

New Data on the Panhellenic Achilles Sanctuary on the Tendra Spit (Excavation of 1824) ¹

by I. V. Tunkina *

Ancient mythological tradition associated several places on the northern Black Sea coast with the cult of Achilles. One of such highly worshipped places was a panhellenic sanctuary on the north extremity of the Tendra Spit, known to ancient authors as the Achilles' stadium (*dromos Achilleos*). The question of its localization has interested many Russian researchers. At the beginning of the 19th century, earl Jan Potockij wondered whether Achilles' stadium was situated: on the Kinburn Peninsula or to the south, on the lower sandy Tendra Spit?^{2?}

From ancient times down to the middle of the 19th century, sailing between the Crimea and the north-western Black Sea coast was very dangerous because of the absence of a lighthouse on Tendra. Navigation manuals, periodicals and archive documents of the 18th-19th centuries testify to that³. According to navigation manuals, shipwrecks on Tendra usually occur in autumn, in October or early in November. In 1824-1827, by initiative of the vice-admiral A. S. Greig, the chief commander of the Black Sea Navy and Harbours, a stone lighthouse was built on the north extremity of the Tendra Spit.

In summer 1824, the captain-lieutenant N. D. Kritskij, aboard the corvette "Jason", was conducting a hydrographic description of the Black Sea coast from Odessa to Sebastopol. A group of military seamen under his command excavated a part of a hillock on the north extremity of the Tendra Spit and found fragments of marble reliefs, an amphora, fragments of ceramics with graffiti, and a lot of ancient coins. The seamen commanded by midshipman K. M. Navrotskij, who were building the lighthouse, and the Cossacks of the quarantine guard also took part in excavations. During the year 1824, N. D. Kritskij was on

Tendra twice. Moreover, he was sent there for the second time specifically to search for antiquities.

The reports on the discovery of 1824 are based on the articles from 1820s. However, the information provided in the articles raises many questions as it presents numerous contradictions. The place of the excavations was mistakenly identified with the point where the lighthouse was raised. Therefore, from 1848 right up to this day, many archaeologists unsuccessfully tried to find there the traces of Achilles' sanctuary. On-site investigations of the Tendra Spit in the 20th century and fruitless search of traces of the excavations of 1824 have led some scholars to the conclusion that the ancient settlements never existed on the Tendra-Jaryl'gach Spits, and that the reports on the antiquities found there were no more than an archaeological legend⁴. I succeeded in finding the archival documents of the early years of the 19th century, which disprove the statements of the sceptics and confirm the discovery of Achilles' sanctuary on Tendra.

Being informed about the finds of the captain Kritskij, the governor-general of Novorossia and Bessarabia, earl M. S. Vorontzoff, sent the college registrar Buchholtz to Tendra with an order to forbid unauthorized excavations, to station a guard at the place, to gather all the finds, and to organize a topographic description of the place⁵. The objects found were dispatched to M. S. Vorontzoff in Odessa.

The finds drew the attention of the antiquarians I. A. Stempkovskij and I. P. Blaramberg from Odessa and of the academician Koehler from St. Petersburg. The first published report about the discovery was made by I. A. Stempkovskij⁶. He wrote that most of the antiquities were found in a tumulus, that was excavated during the construction of the lighthouse. The antiquarian paid special attention to the uniqueness of the sanctuary with regard to the number of coins found – about 800, some of which were previously unknown to specialists up to then, for example the

* The Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

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² Potocki 1804, 21.

³ *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*, 382; "Zamechanija o brige Larshe", 129-130; Pavlovskij 1867, 65-67; GAOO, f. 1, op. 16-1866, d. 113: "O sevshikh na mel' chetyrekh inostrannykh sudakh vozle ostrova Tendry" (About four foreign ships run aground near the island of Tendra).

⁴ Fabricius 1927, 15.

⁵ GAOO, f. 1, op. 1824-190, d. 61.

⁶ Stempkovskij 1825a, 336-338; 1825b, 506; 1826, 208, 367, note 32; 1827, 55-56.

autonomous coins of Tyras and coins of several kings of Bosphorus. Stempkovskij underlined the importance of the numismatic finds for the study of trade contacts along the northern Black Sea coast in Antiquity. Most of the coins belonged to the Greek cities of Pontos Euxeinos, Asia Minor and of the Aegean islands. Stempkovskij believed that envoys from different regions of the Greek world assembled on Tendra for the holy celebrations in honour of Achilles, which ended with the introduction of Christianity in Gothia. 'It's a pity', he wrote, 'that all these precious remains are now scattered and are in many hands, and for this reason no one can do a full and detailed description of them'.

I. P. Blaramberg was also engaged in studying the finds from Tendra⁷. Relying on the texts of ancient authors, he came to the conclusion that the Achilleos Dromos had been situated on Tendra, and not on the Kinburn Spit, as it was supposed by some scholars. According to Blaramberg, the antiquities were found at the foot of a hill consisting of ashes mixed with earth. He believed that the hill was a tumulus. According to him, the excavations were done only till the level of the modern surface. The coins and other objects found there were considered by the antiquarian to be offerings to Achilles. Blaramberg thought that there was there an altar in the open air or a temple dedicated to the hero, similar to those that were erected in Olbia and on the Berezan island. The Greek inscriptions found on Tendra were published by A. Boeckh from the copies of Blaramberg (*CIG*, II, No 2096, b, c, d, e, f).

On the 31st of August 1825, the academician from St. Petersburg H. K. E. Koehler presented to the Academy his research on the islands and the Stadium (dromos) dedicated to Achilles in the Pontos Euxeinos. The academician thought that a sacred grove dedicated to him was situated not in the northern extremity of the Tendra Spit, but on the Kinburn Spit. In his opinion, no Greek settlement ever existed on the site of Achilleos Dromos. Concerning the excavations of 1824, Koehler reports that in one of his letters vice-admiral A. S. Greig provided him with a description of the objects found and sent a few coins for the Hermitage Münz-cabinet. Koehler believed that the objects had been found in a tumulus, and not in a temple or any other structure, which in his opinion never existed on the site of the Achilleos Dromos. He considered the bas-reliefs to be the remains of a frieze of an Achilles' temple on Leuke island, which had been transported to the Tendra Spit at some point. Koehler subjected many theses of I. A. Stempkovskij's article to a

sharp and for the most part groundless criticism. He believed that no celebrations in honour of Achilles could have been held on the Spit. According to Koehler, it is impossible to determine the date of the monument, apart from the fact that it was erected no later than the 4th century AD. It is not clear either whether the coins were found on the top or at the foot of the tumulus, or whether they were extracted from a funeral chamber. Koehler suggested two possible explanations, which now seem absolutely impossible: 1) the coins belonged to a man who died by the end of the 4th century AD; 2) the main tomb belonged to a considerably earlier period, and an owner of the coins, a numismatist-collector of the antique period, buried his 'collection', or he himself was buried there at the end of the 4th century AD⁸.

In his letter from the 31st of January 1826, Koehler, relying on these mistaken assumptions, questioned A. S. Greig on the circumstances of the discovery. The Vice-Admiral asked the initiator of the excavations, N. D. Kritskij, to answer the following questions of the scholar from St. Petersburg: '1. What was the height and diameter of the discovered tumulus? 2. Was there a chamber or tomb inside it? 3. What else was found? 4. Were gold or silver coins discovered? 5. Did metal or ceramic vessels contain bronze coins? 6. Were the coins found in the burial chamber or in the mound itself?'⁹ On the 17th of March 1826, N. D. Kritskij answered with a detailed 'Description of a tumulus, discovered on Tendra'¹⁰, with an enclosed drawing of a tile bearing a Christian inscription (see below and fig. 1), and sent H. K. E. Koehler 12 small objects¹¹.

Thanks to Kritskij's report, it is now possible to describe the location of the 'tumulus', its appearance before excavations, its dimensions and its structure. Two coordinates from the document localize the excavations of 1824. The first one is the indication that the 'tumulus' was located on the eastern side of the north extremity of the Spit at a distance of about 2.1 km from a stone lighthouse, built in 1824-1827 on the western side of the Peninsula. The lighthouse is situated 4.2 km from the northern extremity of the Spit. The second coordinate is the localization of the 'tumulus' c. 43 m from the eastern side of the Spit. It was small, low and looked like 'an inverted tea saucer'¹². The perimeter of the mound was about 53 m and its height about 95 cm. Therefore, the diameter of the mound was about 17 m.

⁸ Koehler 1826, 614-627.

⁹ RGAVMF, f. 243, op. 1, d. 1928, l. 1-1 ob.

¹⁰ AGE, f. 1, op. 1-1826, d. 16, l. 62-64; f. 11, op. 1, d. 5.

¹¹ RGAVMF, f. 243, op. 1, d. 1927, l. 20.

¹² Novejšie izvestija ob ostrove Tendre 1828, 84-85.

⁷ Blaramberg 1825, 349-364; 1828, 17-19; 1848, 18.

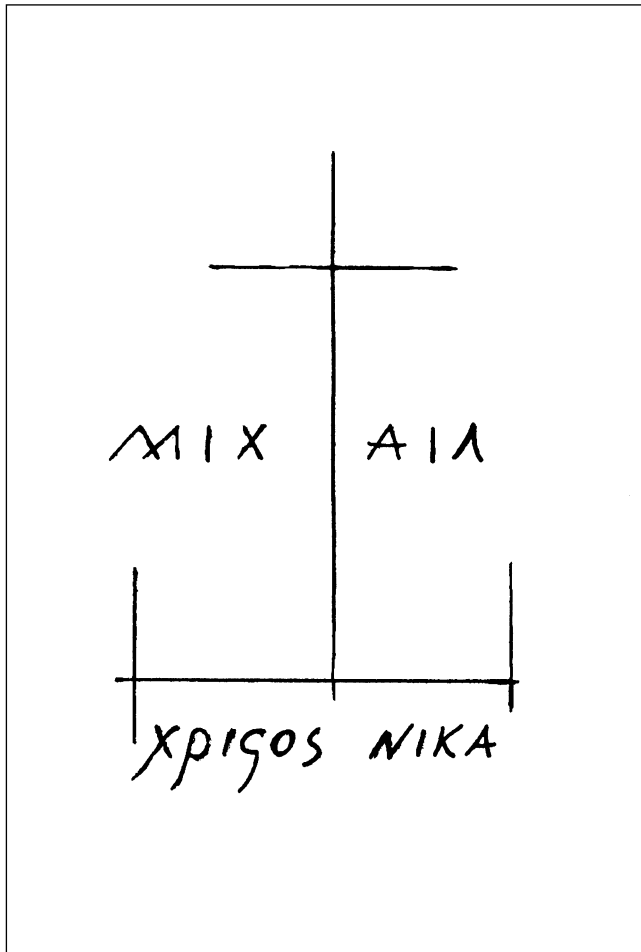


Fig. 1 : Tile with a Christian inscription. Drawing by N. D. Kritskij.

The excavated earth included decomposed organic substances and sandy soil. During the excavation the earth was sifted. A small amount of ash and coal was found in a fireplace. In Kritskij's opinion, the monument represented a Greek sanctuary in the form of a small, adobe structure. At the foot of the 'tumulus' two smooth bricks were found. Isolated tiles were also found. The excavators discovered about 1.200 coins, including a hundred or more silver coins, but there were no gold ones. The coins were poured in a vessel and were not lying in one heap – they were found everywhere, over the whole surface of the 'tumulus', in the process of sieving the earth. The coins were preserved in a very good condition. Kritskij writes that if he had not taken part in the excavation, he wouldn't have believed that the coins were so old.

The following objects were also found there: a human tomb with entrance, probably dating to the Christian period, a tile with an image of the cross and a Greek graffito

'Christos the Victor' and 'Michael' (fig. 1), five crosses (one in lead of about 8.9 cm in size, three copper slightly smaller, one amber even smaller), and some small pieces (Kritskij does not specify exactly of what kind).

The Tendra finds were dispersed into private collections, an insignificant part finding its way into state museums. Some antiquities came into the private collections of M. S. Vorontzoff (marble pieces, ceramic fragments with graffiti, coins), I. A. Stempkovskij (coins), A. I. Levshin (coins), N. P. Rumyantsev (coins), I. P. Blaramberg (marble pieces, inscriptions, fragments of ceramics with graffiti, coins). The midshipman Navrotskij, who participated in the excavations on Tendra, sold 192 coins to the Cabinet (Office) of the Rarities of the Black Sea Map Depot in Nikolaev¹³; in the 1840s, these coins were handed to the Museum of the Society of History and Antiquities of Odessa with the greater part of the Depot collections¹⁴. In May 1826, Navrotskij made a donation of 60 Tendra coins to the Imperial Academy of Sciences¹⁵. They joined the collection of coins of the Hermitage Museum, where the collection of Stempkovskij and partly that of Blaramberg / S. de Chaudoir arrived later (1835 and 1838). The collection of earl N. P. Rumyantsev is now kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow. After 1917, M. S. Vorontzoff's numismatic and archaeological collection went to different depositories – to the regional museums of Yalta in the Crimea, to the A. S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. However, it is now impossible to identify the coins from Tendra among these collections, because while at that time coins were described with respect to the place of their mint and to their type of metal, as a rule no place of finding was mentioned.

Most of the antiques from Blaramberg's collection passed down (1825) or were sold (1828-1834) to the Odessa City's Museum of Antiquities, which in 1858 merged with the Odessa Museum of the Society of History and Antiquities. During the Crimean War, the collections of the city's museum were partly prepared for evacuation, heavy slabs and statues being buried in the garden. As a result, some objects were lost and never formed a part of the museum's united collection. The inventory of the Odessa city's museum (1858) included four marble bas-relief fragments and two fragments with Greek inscriptions, as well as an amphora, found on the Tendra Spit. The catalogues of the

¹³ RGAVMF, f. 243, op. 1, d. 3486, l. 69-69 op.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, d. 4719, l. 7-7 op.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, d. 1945, l. 221-221 ob.; PFA RAN, f. 1, op. 1a, d. 37, l. 38 ob.; f. 1, op. 2-1826, d. 13, § 142, l. 1-2. Unfortunately, I failed to find a list of the coins, presented to the Academy of Sciences.

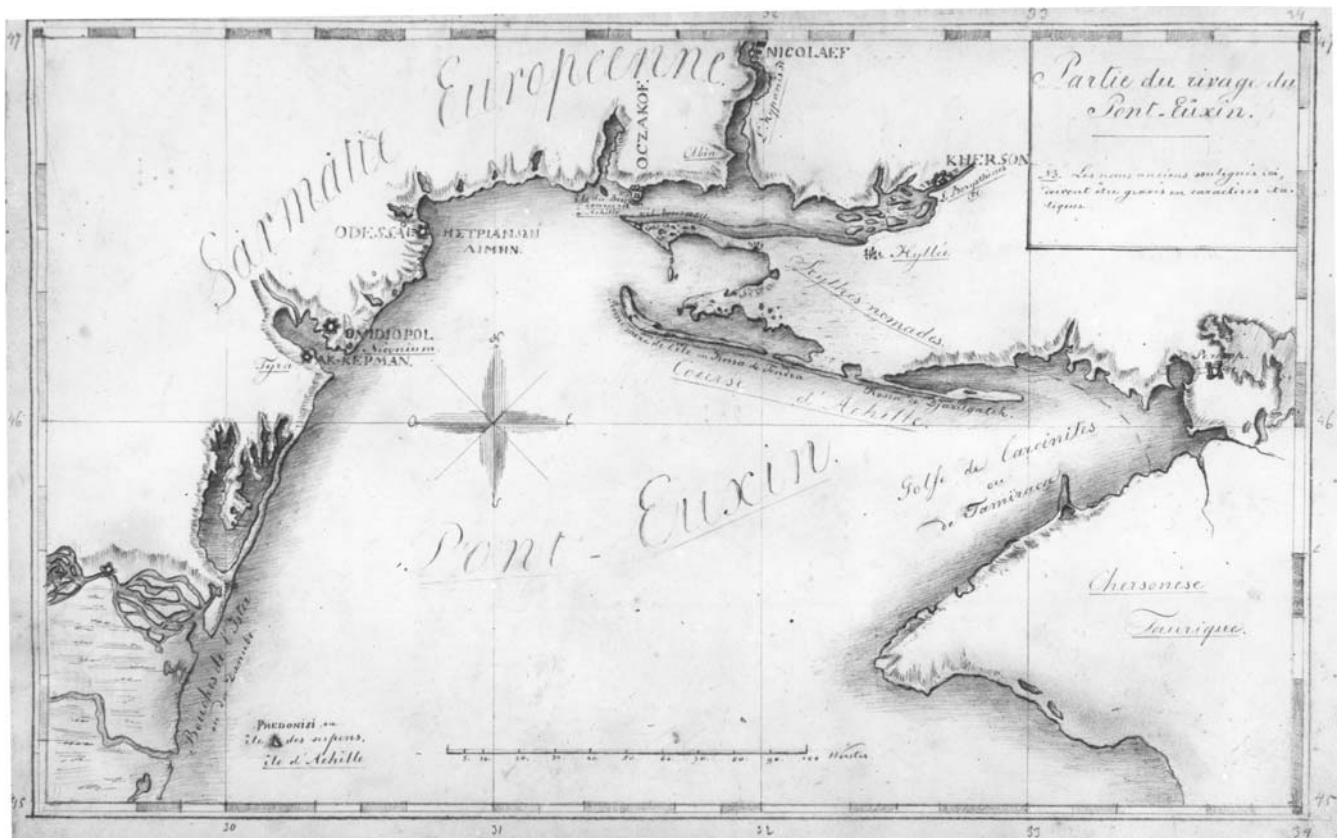


Fig. 2 : Map of the north-western Black Sea coast, by V. Blaramberg.

Museum of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities (1867) mention “a marble fragment with an image of Artemis with a doe” and “a marble fragment with an image of a horseman Castor (?)” from Tendra, which came from the Odessa City’s Museum of Antiquities. Thus, marble fragments and inscriptions from Tendra should be searched for in the collections of the Odessa Archaeological Museum of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences.

In 1994, among the personal papers of the Vorontzoff family, I found 5 plates of the original graphic sketches of several finds from Tendra and a map of the north-western Black Sea coast made by I. P. Blaramberg’s son, Vladimir (fig. 2, 3), as well as descriptions of the finds by I. P. Blaramberg¹⁶. Another set of the pencil drawings reproducing the Tendra finds was sent by Blaramberg to August Boeckh in Berlin. These drawings were found by Askold Ivantchik in 2005 in the archive of the project

¹⁶ RSA SPbII RAN, f. 36, op. 1, d. 780, l. 1-6 (“Mélanges Archéologiques. II Cahier”); d. 784, l. 1-17 op. (“Dissertation sur la course d’Achille [ΔΡΟΜΟΣ ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ] et sur l’île de Bérézan jadis consacrée à ce Héros”).

“Inscriptiones graecae” of the Academy of Berlin and Brandenburg¹⁷.

On plate I of Vorontzoff’s collection (no. 1 and 2, fig. 4) and plate 2 of Berlin collection, dedicatory inscriptions to Achilles are drawn. The first one, from the Roman period, is at the lower part of a marble relief depicting hoofs of sacrificial animals in front of an altar (*IOSPE*, I², 330). The second one is a graffito of a Bosphoran sailor with a dedication to Achilles and a thanksgiving for a successful end of his voyage, made on the sherd of an amphora, pithos or mortarium (*IOSPE*, I², 332). Both were part of M. S. Vorontzoff’s collection. Another piece of the same “clay vase of a rather large size” belonged to the collection of Blaramberg. On the same plate under no. 3 there is depicted “a fragment of a clay vase” with “a bunch of grapes in relief”.

¹⁷ I am very grateful to Askold Ivantchik for having informed me about this find and provided me with copies of these materials, as well as for the kind permission to include some of them in this publication. Askold Ivantchik is now preparing the full publication of the papers of Blaramberg stored in Berlin. I am also grateful to the head of the project “Inscriptiones Graecae” Klaus Haloff for his kind permission to publish these drawings.

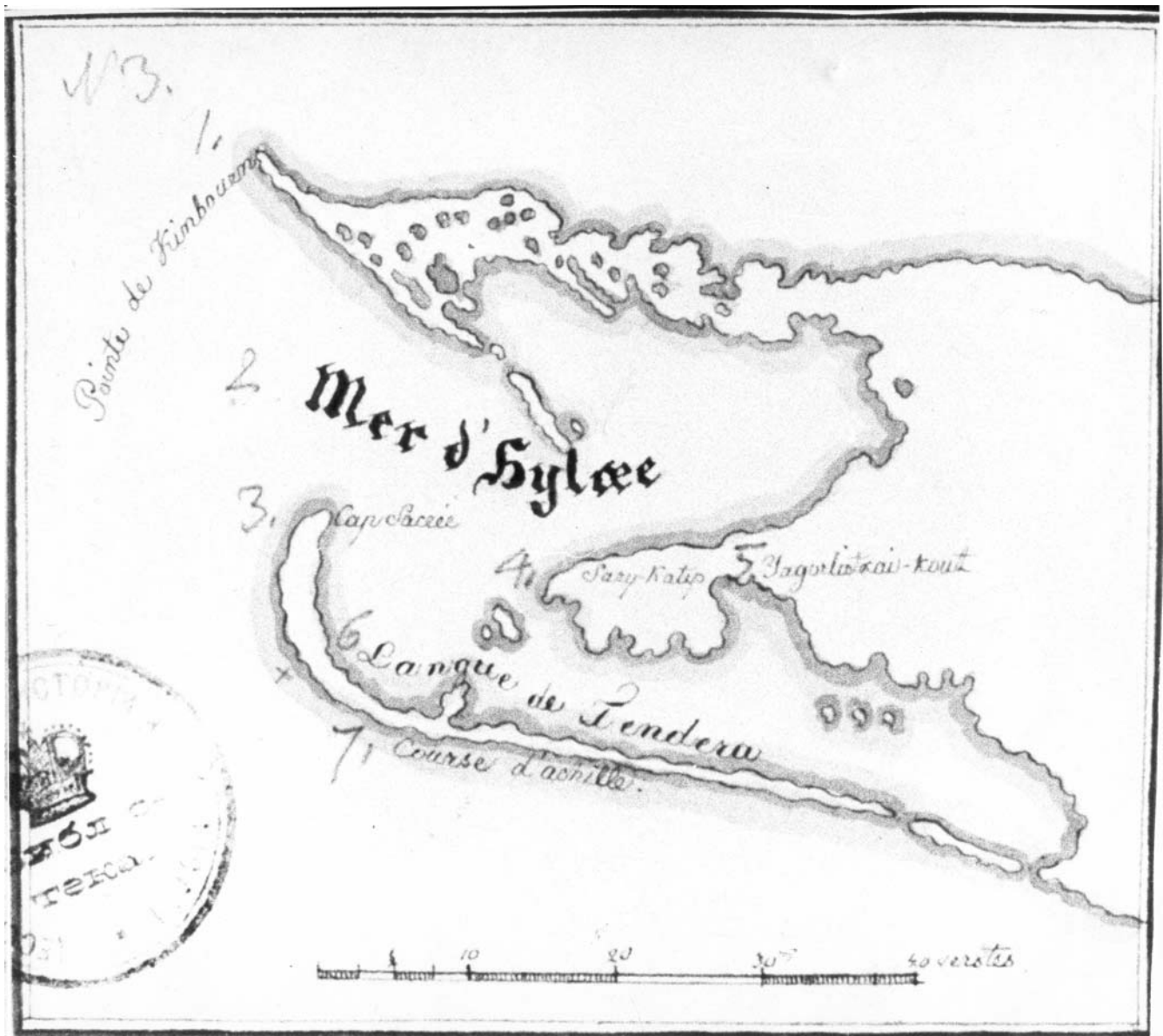


Fig. 3 : Map of the region of Tendra Spit, by V. Blaramberg.

This is probably a fragment of the lip of a red slip bowl or goblet with a relief, plated and barbotine decoration, which was manufactured in Asia Minor and can be dated to the first half of the 1st century AD. It was kept in M. S. Vorontzoff's private office. An amphora ("diota") is also depicted here (plate II, no. 1, fig. 5); it was later kept in the Museum of Antiquities in Odessa.

The name of Achilles is preserved on two fragments of stone objects, depicted on St. Petersburg plate II, no. 2 and 3 (fig. 5) and Berlin plate I. The first one represents an inscription with a thanksgiving dedication to Achilles for being saved (*IOSPE*, I², 329); it is engraved under a votive

marble relief from which only a small part of a peplos is preserved. The fragment belonged to M. S. Vorontzoff's collection. The inscription no. 3 is roughly cut out on a limestone slab (*IOSPE*, I², 328).

Stempkovskij writes that 'an image of Achilles himself, with a helmet on his head and a shield in the left hand' was cut on one of the marbles. Kritskij also describes 'three small fragments of a flat marble: one represented a warrior whose head was as big as half of the body, and a part of a shield; another fragment, the rest of the body, but the legs were broken off, and both these parts formed a single whole'. Both halves together were about half a metre in length. The third



Fig. 4-5 : Finds on Tendra Spit, plate I and II from Vorontzoff's archive.





Fig. 6 : Bas-relief found on Tendra Spit, plate 4 from Boeckh's archive.

piece is flat, 'from the best marble, but with broken head and legs' – torso, wrapped in a mantle. Unfortunately, pictures of these marbles are missing from St. Petersburg collection of Blaramberg's drawings. However, one of them is depicted on plate 4 of Berlin collection. It represents a marble bas-relief with an image of a warrior's head in a Corinthian helmet in profile to the right (fig. 6). The wavy hair and the right ear of the warrior are seen under the helmet. The warrior's torso is turned on 3/4 to the viewer. He is dressed in a cloak or tunic and takes a round shield with central handle in his left hand. The upper part of the relief was decorated with a pediment. The same plate contains a drawing of the inscriptions consisting in a dedication to the hero from a ship's pilot (*IOSPE*, I², 331).

Vorontzoff's collection included also a marble bas-relief with the image of a man's torso (plate III, no. 2, fig. 7). Another piece, from Blaramberg's office (plate III, no. 1, fig. 7, they are also represented on plate 3 from Berlin collection), is similar to the first one in its thickness and the quality of marble. They probably belonged to the same bas-relief. In Blaramberg's opinion, they represent two winners in the games in honour of Achilles. If the image reproduces exactly the proportions of the figures, the bas-relief should be dated to the 3rd century AD.

Only two coins are depicted, on St. Petersburg plate II, no. 4 and 5 (fig. 5) and on Berlin plate 5 (fig. 8). The first one is a brass (an alloy of copper and zinc according to the analyses by T. N. Smekalova) sesterce from the city of Tium representing the head of Faustina the Junior on one side and an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the other. The coin is now kept in the Numismatics Department of the State Hermitage, inventory no. 13835, weight 17.94 g. The second coin is a brass sesterce of Claudius that depicts "the goddess of Hope" and has an embossed mark of Tyras, which is also kept in the Hermitage, inventory no. 25020, weight 17.32 g. Both these coins are only represented in the Hermitage collection by single copies. In spite of the fact that their origin is missing in the inventory of the Hermitage, it can be stated that the coins were found on the Tendra Spit. The photographs of these coins are presented on the figs. 9 and 10. A comparison with the drawings of the coins on the plate of Blaramberg (fig. 5) shows that they are identical. These two coins were received by the Hermitage along with the collection of the baron Stanislav de Chaudoir, who bought a portion of Blaramberg's numismatic collection in Odessa.

It is evident that in 1824 the military seamen excavated a sanctuary, associated with the cult of Achilles¹⁸. It is testified by the dedicatory inscriptions on the marble or limestone slabs, on two of which the name of Achilles has been preserved. However, the formulae are different from the usual ones, as the epithet Ποντάρχης is not attested on them, probably because of their fragmentary state of preservation. Fragments of the marble bas-reliefs with images of Achilles and athletes, the horseman Castor (?), Artemis with a doe, about 1200 coins from 44 Greek cities, of Bosporan dynasts as well as of Roman emperors were also found. They represent gifts to the deity, by which sailors and merchants thanked the protector of Pontus for their successful travel and rescue on the most dangerous route in the Black Sea.

The sanctuary was an open air sacrificial place (heroon or altar) in the form of an earthen mound, described as 'a small structure' in adobe brick. It was a type of the simplest earthen altar. Similar altars are known in Greece, for example the altar of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia, in the form of an earthen mound (Paus. 8.38.7) or the altar in adobe brick at a stadium in Olympia (Paus. 6.20.11). According to I. P. Blaramberg,

¹⁸ Jurgevich 1886, 37; *IOSPE*, I², 328-332; Braun 1898, 106-108; Tolstoj 1918, 55-67; Rostovcev 1918, 188-189; Kublanov 1957, 221-231; Lejpuns'ka 1970, 60-73; Shcheglov 1972, 126-133; Rusjaeva 1975, 174-185; 1979, 137-138; Blavatskij 1978, 82; Otrshko 1979, 80-87; Agbunov 1987, 122-123.

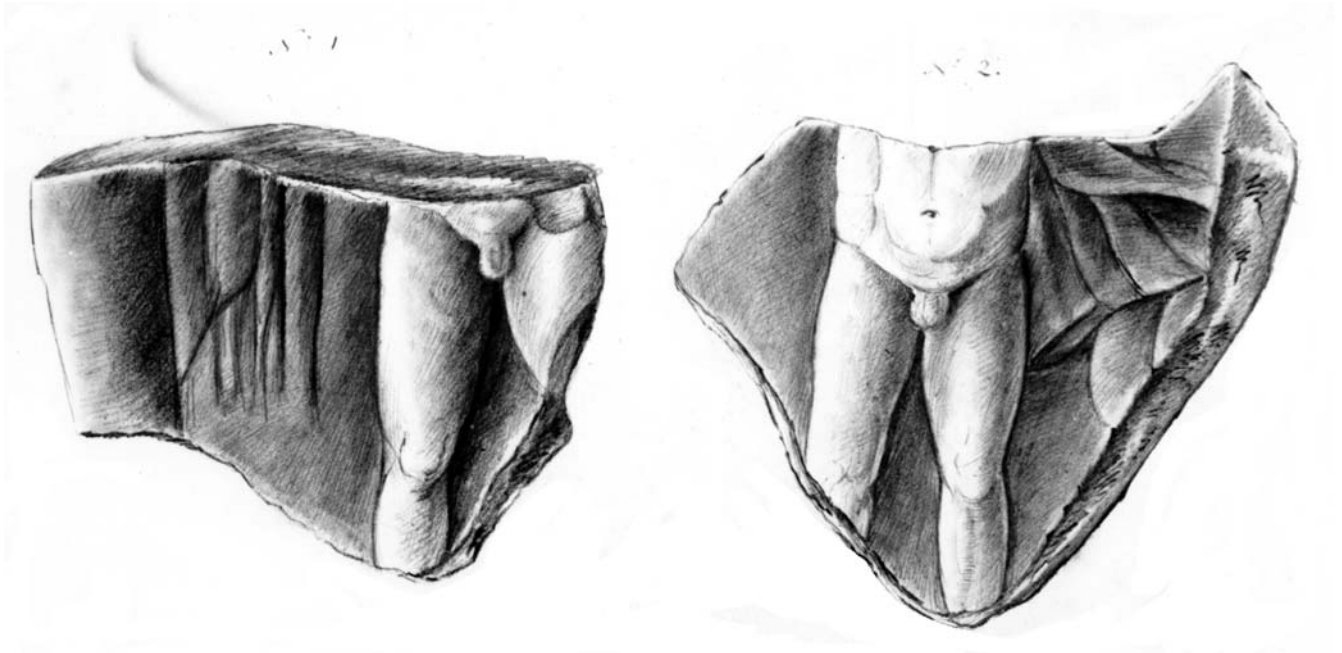


Fig. 7 : Finds on Tendra Spit, plate III from Vorontzoff's archive.



Fig. 8 : Coin of Tium found on Tendra Spit, plate 5, from Boeckh's archive.



Fig. 9 : Coin of Tium, State Hermitage, n° 13835.



Fig. 10 : Sesterce of Claudius, State Hermitage, n° 25020.

“the tumulus... was not excavated below the ground level” and all the objects were found in the mound. It is therefore possible to conclude that the excavation of the sanctuary was not fully completed and that it is necessary to carry out a supplementary archaeological study.

The coin finds on Tendra are remarkable not only because of their geographical and chronological variety, but also because of the number of coins found – approximately 1.200. A. N. Zograf noted that their geographical range is extraordinarily close to the list of coins, originating from the other cult centre of Achilles, that on the island of Leuke, and explained this by the wide popularity and the long prosperity of the sanctuary¹⁹. The latest Roman coin found at the Spit was minted under the rule of the emperor Valens and is dated accordingly to 364-378 AD. The dates of the coins cover the whole imperial period. Therefore, the sanctuary on Tendra functioned continuously for at least 600 years, from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD inclusive. The sanctuary at Leuke existed much longer, about 800 years. The list of the Tendra coins also includes several coins of the Byzantine period (two uncertain ones of the Eastern Roman Empire and one “silver” coin of Alexius I Comnenus, a scyphate billon coin (“stamen”) minted after a reform of the monetary system in 1092-1118). Thus, the sanctuary on Tendra was sporadically visited by Christians down to the beginning of the 12th century.

The scattered adobe bricks, which are mentioned by N. D. Kritskij, most probably belonged to the protecting wall of the sanctuary. This enclosure might have existed only for a short time, incomparable with the whole period of its functioning. During its long history, the altar must have changed several times its architectural form, which is corroborated by the discovery at the foot of the tumulus “of two stones, cleanly and smoothly polished”, as well as by the find of several marble bas-reliefs in the mound. It is possible that the bas-reliefs were a part of the altar adorning the top of the hill, similar to that of the altar of Zeus in Olympia. Kritskij especially stressed how rare were the fragments of tiles found on the site. The insignificant number of coals and ashes found testify that in all probability thanksgiving offerings to Achilles on Tendra were not of animal, but of vegetable origin, i. e. in the form of fruits, libations, and so on, as well as in the form of coins, being the most available ‘gift’ to the deity. They were probably heaped on a special platform, located on the hill. Most probably, no attendant was needed for the sanctuary – ceremonial acts may have

been carried out by the seamen themselves. It also seems likely that at some point in time the sanctuary was used as a lighthouse.

Thus, one of the most important ancient monuments of the northern Black Sea coast – the sanctuary of Achilles on the Tendra Spit, which not only was considered as being lost, but whose very existence had been called into question by some researchers – has now come back to life thanks to documents preserved in the archives.

Supplement: Coin finds on the Tendra Spit

Starting from list of coins of K.M. Navrotskij’s collection sold to Black Sea Map Depot in Nikolaev²⁰, I tried to reconstruct the content of this collection. I also compared this list with the list published by I. A. Stempkovskij²¹ and with the data of Blaramberg and of Kritskij. My purpose was to determine and more precisely define the chronological limits of the existence of this sacrificial site. M. I. Rostovtzeff already wrote that “the place of origin and date of coins, as well as the relative number of coins can be of decisive importance for answering the question on the time of the greatest prosperity of the sanctuary and on its relation to neighbouring cities”²².

I presented the following list to Professor P. O. Karyshkovskij (1921-1988) from the State University of Odessa, who studied it in 1988. He emphasized the excellent state of preservation of the coins, as well as the fact that the anonymous author of the coins’ inventory was very careful in its definitions and succeeded in differentiating the Roman imperial coins with indications of titles of Caesar and Augustus. Navrotskij’s list of coins, sold to the Cabinet of Rarities of the Black Sea Map Depot, supplements the data on the coin finds on Tendra reported by Stempkovskij and Blaramberg. Stempkovskij’s list, which does not give any numerical data, includes all the coins found, whereas Navrotskij’s list covers only those that he got from the Map Depot. However, it allows a better identification in some cases. In different records of the collections of the Depot the number of coins obtained from Navrotskij varies; I used the upper number. The identifications provided in Navrotskij’s list of coins were given according to the most authoritative

¹⁹ Zograf 1941, 153-154.

²⁰ “The third collection, purchased from the Navy lieutenant Navrotskiy, and found by him in the tumulus excavated on the island of Tendra”: RGAVMF, f. 243, op. 1, d. 4719, l. 7-8; d. 3486, l. 69-70, 52-52 op.

²¹ Stempkovskij 1826, 366, 369-370.

²² Rostovcev 1918, 183.

manual of that time, T. E. Mionnet's catalogue²³. In the beginning of the 19th century, the identification of the royal coins of Bosphorus strikingly differed from modern attributions. The list of Bosporan coins was therefore corrected by P. O. Karyshkovskij according to "The General Catalogue of Coins" of P. O. Burachkov. To make its use easier, I also quote references to N. A. Frolova's latest two-volume publication and to V. A. Anokhin's monograph in square brackets. The data on coins follows the documents of the Russian State Navy Archives (RGAVMF) and the articles of Stempkovskij and Blaramberg.

This list is supplemented by the enumeration of 9 "medals", given to Odessa City Museum of Antiquities by A. I. Levshin, which I found in August 2001, and which was compiled by the curator of the museum A. F. Spada, on the 5th of August 1834. According to these data, the coins were found on Tendra, and were most probably brought to Odessa by A. D. Nordman, Professor of Botany at Richelieu Lyceum. Spada's descriptions were quite chaotic: "1. A

copper medal, the emperor's head is to the right, the butting bull is to the left, a Greek inscription is quite imperceptible [possibly, the coin is from Tyras, Tauric Chersonesos, Heraclea Pontica or Chalcedon in Bithynia]; 2. A copper medal of the Eastern Roman Empire, quite effaced; 3. A bronze medal. The emperor's head is to the right, standing Victory is to the left. A Latin legend is illegible; 4. A bronze medal. The head of Lucius Verus (161-169). An imperial medal of good preservation, a Greek legend, half of which is effaced; 5. A bronze medal of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The head of Tiberius is to the right, the head of Sauromates I is to the left, fairly well preserved [Aspurgos; 37 g., *F. Ch. 1. Tab. XV, 9-13*]; 6. A copper medal of the Eastern Roman Empire, totally effaced; 7. A bronze medal of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, of Rheskuporis II, fairly well preserved [Rheskuporis II, son of Kotys (68-93), *F. Ch. 1, Tabl. XXXV, 12-15* [80-93, sesterce]; 8. A small copper medal, effaced; 9. A Roman silver medal. The head of Julius Caesar, of average preservation"²⁴.

Combined table of the coins found on the Tendra Spit in 1824²⁵

Navrotskij's list	The number of coins in the Map Depot	Stempkovskij	Kritskij	Attributions and literature
Olbia, copper	19	Sarmatia Olbia	Olbian	Olbia
		Tyras: 3 autonomous (face of Apollo — lyre, TYRA), 40 imperial	Tyras, in memory of victories of the Roman emperors	Tyras [<i>A. XXVI, 460</i> , copper, ca.180-170 BC]
Tauric Chersonesos, copper	18	Tauris Chersonesos	Chersonesos	Tauris Chersonesos
Bosporus, Pantikapaion, copper	1	Bosporus Pantikapaion		Bosporus Pantikapaion
Caesarea, copper	4	Bithynia Caesarea		Pantikapaion, <i>Z. XLV, 12</i> (obolus?, 14-8 BC) [<i>F., Ch. 1, pl. II-III, 1-7</i> ; late 1 st cent. BC]
		Bosporus Phanagoria	Phanagoria, in memory of victories of the Roman emperors	Phanagoria, probably, the city's coinage of the time of Asander's rule 21/20 BC [<i>F., Ch. 1, IIIa, 16-18</i>]

²⁴ GAOO, f. 93, op. 2, d. 1, l. 307-307 ob.

²⁵ Abbreviations used in the table: A: Anokhin 1989; B: Burachkov 1884; Bern.: Bernhart 1926; BMC: Wroth 1908; F: Frolova 1997; Z: Zograf 1951.

²³ Mionnet 1807, 2, 366 sq.

Agrippia, copper	5	Bithynia Agrippia	Agrippia, copper	Bosporus Phanagoria Z. <i>XLV</i> , 14 (obolus?, 14-8 BC) [<i>F. Ch. 1. III</i> , 8-25 - <i>IV</i> ; 17/16 BC - 13 AD]
Emperor Tiberius and Rheskuporis II, copper	1	Various kings of Bosporus	Bosporus	Aspurgos (23(?) - 37) <i>B. XXVI</i> , 84-86 [<i>F. Ch. 1, XIII</i> , 20-21, <i>XIV-XV</i> , 1-13]
Caligula and Rheskuporis II, copper	1		Rheskuporis	Rheskuporis II, son of Kotys I (68-93), <i>B. XXVIII</i> , 132
Mithradates III, copper	1		Mithradates III	Mithridates III (35-45) <i>B. XXVI</i> , 89-91 [<i>F. Ch. 1, XIX</i> , 9-18, <i>XX-XXII</i> , 11]
Queen Hypoperis, copper	3		Hypoperis	Gèpaipyris (37-38) <i>B. XXVI</i> , 94 [<i>F. Ch. 1, XVIII-XIX</i> , 1-8]
Kotys I, copper	5		Kotys	Kotys I (45-68) <i>B. XXVII</i> , 107-111 [<i>F. Ch. 1, XXV-XXVII</i> , 1-7(49-63)]
Rheskuporis I, copper	1		Bosporus	Aspurgos (37) <i>B. XXVI</i> , 84-86 [<i>F. Ch. 1, XV</i> , 14-20, <i>XVI, XVII</i> , 1-7]
Rheskuporis II, copper	2			Rheskuporis II, son of Kotys I (68-93), <i>B. XXVII</i> , 122-123, 131 [<i>F. Ch. 1, XXXV</i> , 12-15 (80-93, sesterce)]
Sauromates III, copper	3		Sauromates III	Sauromates I (93-123) <i>B. XXVIII</i> [<i>F. Ch. 1, XL</i> , 4-19, <i>XLII-L</i>]
Romitalcus, copper	1		Remitalcus	Rhoimètalkes (131-154) <i>B. XXIX</i> , 185-190 [<i>F. Ch. 1, LX</i> , 7-20 - <i>LXI</i> , 1-23 (ca. 131 - ca. 134)]
Eupator, copper	3		Mithradates VI Eupator ²⁶	Eupator (154 - 173/174) <i>B. XXIX</i> , 185-190 [<i>F. Ch. 1, LXXI</i> , 17 - 22- <i>LXXII</i> , 1-14, <i>XCVI</i> , 11]
Sauromates IV, copper	1		Sauromates IV	Sauromates II (174 - 210/211) <i>B. XXX-XXXI</i> [<i>F. Ch. 1, LXXXII - XCVI</i>]
Poorly identified coins	22			
Roman coins			Roman emperors before the division of the Empire	Roman imperial coins [i. e. from 27 BC to 395 AD]
			Augustus, silver	Augustus (27 BC - 14 AD)
Julius Augustus, copper	1			Livia (died in 29), wife of emp. Augustus, mother of emp. Tiberius, sesterce, <i>Bern, Taf. 4/7</i>

			Nero, silver	Nero (54-68)
Vespasian, silver	3		Vespasian, silver	Vespasianus (69-79), denarius
Domitianus, copper	1		Domitianus, copper	Domitianus (81-86), sesterce, dupondius or as
Domitianus, silver	2		Domitianus, silver	Domitianus (81-86), denarius
Trajan, silver	1		Trajan, silver	Traianus (98-117), denarius
Hadrianus, silver	2		Hadrianus, silver	Hadrianus (117-138), denarius
Antoninus the Gentle, silver	1		Antoninus, silver	Antoninus Pius (138-161), denarius
Antoninus the Gentle, copper	1			Antoninus Pius (138-161), sesterce, dupondius or as
Marcus Aurelius, of the 2 nd consulate, silver	1			Marcus Aurelius (second consulate, 145-161), sesterce, coins were minted with leg. COS. II
Marcus Aurelius, silver	1		Marcus Aurelius, silver	Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and his wife Faustina Junior (died in 175)
Marcus Aurelius, copper	1		Marcus Aurelius, copper	Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and his wife Faustina Junior (died in 175)
Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, silver	2		Faustina, silver	Faustina Junior (161-175), denarius
Septimius Severus, silver	1		Septimius Severus, silver	Septimius Severus (193-211), denarius
Caesar Caracalla, silver	1			Caracalla (caesar, 196-198)
Emperor Caracalla, silver	1			Caracalla (198-217), denarius or one of the first antoninians
			Alexander Severus, silver	Alexander Severus (222-235)
Iulia Mamaea, mother of Alexander Severus, silver	1		Iulia Maesa, silver	Iulia Mamaea (died in 235), mother of emperor Severus Alexander, denarius
			Decius	Decius (249-251)
Estrucila, wife of Traianus Decius, copper	1			Etruscilla (249-251)
Valerianus, silver	1		Valerianus, silver	Valerianus (253-260), antoninian
Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great	1			Helena, wife of Constantius Chlorus (307-328)
Constantine the Great, copper	2		Constantine the Great, copper	Constantine I the Great (306-337)
Constantine the Junior caesar, copper	1			Constantine II (caesar, 317-337)

Caesar Constantius, copper	4			Constantius II (caesar, 323-337)
Constantinopolis, of the time of Constantine the Great, copper	1			A series of Constantinopolis (330-340/347)
Rome, with images of Romulus and Remus, fed by a she-wolf, copper	1		Several coins, clearly depicting Romulus and Remus, fed by a she-wolf, copper	A series URBS ROMA (330-347), <i>Bern., Taf. 3/12</i>
Emperor Constantine the Great after death, copper	1			Minted after the death of Constantine the Great by his sons at the end of the 330s
Constantine II, copper	1		Constantine II, copper	Constantine II (337-340)
Emperor Constantius, copper	52		Constantius, copper	Constantius II (337-361)
Caesar Julian the Apostate, copper	4			Julian the Apostate (caesar, 355-361)
Valentinianus, copper	1		Valentinianus, copper	Valentinianus I (364-375)
Valens, copper	12		Valens, copper	Valens (364-378)
				Byzantine emperors
Alexius Comnenus, silver	1			Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), scyphate billon stamen (1092-1118), <i>BMC. Byz. II, N° 9-11, 14-21</i>
		The Lower Moesia		The Lower Moesia
		Callatis		Callatis
		Histria		Histria
		Tomis	Tomis in memory of victories of the Roman emperors	Tomis
		Thracia		Thracia
		Anchialos		Anchialos
		Odissos		Odessos
		Byzantium		Byzantium
		Perinthus		Perinthus
		Plotinopolis		Plotinopolis
		Traianopolis		Traianopolis
		Pontus		Pontus
Amisos, copper	1	Amisos	Amisos	Amisos, most probably of the time of Mithridates VI Eupator, <i>Z. XVIII, 21, 23 (120-63 BC)</i>
		Chabacta		Chabacta
		Paphlagonia		Paphlagonia

			Several eastern emperors and cities, in memory of victories of the Roman emperors.	
		Amastris		Amastris
		Pompeianopolis		Pompeianopolis
		Sinope		Sinope
		Bithynia		Bithynia
		Chalcedon		Chalcedon
		Heraclea Pontica	Heraclea in memory of victories of the Roman emperors	Heraclea Pontica
		Nicaea		Nicaea
		Cratius (Flaviopolis)		Cratius (Flaviopolis)
		Nicomedia		Nicomedia
		Tium		Tium (including sestertius in honour of Faustina Junior, 161-175)
		Mysia		Mysia
		Apollonia on Rhyndakos		Apollonia on Rhyndakos
		Kyzikos		Kyzikos
		Hermea		Hermea
		Lampsacus		Lampsacus
		Pergamon		Pergamon
		Parion		Parion
		Assos		Assos
		Troas		Troas
		Ilion		Ilion
		Aeolis		Aeolis
		Cymae		Cymae
		Aelea		Aelea
		Lesbos		Lesbos
		Methymna		Methymna
		Ionian		Ionian
		Ephesus	Ephesus, in memory of victories of the Roman emperors	Ephesus
		Miletus		Miletos

		Smyrna		Smyrna
		Samos		Samos
		Lydia		Lydia
		Cylbianaë the Upper		Cylbianaë the Upper
		Pamphylia		Pamphylia
		Perga		Perga
		Cappadocia		Cappadocia
		Caesarea		Caesarea
Alexandria of Egypt, copper	1			Alexandria (it minted coins as a city in the Roman time from Augustus to Diocletianus, i. e. 30 BC-305 AD)

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