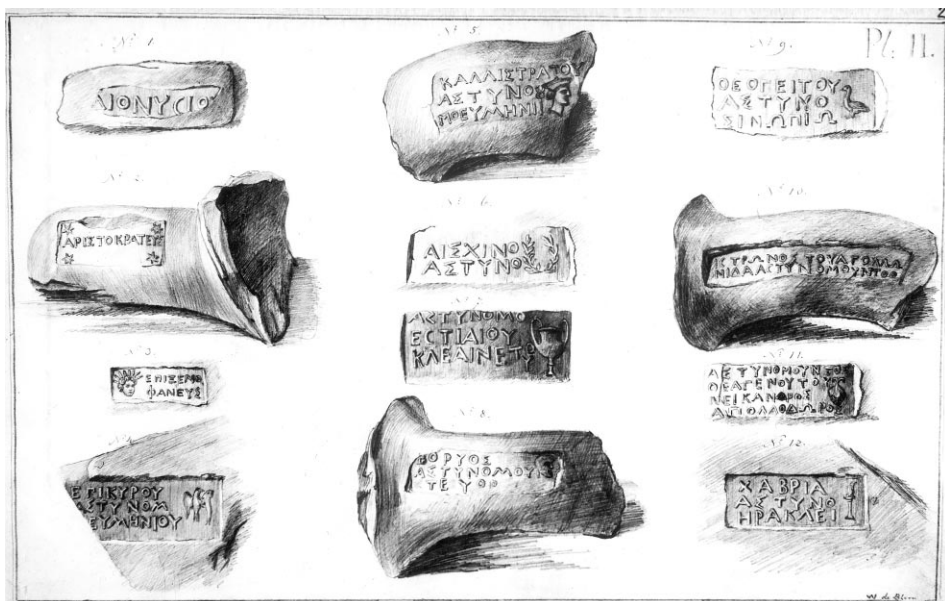


Fig. 17. Stamps of *astynomoi* on amphora handles and tiles found in Olbia, from J. de Blaramberg's collection. Drawing by V. Blaramberg for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie." I Cahier. Pl. II, no. 1-12 Russian Section of the Archives of the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RSA SPbII RAS), manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 779. Not earlier than 1822.

tic artefacts of the highly advanced civilisations of ancient Egypt, Greece and Italy, their aesthetic-contemplative perception having been raised to the absolute. Most contemporary antiquarians were not devoid of Neo-Classicistic prejudices. Since 1809 the courses at Moscow University in "Archaeology and the History of the Fine Arts" and "Greek and Roman Antiquities" were taught by lecturers who were Germans by birth or Russian scientists who had studied at German universities (J. Buhle, M.T. Kačenovskij, J. Geim, M.G. Gavrilov, N.I. Nadeždin). The course in archaeology devised by A.N. Olenin and taught to students of the Academy of Arts included the study of the evidence of the political, military, and religious history, and presented "ideas about the customs, rites ... and the degree of enlightenment" of ancient peoples. It embraced a number of chronological periods and thematic issues: the "Primeval" and "Mythological" ages, and "antiquities proper, as represented in traditions and works of art of ancient peoples".

As regards the theoretical practice, the characteristic feature of the overwhelming majority of studies of the first half of the 19th century is the aes-

thetic approach to the description and interpretation of antiquities. It can be traced in the works of H.K.E. Koehler, A.N. Olenin, J. de Blaramberg, A. Ašik, et al. It is characteristic that Olenin considered the finds from the Kul'-Oba Kurgan in terms of the canons of Classical art. Describing a plate in the form of the figure of a recumbent horse executed in the traditions of the Scythian Animal Style, he explained what, in his opinion, was the incorrect treatment of the horns and hooves by "the lack of skill of the sculptor". The orientation towards art history also had some positive influence in the sense of bringing about an improvement in the methods of graphic presentation of the finds in publications. In the case of the unavailability of the authentic artefacts it was recommended that they be studied in the form of "casts and drawings". The services of professional architects and draughtsmen began to be enlisted for the drawing of plans and pictures of different antiquities. Olenin was inexorable in his demands for maximum information and quality of archaeological publications. They were to be provided with clear precise drawings of the antiquities without missing the slightest detail. He invented a method for making facsimile images for reading inscriptions and formulated strict rules for the execution of archaeological drawings. In the first third of the 19th century, before the advent of photography, the technique proposed by Olenin gave an opportunity to researchers and the general public to examine the archaeological evidence which had previously been inaccessible.

According to documents discovered in the archives, A.N. Olenin proposed in 1835 to found a Pan-Russian state body to supervise the archaeological and ethnographic investigations throughout the country. According to his plan, the Archaeological Commission, the Curatorial Committee of the Central Administrative Board for Searching for Antiquities in Russia was to be created with the aim of, "correct ... carrying out of archaeological research, and, which is of particular importance in the study of history, the accurate observation of the morals and customs of the various peoples who have inhabited Russia; also systematic and careful working methods in the course of the unearthing of antiquities and for resolving diverse misunderstandings encountered in the sphere of archaeology". As regards the actual geographical territory, however, he proposed to limit the activities of this board to the southern regions of the country. According to Olenin's project, this curatorial body was to become first and foremost a scientific institution bringing together the best scholars of the Academy of Sciences. Among the main tasks of the Commission was the surveying of antiquities in the Crimea, Caucasus and the lands adjacent to them, the systematisation and description of the sites and their publication, the devising of directions "for correct researches ... as regards the archaeological and historical aspects", the concentration of all financial means assigned for the excavations, supervision of the work of those locally engaged in such activities, and the sub-

mission of field reports. The researchers were to be assisted by an artist who would draw both the antiquities and any plans required and a stucco worker for casting copies of the finds. Olenin's project being two decades ahead of its time found no approval among the governmental circles of the period.

The cooperation of professional scholars from the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences and various amateurs and collectors of antiquities had a beneficial influence on the development of the study of antiquities in the 18th century, but this proved to be rather short-lived and from the beginning of the second quarter of the 19th century it gave way to jealous scientific rivalry. It was then that two scientific centres – in St Petersburg and in Novorossia – came into existence and into mutual competition. A characteristic example was the negative attitude of A.N. Olenin and H.K.E. Koehler towards the activities of P. Dubrux, who by his enthusiasm, scientific precision, scrupulousness and his innate power of observation compensated for his lack of general education and readily identifiable specialist knowledge in the field of studies of the ancient world. A modern specialist may be bewildered by the comments of the metropolitan antiquarians on the well-known manuscript by the initiator of the Kerch field archaeology presenting descriptions of town-sites and barrows in the European Bosporos. What seems to be in stark contrast, and hardly fortuitous is the regard of Olenin for the excavations of cemeteries carried out by Ašik and Karejša and the spectacular finds from kurgans of the European Bosporos. Yet at the same time there is his complete indifference to the activities of Dubrux who was occupied mainly with the investigation of the archaeological remains of settlements.

The history of the contacts of scholars from St Petersburg represented by H.K.E. Koehler with J. Stempkovskij, J. de Blaramberg, and P. Koeppen may be conveniently divided into two periods separated by 1822-1823 when the three amateurs published in Paris and Vienna the first works of a scientific character under their own names. Koeppen published a work about Black Sea antiquities, and a year later he presented to A. Boeckh his copies of the inscriptions from the Black Sea region. Koehler, however, was in no mood to forgive the amateurs for their intrusion into the field of scientific knowledge, which he regarded as his exclusive preserve: his severe criticism²⁰ exposed the inevitable errors in the writings of his opponents. We must add to this his disregard for the various investigations undertaken by the provincials and his compulsion to claim the right to – and the credit for – the first publication of evidence previously unknown. In some cases, the Academician did not even recognise the artefacts in their true form: many of his historical constructions were based on sources forcibly interpreted for the sake of certain personal presumptions. To a large extent it was owing to Koehler, that good relations between the representatives of academic science and provincial antiquarians failed to develop.



Fig. 18. Terracotta figurine of "Juno or Isis" (probably, Demeter) found in Olbia, from J. de Blaramberg's collection. Cf. recent publications: Greek and Cypriote Antiquities in the Archaeological Museum of Odessa. Nicosia 2001, p. 50, no. 68: Female figurine. Olbia. Acquired in 1839 [error!]. 4th century BC. Height 26 cm. Inventory no. 22186. On the back of the pedestal is the inscription ΔΙΟΝΥЦИΟΥ. Drawing for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". I Cahier. Pl. III. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 779. Not earlier than 1822. First publication.

As early as 1824, J. Stempkovskij publicly supported his associates in trying to prove the importance and significance of international contacts for the nation's science. Nevertheless, after a series of harsh reviews by H.K.E. Koehler, the publishing activities of provincial antiquarians faded out. Most of their studies from the 1820s and the beginning of 1830s have remained

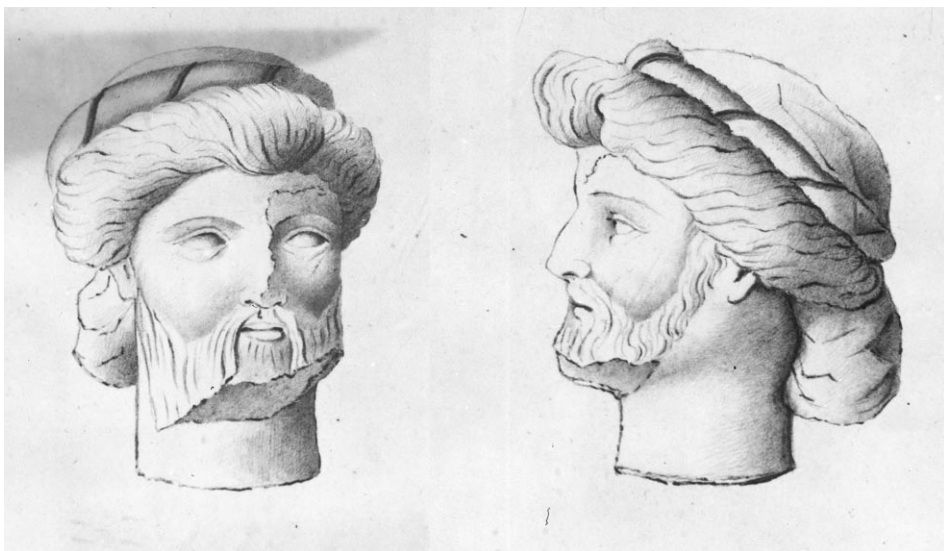


Fig. 19. Male terracotta head found in Olbia. Drawing by Ippolit Blaramberg for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". I Cahier. Pl. IV. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 779. Not earlier than 1822. First publication.

unpublished, though their appearance would have enriched science greatly. Among these we may mention the work of P. Koeppen *Olbia, an ancient city on the Bug River*, the monograph of J. Stempkovskij on the history of Bosphoros, based on a critical analysis of all the known literary, numismatic, epigraphic, and archaeological sources (the manuscript was submitted by the author to the Paris Académie des Inscriptions), and an entire series of J. de Blaramberg's articles on various archaeological issues. Koeppen, accused of unscientific archaeological practices, abandoned archaeological studies and turned to statistics and to the ethnography and geography of Russia, though till his last days he remained interested in antiquities. As a result, the Odessa Archaeological Circle lost its ties with the St Petersburg Academy of Science and its members preferred to send their studies to Paris, Vienna and Berlin where scholars proved to be more welcoming to representatives of Russian provincial science. Koehler, in contrast to his colleague from the Academy of Sciences orientalist Academician Ch.M. Fraehn, failed to give archaeology firm roots in Russian soil. He had no disciples and left no school. His chair at the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences remained vacant until 1850 when it was occupied by another German, Academician L.E. Stephani.

In the evaluation of the activities of the provincials from Odessa and Kerch, a kind of stereotype has been established. As a rule, their amateurish,

dilettantish character (an insufficient level of research experience and knowledge of Classical languages, carelessness in carrying out the excavations, etc.) has been emphasised rather than the services rendered by amateurs to archaeology as pioneers in a number of its branches. However, from the standpoint of modern Classical studies the assiduous investigations of those amateurs on location (the materials from their excavations, descriptions and plans of various architectural remains of the Greek period) are of much greater significance than the works of the Academician H.K.E. Koehler, which were equal to the standards of his time, but are now of purely historiographic interest. The well-known postulate of the history of science that at the initial stages of the development of science dilettantism plays a role of no small importance, but its effectiveness drops at the level of an advanced, articulated science, is wholly justified in the analysis of the situation which had developed in the Russian science of antiquities in the first third of the 19th century.

In the second stage in the development of the study of the northern Black Sea region in Antiquity, the crystallisation from the complex of other disciplines took place, various local scientific centres in St Petersburg and in Novorossia were founded, the first museums were established in Southern Russia, and excavations with scientific purposes were commenced. It was in the first third of the 19th century that a conscious scientific interest in the ancient sites of the northern Black Sea region emerged. The pioneers of Classical archaeology succeeded in planting in Russian soil the interest in Classical Antiquity, developed the technique of conducting investigations and defined for the future the priority which should be assumed by field-work and theoretical studies.

The third stage of the formation of a Russian science of the antiquities of Southern Russia

The period from 1839 to 1859 saw Classical Studies finally adopt the form of an organised structure. This development was characterised by a new generation of scholars, who understood the importance of combining their efforts in the collection, study and protection of antiquities. P. Koeppen, who by that time had become a full member of the Academy of Sciences, tried to draw attention to the scandalous state of affairs in the study of the ancient necropoleis. He called for archaeological investigation of the kurgans in the Novorossijskij Kraj in order to identify their ethnic and historical context and proposed to assemble a collection of "grave goods" and to publish drawings of the antiquities in the museums. In 1843 Koeppen submitted a note memorandum to the Academy of Sciences proposing the taking of urgent measures for the protection of archaeological monuments, in particular "stone images standing over graves (kurgans)". Like the scientists of the Age of Enlightenment, Koeppen considered kurgans as objects of tomb

architecture representing an integral part of the natural landscape, which was being destroyed by modern man. The attempts of the Academician K.E. von Baer in the middle of the century to amalgamate the humanities with the natural sciences elicited no response at that time among Russian historians. Von Baer attempted to promote the anthropological approach to studies of culture and ethnops independently of the corresponding historical context, and to introduce in Russia the "three period system" (1836) expounded by him in the preface to the Russian translation of the book by J.J. Worsaae, *Northern Antiquities from the Royal Museum in Copenhagen* (1861). The majority of specialists rejected Baer's hypotheses in the branch of the historical geography of the Black Sea area during the Greek and Roman periods.

In 1850 the academic Chair of Greek and Roman Antiquities passed to the curator of the Department of Classical Antiquities of the Hermitage L.E. Stephani. The main museum of the capital, the Hermitage opened to the general public in 1852 and became the richest archaeological museum in the Russian Empire. To a large extent this was due to the handing over of collections from elsewhere, in particular from different museums of the Academy of Sciences and provincial museums of antiquities in Novorossia. The Hermitage was being especially enriched with objects found during excavations in Olbia, on the Taman Peninsula, in the Eastern Crimea, Chersonesos and the Lower Don region. The studies were carried out in the museum by F.A. Gille, B. von Koehne, and E.G. von Muralt, who became active assistants of the St Petersburg Archaeological-Numismatic Society founded in 1846 (since 1851 and also according to the statute of 1866, called the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society). From the moment of its inauguration, the Society assumed the character of an aristocratic circle under the patronage of the Imperial Court comprising collectors and amateur antiquarians, a few scholars from the Academy of Sciences, assistants at the Hermitage and the Public Library – mostly foreigners in Russian service (J. Reichel, P. Sabatier and others). The reorganisation of the Society in 1851 resulted in many foreign specialists resigning and in a decline in the scientific level of the studies of Classical Antiquity, because the main attention of the Society's assistants was now focused on the investigation of Slavonic-Russian and Oriental antiquities.

Among the Members of the Society of Russian History and Antiquities (MOIDR) attached to the Moscow University, V.V. Passek and G.I. Spasskij became interested in ancient sites in Southern Russia. However, the main circle of interests of the MOIDR had not changed, and the study of Classical antiquities took second place to Russian and Slavonic ones. In 1843 the Temporary Commission for the Interpretation of Ancient Literature was founded in Kiev in the office of the Governor General of Kiev in co-operation with the chair of the local St Vladimir University. Members of the commission were occupied with archaeological investigations not only of

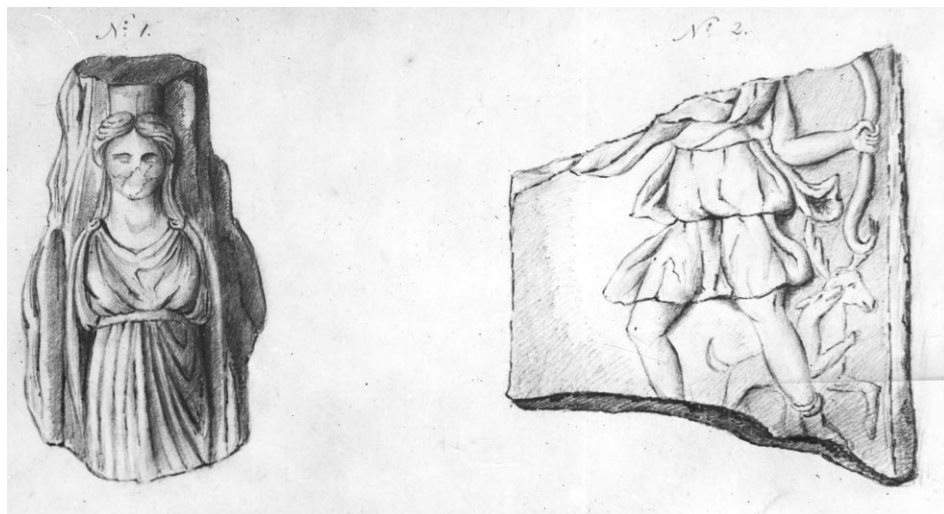


Fig. 20. Marble fragment with representation of triple-bodied Hekate and a relief representing Artemis as Huntress, found in Olbia. J. de Blaramberg's collection. Drawing by Vladimir Blaramberg for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". I Cahier. Pl. V. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 779. Not earlier than 1822. First publication.

Slavonic-Russian antiquities of the ancient capital of Rus but also with the excavation of barrows in the South-Western Krai including various Scythian kurgans.

In 1839, the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities (OOID, in existence until 1922) was founded under the patronage of the Governor-General of Novorossia M.S. Voroncov. This contributed considerably to the study of antiquities in Southern Russia. Among its active members were A. Stourza, D.M. Knjaževič, A.Ja. Fabr, M.M. Kir'jakov, N.N. Murzakewicz, N.I. Nadeždin, V.V. Grigor'ev, E. Taitbout de Marygny, Z.S. Chercheulidzev, A.B. Ašik, D.V. Karejša, A.F. Panagiodor-Nikovul, M.G. Paleolog, Ph. Brunn and P. Becker. In 1840, OOID secured five thousand roubles a year as a "grant" from the Exchequer as well as the right to carry out archaeological excavations throughout the entire territory of Southern Russia – both on state lands with the permission of the local authorities, and on private lands by consent of the owners. The programme of activities of the Odessa Society comprised the propagation of the historical and archaeological knowledge about Southern Russia by the collection, documentation and storage of antiquities from Novorossia, as well as the conducting of critical studies of the literary tradition concerning the northern Black Sea area. In addition to the archaeological investigations, the Society was also engaged with purely historical,

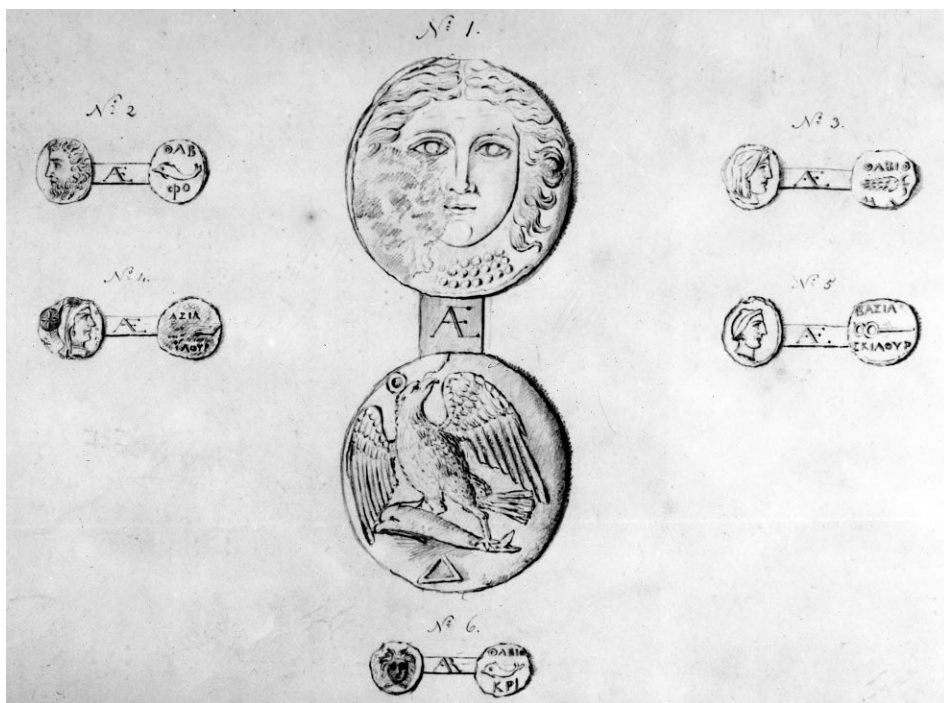


Fig. 21. Olbian "medals" and coins of the Scythian King Skilouros, struck and found in Olbia. J. de Blaramberg's collection. Drawing by Ippolit Blaramberg for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". I Cahier. Pl. VII. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 779. Not earlier than 1822. First publication.

geographical, ethnographical, and statistical research. The Odessa Society carried out extensive work for the protection of the ancient sites in Novorossia. It undertook to co-ordinate the activities of all Southern Russian museums, which were becoming increasingly specialised, and the archaeological collections were incorporated into larger museum collections. The OOID became a worthy successor to the Odessa Archaeological Circle. For 50 years, a large scientific centre of ancient studies, as well as a first-rate collection of antiquities, had been built up thanks to the efforts of several generations of researchers in Odessa.

Various historical and archaeological societies became examples of a kind of methodological centre, which initiated work on questions about Classical antiquities in Southern Russia. Notwithstanding the absence of a permanent organisation and salaried personnel, these societies developed their own scientific programmes and succeeded in organising investigations of Black Sea antiquities, publishing various scientific works in their own periodicals or as

separate monographs about antiquities of Bosporos, Chersonesos, Olbia, and the northern Black Sea area in general. The societies organised a number of scientific expeditions, started assembling collections of antiquities, founded their own museums and libraries, practised a broad exchange of scientific literature and “duplicate” antiquities with various institutions elsewhere, and established academic contacts with their scientific colleagues in Russia and abroad.

Although the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities had the right to conduct excavations throughout all of Southern Russia, the lack of money limited its field activities. In order to secure funds for excavations, the society tried to enlist new full and corresponding members who not infrequently conducted excavations at their own expense. The society carried out excavations in Theodosia (1852-1853, E. de Villeneuve, I. Karamurza, I.K. Ajvazovskij), Kerch (1843-1844, M.A. Kologrivov, M. de Blaramberg), and elsewhere. Notwithstanding the approval granted in the first of the national science regulations for conducting excavations *Regulations for excavating kurgans* (1843) and *Instructions on how uncovered antiquities should be treated* (1851), major clauses of the latter found no application in practice. Thus the information published by the Society’s Secretary N.N. Murzakewicz (1806-1883) in the *Zapiski OOID* about his own excavations on the island of Leuke (Phidonisi, 1841) and in Olbia (1846), could on no account, even by the standards of the time, be considered as having any validity as field reports. Worthy of attention is the insistent striving of Murzakewicz to obtain some “duplicates” of the objects with which mostly collections of the Hermitage and Kerch Museum were supplemented. The idea that the original context of the objects might, in this way, be lost, never occurred to the antiquarians, and such practice was generally accepted at the time.

The methods of field studies developed in the 1810s-1820s by P. Dubrux, had by the beginning of the 1830s been forgotten and the scientific level of excavations dropped. The excavations of ancient settlements were not able to yield as great a number of spectacular finds as those of the barrows. In the 1830s-1850s the principal direction of investigations was deflected from the tasks formulated by J.A. Stempkovskij, and the harmony in studies of all groups of sites, which was advocated in the first quarter of the 19th century failed to develop. Nevertheless, the material from the excavations of those years plays an important role in present-day studies since the researchers of the 19th century collected large numbers of objects from kurgans, objects which are now preserved in various museums of Russia and Ukraine. From 1831, excavation with trenches both at settlements and cemeteries were the rule in Russian Classical archaeology until the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Now it is common to talk about the methods employed during that period as barbarian, but it has to be kept in mind that they were developed on an empirical basis, and the pioneers of those excavations had no teachers

or instructors. Not until the first quarter of the 20th century did Russian science come to realise the necessity of systematic excavations of ancient town-sites and cemeteries.

The necessity for a better organisation of archaeological activities and an expansion of the material resources in order to increase the number of scholars investigating the material remains of the past was also understood in governmental circles. Towards the end of the 1840s, the preconditions had been created in the country for the organisation of an archaeological service financed by the state. In 1850 the Commission for the Investigation of Antiquities under the direction of Count L.A. Perovskij was founded and initially attached to the Ministry of Home Affairs (from 1852 within the structure of the Ministry of Principalities). In 1856, the Stroganov Commission was founded and attached to the Ministry of the Imperial Court. Later in 1859, it was transformed into the Imperial Archaeological Commission (IAK). Perovskij (1792-1856) succeeded in creating a staff (11 assistants), whose brief was the study of antiquities and who also devised a programme of the systematic archaeological investigation of Southern Russia including the Scythian barrows in the Dnjeper region. Large-scale archaeological excavations were also undertaken at different sites in the northern Black Sea area: by A.S. Uvarov in Olbia, Scythian Neapolis and Chersonesos, and by P.M. Leont'ev in the region of the Lower Don (1853). Jointly with the members of OOID E. de Villeneuve, I.K. Ajvazovskij and I. Karamurza, Prince A.A. Sibirskij carried out excavations in Feodosia (1852-1853, 1856), and later at the necropolis of Gorgippia (1852, 1859). The document summarising the results of all the archaeological studies in Russia was to be a composite perennial report submitted to the Tsar (regrettably published only once, for 1853), which would comprise excerpts from different reports of excavations and, in addition, the information on the antiquities bought from the local population or acquired during the excavations. By means of administrative measures, Perovskij attempted to systematise excavations and strictly regulate their technique. Archaeologists were ordered to keep daily records of the works, draw plans and pictures of the finds, and compose detailed field reports. In the course of long-term field investigations of ancient sites near Kerch, many rules and techniques of excavation had been developed which were also used in other regions of the northern Black Sea littoral.

The Imperial Archaeological Commission (founded in 1859), which brought together specialists of the permanent staff (the chairman and three members) and a number of honorary and corresponding members throughout the entire country, became the national centre for the co-ordination of archaeological investigations. Its tasks included organisation and conducting of excavations throughout the entire territory of Russia, gathering information about different sites, and "scientific treatment and evaluation" of the



Fig. 22. Marble tombstone with a bas-relief representing a family standing on the threshold of a temple, from Olbia. J. de Blaramberg's collection, later in the collection of the Odessa Archaeological Museum. Drawing for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". III Cahier. Pl. II. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 77. First publication.

artefacts found. According to the regulations of 1859, the Commission was granted the right to control all "other endeavours" of excavations. All the antiquities procured by private persons were, as far as possible, to be submitted, via the local authorities, to examination by the Commission. Subordinate to the Commission were the Kerch Museum of Antiquities and the Commission of Archaeological Research in Rome. The IAK also supervised the protection, registration, and systematisation of antiquities, as well as theoretical studies and publication of different materials. All the finds



Fig. 23. Amphorae (a total of 13 examples found) installed in the form of a pyramid, and half an amphora, all covering a red-figured hydria with ashes and calcined human bones from a cremation. According to P.P. Svin'in, a Greek letter was drawn on the middle part of each amphora, so that when all of the amphorae were placed together the letters constituted an inscription, which has not, however, been copied. They were found in the centre of a kurgan excavated by P. Dubrux near Kerch in 1817. The hydria came into the collection of Countess S. Potockaja or Princess Z.A. Volkonskaja (?); one of the amphorae was sent to Duke A.E. de Richelieu (Paris), the other antiquities came into P. Dubrux's collection (Kerch), and, possibly, into that of J. de Blaramberg (Odessa). Drawing for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". III Cahier. Pl. III. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 781. Not earlier than 1822.

from state and public land were to be transferred to the Archaeological Commission from which they were distributed to the Hermitage or to other museum collections.

The systematisation of all the knowledge accumulated in the course of excavations since the end of the 18th century became a vivid indicator of the third stage of the formation of Classical archaeology. The remarkable discoveries in the Eastern Crimea and on the Taman Peninsula stimulated the publication of quite a number of monographs on the history and archaeolo-

gy of the Bosphoran Kingdom. In contrast to the previous stage, when inscriptions and coins were almost the only items to be published, the work by Ašik on a painted tomb in Pantikapaion²¹ encouraged the publication of other archaeological finds, in particular various ancient works of art. In the periodicals of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of People's Enlightenment, the *Zapiski* of the Odessa Society, and various socio-political and literary periodicals, detailed information started to be appear on the excavations in the Novorossijskij Kraj. A.B. Ašik embarked on the scientific interpretation of the results of his excavations in Kerch and on the Taman Peninsula: these he then summarised in his three-volume book *The Bosphoran Kingdom*.²² Despite certain flaws in his writings, his successors should appreciate Ašik for his efforts in the sphere of popularisation of antiquities of the Black Sea region, and for his quite understandable efforts to shorten the time lapse between each archaeological discovery and its introduction into scientific knowledge. We must remember that books by the Kerch antiquarian are still used by scientists as the primary source of the information about many sites excavated at that time. A contemporary of Ašik, Professor of the Moscow University P.M. Leont'ev appealed for a degree of indulgence in the evaluation of the works of the Kerch archaeologist: "We are grateful for what we receive and do not expect merits which are impossible in the given case; we are thankful for the information rendered: the more so as we know how much greater are the services in the work done without the necessary preconditions in comparison with the knowledge acquired without any special efforts, merely by a regular Classical education".²³

An epochal event in the history of Russian Classical studies was the appearance of the three-volume work *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au musée impérial de l'Ermitage* (1854). The text of the book was produced by F.A. Gille (1801-1864) and L.E. Stephani (1816-1887) on the basis of excerpts from manuscripts of P. Dubrux, field reports by A.B. Ašik, D.V. Karejša, M. de Blaramberg, and K.R. Begičev, as well as their own examination of the artefacts in the Hermitage. The magnificent atlas included plates with lithographs executed after pencil and water-colour drawings of the finds. In the captions to the plates by Stephani, the artefacts are classified neither by the types of the objects nor by the archaeological context in which they were found (as this was quite impossible to determine from the reports of the Kerch archaeologists), but rather by the material of which the grave goods were made (gold, silver, bronze, clay, etc.). According to M.I. Rostovcev the studies of Stephani were predominantly of an antiquarian character with a bias towards various mythological and religious speculations.²⁴ In the analysis of the finds, a traditional art historical interpretation of the artefacts was the main objective. This residue of antiquarianism, encountered mostly among museum assistants, has not been completely overcome even today, nor is it exclusive to Russia. Classical archaeology in

Western Europe and America of the 20th century has not infrequently been considered part of art history. It is characteristic that Stephani paid little interest to "barbarian" (Scythian and Sarmatian) antiquities, which he treated from the viewpoint of Greek art. The Academician's attention was mainly focused on the works of the Classical period at the expense of the Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman objects. Nevertheless, it was the works of Stephani which were to be the basis for the scientific classification, dating and interpretation of the masterpieces of Greek art found in the northern Black Sea area. The works of the St Petersburg scholar were on an equal level with those of his Western European colleagues.

Thus, the third stage of the formation of Classical archaeology in Russia (1839-1859) is characterised by the establishment of state and public academic institutions of the science of Classical archaeology as part of national Classical studies. The museums became more specialised, systematic excavations at the ancient sites of the Black Sea region were carried out and a series of the first monographs about the antiquities of Southern Russia appeared. By the middle of the 19th century Classical archaeology was organised in the form of a number of archaeological societies and a special state commission. This organisational framework functioned along with different metropolitan and provincial museums practically without any changes until 1919.

Creation of corpora of the literary tradition about the northern Black Sea region

The chaotic state of Russian studies of Classical Antiquity in the middle of the 19th century exerted a significant influence upon the subsequent development of the science. For the Novorossian archaeological centre the main task was from the beginning the study of the Classical antiquities themselves. In St Petersburg, on the other hand, the series of important archaeological discoveries in Southern Russia caused a shift from a primarily philological approach to the study of Antiquity to a greater focus on the material evidence.

The first steps in the study of the literary tradition about the Black Sea area were taken by the members the Academy of Sciences in the 18th century, who were interested in early Russian history, which was closely linked to Byzantium. They turned to the works of ancient and Byzantine writers who wrote about the ancient history of the peoples of Eastern Europe. Academics who followed this line included G.S. Bayer, Ch.G. Crusius, V.N. Tatiščev, G.F. Mueller, J.E. Fischer, J.F. Hackmann, M.V. Lomonosov, and A.L. Schloezer. In the 1770s J.G. Stritter published in Latin a four-volume corpus of reference by Byzantine and other authors to the peoples who inhabited the territory of Russia in Antiquity.²⁵ The first attempts at writing a coherent history of the northern Black Sea area in Antiquity in the context of the Universal History belong to the hierarchs of the Roman-Catholic Church A.S. Naruszewicz

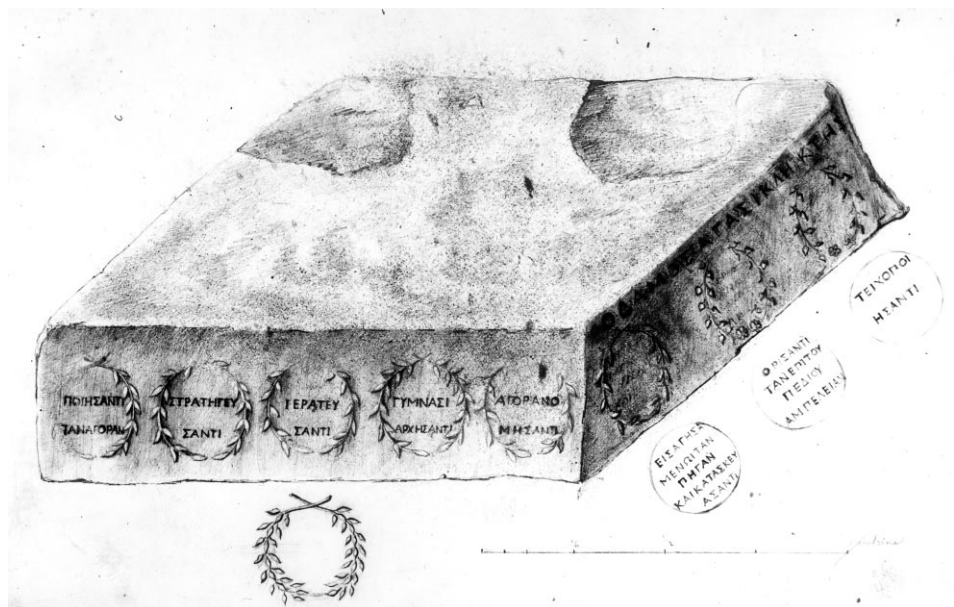


Fig. 24. The pedestal of a statue of Agasikles with an inscription in Doric dialect (IOSPE F, 418), found in 1794 in Tauric Chersonesos. Originally from the collection of Admiral R. Wilson, then transferred to the Chamber of Rarities of the Black Sea Depot of Maps in Nikolaev, since 1840 preserved in the Museum of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities. J. de Blaramberg presented his annotations to the inscription in the article *Paléographie*, *Journal d'Odessa*. 1829, 2/14 novembre, 381-382. Drawing for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". III Cahier. Pl. V. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 781. Not earlier than 1822. First publication.

(1733-1796) and S. Siestrenczewicz de Bohusz (1731-1826). The widely known book by the latter on the history of the Crimea presented an uncritical summary of the ancient literary sources of different periods about Tauris.²⁶ Antiquarians of the 18th century made attempts to identify particular sites and discernible traces of the ancient period with various towns and settlements mentioned in the literary tradition. The Polish historian Count J.O. Potocki (1761-1815), along with the publication of various inscriptions and coins known at the time, embarked on the study of separate bodies of documentary evidence about the northern Black Sea area.²⁷ He issued the first historical atlas of Eastern Europe, including the northern Black Sea coasts, devised on the basis of the data of ancient and medieval authors.²⁸

Antiquarians of the first half of the 19th century realised the importance of gathering and comparing all available ancient literary evidence about the



Fig. 25. A circular fragment of a votive patera (?) with a gorgoneion and an inscription, white marble (IOSPE P, 281), from Olbia. J. de Blaramberg's collection, then in the Museum of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities. Drawing for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". III Cahier. Pl. VII. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 781. Not earlier than 1822. First publication.

northern Black Sea area. As early as 1823, J. Stempkovskij proposed to publish such a comprehensive corpus and the idea was taken up by the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities in 1840-1845. A teacher of Greek in the grammar school attached to the Richelieu Lyceum and member of OOID, M.G. Paleolog, proceeded to "extract those passages from ancient Hellenic poets and prose writers which are related to the history, geography or topography of the Novorossijskij Kraj. From this information, the Society intends to publish excerpts – similar to the well-known J.G. Stritter's *Memoriae popularum* – concerned predominantly with the southern part of Russia". R. Minzloff raised the question at the General Meeting of the Russian Archaeological Society in 1853 about the necessity for the publication of a *Collection of quotations from Classical writers about the countries now situated within the limits of the Russian Empire, especially about the northern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea* in the original languages and provided with a translation in Russian accompanied by explanatory notes and biographical information about the writers themselves. The Society resolved to publish the excerpts in its proceedings and "to compose gradually collections from these

isolated reprints". However, at the time, national historical philological science had no means at its disposal for carrying out a critical analysis of such an enormous amount of documentary evidence. Therefore it proved to be unable to fulfil the task set. Only later with the appearance of the two-volume work by the Academician V. Latyšev (1893-1906) was a summary of Greek and Roman verse and prose with a translation into Russian realized.²⁹ Latyšev's two corpora of excerpts from works by Byzantine authors about the territory of Russia, and of excerpts from ancient and Byzantine authors about Central and Eastern Asia and the Caucasus ready for print in 1916-1920 remained unpublished but survived as manuscript.³⁰

Epigraphy

The first collectors, copyists and publishers of lapidary inscriptions from the northern Black Sea region were naturalists, travellers and amateur antiquarians. Due to their deficient knowledge of the Classical languages and the poorly advanced state of epigraphy at the time, they often produced incorrect copies of the inscriptions. Copies of dozens of newly found, often badly damaged inscriptions are preserved among different manuscripts from the 18th to the first half of the 19th centuries. Being often well preserved and showing more exactly the shape of the letters later distorted during the publication of lithographs and engravings they are helpful for the reconstruction of the texts. The manuscripts not infrequently contain more precise information about the place and date of the discovery of the inscriptions. A number of them have now been lost, and familiarity with archive records is therefore an indispensable precondition for any republication of the corpora of ancient and medieval inscriptions from the northern Black Sea littoral.

The prioritising in Russia of the studies and publication of epigraphic evidence according to strictly scientific, critical methods must be credited to H.K.E. Koehler, who used simultaneously the methods of philological and historical interpretation. His severe, though often quite justified comments on the errors of other researchers contributed to the refinement of the epigraphic material: Koehler never left untouched any inscription unsuccessfully interpreted or inaccurately read by others. Articles by the Academician about the ancient Black Sea area abound in critical attacks on the epigraphic studies of D. Raoul Rochette, P. Koeppen, J. Stempkovskij, and J. de Blaramberg.³¹ Koehler's caustic reviews and remarks to some extent promoted the rise in the scientific level of publications of epigraphic materials. Southern Russian amateur antiquarians published various inscriptions not only on the basis of the copies made by themselves but also of those received from other persons with no knowledge of Classical languages. Nevertheless we should note certain merits in the works of the *dilettanti* – in their drawings they attempted to reproduce with the greatest precision all the peculiarities of the copied lapidary material tolerating no arbitrary reconstructions

of the inscriptions with damaged or poorly readable texts, while philologists not infrequently sinned against the truth in such cases.

Realising the limited extent of their own knowledge of ancient epigraphy, the Odessa antiquarians regularly corresponded with professional scholars in the West, rendering for publication the materials gathered by them to A. Boeckh and D. Raoul Rochette. Through his work, Boeckh promoted the creation of a professional community of epigraphists, not only in Russia but throughout the whole of Europe. Working with his *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* published in 1843 and comprising the Black Sea material, scholars learned the techniques of critical interpretation and scientific publishing of epigraphic sources. The development of Latin epigraphy in Russia was, however, impeded by the scantiness of the material available.

Russian Classical studies of the first half of the 19th century were as yet unprepared to undertake such a fundamental work as a corpus of the Black Sea inscriptions. Even so, as early as 1823, J. Stempkovskij advocated the necessity for the creation of a comprehensive corpus of all the "palaeographic" (i.e. epigraphic) evidence from the northern Black Sea coasts. Such a proposition was also supported by the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities. In 1846 its members resolved to publish at the expense of OOID a "complete collection" of the Greek and Latin inscriptions which had been discovered in Southern Russia, "having classified the latter ... chronologically". The copying of the inscriptions was undertaken by the secretary of OOID N. Murzakewicz. Among the valuable documents of the Society are those discovered by the author, which prove to be materials prepared for this unrealised edition, in particular the copies of a dozen ancient and medieval inscriptions lost and unpublished till now, as well as a number of albums with drawings of the finds (including some lapidary inscriptions) exhibited in the Odessa City Museum of Antiquities and the museum of OOID.

Scholars from St Petersburg were also engaged in epigraphic studies. Publications of newly discovered inscriptions appeared in publications from the Hermitage, the Academy of Sciences, and the Russian Archaeological Society (Fr. Graefe, E.G. von Muralt, L.E. Stephani, A.S. Uvarov, P.M. Leont'ev, et al.), and special instructions on copying epigraphic documents were issued. In the second half of the 19th century, the question of preparing a corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions from the northern Black Sea area was raised again. It was discussed at the meetings of the Russian Archaeological Society and at a number of Pan-Russian archaeological congresses held by the Moscow Archaeological Society. The initiator of one corpus project was the orientalist A.Ja. Garkavi, who in 1876 submitted a corresponding memorandum to the Russian Archaeological Society. The preparation of this work was entrusted to V. Latyšev. It was thus only in the second half of the century, when the national epigraphic school had already been

created, that Russian science succeeded in initiating the publication of comprehensive corpora of Classical Greek and Latin as well as Byzantine inscriptions from the northern Black Sea coasts. Their publication marked a qualitative leap in the development of Russian Classical studies.³²

Ceramic epigraphy

L.E. Stephani and P. Becker, who from the middle of the 19th century published large collections of ceramic stamps mostly from ancient settlements of the northern Black Sea region, are traditionally regarded as the founders of this science. In Western Europe, works of a similar character appeared only in the 1860s-1890s. However, some documents by Koehler, J. de Blaramberg and P. Koeppen allow us to push back the birth of this branch of Classical studies to the beginning of the 19th century. Amphora and tile stamps initially came into the hands of philologists, such as Koehler who influenced the way the study was prioritised. The main problems these scholars tried to resolve were the attribution of the stamps and their purpose. Koehler and Koeppen became pioneers in recognising the stamps with an emblem in the form of a pomegranate flower, as belonging to vessels produced on Rhodos. Undoubtedly, their observations had served as the starting point for B. von Koehne and L. Stephani, who proceeded in the middle of the century with the work of the identification of Rhodian stamps. Owing to Blaramberg, who transferred his copies of inscriptions to A. Boeckh, the latter correctly attributed one particular stamp to Chersonesos.

Not limiting himself to mere description of, and commentary on, stamps, J. de Blaramberg was to offer an attribution for the so-called *astynomos* stamps. Having noticed a considerable concentration of such stamps in Olbia and the presence of the emblem typical for Olbian coins (an eagle on a dolphin) on some of them, Blaramberg proposed a local provenience. He came to the conclusion that such finds indicated a developed ceramic production in Olbia. Moreover, as the antiquarian supposed, "the verifying of the quality of manufactured articles was imposed upon ... the *astynomoi*", who, with that purpose in mind, stamped amphorae and tiles. This is the first time that the question of the purpose of stamping various ceramic articles was put forward. Blaramberg's idea about the Olbian origins of the stamps underwent further development in the middle of the century in the works of P. Becker. The fallacy of the localisation became finally evident only in the 1920s.

J. de Blaramberg attempted to push back the limits of the philological analysis of stamps and drew attention to their potential use as a valuable historical source. He also realised the necessity of developing a chronology of stamps by means of their correlation with different evidence of other kinds – epigraphic and numismatic. Having identified precisely the dates when offices were held by the functionaries whose names are found in the stamps

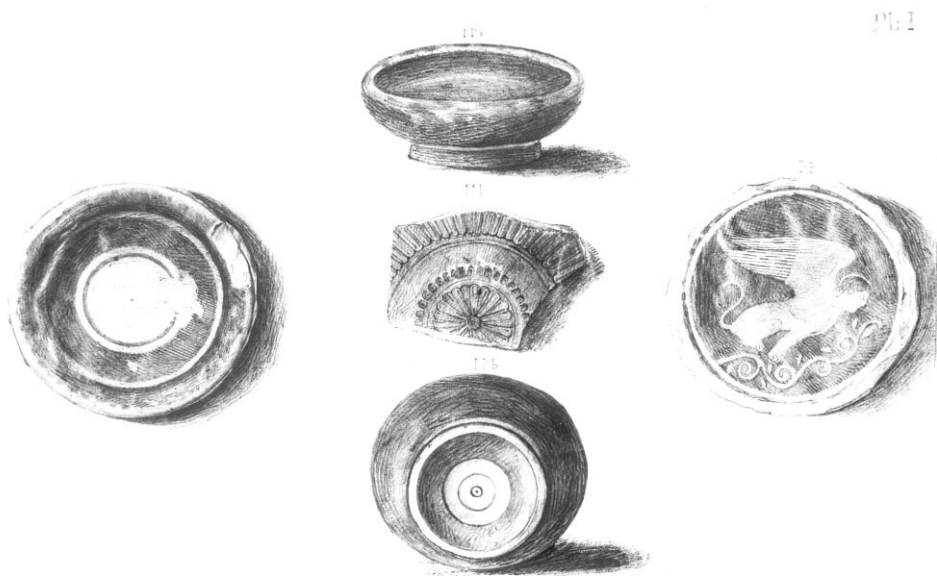


Fig. 26. Red-figured and black-glazed pottery from Olbia, J. de Blaramberg's collection. Drawing for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". IV Cahier. Pl. I. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 782. Not earlier than 1825.

we will be able to date reliably the construction of the buildings roofed with stamped tiles, the manufacture of amphorae, etc. In this context, Blaramberg, quite justifiably, used stamps, giving them parity with lapidary evidence and coins during his compilation of the *Onomastic List of Citizens of Olbia* which remained unpublished. And although the assumptions on which Blaramberg based his attribution of the *astynomos* stamps were erroneous, and many of his conclusions now seem to be unfounded, or often simply naive, the merits of this scholar in the work not only of gathering but also of interpreting the stamped ceramic material are undoubted.³³

Interest in the inscriptions made on ceramic containers and tiles increased with the beginning of systematic excavations at different ancient sites in the northern Black Sea region. In the 1840s-1850s, various stamps, both classified and unclassified according to their provenance, were published by A.B. Ašik, N. Murzakewicz, P. Sabatier, L. Stephani, P.M. Leont'ev, B.V. von Koehne, and Uvarov. Stamps discovered were traditionally published in archaeological excavation reports, however the quality of the representations was usually rather poor. Most frequently, the stamp inscriptions were printed in majuscules, only occasionally followed by minuscules. Exact drawings of the imprints, which allow verification of the proposed reading,

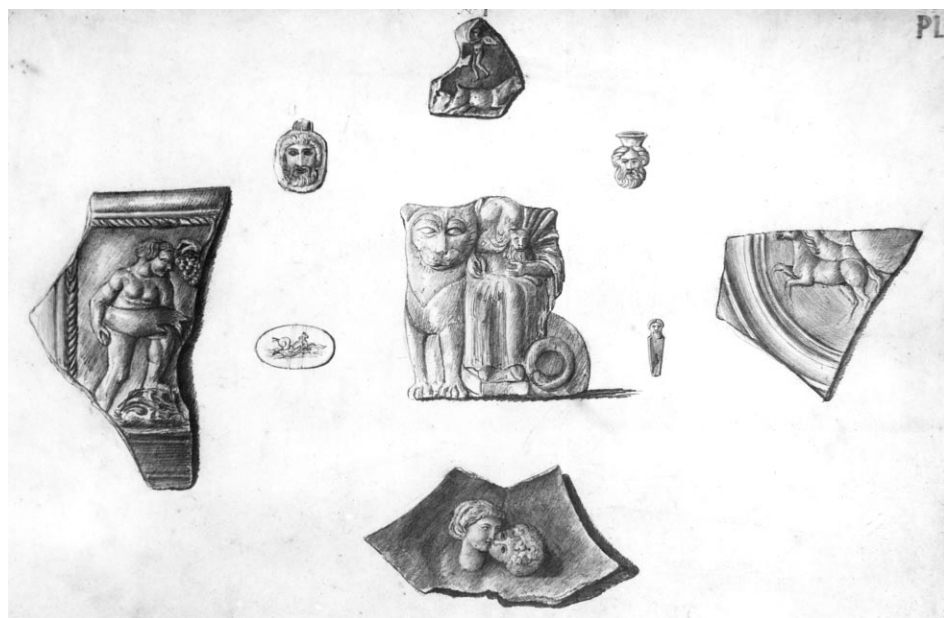


Fig. 27. Fragmentary relief pottery, lamps, terracotta figurines, and glass and lead objects from Olbia, J. de Blaramberg's collection. Drawing by V. Blaramberg for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". IV Cahier. Pl. II. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 782. 1825. First publication.

are extremely rare. As an exception, one might mention the plate with excellent copies of stamps from Olbia presented in the atlas appended to the treatise of A.S. Uvarov about antiquities of Novorossia. Thus the origin of ceramic epigraphy may be justly dated to the beginning of the 19th century.

Numismatics

During the period of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries, ancient coins were accumulated in various public and private Russian collections. This process acquired an intensive character with the beginning of regular excavations in the northern Black Sea region. I have succeeded in reconstructing the composition of a number of isolated finds and coin hoards, the information about which had previously been unavailable to specialists. This work includes the quantitative composition and the geographical and chronological range of the coins found during the excavations of the Sanctuary of Achilles on Tendra Spit (1824), in Scythian Neapolis (1827) and on the Majak Peninsula in the Crimea (1844), and research into the more precise circumstances of the discovery of the Pulencov hoard in the village of Taman (1845).³⁴

In the first half of the 19th century Russian scholars started publishing considerable volumes of sources unknown to their West-European colleagues in an attempt to interpret and systematise the new numismatic material. The results were not long in appearing: from the 1840s-1850s, according to D.B. Šelov, who is quite justified in this assertion, "Russian science undoubtedly had won the first place in the studies of Bosporan antiquities in general and Bosporan numismatics in particular".³⁵ The accumulation of the new material necessitated the working out of principles of systematisation and methods of studying the numismatic evidence. Throughout the first half to the middle of the 19th century the geographical and chronological frames of the studies had widened considerably owing to the rapid growth in the fund of sources. In the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries the publications of coins were in many respects of an illustrative character in the treatment of the political history of the ancient Black Sea area. With time, however, the attention of researchers was drawn to the attribution of the coins (their type, legend, countermarks), the study of their typology and chronology, and the issuing of catalogues of the numismatic collections.

The chief authority in the field of ancient numismatics, H.K.E. Koehler studied coins from all regions of the northern Black Sea area, but Bosporos always had for him the highest priority.³⁶ Some of the Bosporan coins were persistently attributed by Koehler sometimes to Parthian, sometimes to Seleucid dynasties, bewildering his scientific opponents. The curator of the Hermitage also studied the issues of Theodosia and the coins, which he recognised as minted by the cities of "Hermision" and "Herakleion". J. Stempkovskij made his first priority the identification of the examples of the coinage of Rhadamsades son of Thothorses (he erroneously read the name of the king as "Rhadameadis"),³⁷ Gepaipyris,³⁸ Pharsanzes³⁹ and the development of the chronology of the Bosporan coins from the period of the Roman Empire.⁴⁰ Establishing the chronology of certain reigns in Bosporos, the correct names of the rulers not mentioned in the literary sources, identification of coin series and their dates were all matters which were subject to animated discussion among scholars of the first half of the 19th century. Almost any find of a coin that revealed a new king's name was commented on by each scholar in his own way, and the specimen might often be attributed to different rulers, the gap between the reigns of which sometimes amounted to 200 years. The variations in dating and attribution by the numismatists of the time are readily explainable by the novelty of the object of their studies, the fragmentary state of the evidence of literary and epigraphic sources, and the relatively small quantity (as compared with the present-day collections) of the material known to the science of that period. Of the 52,000 coins known at the time only 230 from the northern Black Sea region were included in the well-known corpus of the French numismatist

T.E. Mionnet.⁴¹ Towards the middle of the century, the names of 15 kings and one queen of Bosporos which are not mentioned in the literary sources became known on the basis of coins alone, and nine new names of kings were provided by inscriptions found in the Crimea and on the Taman Peninsula.

An enormous role in the development of numismatics was played by the scientific societies – the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities (OOID) and the Russian Archaeological Society (RAO). In the Memoirs of OOID, N. Murzakewicz published catalogues of his own collection and of that in the Odessa Museum of Antiquities⁴² as well as a number of articles on different aspects of Greek numismatics. G.I. Spasskij in his treatise on antiquities of the Kimmerian Bosporos made Count S.G. Stroganov's coin collection known, and his book became the first guide to Bosporan numismatics.⁴³ P. Sabatier on the basis of various inscriptions and coins proposed his own chronology of 33 Bosporan dynasts for a period of 448 years from "Mithridates VII to Rheskouporis VII".⁴⁴ He examined 492 coins, of which 352 were preserved in Russian collections. An "excellent" (as characterised by M. Rostovcev) catalogue of coins of Prince A. Sibirskij unfortunately has remained uncompleted. In the first part of the first volume, the author considered in detail the autonomous and regal coinage of the 6th century BC to the 1st century AD within the context of the political and religious history of Bosporos.⁴⁵

In comparison to Bosporos, the studies of the coinage of Olbia presented a more difficult task. Prior to the publication of 225 Olbian coins from J. de Blaramberg's collection,⁴⁶ only one gold coin of Olbia had been known, and the silver coins were also considered as extremely rare. Credit must be given to J. Stempkovskij and Blaramberg for the publication of two types of coins of the Scythian King Skilouros struck in Olbia. A.S. Uvarov (1851) made an attempt at linking the antiquarian-numismatic analysis of coins with the revelation of peculiarities of the monetary circulation in the *polis* of Olbia within the context of its history, which that author divides into three periods: the Greek, the Scytho-Greek, and the Roman. The numismatics of Tauric Chersonesos had received hardly any study. H.K.E. Koehler published an explanatory catalogue of 93 coins (1823) distributed according to issues. On the basis of numismatic data, B. von Koehne made an attempt at the reconstruction of the more than millennial history of Chersonesos from its foundation until the reign of Basil II in the early 11th century.⁴⁷ The author classified all the coin types (204 specimens) known at the time according to three periods (Greek, Roman, and Byzantine), studied the weight-system, and identified the coins of Smyrna and Thracian Chersonesos erroneously attributed to Tauric Chersonesos.

In the first third of the 19th century the only specialist in Russia who was able to summarise all the numismatic materials from the northern Black Sea

littoral was Academician H.K.E. Koehler, who first introduced many previously unknown coin types. In terms of the precision and meticulousness of his descriptions, the critical strictness in the selection of material and the soberness in his comments, Koehler's studies had been considered exemplary for many years. However, the Academician wrote no treatise, limiting himself to a mere series of articles and, as P.M. Leont'ev wrote, "not having had time to leave behind him any such an expansive writing which could have taken its place among the best works of the greatest scientists of the present. There is no doubt that he could have done it, since in his learning he surpassed the majority, or perhaps even all of the archaeologists of our time. His fame is great as it is, but most of his fame belongs to him rather for what he could have done than for what he actually achieved".⁴⁸ The first attempt at a wider study was made by the representative of the next generation of scholars B. von Koehne in his two-volume description of the museum of Prince V.V. Kočubej,⁴⁹ which was a kind of a corpus of coins (610 in total) of the Greek colonies of the northern and eastern Black Sea regions. This book became the first catalogue in Russian of coins from Olbia, Kerkenitis, Tauric Chersonesos, Bosphoros (Pantikapaion, Phanagoria, Gorgippia, Nymphaion, Theodosia), Kolchis, and Dioskourias.

Almost thirty years later an imperfect catalogue of ancient coins from the northern Black Sea region (1884) by P.O. Buračkov was published,⁵⁰ and a further twenty years later corrections to it were made by A. Bertier de la Garde (1907).⁵¹ Thanks to the efforts of many generations of scholars and collectors, towards the 1910s the way had been paved for the creation of a composite illustrated corpus of coins of the Black Sea area *Corpus numorum Russiae meridionalis* undertaken by M. Rostovcev and O.F. Retovskij, which, because of the revolution in 1917 has remained unpublished.⁵² Modern scholars have chosen to make detailed studies of the coinage of separate Greek cities and to resolve particular problems in the numismatics of the northern Black Sea region. Thus the task of publishing, on a level with the modern scientific standards, a complete corpus of ancient coins of the northern Black Sea region, which had already been proposed by J. Stempkovskij, and which a century later A.N. Zograf called "an indispensable duty ... of a numismatist concerned with the Classical period",⁵³ remains urgent even today.

Historical geography and archaeological topography of the northern Black Sea region in the Graeco-Roman period

One of the poorly developed directions of historical archaeological studies is the source-study of the thematic archaeological maps and plans of the 18th and 19th centuries, including the examination of previously unknown material in various archives. There are numerous works dedicated to the history of national cartography and special (thematic) mapping, but they include no

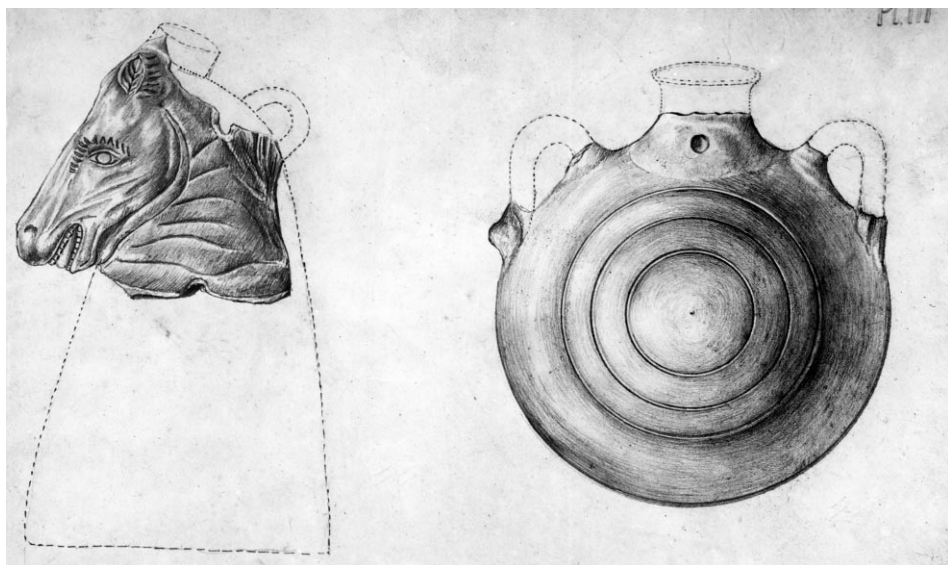


Fig. 28. Fragments of a figured vessel in the form of horse's bust and of a flat two-handled flask (askos?) from Olbia. Lekythos in the form of horse's bust – Count Severin Osipovič Potockij's gift to the Odessa City's Museum of Antiquities. Cf.: Odessa Archaeological Museum of the Academy of Sciences of USSR. [Album]. Kiev 1983, p. 51, 1, 72, no. 87; Greek and Cypriote Antiquities in the Archaeological Museum of Odessa. Nicosia 2001, 46, no. 56: Plastic vessel. Olbia. 3rd-2nd centuries BC. Height 20.6 cm. Two-part mould. Inventory no. 22167. Vase in the shape of a horse's head. Product of Pergamon; Ancient Greek Sites on the Northwest Coast of the Black Sea. Kiev 2001, p. 28. Drawing for the article "Mélanges archéologiques, contenant monuments antiques découverts dans la nouvelle Russie". IV Cahier. Pl. III. RSA SPbII RAS, manuscript group 36, inventory 1, file 782. 1825 g. First publication.

study of the history of the archaeological cartography, which indeed deserves a monograph. The rapid progress of Russian cartography and the improvements in hydrographic researches predetermined a high information level in the cartographic material from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries used by specialists concerned with Antiquity. Sailing courses, field map-boards, and descriptions of coasts made in the course of topographical and hydrographical surveys, annual reporting charts, and summarised reports and maps constitute a highly important complex of documents for the study of the archaeological topography of the northern Black Sea region. Many of the maps of that time include archaeological details marking the ruins of different sites and kurgan chains. These documents are the primary source for the identification of cultural landscape

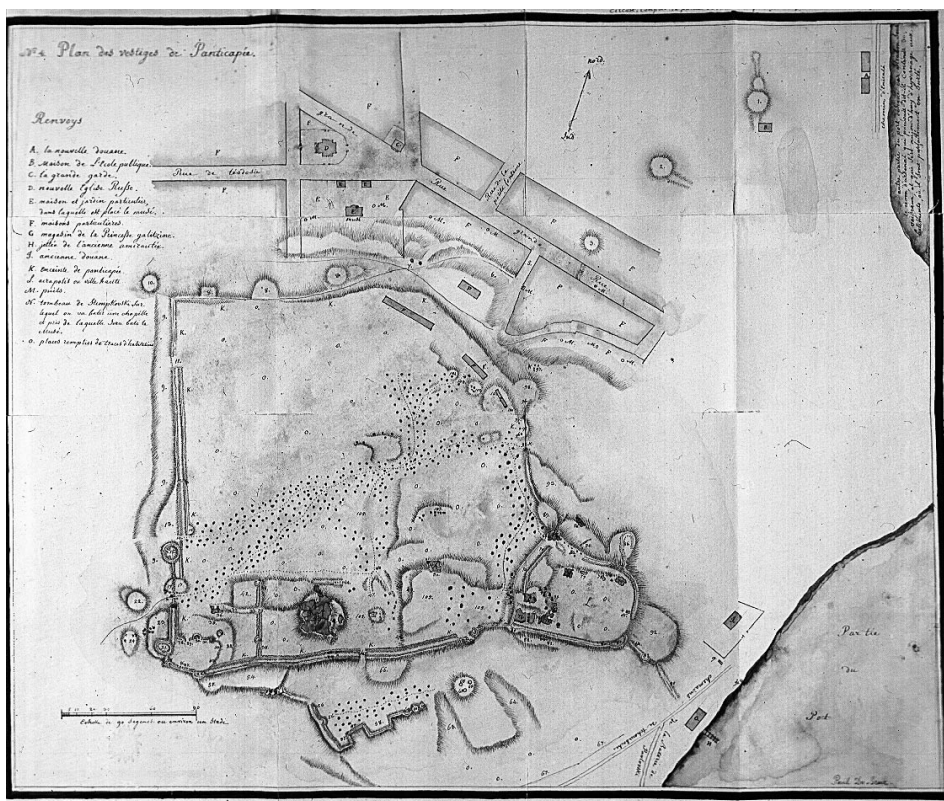


Fig. 29. P. Dubrux. Plan of the ruins of Pantikapaion. Not later than 1833. State Archives of the Russian Federation (GARF), manuscript group 666, inventory 1, file 534, sheet 126.

zones and for creating archaeological maps of particular regions, historical atlases, dictionaries of geographical nomenclature, etc. The task of investigating the spatial organisation of different territories in Antiquity, systems of settlement, and the ancient cultural landscape of the northern Black Sea area was already initiated by M. Rostovcev.⁵⁴

The solution to the main problems of historical geography, first and foremost the location of individual Greek cities and settlements attested by literary sources on the coasts and in the Scythian interior, had been a subject of priority in Russian Classical studies until the middle of the 19th century. This demanded a comparison to be made between the isolated data of the narrative tradition with the archaeological realities. Indispensable preconditions for such an investigation are not only a good knowledge of the geographical location, but also the precise registration of the architectural and archaeological remains so that special archaeological maps can be drawn.

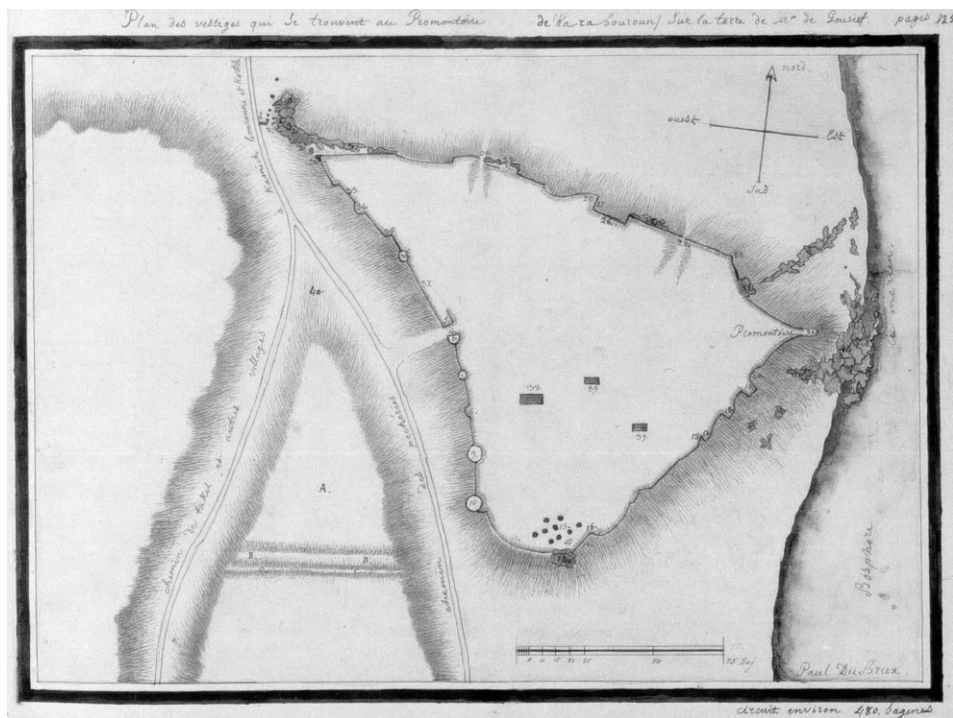


Fig. 30. P. Dubruix. Plan of the ruins found on Cape Kara-Burun on the land of Mr. Gur'ev near Kerch (the town-site of the ancient Nymphaion). Not later than 1833. State Archives of the Russian Federation (GARF), manuscript group 666, inventory 1, file 534, sheet 129.

Today's successors should give credit to the Russian administrators, military topographers, travellers, scientists, officials and unassuming amateur antiquarians of the late 18th to the first half of the 19th centuries, who have done much for the study of the historical geography and archaeological topography of the northern Black Sea littoral.

The contradictions in the ancient literary tradition and the absence of "correct" maps of the northern Black Sea region in the beginning and middle of the 18th century led to the fact that various armchair scholars and travellers made mutually exclusive assumptions about the location of even fairly large centres. However, the finds of coins and inscriptions bearing the names of Olbia, Chersonesos and Pantikapaion among the ruins of these cities had already by the turn of the 18th to the 19th centuries left no doubts as to their identification with the archaeological remains. It proved more difficult to locate the many smaller towns, *emporía*, and sanctuaries mentioned in historical documents. The reconnaissance of such sites and the topographical registration of the ruins were started by Southern Russian anti-

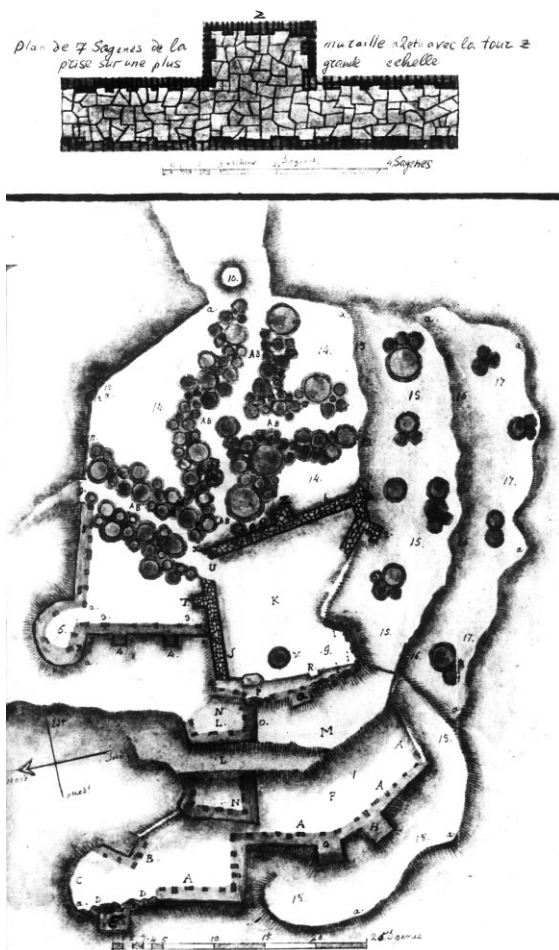


Fig. 31. The final plan of the settlement-site of Kuurdak (Andreevka Severnaja?), composed by P. Dubrux not later than 1834. Archives of the State Hermitage (AGE), manuscript group 1, inventory 1-1831, file 19, sheet 339.

quarians who by their publications initiated heated discussions in subsequent historiography. Many of their studies have not lost their significance even today having resulted in the identification of a number of centres, which had not previously been located. The results of these works became a realistic commentary on the writings of the ancient geographers, and were not slow to influence the publication of the sources, in particular the K.O. Mueller editions of Ptolemaios and the *periploi*. By the middle of the 19th century such large Greek centres as Tyras (Akkerman, now the city of Belgorod on the Dniester), Olbia (now the village of Parutino), the Tauric Chersonesos (on the coast of Karantinnaja Bay in Sevastopol), Pantikapaion (Kerch), Myrmekion (Novyj Karantin in Kerch), Gorgippia (modern Anapa), Tanais (village of Nedvigovka), and others were reliably located. Finally it became obvious that without systematic archaeological explorations, it was impossible to resolve disputes over the historical geography.

Regrettably, the questions of historical geography and archaeological topography had only rarely been raised in Russian scientific literature of the second half of the 19th century. These studies were delayed in the 1850s-1870s by the fact that the principal efforts were concentrated on excavations first of the necropoleis of Greek cities and then of large kurgans in the territory of Scythia. Scholars only returned to regional investigations in the 20th century. The turning away from the problems already posed in the articles of J. Stempkovskij, P. Dubrux and J. de Blaramberg was called by the Academician M. Rostovcev "one of the greatest sins of Russian science".⁵⁵

Conclusion

The outstanding archaeological discoveries in Southern Russia from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century gave a strong impulse to the national development of Classical studies. It was during this period that the organisational formation of Russian studies of Antiquity came about in the form of a system of state institutions and public scientific organisations which did not undergo any serious changes until the early 1920s; the strategic goals of the development of the science were defined and its main structure was established: archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics. The science of Classical antiquities did not emerge in Russia until the 18th century, considerably later than in Europe; nevertheless it succeeded in taking root and undergoing the same stages of scientific development and "growing pains" of the period of antiquarianism with increased rapidity – a period which lasted in fact for only one and a half centuries – the time from the Age of Peter the Great until the abolition of serfdom (1861). During these one and a half centuries, a systematic and continuous cultural tradition in Classical studies was established in Russia, having contributed essentially to the world science by the discovery of a unique, remarkable and peculiar material culture of the ancient zone of contact between the Greek colonies of the northern Black Sea littoral and the neighbouring world of nomads. Having begun as an activity for amateurs, Russian Classical science became a kind of "ground" for ideas which contributes to the discipline's structure, and developed the apparatus that gave birth to training of the first professionals brought together from various specialised scientific centres.

Towards the middle of the 19th century, scholars had realised that archaeological data should take priority over armchair interpretation of isolated and contradictory written sources concerning the northern coasts of the Pontos: "it is not with a book, with an ancient author in our hands, that we must study these countries, but by excavations at the already identified sites we will confirm or disprove our assumptions", A.S. Uvarov wrote.⁵⁶ Antiquarians of that period understood that excavations, uncovering not only archaeological, but also epigraphic and numismatic material, served to expand the source base of the historical science. They came to the conclusion

that archaeological evidence increased the informative capacity of other kinds of data, serving as a criterion for the reliability of the ancient literary tradition, supplementing the information and making possible reciprocal cross-dating together with epigraphic and numismatic evidence. It is not surprising that during that period archaeological knowledge proved to be poorly differentiated from the historical kind. Archaeological data including inscriptions and coins served chiefly to supplement and to illustrate the political history of the ancient states of the region.

The documents found in the course of the present study (including various maps, plans, drawings, and representations of antiquities) reflect the state of the material at the moment of its initial registration and are of a considerable value for modern Classical studies. This evidence clearly demonstrates how important it is to use archives in the investigation of the objects known for a long time, because many of the most significant (from the viewpoint of modern science) discoveries were made at the dawn of Russian Classical studies. Of great value are various copies, drawings and lists of epigraphic and numismatic finds. These are documents of primary importance and they demand a comparison with the published corpora of inscriptions and coins – publications of some inscriptions do not correspond with their actual state of preservation and provide incorrect information about their provenience; the lists and drawings of coins found in different archives enable us to identify more precisely the chronology of particular contexts, and they yield new evidence about the geographical and chronological links of the Black Sea littoral with other regions of the ancient Greek world. Notwithstanding the loss of many archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic monuments, it is possible for us to retrieve new information from the archives – it answers questions unresolved till now and at the same time poses new ones, opening further prospects for a retrospective reconstruction of the evidence revealed in the past centuries.

By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, with the development of the national school of history and philology, the science of Classical antiquities of the northern Black Sea region had become a considerable part of the finally “Russified” national Classical studies which had synthesised in full the achievements of Russian and West-European Classical philology, ancient history, archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, and the history of art. Through the efforts of several generations of scholars, Russian Classical studies achieved an unprecedented peak – “the golden age of Russian Classical studies” – in the late 19th to the early 20th centuries. Whilst our knowledge about the scholars of the “golden age” (V. Latyšev, M. Rostovcev, B. Farmakovskij et al.) is fairly complete, the activities of those who had prepared this flowering of the scientific thought had until recently remained in the dark.

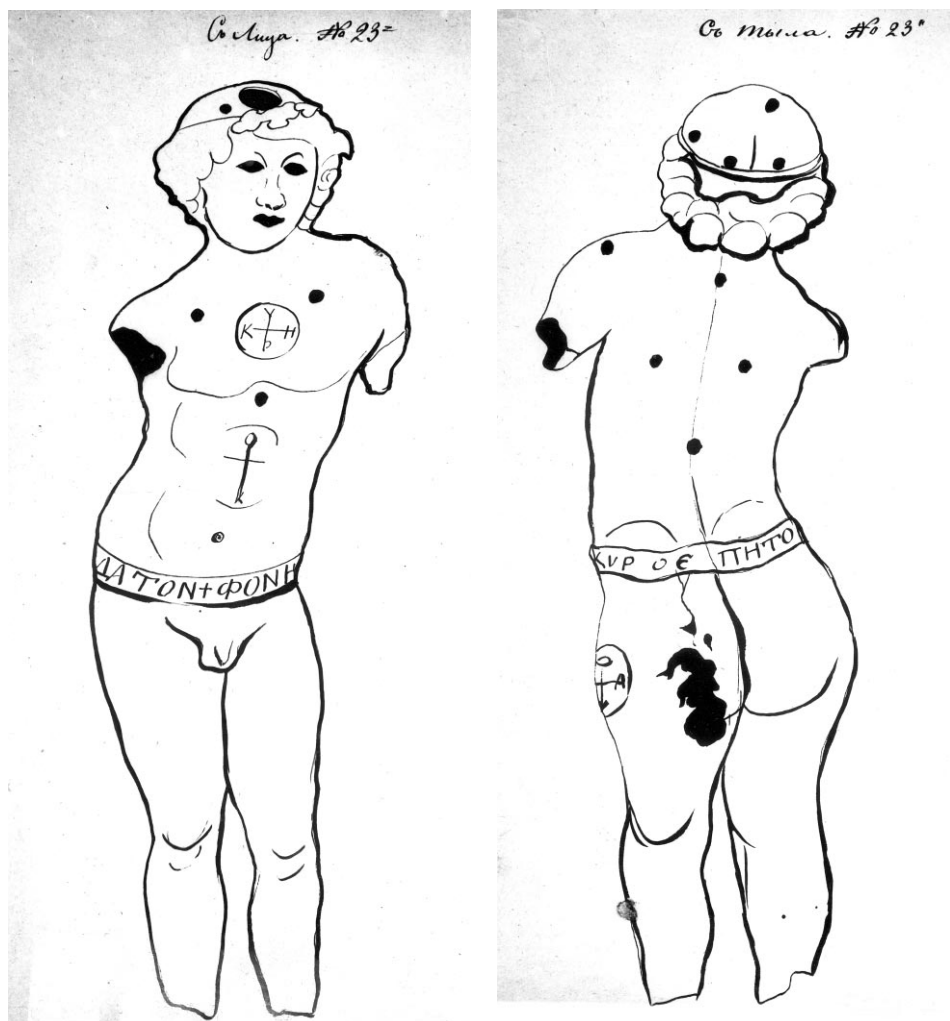


Fig. 32. Classical bronze figurine of Dionysos with a Greek inscription of the Byzantine period and Christian monograms. Height 0.5 arshins (c. 36 cm). The statuette was found in the area eroded by the waters of the Manych River at the Knjažij Kurgan near the village of Manyčskaja on the left bank of the Don above Aksai. A description of the figurine was published by L.E. Stephani: *Otčet Imperatorskoj Archeologičeskoj komissii za 1867 g.* p. 41 ff. Atlas. Plate 1, no. 4. The inscriptions were published in: *Latyšev 1896*, 121-122, no. 116. A drawing of 1850 for "Zapiski o mestnostjach v Vojske Donskom i večestvennostjach tam otkryvaemych, zasluživajuščich vnimanija antikvariev i istorikov. S prisovokupleniem predanij" by the Don student of local lore and history A.A. Martynov (1777-1865). Institute of Manuscript of the V.I. Vernadskij National Library of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (IR NBU), V, 632, sheets 243-244. First publication.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Academician M.I. Rostovcev took advantage of the ideas proposed by J.A. Stempkovskij in the first research programme of the Russian science of Classical antiquities of the northern Black Sea region (1823). The studies of antiquarians of the first third of the 19th century, who succeeded in correctly understanding the chief tasks of the scientific investigation of ancient sites of the Black Sea area won high praise in a number of Rostovcev's works. As a matter of fact, the programme of Stempkovskij-Rostovcev is still valid. Its principal task – the creation of composite fundamental corpora of all kinds of evidence: literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological (*Corpus nummorum Russiae meridionalis*, *Corpus tumulorum Russiae meridionalis*, etc.)⁵⁷ remains, however, only half complete almost two centuries later. The tragedy of Russian science is in fact that its progress was forcibly interrupted by the historical cataclysms of the 20th century.

Notes

1. The study has been carried out with financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, project 03-06-80074.
2. The author's summary of Tunkina 2002.
3. Tunkina 1998, 12-26.
4. Tunkina 2002, 48-52, 564-570.
5. Blavatskij 1953, 38, fig. 13.
6. Ščeglov & Tunkina 1996, 27-29.
7. Koehler 1805.
8. Koehler 1822.
9. Blaramberg 1822b.
10. Tunkina 2002, 452-472, 627-630, 643-644.
11. Leont'ev 1851, 72.
12. Koehler 1826, 771.
13. Stempkovskij 1827b, 65-70.
14. Koeppen 1823a; 1823b.
15. Koeppen 1837.
16. Dubois de Montpéroux 1839-1843a; 1843b.
17. Stempkovskij 1827b, 40-72.
18. Dubrux 1858.
19. Cavignet, Ramos & Schiltz 2000.
20. Koehler 1823a; 1823b.
21. Ašik 1845.
22. Ašik 1848-1849.
23. Leont'ev 1851, 96.
24. Rostovcev 1993, 31-32.
25. Stritter 1771-1779.
26. Siestrenczewicz de Bohusz 1800.
27. Potocki 1796a; Potocki 1796b; 1802; 1805a.
28. Potocki 1805b.
29. Latyschew 1893-1906.
30. Tunkina 1999, 273-287.
31. Koehler 1823a; 1823b.

32. Latyshev 1885-1916; 1896.
33. Tunkina 2002, 348-354.
34. Tunkina 2002, 464-470, 517-519, 543-544, 579-582.
35. Šelov 1956, 6.
36. Koehler 1850; 1853.
37. Stempkovsky 1822.
38. Stempkovsky 1827a.
39. Stempkovsky 1829.
40. Tunkina 2002, 367-369.
41. Mionnet 1807, 2, 366 ff.; 1829.
42. Murzakewicz 1835; 1841.
43. Spasskij 1846.
44. Sabatier 1849.
45. Sibirsky 1859.
46. Blaramberg 1822a.
47. Koehne 1848.
48. Leont'ev 1851, 84.
49. Koehne 1856.
50. Buračkov 1884.
51. Bertier de la Garde 1907.
52. Tunkina 1997, 90; 2002, 372, n. 328.
53. Zograf 1951, 21.
54. Rostovcev 1993, 30.
55. Rostovcev 1925, 258.
56. Uvarov 1856, 139.
57. Rostovcev 1993, 28-32.

Bibliography

- Ašik, A.B. 1845. *Kerčenskie drevnosti: O pantikapejskoj katakombe, ukrašennoj freskami*. Odessa.
- Ašik, A.B. 1848-1849. *Vosporskoe carstvo s ego paleografičeskimi i nadgrobnyimi pamjatnikami, raspisnymi vazami, planami, kartami i vidami 1-3*. Odessa.
- Bertier de la Garde, A.L. *Popravki obščego kataloga monet P.O. Buračkova*. Moskva.
- Blaramberg, J. 1822a. *Choix des médailles antiques d'Olbiopolis ou Olbia faisant partie du cabinet de Blaramberg à Odessa*. Paris.
- Blaramberg, J. 1822b. *Notices sur quelques objets d'antiquité, découverts en Tauride dans un Tumulus, près du site de l'ancienne Panticapée*. Paris.
- Blavatskij, V.D. 1953. *Zemledelie v antičnych gosudarstvach Severnogo Pričernomor'ja*. Moskva.
- Buračkov, P.O. 1884. *Obščij katalog monet, prinadležaščich ellinskim kolonijam, suščestvovašim v drevnosti na severnom beregu Černogo morja, v predelach nynešnej Južnoj Rossii 1*. Odessa.
- Cavignet, J.P., E. Ramos & V. Schiltz, 2000. Paul Du Brux, Koul-Oba et les Scythes: presence de Paul Du Brux dans les archives françaises, *Journal des savants* 2, 323-374.
- Dubois de Montpéreux, F. 1839-1843a. *Voyage autour de Caucase, chez les*

- Tcherkesses et les Abkases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Crimée* 1-6. Paris.
- Dubois de Montpéreux, F. 1843b. *Voyage au Caucase, chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée. Atlas.* Neuchatel-Paris.
- Dubrux, P. 1858. Opisanie razvalin i sledov drevnich gorodov i ukreplenij, nekogda suščestvovavšich na evropejskom beregu Bospora Kimmerijskogo, ot vchoda v proliv bliz Enikal'skogo majaka do gory Opuk vključitel'no, pri Černom more, *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 4.1, 3-84.
- Koehler, H.K.E. 1805. *Dissertation sur le monument de la reine Comosarye.* St-Pétersbourg.
- Koehler, H.K.E. 1822. *Zwei Aufschriften der Stadt Olbia.* St Petersburg.
- Koehler, H.K.E. 1823a. Remarques sur un ouvrage intitulé: Antiquités grecques du Bosphore Cimmérien, in: H.K.E. Koehler, *Serapis* vol. I. St Petersburg, 232-234.
- Koehler, H.K.E. 1823b. Beurtheilung einer Schrift: Alterthuemer am Nordgestade des Pontus, in: H.K.E. Koehler, *Serapis* vol. II. St Petersburg, 5-44.
- Koehler, H.K.E. 1826. Mémoire sur les îles et la course consacrées à Achille dans le Pont-Euxin, *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.Pétersbourg*, 6^e sér., 10, 531-820.
- Koehler, H.K.E. 1850, 1853. *Gesammelte Schriften* 1-2, 6. St Petersburg.
- Koehne, B.K. 1848. *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Archaeologie von Chersonesos in Taurien.* St Petersburg.
- Koehne, B.K. 1856-1857. *Description de la musée de feu du prince Basile Kotchubey et recherches sur l'histoire des colonies grecques en Russie* 1-2. St-Pétersbourg.
- Koepfen, P. 1823a. *Alterthuemer am Nordgestade des Pontus.* Wien.
- Koepfen, P. 1823b. *Olbisches Psephisma zu Ehren des Protogenes.* Wien.
- Koepfen, P. 1837. *Krymskij sbornik: O drevnostjach Južnogo berega Kryma i gor Tavričeskich.* St Peterburg.
- Latyshev, B. 1885-1916. *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae* I-II, IV, F. Petropoli.
- Latyschew, B. 1893-1906. *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis collegit et cum versione Rossica.* Petropoli.
- Latyšev, V. 1896. *Sbornik grečeskich nadpisej christianskich vremen iz Južnoj Rossii.* St Peterburg.
- Leont'ev, P.M. 1851. Obzor issledovanij o klassičeskich drevnostjach severnogo berega Černogo morja, in: *Propilei: Sbornik statej po klassičeskoj drevnosti, izdavaemyj P. Leont'evym* 1.2. Moskva, 67-101.
- Mionnet, T.E. 1807, 1829. *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines* 2. *Médailles grecques*, Suppl. 4. Paris.

- Murzakewicz, N. 1835. *Descriptio nummorum veterum Graecorum atque Romanorum, qui inveniuntur in museo N.M., ordine geographico et chronologico desposita tabulisque lithographicis ornatè*. Odessae.
- Murzakewicz, N. 1841. *Descriptio musei publici Odessani* 1. Odessae.
- Potocki, J. 1796a. *Mémoire sur un Nouveau Périple du Pont Euxin, ainsi que sur la plus ancienne histoire des peuples du Taurées, du Caucase et de la Scythie*. Vienne.
- Potocki, J. 1796b. *Fragments historiques et géographiques sur la Scythie, la Sarmatie et les Slaves*. Brunswick.
- Potocki, J. 1802. *Histoire primitive des peuples de la Russie, avec une exposition complète de toutes les notions, locales, nationales et traditionnelles, nécessaires à l'intelligence du quatrième livre d'Hérodote*. St-Pétersbourg.
- Potocki, J. 1805a. *Histoire ancienne des provinces de l'Empire de Russie*. St-Pétersbourg.
- Potocki, J. 1805b. *Atlas archéologique de la Russie Européenne*. St-Pétersbourg.
- Rostovcev, M. 1925. *Skifija i Bospor: Kritičeskoe obozrenie pamjatnikov literaturnych i archeologičeskich*. Petrograd.
- Rostovcev, M. 1993. Klassičeskie i skifskie drevnosti severnogo poberež'ja Černogo morja, *Peterburgskij archeologičeskij vestnik* 5, 25-38.
- Sabatier, J. 1849. *Souvenirs de Kertsch et chronologie du royaume de Bosphore*. St-Pétersbourg.
- Siestrencewicz de Bohusz, S. 1800. *Histoire du Royaume de la Chersonèse Taurique. Histoire de la Tauride* 1-2. Brunswick.
- Ščeglov, A.N. & I.V. Tunkina 1996. Iz istorii izučeniija antičnogo kul'turnogo landšafta v Krymu (konec 18-pervaja polovina 20 v.), in: *Tradicii rossijskoj archeologii*. St Peterburg, 27-29.
- Šelov, D.B. 1956. *Monetnoe delo Bospora 6-2 vv. do n.e.* Moskva.
- Sibirsky, A.A. 1859. *Catalogue des médailles du Bosphore-Cimmérien, précédé d'études sur l'histoire et les antiquités de ce pays* 1 (1-re partie). St-Pétersbourg.
- Spasskij, G. 1846. *Der Kimmerische Bosporus mit seinen Alterthuemern und Denkwuerdigkeiten*. Moskau.
- Stempkovsky, J. 1822. Notice sur les médailles de Rhadaméadis, roi inconnu du Bospore-Cimmérien, découvertes en Tauride en 1820, in: *Antiquités grecques du Bosphore-Cimmérien publiées et expliquées par M. Raoul-Rochette*. Paris, 218-235.
- Stempkovsky, J. 1827a. *Médaille de Mithridate III, roi du Bosphore-Cimmérien et de la reine Gépaeiris*. Odessa.
- Stempkovskij I. 1827b. Mysli odnositel'no izyskanija drevnostej v Novorossijskom krae, *Otečestvennye zapiski* 29, 81, 40-72.
- Stempkovsky, J. 1829. Médaille de Pharéantzès, ancien roi du Bosphore-Cimmérien, *Journal d'Odessa*, 18/20 sept., N 75, 328.
- Stritter, J.G. 1771-1779. *Memoriae populorum, olim ad Danubium, Pontum*

- Euxinum, Paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium et inde magis ad septentriones incolentium et scriptoribus historiae Byzantinae erutae et digestae. Petropoli.*
- Tunkina, I.V. 1997. M.I. Rostovcev i Rossijskaja Akademija nauk, *Skifskij roman*. Moskva, 84-123.
- Tunkina, I.V. 1998. Pervyj issledovatel' skifskich kurganov: K biografii A.P. Mel'gunova (1722-1788), *Očerki istorii otečestvennoj archeologii* 2. Moskva, 12-26.
- Tunkina, I.V. 1999. V.V. Latyšev: Žizn' i učenje trudy (po materialam rukopisnogo nasledija), in: *Rukopisnoe nasledie russkich vizantinistov v archivach Sankt-Peterburga*. St Peterburg, 172-288.
- Tunkina, I.V. 2002. *Russkaja nauka o klassičeskich drevnostjach juga Rossii (XVIII-seredina XIX v.)*. St Peterburg.
- Uvarov, A.S. 1853-1856. *Issledovanija o drevnostjach Južnoj Rossii i beregov Černogo morja* 1-2. St Peterburg.
- Zograf, A.N. 1951. *Antičnye monety* (MatIsslA, 16). Moskva-Leningrad.