SUPPLEMENTUM PONTICUM 1-3

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# ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE WESTERN BLACK SEA AREA
## The cases of Histria, Kallatis and Apollonia Pontika (7th – 4/3rd centuries BC)

(*Supplementum Ponticum* 1)

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**Introduction**

The present study is to some extent a summary of the results of research undertaken to obtain the degree of master in archaeology at the University of Ghent, Belgium. Goals of the thesis are twofold: theoretical (definition of ethnicity and research methods) and practical (three necropoleis situated in the north-western Black Sea area selected as subject for analysis). As in most studies, limitations in time and literature available had to be taken into account: for the theoretical parts concerning ethnicity only a selection of the most important studies in (classical-Greek) archaeology have been included; research on the ethnicity of Greek colonies of South-Italy and Sicily has not been considered here in depth.

Some publications have been translated from Bulgarian and Rumanian by students residing in Ghent in different academic exchange programs. The typology of the graves of the period in question which have been discussed in the translated texts will be considered in some length here to enable those with limited knowledge of eastern-European languages to get informed on the matter. An overview of the content of the graves discussed in the translated texts is also to be found in the Appendix. The number of images copied from the original reports has been kept limited in favour of an outline of the typology and content of the graves.

Although scholars have studied different groups who inhabited the ancient Greek world, theoretical assumptions concerning the definition and research of ethnicity in Greek archaeology are very often explored in a limited way only; terminology is sometimes wrongly applied, resulting in false suppositions concerning the character and ethnic identity of those groups. Traditionally, in the view of western scholarship, local populations were seen as barbarian, primitive and underdeveloped[1], whereas Black Sea archaeolo-

[1] For example the widely known work of J. Boardman, Boardman 1999, has been critici-

gists seem to have been more conscious about a co-existence of Greek and local populations in the colonies around the Black Sea. In spite of this acknowledgement, in theoretical thinking the so-called primordial model (ethnicity as an inevitable quality) has always been strong in Soviet archaeology; recent research however has pointed to the feasible character of ethnic identity, and has stressed that biological race and ethnicity, a social identity, are not the same[2]. Strict divisions made between Greeks and non-Greeks, as very often occurred in past research, are therefore simplistic, and have little sympathy with the functioning of ethnic identity in a society. Sometimes modern nationalism or ideology got interwoven with the subject of research, blurring the complexity which a scientific work should be trying to present[3]. A more nuanced image will contribute to a better understanding of ancient societies, ethnic identity(-ies), and their interaction.

## 1. Ethnicity

### 1.1. Defining ethnicity

Since the early 19th century the study of ethnicity has been a theme of interest in Classics (Jones 1997, 15-26; Siapkas 2003, 1, 46-49). As nationalism has been an important factor of 19th and 20th century life, its influence on the formation of theoretical conceptions of societies, both modern and ancient, and their ethnicity was likewise. The primary role of ethnicity and ethnic identity today and its study in modern conflicts is a matter of common knowledge[4]. The world had been understood in terms of a mosaic of peoples and nations, boundaries being clearly defined and characterising traits, such as language, territory, culture, etc., remaining static and unchangeable. After Word War II these theories had been severely subdued by criticisms, from within and outside archaeology. In spite of the criticism, the outstripped ideas remained in use and were provided with new terminology, such as the concept of *primordialism* which has been developed in anthropology in the 1950s to provide a terminology to describe some qualities of kinship ties. The kinship ties, following the primordial theories, are acquired involuntary and possess a degree of compulsiveness (Jones 1997, 65). Later, the term primordiality was also

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as to its mechanism and interpretative framework by Van Dommelen 1997, 307 and Crielaard 2000, 499.

[2] On ethnicity in Soviet archaeology: Siapkas 2003, 44; Jones/Graves-Brown 1996, 8-9. An example of the post-World War II approach is: Nicolaescu-Plopşor 1959.

[3] For examples: Delev 1993; Stoian 1972. There are however many more known cases of interweaving, see: Hodder 1986, 157-159; Jones/Graves-Brown 1996, 2-4 and 18-19; Just 1998, 278; Meskell 2001, 190; Siapkas 2003, 1-5.

[4] Recent use and abuse of ethnicity and archaeology are discussed in: Hodder 1986, 159; Jones/Graves-Brown 1996, with further references; different contributors in: Jones/Graves-Brown/Gamble 1996; Jones 1997, 1-12; Renfrew/Bahn 2000, 533-537; Meskell 2001, 189-190, with further references, Siapkas, 2003, esp. 2 n. 2, 4-5.

used to describe power relations and the appearance of ethnic identity. Following the primordial perspective in respect to ethnicity, group identity is being obtained through birth; this group identity includes a name (an individual and a group name), a history, an origin of the group, a nationality, language, religion, and a system of values. Until recently different studies in this tradition in archaeology were executed[5]. Following modern notions the primordial perspective is said to be characterised by a simplistic correlation between material culture and ethnic identity.
In the anthropology of the 1970s and 1980s a shift in the conceptualisation of ethnicity had taken place, whereby the primordial notions of ethnic identity had been rejected in favour of the ideas of the so-called *instrumental* perspective[6]. Ethnic identity was considered a strategy of individuals and interest groups in order to obtain political or economic goals. The ethnic group would have no formal organisation, and would use cultural practices and ideas *e.g.* kinship, ritual, ceremonies, etc… actively and consciously. It is this active use of culture which would constitute the ethnic identity, and it would be used to improve social and political conditions; therefore ethnic identity was seen as dynamic. The analysis of ethnicity had been carried out by means of analysing cultural traits which were seen as symbols of that specific ethnic identity. Instrumentalism, criticizing primordialism for its romanticizing and mystification of ethnic identity whereby individuals were seen as passive transmitters of cultural traits which, unwillingly and acquired from birth on, constitute one's ethnic identity; this analysis, however, was itself criticized for the reductional way of explanation, seeing some contexts as universal[7].

How one should define ethnic identity is being debated even today. It has been said it's even easier to say what ethnic identity is not than what it is (Morgan 2001, 76). Elsewhere it was argued that it is useless to define an objective set of criteria of ethnic identity because "ethnic identity is socially constructed and subjectively perceived" (Hall 1997, 19). Former definitions of ethnicity have commonly been based on elements of language, genetics and religion, but none of these, as had been pointed out by the instrumentalists, are exclusively bound to one specific ethnic group[8]. Using the concepts developed by

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[5] Jones 1997, 66; Malkin 2001, 15-16; Siapkas 2003, 46-60. Examples of recent studies with primordial notions are to be found in the work of C. Renfrew according to Siapkas 2003, 53-58. More recently L. Meskell described ethnicity as an aspect of our identity which is obtained from the beginning (birth): Meskell 2001, 188-189.

[6] The instrumental perspective in anthropology has been discussed in: Jones 1996, 66-67; Jones 1997, 72-79; Hall 1997, 17-19; Siapkas 2003, 175-188; Malkin 2001, 1 and 15-19; Konstan 2001, 30; Lomas 2004, 1-2.

[7] For critics concerning primordialism see: Jones 1997, 68-69, repeated in: Siapkas 2003, 45. For critics concerning instrumentalism see: Jones 1997, 76-78; Hall 1997, 17-19 and Siapkas 2003, 186-187.

[8] For the research in the fields of language, genetics and religion: Hall 1997, 19-24 and 143-

the anthropologist Horowitz, Jonathan Hall has been arguing that the three fields (language, genetics and religion) may actually play an important role in the definition of an ethnic identity, but are not mutually bound to it. In short, J. Hall has been using Horowitz's concepts, *criteria* and *indices* of ethnicity in order to describe the phenomenon of ethnicity. Both concepts, criteria and indices, differ from each other; criteria are seen as "the definitional set of attributes by which membership in an ethnic group is ultimately determined" and indices as "the operational set of distinguishing attributes which people tend to associate with particular ethnic groups once the criteria have been established" (Hall 1997, 20-21). Genetics, language and religion may operate as indices of ethnic identity according to J. Hall, but are, as criteria, socially constructed symbols.
An ethnic group is thus not a biological but a social group, whereby the conceptual and ascriptive boundaries are defined by membership of a group connecting itself with a specific territory and a common myth of descent. The territory may be real or imagined. J. Hall has also stressed the important but subtle distinction between the determination of one's identity by birth and a justification of identity by referring to descent. Usually one assumes the ethnic identity of the family in which one is born, but as many examples demonstrate, one can change one's ethnic identity. Following the instrumental view, J. Hall has stated that ethnic groups come into being according to various political and economic interests. He has mentioned exclusion in the access to resources, migration and social status as factors of ethnogenesis and stressed the dynamic character and highly effective adaptive strategies of the ethnic groups. The boundaries of ethnic groups are penetrable and groups can be subject to assimilation and differentiation (Hall 1997, 24-33). J. Hall, a historian, has expressed the belief that potentially artefacts can be used for the expression of ethnic identity, but, because of the plurality of their meanings, the best results in the field of archaeology should be obtained by combining research in different fields of archaeological records. Since the construction of ethnic identity is aggregative, Hall has argued that written sources are the most important for the study of ethnicity and thus one can not study ethnicity in societies which left no written record[9].

In the same period as J. Hall's initial study of ethnicity in Classics, also another publication on the topic was published. Sian Jones' study, comprehensively theoretical but limited in its application to the Romanization of Great Britain, tried to overcome the oppositions between "objectivist" and "subjectivist" definitions which can be found in the so-called primordial and instru-

[9] Hall 1997, 2, 135-136; Hall 2002, 24; Hall 1998a. Critics on Hall's approach in: Jones 1998, 271-273; Morris 1998b, 269-270.

mental perspectives[10]. Adopting a processual approach to ethnicity S. Jones used Bourdieu's theory of practice, the description of *habitus* and related anthropological theories[11]. S. Jones described Bourdieu's concept of habitus as being "… made up of durable dispositions towards certain perceptions and practices … which become part of an individual's sense of self at an early age, and which can be transposed from one context to another" (Jones 1997, 88). Extrapolating these theoretical principles to provide a grounding for these ethnic subjectivity, ethnicity is said to be essentially the consciousness of difference vis-à-vis others. The manifestations of ethnicity are the product of an ongoing process, the correspondence between the representation of a particular ethnic identity and the cultural practices and historical experience of the people involved fluctuating (Jones 1996, 67; Jones 1997, 94-97). According to Jones "ethnicity is a multidimensional phenomenon constituted in different ways in different social domains; representations of ethnicity involve the dialectical oppositions of situationally relevant cultural practices and historical experiences associated with different cultural traditions, consequently there is rarely a one-to-one relationship between representations of ethnicity and an entire range of cultural practices and social conditions associated with a particular group" (Jones 1997, 100). Material culture may be or may not be used to express ethnicity, but material culture is always polysemous, its meanings are not fixed and differ depending on the social context and social agents involved. Moreover, it is stated material culture structures, as it is being structured, by the legitimation of social relations and activities, and *all* material culture is involved in the active process of social production, reproduction and transformation[12]. Certain aspects of material culture may thus become involved in the self-conscious signification of identity, and the justification and negotiation of ethnic relations. Some forms and styles of material culture can as such be used in this process while other forms and styles may be found to be cross-cutting ethnic boundaries. The cultural forms chosen to express ethnicity are not arbitrary, but linked to the habitus.

In order to gain insight in the reflection of the expression of ethnic differences in the material cultural assemblage, it is necessary, following Jones, to understand the past cultural contexts through a variety of sources and classes of data, and the past social organisation by adopting a contextual and historical approach. Such an approach should imply a distinction from the traditional artifactual publications (limited to pottery, metalwork, etc…) in which subtilties in

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[10] Jones 1996, 67-68; Jones 1997, 87-88. For the objectivist and subjectivist definitions of ethnicity: Jones 1997, 56-57. For critics on Jones' approach: Emberling 1999, 126; Duke 1998, 120.

[11] Jones 1997, 79-88. For an outline of Bourdieu's theory of practice: Jones 1997, 88-90. For practice theory and ethnicity in general: Jones 1997, 90-100. A history, theory and use of the theory of practice and the habitus in: Dobres/Robb 2000.

[12] Jones 1997, 118-119. Compare: Hodder 1982, 7 and Hodder 1990.

dating and distribution are lost because of the absence of the contexts (Jones 1996, 70-73; Jones 1997, 119-131).

Another modern scholar of ethnicity in Greek archaeology, J. Siapkas, has also acknowledged the high level of complexity reached with the introduction of theories of practice in archaeological studies of ethnicity. According to Siapkas, attention was being paid to the ways in which people understand ethnic identity, how and why it was constituted that way (Siapkas 2003, 31). Siapkas' work was strongly influenced by the ideas of Michel de Certeau (1925-1986), who had developed a critique of history. De Certeau is considered an historian but he was also active in the fields of theology, anthropology, literary theory, cultural criticism and studies of contemporary daily life (Siapkas 2003, 19-20). De Certeau has been placed in the *heterological* tradition – opposite to the *hegemonic* – because of the way he emphasized the contemporary social context of the moment of production of the "truth". The dichotomy between past and present is being seen as dogmatic; the aim of heterologous ethnographic writing should therefore be the creation of a distance to tradition, according to Siapkas. In order to describe practice, de Certeau often had been placing a phenomenon between two (opposed) analytical concepts, whereby the phenomenon which was being described should not be exclusively understood in terms of one of those concepts, but as *oscillating* between them. Following de Certeau's thinking, Siapkas wanted to focus on the limitations of the scholarly representations of the past, his interest being the ethnic identity in Messenia. Following the oscillating concepts of de Certeau, he placed former conceptualizations of the Messenian ethnic identity between two theoretical "poles", the primordial and the instrumental perspectives (Siapkas 2003, 30-31). Adopting a diachronic scheme (from the times of the "Doric" invasion to the Hellenistic periods) Siapkas divided earlier studies of Messenian identity into two groups according to the shortcomings of their research tradition (primordial or instrumental). Siapkas explicitly avoided any definition of ethnicity[13].

### 1.2. Greek ethnicity

Although there does not seem to exist any consensus at all concerning the definition of and method for the analysis of ethnicity, ancient or modern, there have been numerous attempts to describe Greek ethnic identity. Usually a definition or considerations of the underlying theoretical assumptions of the phenomenon researched are absent. The question "who is Greek" has changed constantly during the past three millennia and the differential use of the name can be seen as an indication of the variety of perspectives involved in the con-

[13] See on defining ethnicity: Siapkas 2003, 13-19.

ceptualization of Greek ethnicity[14]: the name *Ahhiyawa*, known from Hittite texts, *Yaunā*, known from Assyrian texts and the name *Graikoi*, possibly via Epirus, came into use[15].

The names *Hellas* and *Hellenes* appeared relatively late in the ancient texts, the first use in ancient texts is reported to have been connected with a specific territory, the Sperkheios-valley in Thessalia. The extension of Hellas would have been related to the extension of the membership to the Amfiktyony, who administered the sanctuary of Delphi[16]. Jonathan Hall has put forward a link, too, between the new conception of this territory, its implication of an ethnic strategy and the selection of the participants of the Olympic Games: participation was limited to those who were able to demonstrate their hellenic affiliation by language, origin and descent. The Olympic Games were thus an important occasion to shape ethnic identities. The groups taking part in the Games had also constituted the elite in the Archaic periods, the contexts where ethnic identities were formed are thus not to be sought between geographically removed people, but between elite groups in the Greek world (Hall 2002, 153-154, 164).

Hall has also claimed the existence of self-conscious "sub-hellenic" groups, such as the Dorians, Ionians, Aiolians and Akhaians prior to a unitary subscription of Hellenic descent or a common Hellenic consciousness (Hall 2002, 56). Based on the analysis of references in ancient sources pointing to different myths of origin, Hall has concluded that the different identity groups arose during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, instead of being remnants of an earlier migratory period *ca*. 1200 BC[17].

The *Hellenic genealogy* has been considered by Hall as one of the most important genealogical traditions (Fig.1). It was reconstructed from two fragments of a poem attributed to Hesiodos, the *Ehoiai* or *Catalogue of Women*. According to Hall it may be considered as the earliest reference to Greek ethnicity serving the purpose of establishing the degree of relatedness between the various Greek ethnic groups which are presented by their eponymous ancestors (Hellen, Doros, Aiolos, Ion and Akhaios)[18]. The ethnic character should be sought, following Hall, in the fact that none of the eponymous

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[14] Malkin 2001, 1-4. For Greek ethnicity in general: Malkin 2001; Lomas 2004.

[15] Hall 2002, 5-6, 47-55. Problems of identification of Ahhiyawa in: Hall 2002, 50-52; Malkin 2001, 3-5.

[16] For the mechanism of distribution and the role of the Amfiktyony: Hall 2002, 134-154.

[17] See further: Hall 2002, 6, 73-82. For discussion and further references on the Doric invasions and ethnicity: Hall 1997, 4-16, 56-65 and 114-128; Jones 1997, 16; Siapkas 2003, 47, 51-54.

[18] Hall 1997, 42-43. Numerous studies have appeared on references to ethnic groups and ethnicity in ancient literature, but these will not be considered here in depth. See for discussion and further references on Homeros: Konstan 2001, 31-32; McInnerey 2001, 55-56; Hall 2004, 36-37. For Herodotos: Malkin 2001, 5-6; Thomas 2001. For Thoukydides:

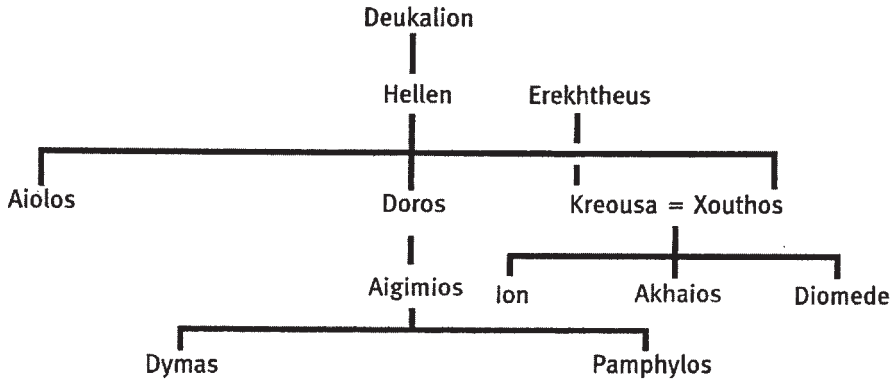


Fig. 1. The Hellenic genealogy following the Catalogue of Women (Hall 2002, 135 fig.5).

heroes served another purpose than the personification of the ethnic groups which they represented (Hall 2002, 27-28; Hall 2004, 39).
Also I. Malkin has proposed an important role for the genealogies of heroes, especially those of the eponymous ancestors. But, unlike Hall (see *infra*), I. Malkin thought that heroes like Herakles and the Nostoi played an important mediating role between different Greek collective identities and in the encounters between Greeks and non-Greeks. The encounters with non-Greeks helped to create a Greek concept of self-definition[19]. Following the instrumental perspective (ethnicity as repetitively and actively constructed), Hall has explained changes in genealogical traditions as traces of the active construction of an ethnic identity (Hall 1997, 41-42). The Hellenic genealogy should thus not be understood as an all encompassing vehicle for the definition of the groups that inhabited the Aegean region, it had been using the metaphor of kinship to construct a system of relationships between the representative eponymous heroes. Hence the Greek self-definition in the time of use, the Archaic period, has to be seen as *aggregative*, or defined from within the group based on similarities between the members, whereby the Persian Wars were a decisive moment because it caused the mechanisms of definition to change from aggregative to *oppositional*: greekness was to be defined in opposition to a stereotypical generalised image of the exotic, slavish and unintelligible barbarian. The Persian invasion had functioned as a catalyst for the invention of the "barbarian" and the creation of the stereotypical "Other". The number of images and references in literature increased in this period, and the

[19] Malkin 2001, 9-10. The role of heroes and eponymous ancestors in connection to colonization has been thoroughly studied by I. Malkin in: Malkin 1998.

differences which were cultivated this way were used to define greekness[20]. Hall admitted that possibly the a-typical image of the barbarian was more popular in Athens, for it served a practical reason: a negative image of the barbarian legitimized the Athenian request of support from the allies (Hall 2002, 182-186; Konstan 2001, 34). From the 4th century BC on, greekness was defined on a cultural basis (Hall 2001, 170-172; Hall 2002, 220-226). So, J. Hall does not believe the Greek colonisation played an important role in the definition of Greek ethnicity, for contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks had been taking place for centuries. The plantation of colonies only had implied an intensification of those contacts. The idea of a mechanism of definition of Greek ethnic identity on the fringes of the Greek world was seen by Hall as a simplistic core-periphery model which does not account for differences in character, intensity and perceptions of the encounters (Hall 2002, 6, 121).
Carla Antonaccio on the contrary also claimed a key role for the experiences of the colonization in the definition of Greek ethnicity. She emphasizes the fact that Greek colonization took place in a period when the colonizing communities were undergoing fundamental changes themselves. She admitted that it is not wholly clear which influence the colonial experiences had in the formation of poleis, but in the time of early colonization in the 8th century BC it can be said that poleis hardly existed (Antonaccio 2001, 116, 122; Lomas 2000).

### 1.3. Studying ethnicity

For reasons of necessary limitations, the necropoleis of the selected sites have been taken here *a priori* as primary analytic unit. The reason for this choice is the fact that a grave is generally considered a meaningful and closed deposit[21]. It is said graves were constructed resulting from deliberate and conscious actions in accordance with an in time and place meaningful system of values. Most archaeologists agree that a necropolis generally offers a structured image of the society concerned. However, the relationship between a necropolis and its society of living is said not to be a one-to-one relationship[22]. Burials can only be understood by examining the contextual relation with the settlement and other sites (Hodder 1986, 140). The reflection of the society as it can be seen in the grave rites is the result of choices made by the members

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[20] Hall 1997, 43-44, 47; Hall 2002, 175, 179. See also: Hall 1989. Although Hall has nuanced his opinion: possibly the transition from an aggregative to an oppositional self-definition was more gradual: Hall 1998b, Hall 2001, 166-167.

[21] d'Agostino 2000, 313; d'Agostino/Schnapp 1982, 17; Renfrew/Bahn 2000, 195.

[22] d'Agostino 2000, 314-315; d'Agostino 1985; Parker-Pearson 1982, 99-101; Hodder 1982, 10; Renfrew 1984; McHugh 1999, 1, 13; Renfrew/Bahn 2000, 195; 'Etienne/Müller/ Prost 2000, 155. Wider perspectives on death and archaeology: Humphreys 1981a and Humphreys 1981b.

of that community. Certain aspects may have been accentuated, while others may have been neglected. B. d'Agostino described the relation between the necropolis and society as "filtered through ideology"[23]. d'Agostino found a helping hand in the interpretation of death and funerary ritual in the history of mentality of antiquity[24]. Biological dying should be seen, according to this, especially French development, as the start of a cultural process. Death in antiquity provoked a crisis and social instability. It was important to do everything in one's power to overcome this crisis by words, actions and rites. As such, the death ritual also offered an opportunity to the social community for communication, for it was also a process of symbolisation[25]. The disposition of the body is seen as a conscious action determining the succession of the funerary acts whereby the body receives a housing and the deceased becomes part of a space which he determines; a tomb is significant because of where it is, but also because it is: placing a dead body in a grave is a custom which is bounded to culture, and for which many alternatives are known in anthropology (Ucko 1969). The depositions inside and outside the tomb can be considered as a testimony as well, because they can be counted and described and analysed as to their social meanings (age, gender, social differences)[26]. I. Morris pointed to the changing role of funerary ritual in space and time: some social relations may have been exaggerated, reflected of neglected by elaborate rites, while others may not have. The importance given to different qualities (age, gender, wealth, religion, colour, etc…) is dependent on the specific social structure. What archaeologists have to do according to I. Morris is examine the social structure or ideology in the society in question in order to determine points of structural revolution, which will depend on the symbolic forms used and the possibility of observing and interpreting them in their historical situation[27]. Symbols can be interpreted, claimed I. Morris, in a way similar to linguistic analysis: indices (the smallest divisible unit) don't have a meaning on their own, but receive one as part of a whole, just like a letter in a word. There is not one meaning for each symbol, but a series of interpretations (Morris 1992, 17-21; Hodder 1986, 121-122, 138-141).

Burial evidence seems therefore to be a good starting point for the analysis of ethnic identity. Previously, others have carried out analyses of ethnicity in a Greek colonial context. Whereas traditional interpretations had no other

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[23] d'Agostino 2000, 314-315; d'Agostino 1985, 48; d'Agostino/Schnapp 1982, 20. See also: 'Etienne/Müller/Prost 2000, 77.

[24] For example: Garland 2001; Vernant 1981; Alexiou 1974, 4-23.

[25] d'Agostino 2000, 315-316; d'Agostino/Schnapp 1982, 18; d'Agostino 1985, 49, 51; McHugh 1999, 1, 13.

[26] d'Agostino/Schnapp 1982, 18-21; d'Agostino 1985, 48; d'Agostino 2000, 313. See also: Morris 1987, 1-26; Morris 1992, 1,22.

[27] Morris 1987, 29-43; Morris 1998a, 22. See also: Parker-Pearson 1993.

objective than attaining a strict dichotomy between Greeks and non-Greeks, recent attempts have tried to incorporate a more complex reality. For example J.N. Coldstream pointed to the advantages of bilingualism of children born in mixed marriages. Coldstream investigated burials in the settlement of Pithekoussai on the isle of Ischia, and, based on a certain kind of fibulae attributed to the Villanova sequence, he concluded the presence of Italic women married to Greek men of Pithekoussai (Coldstream 1993, 89-96). G. Shepherd however challenged a simple correlation between fibulae and Italic women because of the indication of the local production of the fibulae, the occurrence in graves of children and men and the possibility of the wearing of the fibulae by Greek women (Shepherd 1999, 275-297).

Even without a common subscription to a general definition of ethnicity scholars agree more or less that ethnicity is a deliberately and self-consciously subscribed identity of individuals and groups which is actively constructed in daily practice following an awareness of differences vis-à-vis others (Jones 1997, 84; Hall 1997, 33). Instrumentalism stressed the importance in the rise of ethnicity of the group struggling for economic and political gains. Briefly recapitulating, it can be acknowledged that the presence of patterns in the archaeological record resulting from the active manipulation of material culture in the communication of ethnic identity is possible. J. Siapkas stressed, treading in de Certeau's steps, the danger of reducing complexity to essentialism. Therefore he has objected to every definition of ethnicity ever proposed. Siapkas described the modern understanding of ethnicity as fluctuating between two analytical poles. In doing this, he offered a methodological tool to criticize earlier statements concerning the Messenian ethnicity. Although Siapkas' epistemological questions are to be pleaded for, the refusal of offering an idea of his own is fatalistic because, when following this methodology, where one's opinion is not wanted and only criticism on the preceding research is presented, no further research of the same subject can be undertaken. Without being dogmatic, in the full awareness of not being complete, one can offer an opinion.

As a starting point for the analysis of the graves and the discussion on ethnicity, the typologies of preceding research will be considered here, with a chronological limit in the early Hellenistic age. The constituting elements which this research has discussed, are seen here as components comparable to the indices of linguistic analysis. These components will be contextualised by means of a comparison with other components reported in similar research. The original context (the grave) will be set in a broader context (the city). In order to gain a full understanding of the original context, a limited contextual presentation of the graves is given in the Appendix. Earlier views on ethnicity in the colonies will be reconsidered in terms of the more recent scholarly ideas of ethnicity.

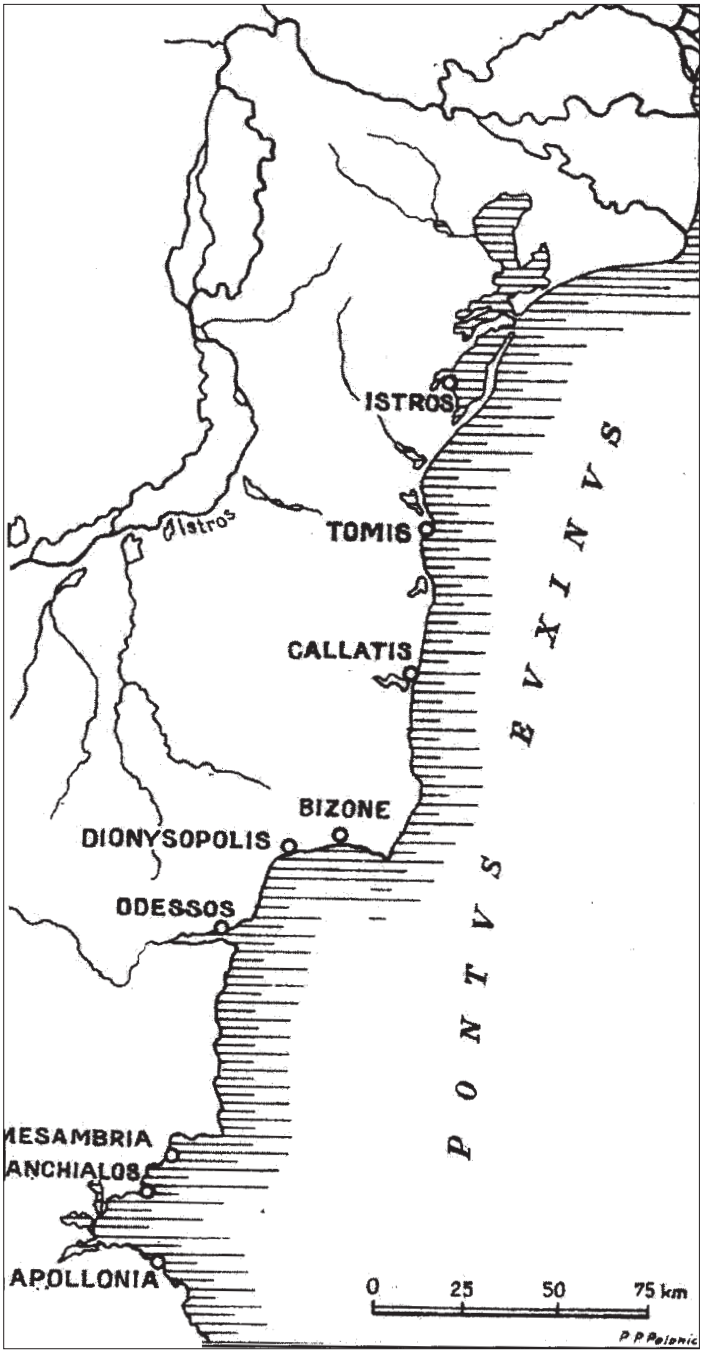


Fig. 2. Western Black Sea region (Dimitriou 1982, 310, fig.1).

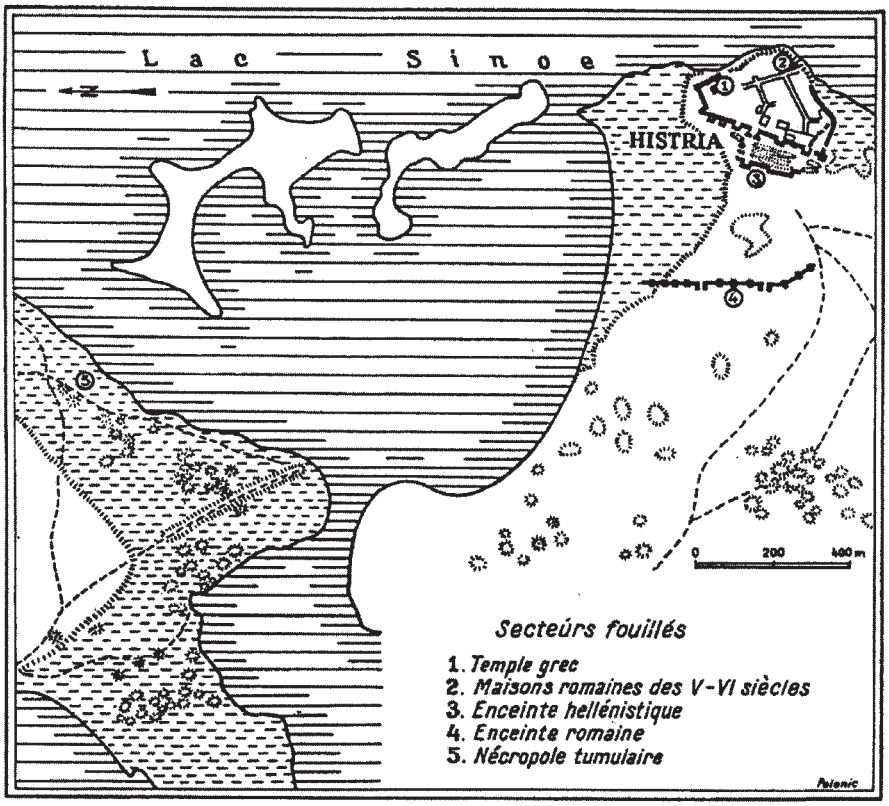


Fig. 3. Schematic overview after the first results of the research in Histria, 1914-1957 (Pippidi 1958, 338, fig. 3).

## 2. Case-studies: the necropoleis of Histria, Kallatis and Apollonia Pontika

### 2.1. Histria

#### 2.1.1. Situating Histria

Istros (Lat.: Histria) was possibly named after the Thrakian name for the nearby river Danube *Istros*. The ancient city, spared from present day building activities, is situated 80 km south of the most southern arm of the Danube and 65 km north of modern Constanţa (Fig. 2)[28]. Histria is located on the edge of

[28] Hind 1984, 76; Avram 2003, 280-281. K. Nawotka has doubted the Thrakian origin of the name Istros, since it was also found on Crete and Illyria: Nawotka 1997, 10.

a sandy peninsula stretching along lake Sinoé and lake Histria. An acropolis with sanctuaries was installed on the highest point of the coastal plain, offering a view on the wide fertile rural hinterland and the rivers Nuntasi and Iunan-Dere[29].

Histria, totally forgotten, it's location being obscure, and being the historically oldest known Milesian colony of the region, was the subject of debate amongst Rumenian and foreign scholars of the 19th century. Accidental finds called attention to a possible location near lake Sinoé, positively identified by Ernest Desjardins in 1868 and confirmed by Vasile Pârvan, who started excavating there in 1914. These excavations brought to light a defensive wall of the Roman epoch and many inscriptions of the 5th BC–3rd AD centuries. After Pârvan's death excavations were continued, although on a smaller scale, by Scarlat Lambrino until 1941. Many results of this research were never published, and a later attempt to obtain Lambrino's notes on the excavations by his successors in the Histrian research, D.M. Pippidi and P. Alexandrescu, failed. In 1949 the excavations were continued, limited to layers from the 4th-7th centuries AD however. From 1950 on, E. Condurachi directed the excavations, which were elaborated, comprising, besides the Roman and Byzantine periods, also layers from the earliest periods of Histrian occupation (Fig. 3)[30].

An exact historical foundation date for Histria is not known; Pseudo-Skymnos mentioned the foundation of *Istros* by the Milesians in the period of the pursuit of the Kimmerians by the Skythians. Eusebius provides a date of 657/6 BC in his chronicle; the oldest ceramics (Rhodian ware) has been attributed to the last quarter of the 7th century. Presumably, the settlement had not been founded much earlier. At the end of the 7th century BC, Histria seems to have been a well developed centre[31].

In layers attributed to archaic period habitation, local Iron Age Babadag sherds have been found. The lack of any concentration of them has been interpreted as the absence of any pre-colonial settlement in the Histrian city area. More recently however, on Cape Dolojman (Greek Orgame, Fig. 4), at a distance of 25 km of Histria, but on its chora, the bottom of a Corinthian aryballos in a Bababag II and III habitation layer was found, the sherd has been dated in the

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[29] Avram 1990, 9-26. The fertility of the grounds surrounding Histria has been doubted by: Krebs 1997, 48; Alexandrescu 1985, 42-43; Isaac 1986, 268-271; Avram 1990; Avram 2003, 280-281, 290.

[30] Pippidi 1958, 335-341; Avram 2003, 279. About Pârvan and his many realizations in archaeology: Preda 1982; Condurachi 1957. On Scarlat Lambrino and his wife Marcelle (also active in the research in Histria): Avram 2002-2003. On the early discoveries in Histria see: Dimitriu/Coja 1958; Condurachi 1968, 5-6.

[31] Nawotka 1997, 16-17; Coja 1990, 160; Krebs, 1997, 53; Avram 2003, 284-286. The archaeological aspects of the foundation of Histria in: Dimitriu/Coja 1958, 75-80; Condurachi 1961; Pippidi 1970, 356-357; Alexandrescu 1985, 46-48; Vulpe 1990; Avram

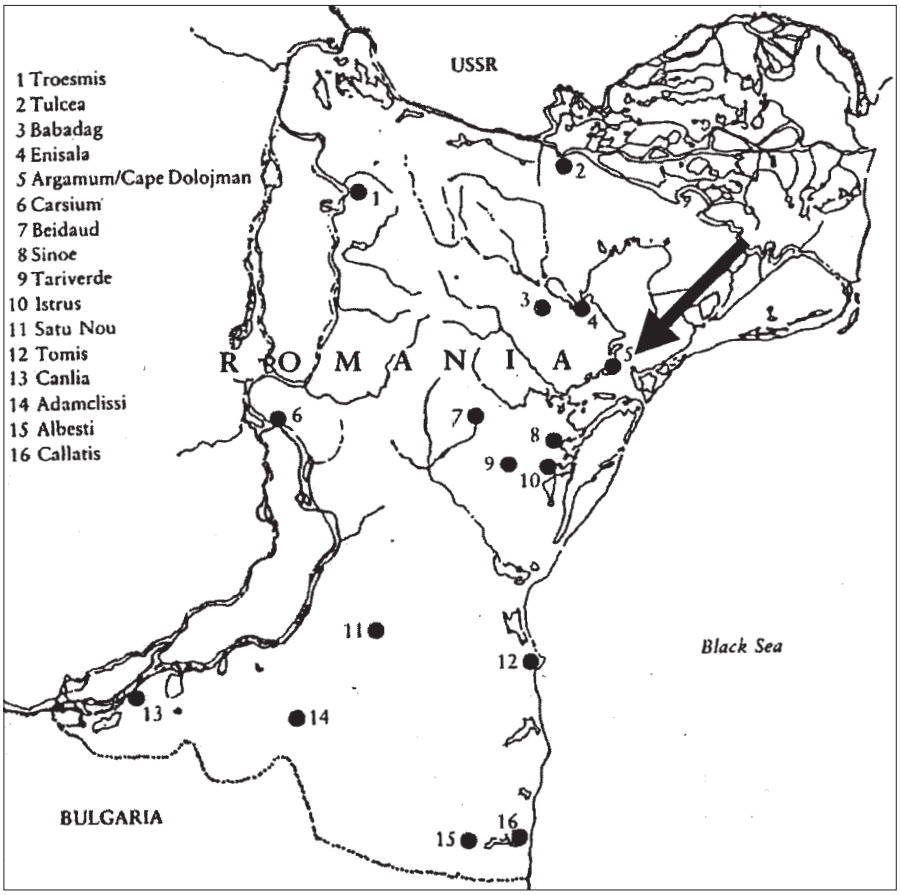


Fig. 4. Orgame (Argamum/Cape Dolojman) (Coja 1990, 165, fig. 2).

period 640-625 BC[32]. A similar piece has been found in Histria. Mănucu-Adameşteanu has suggested an earlier foundation date for Orgame than for Histria and, following a scenario which is also known for Berezan and Olbia, the favourable location attracted the first settlers, but the limited possibilities for expansion forced a relocation of activities to Histria[33].

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[32] Following Krebs 1997, 52; referring to Coja 1990, 162. Krebs believes there has been a co-existence between the two groups in Orgame. Coja (1990, 162) sees no interruption between the Babadag and the Greek occupation. Mănucu-Adameşteanu on the contrary thinks there has been a gap between the Babadag and the Greek occupation: Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2003, 345.

[33] Alexandrescu 2000, 519; Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2003, 344-345. Krebs has attributed the sherds to pre-colonial activities on a place which would become a Greek colony: Krebs 1997,

Severe disturbances in habitation zone X, the temple of Zeus Polieus and the city wall, dated in the late 6th century, have been attributed to the Skythian expedition of the Persian king Dareios. It has been suggested that Histria itself, in maintaining good relations with the local population present in its chora, was involved in the Persian-Skythian conflict[34].

### 2.1.2. The necropolis of Histria

When Vasile Pârvan identified and excavated the first remains of Histria, the necropolis had been left untouched, although its existence was attested by the presence of more than 1000 tumuli. The first excavations of the graves were undertaken in 1955 by E. Condurachi.

Between 1955 and 1961, 40 tumuli located next to lake Sinoé were excavated, as was a number of graves in the smaller necropolis next to the town. The surface of the necropolis amounts to 5 km$^2$, but its precise extension is difficult to establish because of the rise of the water level of the lakes which absorbed most of the ancient remains. It seems there existed several adjoining necropoleis instead of one, the necropoleis probably belonging to the inhabitants of Histria and the surrounding villages. Although not proven, a border possibly ran from a place called "the wells" to lake Sinoé[35]. On aerial photographs a ditch has been detected running across the peninsula from the west-south-west to the east-north-east; its existence was confirmed on the field, but its precise relation with the necropolis needs further research (Alexandrescu 1966, 137-138, 140).

Besides the 40 tumuli excavated on different places of the necropolis, and dating from different periods, a number of flat graves, isolated or in small groups, has been found. A number of secondary interments in tumuli have also been discovered[36]. 34 tumuli (out of more than 1000) and a number of secondary graves have been published; the results seem to point to a period of use stretching from the mid-6th century BC to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

Based on finds, construction, topography, ritual, etc., the necropolis has been divided in three sub periods: the oldest phase encompassing the mid-6th until

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52. M. Coja agrees with this vision and places the foundation of Orgame in the same period as Histria: Coja 1990, 162.

[34] A. Avram has pointed to Skythian vengeance instead of Persian disturbances because of the probability of the maintenance of good relations between Histria and her mother city Milete, which was, in this period, at good understanding with the Persians: Avram 2003, 305. See also Alexandrescu 1990b, 66-68.

[35] Pippidi 1958, 350; Alexandrescu 1963, 258-259; Alexandrescu 1965a; Alexandrescu 1966, 137, 140.

[36] The flat graves and secondary interments were preliminary published in *Materiale şi Cercetări Archeologice* 4 (1957), 5 (1959), 6 (1959), 7 (1960), 8 (1962), a periodical which is unknown in Belgium. A summary is given in: Alexandrescu/Eftimie 1959. The final publication appeared in *Histria* 3, 1955, 66 ff (a volume which seems also to be unknown in Belgium and surroundings), according to: Alexandrescu 1963, 259, note 2.

the mid-4th century (14 of the tumuli), the second period the mid-4th until the end of the first century BC (13 tumuli) and the third phase has to be situated in the Roman period (Alexandrescu 1963, 260; Alexandrescu 1966, 135-136, 216).

In contrast with other Greek colonies in the north-western Black Sea area, the tumuli had no interior construction in wood or stone. Two phases can be clearly discerned in the construction. These correspond with the preparation of the ground for the burial and with post-burial ceremonies. The substructure could occur in three possible forms: with peripheral ditch, funerary platforms or stone circle. A peripheral ditch was constructed around tumuli XVII, XIX, XX; the ditch had been continuous or segmented with a width of 0,7m à 1,3m and a depth between 0,3m and 0,75m. The peripheral ditch was only constructed during the oldest phase of the necropolis. A funerary platform, consisting of an earthen elevation of 0,3m à 0,5m, was constructed under tumuli XVII, XIX, XX, XXII, and XXIV. A stone circle was constructed instead of a funerary platform and served the same function of delineating the place of burial. Apparently, the construction was used only during a short period at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The diameter reached 13m à 14m, the thickness 1m à 1,5m and the height 0,2m à 0,5m. This type of construction is found only twice in this period (tumuli XXIX, XXXI)[37].

In observing the rituals occurring in the Histrian tumuli, one is struck by the domination of the cremation ritual over that of inhumation[38]. Possibly this can be attributed to the state of research; the number of studied flat graves is rather low. The Histrian flat graves with inhumations date from the 6th to the 1st centuries BC, and were found in between the tumuli. Possibly, a necropolis with exclusively flat graves existed although it has not been found yet. The dominance of the cremation ritual in the Histrian tumuli can be seen as a specific historical characteristic, in contrast to the majority of inhumation rituals elsewhere in the Pontic region.
Typologically the tumuli have been divided in three groups; the first two groups encompassing cremations, the third group the inhumations (Fig. 5). The difference between the location of the burning of the body and the subsequent burial was considered determining for the distinction between the different cremation types: the tumulus could or could not have been constructed on the place of the burning, thus a distinction is made between *cremations at the same place as the construction of the tumuli* (type *JA*) - with two subdivisions: *burial at the same place as the burning* (type *JAa*) and *burials next to*

[37] Alexandrescu 1963, 260-261; Alexandrescu 1966, 235-236.
[38] For the different burial rituals in Histria see: Alexandrescu 1963, 260; Alexandrescu 1965a, 164-173; Alexandrescu 1966, 249-257.

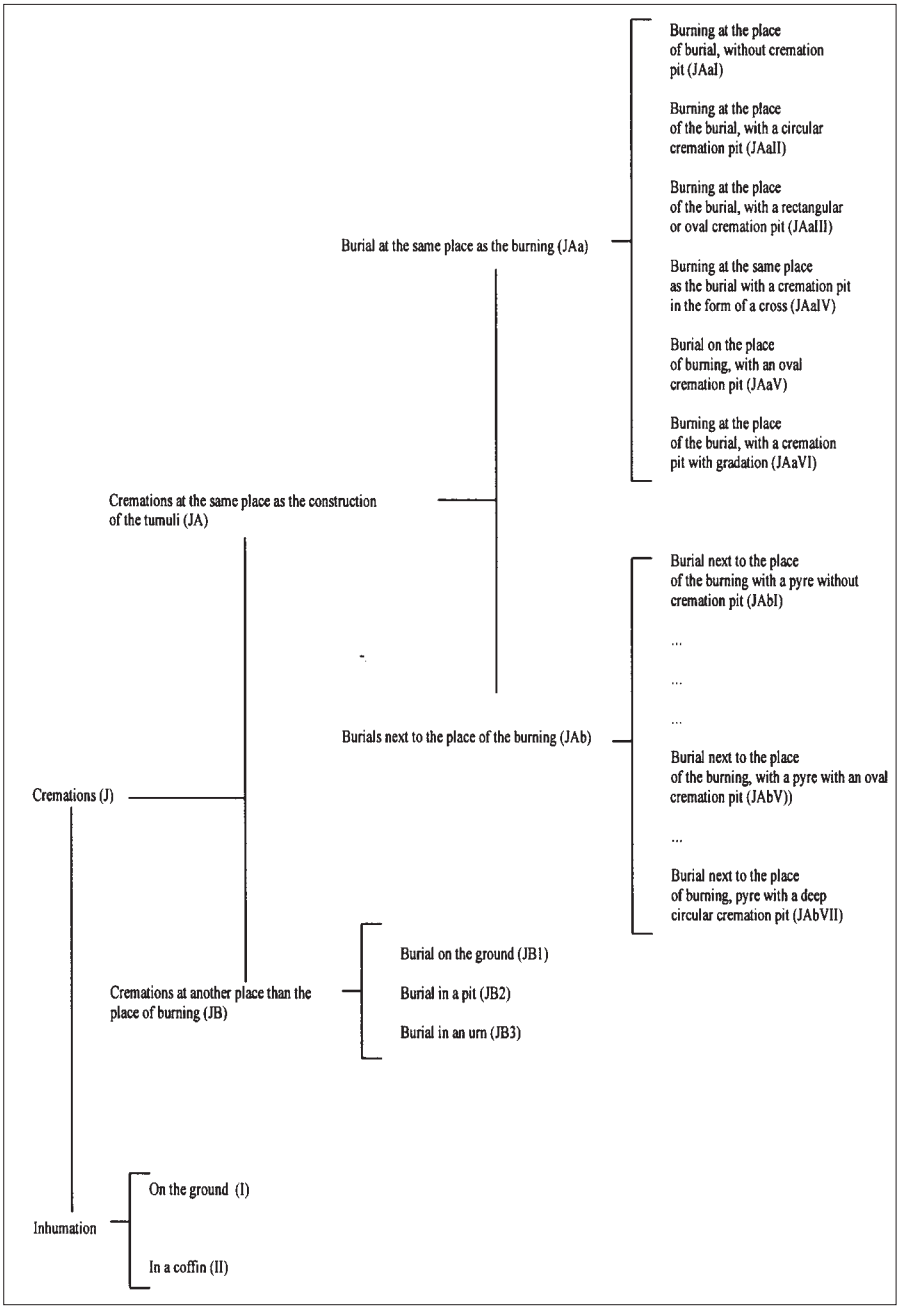


Fig. 5. Typological groups of the Histrian tumuli (after Alexandrescu 1966, 416; Alexandrescu 1965a, 164) (NB: Alexandrescu never specified JAbII-IV and VI).

*the place of the burning* (type *JAb*) – and *cremations at another place than the place of burning* (type *JB*). Type JA has been further subdivided according to the form of the cremation pit:

- *Burning at the place of burial, without cremation pit* (type *JAaI*): had a funeral pyre with a square, almost rectangular, form with an average length of 3m. The body presumably had been orientated in a north-southern direction. Gifts had been deposited on the pyre or outside the cremation zone, in which case they had been ritually broken. This grave type was associated with a peripheral ditch containing remains of human and animal sacrifices. JAaI has been dated between 560/550 and 510/490 BC.
- *Burning at the place of the burial, with a circular cremation pit* (*JAaII*): has only been found in tumulus XVII. The cremation pyre presumably had the same form as in type JAaI. After the burning the remains were deposited in the circular pit. Some of the gifts had been burned at the same moment as the body; other gifts had been deposited inside and outside the grave zone during the construction of the grave proper. These secondary deposits were not burned. The grave was surrounded by a peripheral ditch containing ceramic, human, and horse sacrifices. Type JAaII has been dated in the mid-6th century BC.
- *Burning at the place of the burial, with a rectangular or oval cremation pit* (*JAaIII*): is best known from tumulus XXVIII. The pit and the surrounding zone showed traces of the burning, the remains of which had been carefully taken and deposited in the cremation pit. The form of the pit closely resembled the type known from inhumation graves. The dead body probably was laid out on the pyre in an east-western direction. Gifts were not found in tumuli XXIX and XXXIII; in tumuli XXIX and XXXI they had been deposited after the cremation ritual inside and outside the zone of the burning. The type has been attributed to the 5th-3rd centuries BC.
- *Burning at the same place as the burial with a cremation pit in the form of a cross* (type *JAaIV*): should be dated in the first two centuries of our era.
- *Burial on the place of burning, with an oval cremation pit* (*JAaV*): was found in tumuli XXXIV and XXXVI. The pyre had been constructed in the pit; the body presumably had been laid out in east-western direction. Gifts had been deposited during the ritual of burning. The grave type was used for the first time in the 5th century BC, and remained in use during the Roman period.
- *Burning at the place of the burial, with a cremation pit with gradation* (*JAaVI*): was used during the second half of the first century AD
- *Burial next to the place of the burning with a pyre without cremation pit* (*JAbI*): was found only in tumulus XXII. The actual grave had been constructed at a distance of 1m from the place of the burning. After the cremation ritual in and near the cremation zone many vessels had been ritually broken, probably after the most important remains had been collected and deposited in the grave. In the grave no gifts had been left, during the

construction of the grave somewhere. This tumulus is dated in the mid-5th century BC.
- *Burial next to the place of burning, with a pyre with an oval cremation pit* (type *JAbV*): is dated in the middle of the 2nd century BC
- *Burial next to the place of burning, pyre with a deep circular cremation pit* (type *JAbVII*): was attested in tumuli II and IX. The pyre was constructed in a deep pit, which in tumulus II was surrounded with a stone circle. During the cremation ritual and the subsequent burial ritual gifts were deposited. Tumulus II is dated in the 3rd quarter of the 4th century BC and tumulus IX in the Roman period.

Type JB, cremation grave at a different place from the cremation, is known in two distinct forms:
- *Burial on the ground* (type *JB1*): attested in tumulus XXIII from the 5th century BC and tumulus XXXV from the Roman period. Burning and burial were carried out at a different place. The remains of the body were deposited on the ground and buried with some gifts.
- *Burial in a pit* (type *JB2*): was found in tumulus III. The body had been buried with some of the ashes and gifts which showed traces of the burning. During the burial ritual gifts had been deposited, too. The complex has been dated in the second half of the 5th century BC.
- *Burial in an urn* (type *JB3*): was used once for a burial dating to the Roman period (tumulus VI)

The inhumation ritual was found only twice in a tumulus burial (tumuli I and XVIII). Only the body of tumulus I was well preserved; it was orientated east-north-east/west-south-west in a dorsal position with the hands on the chest. The body of tumulus XVIII was not preserved; the pit was orientated north-east/south-west. Also for the inhumations a typological distinction has been made:

I: in tumulus I the body had been placed directly on the ground and was surrounded by a stone circle. In the grave circle a marble plate had been placed.

II: in tumulus XVIII the body had been placed in the oval pit in a coffin. According to the small measurements of the grave, it can be supposed the grave belonged to a child.

Both graves contained gifts; in the case of tumulus I they had been placed inside the stone circle; in the second case they had been placed inside and outside the coffin.

Concerning the gifts several distinctions have been made according to grave type and moment of deposition[39]. According to the observations the gifts have been appointed to these groups based on the cremation ritual, the subsequent

[39] On the gifts see: Alexandrescu 1963, 261; Alexandrescu 1966, 267-272.

construction of the tumulus, or the post-burial rites. Gifts of the first group were almost always present, the other groups from time to time.

*Gifts on the lowest construction level of grave type JA*: can be subdivided in two more groups according to traces of burning: gifts deposited during the cremation ritual and gifts deposited after this ritual, although this observation can not be considered as definite according to the author because of the possibility of a distant position of the gift in relation to the pyre, preventing its burning during the cremation. The first group of gifts was composed of personal possessions of the dead: clothes, jewels, etc., and ceramic vessels, mainly containers for perfume and fragrant oils (lydia, lekythoi, alabastra). Cooking ware was less represented during this phase, but was more abundant during the second construction phase. The presence of amphorae is striking during the last construction phase; they were usually found outside the cremation zone, sometimes in the presence of animal bones. The other gifts had been laid out on different places, inside and outside the cremation zone. Not everywhere these patterns could be observed.

*Gifts at the lowest construction level of grave type JB, inhumation graves and cenotaphs*: can also be divided in two groups: gifts deposited in the actual grave, and gifts deposited on the borders of the grave, a difference which has been ritually interpreted and was also observed in a few flat grave cemeteries in Greece.

*Peripheral gifts*: were found in four of the oldest graves of Histria of the second half of the 6th century BC[40]. The graves were situated in each other's proximity on a platform of the northern necropolis. With one exception, the tumuli had a substructural construction of a funerary platform and peripheral ditch. The rituals belonged to types JAaI and JAaII. All the graves had a special category of gifts, being, apart from animal and ceramic sacrifices, of human origin. These gifts have been found in the peripheral ditch in the case of tumuli XVII, XIX, XX and in two pits west-north-west from the burial under tumulus XII. In tumuli XII and XIX the gifts were deposited without order. The humans sacrificed in tumulus XII had been dead three or four days before their burial; the humans in tumulus XVII were found in a contracted position, possibly indicating their killing on the same place. Animal remains were composed of horses and mules, being mixed with the human remains (tumulus XII) or separated from them (tumulus XVII and XIX) or deposited without human remains (tumulus XX). The animals had been cut in pieces in

[40] On the eldest graves: Alexandrescu/Eftimie 1959; Alexandrescu 1965b; Alexandrescu 1966, 154-155. On a physical anthropological study of the human remains: Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1959, 168-174.

tumulus XVII: only their heads and legs were present. The third category of gifts, ceramic vessels, was usually composed of amphorae and table ware.
The human remains of tumulus XII had been deposited in two pits (collective grave I and collective grave II), not disturbing the centrally located cremation grave in the tumulus proper. Both collective graves had been covered by a stone layer. Collective grave I contained 26 human skeletons and 28 legs (or parts), four skulls, three chests of mules and horses. Collective grave II contained nine human skeletons and 22 legs (or parts), seven skulls, and three chests of mules and horses. From the skeletons studied it could be determined that 12 individuals had been male, two female and eight undetermined. Three came from children between the age of 11-14, one had been a teenager of 17-18 years old, six adults of 20-30, 12 adults of 30-40, six between the age of 40-50, and two adults of the age 50-60. The collective graves were covered by the second construction layer of tumulus XII.

The second major group of burial gifts is composed of offerings from the construction phase of the tumulus. This kind of gifts was observed twice in tumuli from the 5th century BC, and once in the Roman period. The gifts from the 5th century BC consisted of an amphora in between the second and third construction layer of the tumulus.
A third group of gifts was brought after the construction of the tumulus. This deposition occurred in the 5th century BC and in one case in the Roman period. In a pit, usually located in the centre of the hill, some gifts had been placed, although sometimes a pit on top of the hill without any offerings was found.
Two categories of graves have not been discussed yet and will be considered here briefly: secondary graves and some other distinct grave types. Secondary graves were found in different tumuli, only one dating to the classical and early Hellenistic period (grave XXII in tumulus XXII). The grave contained the remains of a cremation ritual executed elsewhere, and gifts. After the secondary burial, the surface of the tumulus had been carefully restored. The other types of graves are composed of cenotaphs, and flat graves. Sometimes (graves 4 and 6) precise observations were impossible.

### 2.1.3. Ethnicity in Histria

Different conclusions concerning the problem of ethnicity have been proposed for the typological components of the graves and the complexes as a whole. On a formal level analogies for the typological components are sometimes known:
In the case of the methods of construction some observations have been made, which can be considered informative in the study of ethnicity in Histria (Alexandrescu 1966, 239-247). Formal similarities in the peripheral ditches of the tumuli have been found in other Thrakian necropoleis, e.g. Duvanli, Rosova. Identical constructions are not known from the Greek world. The

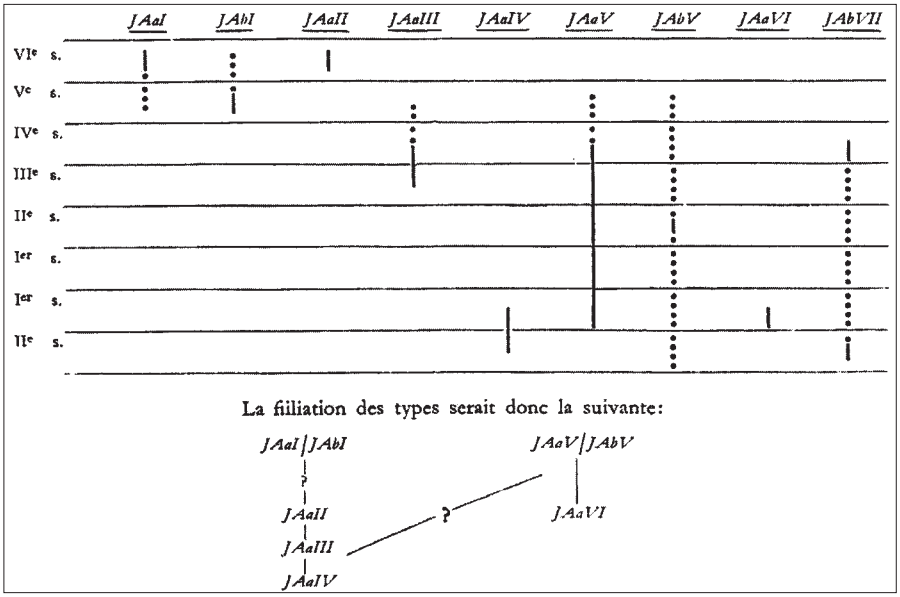


Fig. 6. Chronological evolution of the Histrian tumuli (Alexandrescu 1965, 174).

peripheral ditches served an important religious purpose for they contained gifts of human, animal and ceramical origin. The funerary platforms seem to find their most close parallels in the southern Danube region; they are not found in other necropoleis of Greece or Asia Minor proper. The stone circle resembles, according to the research, most closely structures found in Thrakian graves, which had known a centuries long tradition, starting in the Bronze Age. Most examples found have been dated between the 5th and the 3rd centuries BC. No special observations concerning the fill of the grave have been made, with exception of the pavement of two ditches, which has been found elsewhere in Thrakia (Alexandrescu 1966, 239-247).

In some of the burial rituals formal similarities with other published graves can be detected (Fig. 6). Alexandrescu has pointed out the wide distribution of cremation type JAaI of the Histrian typology amongst the local populations of the Danubian region. Parallels have been found in: *Bailovo* (tumuli I – V, VII, IX, X, XI), *Ezerovo* (tumuli I en II), *Batak* (33 tumuli), *Brezovo* (Baba Dolina tumulus), *Duvanli* (tumulus XVI), *Madara*, *Mezek* (tumulus IV), *Vlaşko Selo* (tumulus I), *Zimnicea* (tumulus $C_7$). The ritual has also been found in graves which have been dated to the Roman period. The ritual has been attributed to people with a high social position. Cremation types JAbI, JAaIII and JAaIV have also been observed in graves in *Batak, Ezerovo, Brezovo,* and *Bailovo*; these graves could also be attributed to people belong-

ing to the aristocracy, according to P. Alexandrescu (Alexandrescu 1965a, 174-177; Alexandrescu 1971, 319). G. Simion, on the contrary, considers the burial ritual at the same place as the burning as being un-Getic, because they used an urn for this purpose. The cremation ritual has also been known in Greece proper and elsewhere in the Greek world: it has been attributed to Greek colonists in the Crimea in the archaic period, it has been found in the 8th-6th centuries in the Kerameikos, in Halos (Thessalia), in Emporion, etc. Grave type JAaV has been seen as "Greek" (Alexandrescu 1966, 239-247). Although inhumation as a ritual occurred occasionally, cremation is considered to have been the dominant funeral ritual in the Thrakian world, in flat graves and in tumuli (Coja 1990, 164). G. Simion pointed out the discovery of inhumation graves in the vicinity of Histria, in *Istria-sat* and *Corbu*. These graves have been attributed to Getae by the researchers; also elsewhere in Thrakia and the North-Pontic area, the inhumation ritual could be observed (Simion 1998, 168-169). Other research revealed the occurrence of both the inhumation and cremation rituals under tumuli in necropoleis attributed to local populations, being used for both sexes and all layers of society (Kilitanova-Komitova 1985, 136). Elsewhere in the Greek world these observations have been made, too[41].

The closest parallels to the grave gifts are easily found in the "Greek" world: most vessels had been imported, a major portion taken by Attic ware. Metal objects were scarce: coins, strigilae and simple jewels are considered "normal" in Greek necropoleis. Weapons are almost completely absent among the grave gifts, apart from some arrow heads, classified as belonging to the Skythian type. A handle of a mirror has been classified as Skythian, too. A special category of grave gifts is the so-called group of peripheral gifts. Human sacrifices had not been wide-spread in Greek funeral rituals. Human sacrifices are not known from the Danube region either but are found in the Northern Pontic steppe (Alexandrescu 1966, 273-281). We know from literary testimonies that in later periods Skythians inhabited the Dobruja region. In tumulus XIX Skythian objects have been found. The offering of humans and animals in the Late Geometric and archaic periods can possibly be attributed as well to Greeks (Simion 1998, 169). The sacrifice of horses had been attributed to Skythians, but was occasionally also practiced by Thrakians and Getae too (Coja 1990, 165).

Considering the formal parallels, some of the Histrian graves can be seen as significant elements in the Histrian ethnic identity. Tumuli XX, XVII, XIX have constructive elements and peripheral offerings which have been placed in the local traditions. Their ritual is seen by some researchers as local, though others deny this. The gifts found in these graves fit the "Greek" traditions with exception of a whetstone and the bronze handle of a mirror, which are both

[41] See Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 176, 184-186, 189 for some examples.

placed in the Skythian traditions. Grave XII shows an extraordinary grave ritual with the presence of two collective graves, unknown both in the Greek world and locally[42]. No research whatsoever seems to have paid attention to this unusual grave complex. The ritual points to a very important event in the social community, for the killing and burying of so many people in a very short time could not have occurred without any repercussion, unless the ritual served an important symbolic purpose.
Tumulus XXXII showed a ritual considered to have been Greek, some Skythian arrow heads were given to the dead. The ritual of graves XXXIII and XXIX can possibly be attributed to the local tradition; the gifts fit the Greek habits. Tumulus XXIX was constructed with a stone circle.
The other graves found in the Histrian necropolis and published hitherto seem to follow traditions known elsewhere in the Greek world and are therefore considered to have been characteristic of "Greeks". The funeral rituals mentioned above display the presence of different traditions, usually in one grave. A simple dichotomy between Greek and local populations in death ritual is therefore not possible.

Following the contextual theories one should look at other contexts to understand the initial starting point. Although Histria has not been studied completely, some conclusions have been made in the preceding research, possibly relevant for the study of ethnicity.
Since the early 6th century BC, local settlements on the rural territory of Histria had been installed[43]. At the same moment there seems to have been a division of the land in parcels, possibly stretching from lake Tuzla to lake Sinoé. The system of parcels, different from the rural system, was delineated by roads which were flanked by tumuli. The sequence of arrangement of the whole system suggests a more remote date for the construction of the roads when compared to the tumuli. The radial road system was intersected by secondary roads and an earthen bank and ditch system at a distance of 3 km from Histria. Graves have also been found outside the bank and some of them were associated in little groups with a parcel which was delineated by roads. The plots, ca. 500/600m x 200m, are visible on air photographs (Fig.7). It has been suggested that some of the plots correspond to farms. There are indications for a possible organisation of the system in the late 7th century BC, in the initial phases of the settlement. The parcel system indicates planning of the landscape, comprising investments in time, working hours and means. It has been

[42] Though there are some collective graves known from the Greek world, like at Marathon (Hdt. 6.107), Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.228; Str. 9.4.16: Strabo even calls it emphatically a 'polyandrion': cf. also Str. 9.4.2), and near Calpes Limen (X. *An*. 6.5.6), none of these may be compared with these graves at Histria, since they probably would display different characteristics. I kindly thank Dr. J.P. Stronk to bring these graves under my attention.

[43] On the rural settlements of the Histrian chora: Krebs 1997, 54-55; Krebs 1997; on

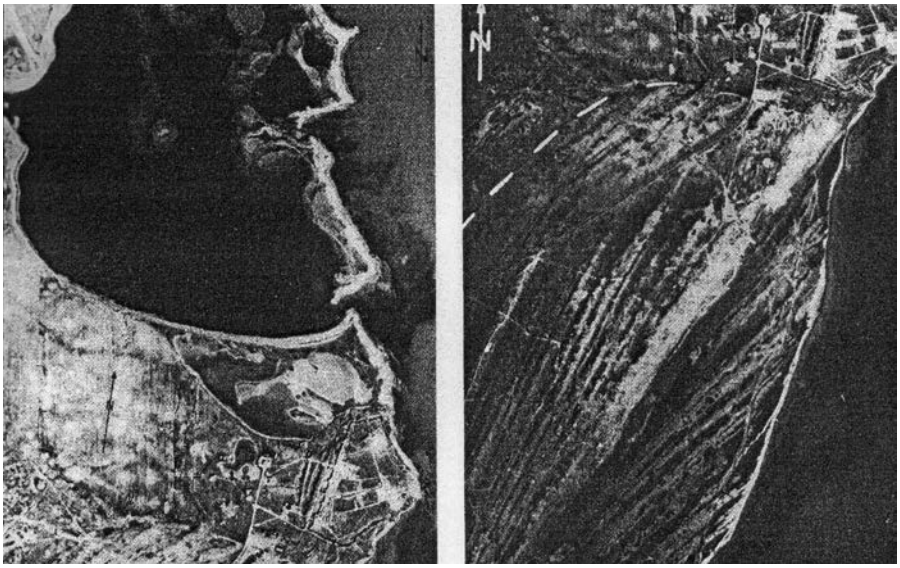


fig. 7. Aerial photographs showing the land parcel system of Histria (Alexandrescu 1990b, 93, fig. 2 and fig. 3).

inferred from this fact that the system probably was not laid out by colonists who had hastily been forced out of their mother city in order to escape a crisis; such an expedition would not have had enough time. Maybe a small group of colonists prepared the system in advance, expecting the coming of a larger group of colonists[44]. It has been suggested this second group included richer inhabitants of Milete, who were forced out of their properties by the advancing Lydian troops, and possessed the means to afford a removal to the new settlement. An alternative explication for the land system could be a further unknown political crisis, overthrowing the oligarchic regime and redistributing the available land among the citizens. Another explication, in analogy with a decree from Lokris, could have been the division of land among new colonists who were able to carry a weapon, recruited by the Histrians (Krebs 1997, 59-61).

Study of the earliest levels has brought to light the existence of 3 major levels of occupation during the archaic period, dated between 630 and 513 BC. Level I has been well represented in the western part of the town, especially in zone X. In the temenos this level is also present. The earliest street has also been attributed to phase I[45]. The first defensive wall was only constructed dur-

[44] This general sequence of installation of Greek settlements has been proposed by E.K. Petropoulos for the Black Sea area and the Western colonies: Petropoulos 2003, 42.

[45] On the lay out of Milesian cities, including Histria: Wasowicz 1999.

ing the second phase (dated 575-550), around 575 BC. The construction of the wall involved some re-allotment of the urban space. Level III encompassed the next period (550-514) until the destruction level. Habitation seems to have been very compact in the western zone of the so-called plateau. In the northern zone of this area a potters' quarter has been discovered, which was occupied from the mid-6th century until the Hellenistic period[46].
From 1959 on habitation zone X has been studied. The oldest houses (L 9 and L 10) found have been attributed to the first half of the 6th century (580-570 BC). Striking during the research was the stratigraphical sequence of the houses until the end of the 6th century BC (Alexandrescu 1990a, 338-339). The earliest remains have been found in zone $Z_2$: humble houses and imported Greek ware of the late 7th and early 6th century[47]. The structures found belong to types known elsewhere in the Greek world. The dugouts are characteristic of the northern Pontic area. Their origin has been discussed. Most scholars believe the type originally belonged to the local populations, but had been quickly copied by the Greek colonists. V.D. Kuznetsov has stated however the so-called dugouts had been ordinary houses whose only remnants had been the basement, which in turn is mistakenly seen as the actual house. A calculation of the tiles found points to a number sufficiently high to suppose the existence of a construction overground (Kuznetsov 1999).
The temenos has been identified in the north-eastern section of the city, on the so-called "acropolis". The earliest remains (some small ditches) are attributed to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries BC. A first series of ritual buildings, probably made out of wood, was constructed in the first quarter of the 6th century BC. The first stone buildings appeared in the middle of the 6th century BC. A first temple (A) has been attributed to Zeus Polieus, a second one (J) to Aphrodite. Architectural fragments, ceramics and some other monuments testify of different phases of reconstruction. A temple for Theos Megas of the 3rd century BC has also been discovered, but a temple attributed to Apollo Iètros, the principal god of the city, has not been found[48].

On the basis of the presence of locally made ceramics S. Dimitriu claims a Getic presence in Histria from the earliest period on[49]. Ceramics alone can not be taken as a single indication for the actual presence of an ethnic group, for it can have been traded and used by others.

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[46] Coja 1990, 161; Hind 1984, 77; Avram 2003, 281-282 and 323. On the ceramic production of Histria: Coja 1962; Alexandrescu 1985, 51; Alexandrescu 1990a, 339; Dimitriu/Coja 1958.

[47] Isaac 1986, 272; Alexandrecu 1985, 50. On habitation in Histria: Coja 1970; Avram 2003, 323.

[48] Pippidi 1965; Pippidi 1958, 341-350; Condurachi 1968, 30-35; Hind 1984, 76-77; Coja 1962, 118-120; Radulescu/Bitoleanu 1984, 33; Isaac 1986, 272-276; Avram 2003, 319-322.

In the Histrian pantheon the presence in the 3rd century BC of Theos Megas, considered to be of Thrakian origin, can be observed. Also present in the Histrian pantheon was Apollo, by some scholars considered to have figured prominently in Greek colonisation (Graham 1983, 26; Dougherty 1993). Apollo was important in Histria's metropolis (Milete) too. Historical sources mention a conflict between the Persians and Skythians, possibly involving Histria. This is sometimes interpreted in terms of close relations between the Greek colony and the Skythians. In the Histrian chora settlements with both Greek and Thrakian components in the material culture have been found. These settlements are generally considered to have belonged to a mixed Greek-Thrakian population.

The preceding research proposes a Thrakian presence in Histria. Usually this statement is supported by a single category of evidence (ceramics), used to distinguish Thrakian "ethnicity" (with primordial connotations) from Greek (primordial) "ethnicity". The co-existence of "Greeks" and "Thrakians" and the complex relations following from this have barely been mentioned by the traditional research. Strictly separated ethnic entities keep dominating the traditional view. But following recent theories of ethnicity, briefly outlined in part 1, it is wrong to suppose a population can be strictly separated in two groups. The primordial notions hardly correspond to reality. In some moments of its existence a true Greek or Thrakian ethnicity may have been present, for example at the moment of arrival of a new group of colonists, bringing their own traditions with them. But the groups inhabiting the area maintained close relations from the beginning, resulting in the fading of the borders of difference. "Mixed marriages" may be taken for granted: within a few generations, they result in a complex pattern of interrelations. Moreover, one has to take into account the "greekness" of the Greeks themselves. As outlined in 1.2 there was no Greece in antiquity, and "Greek" ethnicity therefore operated on different levels. Although ties with Milete are attested, the presence of Greeks from other poleis is probable too, which makes it hard to explain Greek ethnicity in Histria in terms of Milete alone. The Thrakians are considered to have been living in different "groups" too, although it is not very clear how these groups were divided, and how they interacted with each other. Sources mention that the Getae, whose material culture which fits the Iron Age horizon known elsewhere in the region, inhabited the surroundings of Histria. A Skythian presence has been assumed too. It is improbable that all these groups were living separately. As stated by the theory of praxis the habitus assimilates surrounding elements in the process of reproduction. The people in Histria identifying themselves to (more or less) different "groups" would adopt cultural aspects of each other in ways thought to fit their needs. In post-colonial theories of colonisation this process is called *creolisation* or *hybridisation*. To overcome dualistic representations of the societies in colonial studies, post-colonial theory developed these ideas. This implies attention for characteristic local situations where different elements of the colonising and colonised

cultures are being redefined to create new identities in a colonial context (Van Dommelen 1997, 309; Gosden 2001, 241-242). Judging from material cultural elements, a similar situation can be hypothesized in Histria.

As has been concluded a simple dichotomy between Greeks and locals in Histria probably never existed. In the necropolis, as in other contexts, a process of hybridisation may be assumed. This is especially the case for the earliest graves displaying "anomalies" in comparison to what is thought to have been a "Greek value". After a few generations more homogeneity can be observed. The four oldest graves, described as the "Thrakian" group in the initial research, are related to more than one tradition. Significant, however, are the human sacrifices. As has been said above, the killing of people can not be considered to have been an ordinary situation, comparable with the ritual breaking of a vessel for example. This ritual must have had important consequences for the community, and must have been bearing an important message. What this message was is less clear, possibly it was social: the deceased seem to have been buried with all available honours. Hybridity in the grave ritual seems to be present. An instrumental ethnic interpretation of contesting political or economic goals (see 1.1) seems less probable. An ethnic identity, although not explicitly expressed, in terms of a locally and historically specific and hybrid Histrian tradition is more credible.
The components of the other graves could be related to different traditions too. P. Alexandrescu claims to be able to reconstruct the evolution of the local (primordial) population in the graves belonging to types JAbI, JAaII, JAaIII and JAaIV. To avoid primordial connotations it would be better to describe this evolution in terms of an evolution of *funerary traditions*. A contested ethnic identity seems not to have been operating in the death ritual. Hybrid traditions can be said to have been present.
The graves not mentioned above (the so-called truly Greek graves) are difficult to judge. The characteristic of Histrian burial in different periods is not well known; the necropolis has been investigated only partially. It is not clear where the graves should be placed in the overall picture of the Histrian burials.

## 2.2. Kallatis

### 2.2.1. Situating Kallatis

About the earliest history of Kallatis, situated under modern Mangalia (Rumania), little is known historically and archaeologically (see also Fig. 2). In comparison with Histria, less archaeological research has been conducted, and the fact that ancient Kallatis has disappeared partially under a 2m rising sea level, has also contributed to the lack of knowledge about this city[50].

[50] For a geographical placing of Kallatis see: Preda 1968, 5-6.

The only ancient reference to the foundation of Kallatis is to be found in Pseudo-Skymnos 760-764. According to Pseudo-Skymnos, Kallatis was founded after an oracle in 540-500 BC, in the period of the accession to the Makedonian throne of Amyntas. The existence of more than one ruler named Amyntas is known, which is problematic for an interpretation. A foundation date under the eldest Amyntas is not supported by archaeological evidence, so possibly Kallatis' foundation should be dated under Amyntas III in the beginning of the 4th century BC, a period of troubles in the mother city of Herakleia Pontika[51]. The name Kallatis possibly has a Thrakian origin, so the region could have been inhabited by local groups at the time of the initial Greek settlement (Nawotka 1997, 12-20). The territory stretched out from Shabla (Karōn Limen) in the south to Tuzla in the north[52].

The first archaeological research started relatively late: in 1901 P. Polonic discovered an ancient defensive wall; in 1915 D.M. Teodoresco carried out some excavations in the eastern part of Mangalia, resulting in the discovery of a Christian basilica from the Byzantine epoch. The basilica was excavated in 1924 by O. Tafrali and also Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu started archaeological field campaigns, that were continued until 1942. Different inscriptions, sculptures, ceramical fragments and some graves of the tile type (see *infra*) were discovered during this research. In the years 1930-1931 R. Vulpe and V. Dumitresco excavated in the zone of the necropolis. Research on the defensive wall and some important buildings of the city was also carried out. Apparently the majority of the Kallatian population lived outside the defensive walls. During its period of existence, the Kallatian defensive system was reconstructed three times at the same place. The oldest parts were dated to the 4th century BC. After the revolution and the reorganisation of the scientific institutions in 1949-1950, the archaeological research was appointed to the supervision of E. Condurachi. In this period further research on the defensive walls and the necropolis was carried out. In the years 1958 and 1959-1967 major infrastructural works were inspected by archaeologists, and resulted in some important discoveries in the necropolis (see *infra*). More recently, remains of temples and altars inside a temenos have been discovered, and research has been carried out in the harbour (Hind 1993, 88). Remains from a necropolis and thermae from the Roman epoch and a monastery from the late-Roman period have also been found[53].

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[51] Hind 1984, 75. *Contra*: Preda 1968, 7; Avram 1991, 127-130; Avram 2001, 613, note 56. These last two authors think Kallatis was founded in the 6th century under Amyntas I. Avram has pointed to the lack of archaeological research in the eldest parts of the city: Avram 1991, 128. The foundation of Kallatis is also discussed by: Isaac 1986, 262; Nawotka 1997, 20-23; Avram 1996, 292 (see also Avram 1996, 292, note 30).

[52] Hind 1993, 88. On the territory of Kallitis see Avram 2001, 612-632; Avram 1991.

[53] Preda 1968, 20-22. For the earliest excavations in Mangalia: Sauciuc-Săveanu 1924; Sauciuc-Săveanu 1925; Sauciuc-Săveanu 1938a; Sauciuc-Săveanu 1938b (*Dacia* III-IV: reports 3 and 4 by Sauciuc-Săveanu: *non vidimus*). Later emergency research in: Scorpan

Despite an earlier foundation, none of the finds pre-dates the 4th century BC. In the second half of the 4th century BC Kallatis had reached a social, economic and cultural peak. The first silver coins were minted, bearing the image of an ear (as a symbol of agriculture) and Herakles on the other side. Ceramic production reached a high level, a real Monte testaccio, near the postal office of Mangalia, bearing witness to this. Kallatis, apparently maintaining good relationships with the local populations, also minted coins for the Skythian king Ataias[54]. In the late 4th century BC Kallatis reached a leading position in the region. This can be inferred from its role in the struggle against Lysimachos in 313 BC: Kallatis allegedly liberated it's neighbouring cities and united the Skythians and Thrakians inhabiting the region (Isaac 1986, 265; Preda 1968, 8).
From the Hellenistic period on more information is available for Kallatis. Inscriptions concerning cults and political institutions point to similarities with other Megarian centra. It is said Kallatis was founded by Herakleia Pontika, and it was Herakles who was worshipped as *ktistès*. The most important god was, as in other Megarian centra, the Pythian Apollo (Isaac 1986 263-264; Avram 1996, 304-305).

### 2.2.2. The necropolis of Kallatis

The earliest discoveries were made in the years 1920 – 1930 by Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu. The 2 graves he found belonged to the tile-type, and, because of their lack of gifts, attributed to poor people and left devoid of much discussion (Sauciuc-Săveanu 1938b, 285-287). In the following years more graves of the so-called tomb and tumulus type were found[55]. With one exception these graves have not been properly dated. Because most graves had been plundered, nothing is known about the grave gifts and ceremonies[56].
During the 1930's research in the necropolis was undertaken by R. Vulpe and V. Dumitrescu (Preda 1968, 21, 28-31).
In 1949 and 1950 the Histrian research team under supervision of E. Condurachi carried out some borings in the necropolis of Kallatis. The graves found during this campaign were dated in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The results were briefly published in *SCIV*[57].
The necropolis from the classical and Hellenistic epochs seems to have been situated in the northern part of the citadel, with one side closely bordering the defensive wall. The extent has been estimated to more than 400m in the east-western direction and circa 700 m from north to south. Especially in the cen-

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[54] Preda 1968, 7. For a short note on the Kallatian mints: Avram 1991, 105. For the ceramic production of Kallatis see: Hind 1984, 75.

[55] Sauciuc-Săveanu 1941, 227-229; Sauciuc-Săveanu 1945, 243-258 and 265-266.

[56] The exception can be found in the schematic summery. See Vulpe 1938.

[57] Preda 1961, 276 note 4, mentioned volumes I (1950), 85 and volume I, 2 (1951), 157. *SCIV (Studii si Cercetari de Istorie Veche)* seems to be unknown in this part of Europe.

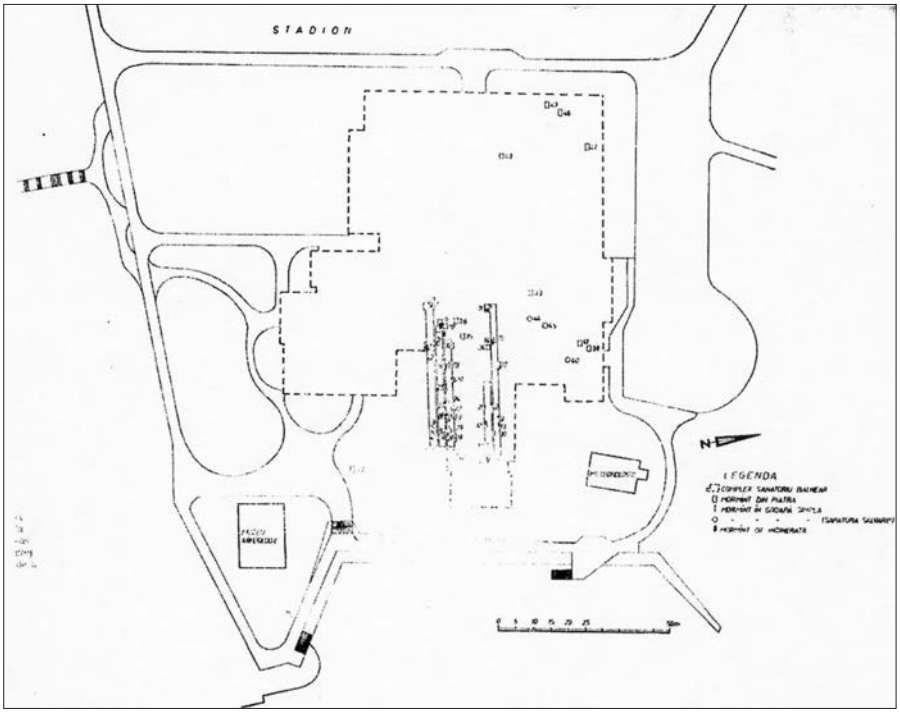


Fig. 8. Location of the 1972 campaign in Kallatis (Preda 1975, fig.1).

tral and western sectors research was undertaken during the 1950s and 1960s (Preda 1961, 276; Preda 1968, 28-31). Outside Mangalia several tumuli, dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, have been found. Also on the west border of the city, nearby the necropolis of the Roman and Byzantine periods, a necropolis composed of tumuli has been found[58]. Some of these graves could be dated to the Greek epochs, the others represent more recent phases. This necropolis however has not been properly studied. Some of the tumuli in the vicinity of Mangalia were constructed following Makedonian examples; they probably date to the 3rd century BC.

In 1959-1960 large scale construction works were executed in Mangalia. These works were preceded by archaeological research concentrating on the defensive wall and the necropolis of the Greek period, the emergency of the research resulted in a lack of methodology (Preda 1961). Also in 1970 con-

[58] Preda 1968, 33-36. Preda did not discuss the tumuli in more detail, they will not be, for this reason, inserted in the schematic summary. Some of the tumuli have been briefly discussed in: Sauciuc-Săveanu 1941, 223-233; Sauciuc-Săveanu 1945, 243-258 and 265-266. Some of these graves have also been mentioned by Avram 1991, 120-122; Vulpe

structive works *extra muros* of Mangalia led to the discovery of a grave, a cremation in a *kalpis* deposited in a stone cist (Zavatin-Coman 1972). In 1972, two emergency field campaigns in the necropolis were undertaken by the Archaeological Museum of Constanţa and the Archaeological Institute of Bucharest. The first campaign took place in February 1972; the second in the period 15th August-30th November 1972. During the second campaign superficial observations have been made. Between 1973 and 1980 further research in the southern zone *extra muros* of the ancient city of Kallatis was carried out because of more infrastructural works. Most of the graves discovered during this campaign corresponded to the types described in earlier campaigns (Fig. 8). More recently, on the 30th of April 1981 a stone tomb from an already known type was discovered[59].

The research of the graves has contributed to the knowledge of the ancient life in Kallatis; the suggestion of a period of cultural prosperity during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC could be confirmated because of the wealth of some of the inventories of the graves (Preda 1961, 303). As yet no general publication on the graves and grave gifts as for Histria and Apollonia Pontika has appeared. Research revealed that all of the inhumation graves were graves corresponding to one of the following types (Preda 1961, 276-298; Preda 1968, 28-31; see Appendix):

- *simple pit grave* (inhum. P): is observed to be of the most frequent type. Probably the dead body was deposited in a wooden coffin, but none of these have been preserved. The bodies were found at a depth of 0,5m à 1m. Usually the deceased was placed on his back in an east-western position. The ritual has been found elsewhere and remained in use during the Roman period. The gifts of this type of grave are usually poor and sometimes completely absent.
- *inhumations in an amphora* (inhum. A): represents a type hitherto unknown in Kallatis or elsewhere in Dobruja and Dakia. Graves G.7 and G.8 consist of an amphora broken into pieces. The body, belonging to a child less than than 2 years old, had been put inside the amphora and subsequently covered with the other sherds of the vessel. The amphorae could not be dated properly but are usually placed in the 4th century BC.
- *tile graves* (inhum. T): are considered to have been an important category of the graves of the classical and Hellenistic periods in Kallatis. The tiles are placed in a vertical position. Some of them bear stamps with inscriptions and emblemata. The position and orientation of the body is the same as in the pit graves. The grave gifts however are more varied and more rich.
- *stone tombs* (inhum. ST): are more complex in construction than the pre-

[59] Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1985. See further in the Appendix.

ceding types. Some of these graves are cist graves, The orientation and position of the body is the same as noted in the other types of graves. The grave gifts are of a rather poor character. The other graves of this group can be considered as a subcategory because of their construction with massive stone blocks which were only roughly worked on the inside of the grave and the joints. The body had been placed on its back with its head to the east and the feet to the west. The graves had different contents, and one contained a papyrus.

In the category of cremation graves also different types were discerned by C. Preda (Preda 1961, 298-300)[60]:

- *simple cremation graves* (cremat.): were composed of a pyre, of oval form, with a depth of circa 0,3m. Most of the remains of the body, charcoal and ashes were preserved. Only few gifts accompanied the body: an iron strigil and a small vessel which imitates an amphora.
- *cremation remains in an amphora found next to the pyre* (cremat. A): was found only once and is badly known because of a later disturbance.
- *cremation remains found elsewhere* (cremat. A): was found more often, some near the grave with the papyrus. Besides the bones, no other remains were found inside the urns. The amphorae which served as urns could all be dated in the 4th and 3rd centuries AD. One exception is the amphora from grave G.16, which was dated in the mid-4th century BC.
- *collective cremation grave* (cremat. C): an exceptional find in Kallatis; 3 pyres, of a known type (a depth of 0,3m and of oval from) and containing bones and ashes, surrounded by a stone platform. The remains suggest that the deceased had been laid out in an east-west position on the pyre. A great number of ceramical fragments, two iron strigileis, and a small vessel imitating an amphora, two unidentifiable bronze objects and the remains of a bronze diadem accompanied the deceased. The grave was provided with a stone construction (12m x 6m), which was erected after the ceremony of the burning of the body; No tumulus has been found, but a stone construction indicates its existence. The dating is difficult because of the lack of datable objects. Possibly the grave can be placed at the end of the 4th century BC (Preda 1961, 299-300).

Later archaeological research (see overview *supra*) brought more graves to light. These all seem to fit in the typology proposed by Constantin Preda. Bârlădeanu-Zavatin also pointed out the absence of weapons in the Kallatian graves. In a rare case a knife or arrow head was given to the deceased (Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1980, 237-239).

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[60] During the campaign 1973-1980 a new type was discovered, which has not been known by Preda: for the cremation in a tile grave: see Appendix. The urn was protected by two tiles (Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1980, 231).

Some of the Kallatian graves show a striking richness in construction and contents, which has been interpreted in terms of a high social position of its owner. Grave G.20 belonged to a 2 years old girl. She was deposed in a tile grave. Remains of wood and nails suggest the possible presence of a coffin. Around the body many gifts were found. The gifts and the tiles point to a date in the middle or third quarter of the 4th century BC (Preda 1961, 282-293).
Another grave is the so-called *grave with the papyrus*. It was covered by a tumulus with a dimension of 13m x 15m. The actual grave was constructed in the centre of the circle. In the grave a papyrus was found, but too badly preserved to be read. This complex has been dated in the 2nd quarter of the 4th century BC (Preda 1961, 295-297; Preda 1968, 29-30). In 1970 a rich cremation in a kalpis was discovered (see overview *supra*) (Zavatin-Coman 1972, 271-280).

### 2.2.3. Ethnicity in Kallatis

When considering the different components of the Kallatian graves some observations concerning ethnic identity can be made.
The majority of the Kallatian graves belonged to the group of inhumations in a simple pit. The scholars working in Kallatis attributed this ritual to the Greeks inhabitants of Kallatis, although other research brought to light inhumation graves which seem to have belonged to the Thrakian tradition (Simion 1998, 168-169; Kilitanova-Komitova 1985, 136). The usual orientation of the body in the Kallatian graves had been east-west, and sometimes west-east. One grave with a north-south orientated body was seen as un-Greek. Why this interpretation was made has not been explained (Preda and Georgescu 1975, 61-74). The contracted position of the dead body, as opposed to a dorsal position, has been interpreted as Geto-Dakian by the Kallatian research. A similar position has been found in the northern Danube region, the northern Pontic area, Bronze Age Thrakia, and also in Geometric Greece[61]. Inhumations in an amphora, tile graves and stone tombs, are widely known from elsewhere in the Greek colonies in the Black Sea area and Greece (Preda 1961, 276-298; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 190-193). The cremation ritual has traditionally been considered as Thrakian; it has also been found in Greek funeral. Cremations were less frequent in Kallatis, but the rite has been practiced. The pit with a bathtub form has not been found anywhere in the local traditions however (Preda 1961, 300-302).
The vessels in the graves could be traced to different Greek productions; the same can be said about the metal objects (with exception of a few Skythian arrow heads).
Some of the graves have displayed components which can at first sight be

[61] Preda 1961, 276-300; Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 193, who consider this body position as non-Greek.

seen as "anomalous" in comparison to Greek habits described in traditional research: the grave found in 1930 (orientation), G.6 (cremation), G.16 (cremation), M.17 (from campaign 1992a) (orientation), M.46 (campaign 1972b), M.2 (campaign 1973-1980) (orientation), G.3 (Skythian arrow heads), G.4 (contracted inhumation), M.8 (contracted inhumation, north-south orientated). None of these graves seem to show major differences. Some components can, possibly, be seen as related to a local tradition. Diversity can be said to rule Kallatian burial rituals; "greekness" seems to have been most present.
Kallatis has not been searched fully. Possibilities for a contextual comparison are therefore limited.
The name *Kallatis* has possibly a local origin but there are no indications for a local settlement prior to the Greek colonisation. Material indications for intensive contacts are absent during the existence of the colony too. Historically it is known that Kallatis minted coins for the Skythian king Ataias, and this can be considered as an indication of contact.
Herakles was honoured as *ktistès*. Some researchers consider especially Herakles to have figured as an expression of Greek ethnicity, following an instrumental definition of ethnicity (ethnicity based on a common myth of descent and a territory)[62]. It can be said that clear indications of expression of ethnic identity, following the instrumental definition of ethnicity, can be found.
In the initial study of the necropolis of Kallatis it was concluded that it was not possible to identify the local population in the grave ritual. Kallatis had been inhabited by Greeks or hellenised Geto-Dakians. Later research concluded that some of the rituals and grave gifts and the location of the grave (of the late 4th-early 3rd century BC) pointed to a local presence (Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1985, 237-239). Considering the formal parallels however, no major correlations with local habits, possibly the expression of ethnic identity, can be found. A tumuli-necropolis dated in the Greek periods has not been properly studied. A proper study of Kallatis may cause a shift in the understanding of the Kallatian funeral habits (Preda 1968, 33-36).
Some burials of the analysed parts of the necropolis may possibly be considered as the result of hybridisation. Perhaps the formal anomalies in the "Greek" cemetery do point to a local presence, but this presence can not be considered to have been very distinctive – in material and probably in ethnic terms – from the Greek one. A clear expression of any identity whatsoever seems not to have been prominent. In an instrumental methodological perspective, the existence of the cult of Herakles *ktistès* can be taken as indication of the presence of a Kallatian ethnic identity, an identity which is with difficulty recognised in other fields of the archaeological record.

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[62] Hall 1997, 2, 17; Malkin 1998, 2, 8; Malkin 2001, 9-10.

## 2.3. Apollonia Pontika

### 2.3.1. Situating Apollonia Pontika

Situated on the Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea, Apollonia Pontika, in the contemporary district of Burgas, has been built over by the modern city of Sozopol (see also Fig. 2). According to the ancient sources the area was inhabited by the *Astai*[63]. According to Strabo (Str. VII, 6.1) the major part of the city was situated on an isle in front of the coast, which may have been present day *Sveti Kyrikos*. The *Sozopol* and *Atiya* peninsulae, too, were probably taken by the Greek colonists. These last two places had port facilities which were of vital importance for the city as is testified by the coins depicting a shrimp and an anchor at one side and the head of Medusa on the other. Apollonia was excellently situated for ships on their way to Histria and Olbia; the southern coastline of Apollonia was unfit for anchoring and its population did not welcome strangers as Xenophon (X. *An*.VII, 5) testified[64].

For the foundation of Apollonia it is Pseudo-Skymnos who gives the most important literary testimony. He stated that Apollonia was founded by Milesians 50 years before the rule of the Persian Cyrus, *i.e*. in the last decade of the 7th century BC. According to Aelian (Ael. *VH* 3.17), the Ionian philosopher Anaximander acted as *oikistes*; in the 2nd year of the 58th Olympiad, Anaximander was 64 years old according to Diogenes Laërtios, and consequently he was born in 611 BC. Archaeological finds seem to point to a foundation date around 610 BC[65]. Important for the dating of the early phases of Apollonia Pontika was the discovery of an oinochoe in 1904. This Wild Goat Style oinochoe has been attributed to the last decade of the 7th century; two Bird dishes can be dated around 600 BC. It is possible, according to Lazarov, that Apollonia was not founded before the last decade of the 7th century BC. No substantial research in the oldest part of town has been done however. Some materials of the late Bronze Age and Iron Age have also been reported (Lazarov 1998, 87-88).

Because Apollonia has been built over by the modern city of Sozopol, no large scale research has been undertaken. Especially the necropoleis are an exception to this. In 1927 works in the harbour of Sozopol brought to light remains of the ancient life of the city. Mainly ceramics (Ionian, Rhodian and Samian) and fragments of tomb stones were found. In the following decades different zones of the city were archaeologically explored, mostly on an accidental base. Major discoveries were not made. In 1946 systematic research in

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[63] See further: Hind 1993, 84-85.

[64] De Boer /Stronk 2002, 233-238; Hodinott 1975, 33; Isaac 1986, 241-242.

[65] Ivanov 1984, 123; Avram 1996, 299; Lazarov 1998, 86; Tsetskhladze 1998, 35; Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 96-98.

the necropolis has been started and in 1961 an archaic necropolis was found[66]. In the last 30 years underwater research along the coast and he harbour has been carried out. More recently 6th century BC habitation remains have been found on the peninsulae where the oldest core of the city was situated[67].
In the 6th/5th centuries Apollonia was a flourishing trading city. Apollonia traded mainly with Athens, as is testified by the many Athenian products which have been found in Apollonia (Venedikov 1962-63b, 391-392).
A decree found in Histria testified to the strong ties between the two cities. Little is generally known of the Apollonian institutions. Inscriptions seem to point to the presence of Apollo Ièros, Artemis Pythia, Hestia, Gè Chtonia, Dionysos and Kybele in the pantheon of Apollonia Pontika (Isaac 1986, 247).

### 2.3.2. The necropolis of Apollonia Pontika

A necropolis composed of flat graves was found near the modern road leading from the isthmus of Apollonia to the inland, actually consisting of two roads, one northern to Burgas and a southern one near the beach and the Maritime Garden[68]. The necropolis encompasses an area of 5 km along the coast, bordering *Kavasite*, a region south of Sozopol. The northern border was formed by a small river near the camping site of Gradina. The western border is formed by the funerary remains, of different periods, running through the zones of *Mapite*, *Sharlan Bair* and *Peychov Most*.
The first research in the necropolis was undertaken in 1885 by the Greek consul in Bourgas, M. Gomfas. He excavated some tumuli near the peninsulae, in *Kolokita*. The tumuli were attributed to the 6th and 5th centuries BC and belonged to the local Thrakian aristocracy, according to the researchers[69]. The results of this and also the subsequent research of the French consul in Plovdiv in Apollonia and surroundings were published by G. Seure in 1924 (Lazarov 1998, 87; Seure 1924, 317-349). The graves, flat graves and tumuli, were discussed in detail by Seure. He appointed different zones of the necropolis to the different populations living in Apollonia and the surroundings (Greeks, Romans, and Thrakians). The flat graves were attributed to the Greek colonists by Seure, the tumuli to the Thrakians, although Seure had noticed the "mixed" Greek-Thrakian character of the ritual in the tumulus of *Mapès*, which should consequently be described as "mixhellenic" (Seure 1924, 327). On other occasions several graves have were discovered too (Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 124).

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[66] The author (Lazarov 1998, 87) did not give further references, publications concerning this necropolis seem to be unknown in the West.

[67] Panayotova 1998, 97; Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 97-99, on the remains of the archaic period. A more elaborated overview of the discoveries in modern Sozopol is to be found in: Nedev/Panayotova 2003.

[68] For the location of the necropolis: Venedikov 1962-63a, 7-9; Panayotova 1998, 97.

[69] Tzaneva 1982, 198. Panayotova on the contrary mentions neither results nor location of these excavations: Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 123.

In 1946 some excavations were undertaken in a zone, called *Kalfata*. In the three following years these investigations were extended. In 1949 excavations took place in the zone of the *Maritime Garden*, and many graves came to light. This so-called southern necropolis, which is considered as the continuation of the *Kalfata* necropolis, stretches under the gardens and houses which have been built nearby. The excavations in the Apollonian necropolis were executed under the supervision of I. Venedikov. But other scholars and the Museum of Burgas were involved too. In different campaigns some zones were examined, whereby 768 graves from different periods were discovered[70]. Between 1972 and 1980 the topography of the necropolis was extensively searched. In the beginning mostly loose finds were registered. From 1973 on systematic excavations were started in *Harmanite*, the new part of the city. This examination of the necropolis formed a part of the lager project *Apollonia – Strandža*, which was executed under the leadership of A. Fol; I. Venedikov also took part in the research. One of the goals of this project was to gain insight into the relation between the Milesian polis and the local Thrakian settlement of *Malkoto Kale*, and the research into the megalithic monuments, the coastal and inland (Caneva 1980, 447-448). During the research the extension of the necropolis could be determined more precisely. Probably the necropolis was composed of different necropoleis dated in the same period, with the exception of the necropolis found in the zone of the *Maritime Garden*, which was in use during the 3rd and the 2nd centuries BC. The other necropoleis could be placed in the 6th century until the first decades of the 3rd century BC. During the excavation campaigns of the 1970s-1980s 150 graves were found which could be attributed by their construction methods, ritual and gifts to the traditions which had been observed by I. Venedikov during his earlier research.

Building activities in a zone 500m north of the zone of the necropolis which was excavated during the campaign of the 1940's made emergency excavations necessary. In the period 1972-1974 another 72 graves and other remains relating to funerary rituals, fire places, vessel- and amphora depositions and stone structures, were examined. These graves also belonged to the already known types according to the researchers[71].

These several researches have allowed an interpretation of the funeral habits

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[70] In zone I (1947) the graves with the numbers 1 until 196 were analysed (Venedikov 1962-63a, 17-29), in II (1949) numbers 197-303 (idem, 29-37), in III (1948) graves 304-330 (idem, 37-38), in IV (1949) graves 331-342 (idem, 38-39), in V (1948) graves 343-398 (idem, 39-45), in VI (1948) graves 399-419 (idem, 45-47), in VII (1948) 420-450 (idem, 47-49), in VIII (1948) 451-513 (idem, 49-51), in IX (1948) 514-583 (idem, 51-54), in X (1947) 584-664 (idem, 54-58), in XI (1948) 665-674 (idem, 58), in XII (1949) 675-679 (idem, 58-59), in XIII (1949) 680-696 (idem, 60), in XIV (1949) 697-714 (idem, 61), in XV (1949) 715-737 (idem, 62-63), XVI (1949) 738-753 (idem, 63), in XVII (1949) 754-768 (idem, 64).

of the inhabitants of Apollonia[72]. I. Venedikov proposed a typology of the graves based on the discoveries of his research; K. Panayotova refined this typology on the basis of the results of the emergency excavations in the years following the initial publication. The funerary gifts have also been extensively published, making clear the important role of the imports from Attica[73].
The most frequent ritual in Apolllonia has been inhumation. The dead were disposed of in a pit with an average depth of 1,2m à 1,4m. No secondary burials were found. A limited number of cremations has also been discovered (Venedikov 1962-63a, 9-16). No major social divisions seem to have played an important role in Apollonia, only in some cases the wealth of the dead had been exposed, and in some cases the slavedom of the dead could be deduced from the presence of the remnants of a chain. Judging from the structures, some of the tombs seem to have been intended as family plots[74].
The inhumation burials are subdivided into four groups. To the first group belong the burials with the body placed in a dorsal position in the grave. The group is divided in four different types[75]. A dorsal position occurred in 95% of the cases; usually the hands had been placed along the body, although in some cases the left or the right hand was resting on the chest. No rules seem to have played a role in this. The body, in most cases, was deposed in a wooden coffin, which could have been assembled in two different ways: assembled (without nails) or with nails.
An assembled coffin was found in graves 153, 185, 299, 300, 302, 303, 342, 383, 385, 389, 390, 392, 395, 396, 398, 450, and 511. This type of coffin was most probably also used in other graves, but no evidence of them have been recorded. The remains found in grave 303 allowed a reconstruction of this type of coffin: the vertical section had a pentagonal form, the horizontal section a hexagonal form. No nails were used by the assemblation of the coffins; probably most of the coffins had a similar form. The existence of the nailed joints in the planking of the coffins has been deduced by the presence of nails in some of the graves.
Up to 22 stone tombs have also been found in Apollonia's necropolis (Venedikov 1962-63a ). Only in one case (grave 368) the bottom had been paved. The graves of this type were covered by 3-5 plates. The joints and the insides of the stones had been carefully polished. The other side had been left rough. Finally the tomb had been covered by small stones or sand. The type of stone used in Apollonia was local sandstone of inferior quality.

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[72] For the necropolis of Apollonia: Venedikov 1962-1963a; Caneva 1980; Panayotova 1998; Hoddinott 1975, 34-40; Tzaneva 1982, 198-200; Ivanov 1984, 125; Hind 1984, 72; Nedev/Panayotova 2003.

[73] In Venedikov 1962-63a; the gifts will not be extensively discussed here.

[74] Such family plots have been found in the excavations of Venedikov and were also discussed by Panayotova 1998; Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 128.

[75] The inhumation graves are discussed in Venedikov 1962-63a, 9-14.

Tile type graves were found in the burials 30, 62, 63, 77, 90, 91, 103, 176, 181, 206, 282, 350, 378, 419, 517, 522, 532, 540, 542, 555, 566, 581, 607, 613, 620, 626, 667, 678, 681, and 768. After the body had been deposited in the pit, the grave had been covered by tiles. Usually four tiles met the needs of an adult's grave. The concept of tile graves 103 and 462 was somewhat different: in contrast to the other tile graves they had not been filled completely with sand; 14 tiles had been used for the construction of the grave, which had the form of a sarcophagus with a wooden coffin deposited on the floor of the grave. Tile graves occurred most frequently after the second half of the 4th century BC. Possibly this type represented a ritual which already occurred during the 5th century BC.
The second group of the inhumation burials is made out of the burials with a body laid out in a foetal position. This type of deposition however did not often occur in Apollonia. The bowed knees and elbow touched each other, the fists placed in front of the chin. This body position was found in graves 28, 387, and 468. In graves 202 and 271 the knees were bowed, but the arms were laid along the body.
A third group of the inhumation graves is made out of the burials in a pithos. This type dates back to the same period as the tile graves. A pithos was used for the burial of a person who had a maximal height corresponding to the same height as the pithos, usually a child. This burial type was observed in graves 219, 334, 379, 601, 605, and 623. The pithos was usually buried at a low depth and was quite often damaged, resulting in the loss of its upper side and the body under it.
Burials in an amphora make out the last group of the different types of inhumation graves according to the typology proposed by Venedikov (Venedikov 1962-63a ). This type of burial was used for the smallest children, and was found in graves 34, 91, 308, 365, 457, 461, 483, and 606. The ritual should be dated to the same period as the tile graves and the burials in a pithos (after the second half of the 4th century BC). As was the case with the burials in a pithos, the amphorae have been badly conserved.

Based on the results of more recent emergency excavations (see *supra*), K. Panayotova has proposed a refinement of the typology of Venedikov[76].
*Type 1 – pit graves* consist of a simple pit dug out in the ground. This type was the most frequent (56 graves of the campaign). The size of the pit depended on the size of the deceased. This type is divided into more variants.
Variant 1 was most frequent (28 graves) and devoid of any durable construction or gift. This type is the most characteristic in Apollonia, as it was in the other Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast. Variant 2 consists of a pit with walls covered with 1-3 stones (six graves). Variant 3 has a small wall at one

[76] Panayotova 1998; Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 127-130.

of its sides. It was made of a few stones, which were joined without mortar. This type was found in six graves.
Variant 4 was, as variant 3, provided with a stone wall, although this type showed two or three constructed walls, composed of one layer of stones. Variant 4 was attested in two graves. Variant 5 consists of a pit which was partially or completely covered with hewn stones (11 graves). Variant 6 occurred only once and consists of a pit which was completely covered by a sand stone of local origin.
*Type 2 – tile grave*: discovered in six graves. According to the order of the tiles two types are discerned: variant 1 (four graves) is composed of the graves with a double pitched roof. Variant 2 of type 2 is represented by two graves. The tiles are placed in a vertical position in order to create a sarcophagus. Rough stones were used for the construction of the roof. The tiles were placed vertically or sloping; they were fixed with stones.
*Type 3 – stone tombs* are characterised by the organisation of their space. On the basis of material and construction, two types have been discerned. Variant 1 (grave 12) is composed of roughly and partially worked stones. The base of a stele and two other stelai were used in the construction of the side walls. Variant 2 (four graves) had been constructed with lime plates. In grave 50 the floor was also covered by plates. The blocks had been finely worked and were well-fitting. The size of the graves depended on the size of the body whom the grave had been constructed for.

In the cremation graves it could be observed that the pyre had been constructed at another place than the actual burial. The remains had been deposited in a ceramic urn (graves 333, 357, 358, 402, 478, and 675), in one case in a painted krater (grave 227) and in another case in a stone cylindrical urn with lid (grave 244). The ceramic urns have been divided, according to their form, in two groups. No cremation graves dated to the 5th or the first half of the 4th centuries BC have been found, a fact which should be seen as important in view of the importance of the ritual elsewhere. In the recent emergency excavation seven cremation graves were found, in one case the burning had occurred on the same place as the burial. In the other cases the remains had been deposited in an urn covered by a bowl, cup or a piece of an amphora. The urn had been supported by some stones. Although the cremation graves were found in between inhumation graves they seem to have clustered in two zones (Panayotova 1998, 100-102).
During the recent emergency digs a cenotaph has been found and inserted in the typology. It was constructed between two standing stelai, with the gifts deposited in between: six oinochoés, a jug, and fragments of locally produced ceramic forms, a terracotta depicting a bull's head and a lead bucranium were deposited in the empty grave[77].

[77] Panayotova 1998, 102. Other cenotaphs have been found too: Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 132.

The gifts had been deposited in several ways: in the cremation graves they had been laid near or inside the urn. In inhumation graves the gifts usually had been placed next to the body, close to the waist of the deceased. Also outside the graves gifts were deposited. These gifts are usually seen as connected with post-burial rituals. The graves are divided into three major chronological groups (with some subgroups) according to the gifts they contained: 460-360 BC, 360-290 BC, and 290-175 BC. The first period is characterised by the abundance of imported Attic ceramics. In the second period Attic imports are also present, but they are hardly found in the third period, which seems in general to have been poorer[78]. The ceramics deposited in the graves comprised different forms: aryballoi and lekythoi were abundant, as were locally produced jugs. The Attic imports were represented by bowls, small bowls (salt cellar type), kylikes, oinochoés and lekanes; some oinochoés had been locally produced. Besides vessels, terracotta figurines are common gifts too. They were produced locally and represented animals, and humans. Metal gifts were not often given to the dead. Small bronze coins, strigiles and mirrors were most frequent. Also present were needles, and fibulae of the so-called Thrakian type. Weapons and tools seem to have been virtually absent, though a few arrow heads of the Skythian type have been found. Among the other gifts beads (of clay, glass, bronze, shell or bone), astragaloi (usually from 1-5 up to 125) and funerary diadems have been found. In general, a major differentiation based on the display of wealth in the graves has not been observed in the necropolis of Apollonia.

A special category of gifts is represented by those objects which have been found outside the graves: in between the graves, near or above the graves, in depositions of amphorae or ritual fire places[79]. I. Venedikov uses the term ritual fire place to indicate fire places containing ashes, cinders and fragments of plates which were found in the Kalfata. The fire places had different sizes but had been used only once. The remains found in the fire places were all similar: shapes which have also been found in the graves and forms which had not been deposited in the graves (Attic fish plates and grills to bake fish). Of all the western Pontic Greek colonies, such grills have only been found in the Kalfata necropolis and in a tumulus near Cape Kolokita. The grills are roughly made out of clay, and knew a limited distribution in space and time (2nd half of the 4th century BC in Apollonia Pontika). Their meaning had not been clear initially. They were seen as model of a boat and a sole of a shoe. The association of the grills with the fish plates in the first research and in the

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[78] On the gifts in the Apollonian graves: Vendikov 1962-63a; Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 132-137. The gifts found during the campaign 1946-1949 have been discussed separately: (I, 1947) Venedikov 1962-63a, 26; (II, 1949) *idem*, 35; (III, 1948) *idem*, 38; (IV, 1949) *idem*, 39; (V, 1948) *idem*, 44; (VI, 1948) *idem*, 47; (VII, 1948) *idem*, 49; (VIII, 1948) *idem*, 51; (IX, 1948) *idem*, 54; (X, 1947) *idem*, 58; (XIII, 1949) *idem*, 60.

[79] On the post-burial rites: Panayotova 1998, 104-106; Nedev/Panayotova 2003, 138-

recent emergency excavations confirms however the use of the grills in rituals related to the dead. Besides the ceramics, food remains (animal bones, carbonized nuts and grape pits) were also present.

### 2.3.3. Ethnicity in Apollonia Pontika

From the comparison of the different components of the typology of the graves it can be concluded that the inhumations in a coffin, stone tomb, tile grave, pithos and amphora belong to types known in the Greek world (Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 188-196; Panayotova 1998, 100-101). Some inhumations in a foetal position have been found, as in Kallatis. This position has also been called *Hocker* position and has been found in other Greek necropoleis, although from an earlier period than studied here. Among the nomadic people of the northern Pontic steppe area, this position was used sometimes, but not exclusively (Petersen 2004, 5). Cremation did not occur often. I. Venedikov states that the cremation ritual was commonly used in Thrakia[80]. As was mentioned above inhumation as a ritual was also practised in Thrakia.

Concerning the grave gifts it has to be noted that many graves were deprived of any gift at all. Only very few graves can be called "rich" (graves 150, 283, and 389). Greek ceramic forms were most common, as were other Greek objects (mints, strigiles, beads, …). Sometimes a locally made group of vessels (grey or red-grey) has been attributed to the Thrakian populations of Apollonia. Venedikov states, however, that this group has also been used by the Greeks of Apollonia, besides the more elaborated painted forms (Venedikov 1962-63b, 394). The fibulae found differ little from the examples found in the interior of Thrakia. Fibulae had been unknown in the Greek world in this period. Needles were also given to the dead. They seem to have served the same purposes as the fibulae of the so-called Thrakian type. A simple correlation between product and producer can not be made, as is shown by the discovery in the northern Pontic area of moulds for the production of objects in the Animal style[81]. In two graves an iron spearhead was deposited. In one case (grave 30) two Greek ceramic vessels had been given to the dead too. In the second case the dead had been given a coin. The ritual used was the inhumation in a simple pit. Recent research has only found two bronze arrow heads; they belong to the Skythian type and resemble another one found earlier (Panayotova 1998, 104). The associated ritual was not mentioned in the publication. Generally, few weapons seem to have been given to the dead.

In a short period of time (2nd half of the 4th century) some grills had been left in ritual fire places. The grills can not be compared to anything comparable in the Greek, nor in the Thrakian world. They are seen as typically local. The fire places correspond to ritual known in the Greek and the Thrakian world.

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[80] Venedikov 1962-63b, 394. Compare: Preda 1961, 300-302; Coja 1990, 164.

[81] Tsetskhladze 2000. See also Tsetskhladze 2002, 84-86 for references.

Formal comparison of the components of the graves as they have been observed in the typology points to the following conclusions:
The cremation graves can possibly be seen as belonging to local rituals, but they were known in the Greek world too. They occur only from the second half of the 4th century BC on. The ritual seems to have been concentrated in two zones of the necropolis (Panayotova 1998, 102). 16 cremation graves have been counted in the period under consideration (the campaigns of the 1940s and the recent campaign). During the first research 9 cremation graves have been found; six did not have any gifts. The other three graves contained: (1) besides the urn (krater) a grey vessel, (2) a stone urn and (3) an alabastron. For the more recent investigations the association between grave and gifts has not been published.
In 5 graves of the campaign in the 1940s a foetal position could be observed, for the recent research this has been recorded in five cases. In none of the 1940s 5 graves gifts are present. In the recent research it has been concluded that these graves should not be considered as a distinct group, because of the lack of any other specific characteristics (Panayotova 1998, 102). It is not clear whether this means that no grave gifts had been found. The fibulae are not known as a Greek type. During the 1940s campaign fibulae were only been found in 13 graves. In six cases it was the only gift. In 3 other cases another metal gift had been given too (and in one grave also a ceramic figurine), in two cases one ceramic bowl, and in grave a diadem was found besides the fibula. Grave 283 contained many gifts and can be considered to be "rich". A correlation of these gifts with the orientation of the grave seems to be absent: eight north-east orientations (which were dominant for 1/5 in the whole cemetery), one south-east, one south-west, two east and one west.
Generally the western and southern orientation occurred less frequently: 21 and 32 times for the selected period respectively. The eastern and south-eastern orientation is widespread (104 and 81 times), although less common than the north-eastern (noted for 141 graves of the selection). A pattern in the orientation of the graves seems to be absent. For the recent investigations figures have as yet not been published.
In 9 graves of the 1940s campaign a needle was deposited in the grave. None of these graves had been displaying a so-called Thrakian ritual. In one grave a fibula was found too. Jewels were widespread in the necropolis of Apollonia. There are no traces of a Thrakian ritual.
The ritual fire places with grills have been found in between other fire places related to offerings to the dead. An association with one of the other components is unknown.
It can be concluded that most of the graves follow Greek traditions. Most graves are simple in their construction and content. Some graves show anomalies with regard to local traditions, but none of the graves express a clear difference which can be seen as pointing to a Thrakian ethnicity.
Related to the archaeological remains of the Apollonian necropolis is the

prosopographical study of the stelai found. The research of the 1940s brought 33 stelai of the 5th and 4th centuries BC to light. One Skythian and five Thrakian names in combination with Greek names or patronyms could be observed[82].

Contextual comparisons in Apollonia are inevitably scarce because of the lack of systematic research in Apollonia, except in the necropolis. Habitation remains belong to the known types of the Pontic area (Nedev/Panayotova 2003). On a cultic level Apollo was important. This can be observed in the city's name and the monumental bronze statue which was made by the Athenian sculptor Kalamis. It is not clear whether Apollo was worshipped as *ktistès*. Some researchers consider in this context Apollo to have played an important role in the Greek colonial movement (Graham 1983, 26; Dougherty 1993).
Although clear indications of ethnicity are absent in other contexts than the funeral one, some sort of ethnic consciousness can be supposed to have existed. Such consciousness can be found in the name Apollonia and the relation with Apollo. How this identity functioned is not clear. In the early research of Apollonia it was stated that a Thrakian or a mixed Thrakian-Greek component in the Apollonian population had been present instead of a pure Greek one (Venedikov 1962-63b, 394). Venedikov noticed that the introduction of the cremations only started in the second half of the 4th century BC. This is the same period as the diffusion of the fibulae of the Thrakian type. The Greeks had not used fibulae since the 6th century BC. The taste of the average Apollonian regarding the jewels was not very different from the Thrakians, said Venedikov (Venedikov 1962-63b, 394).
K. Panayotova describes the Apollonian necropolis as Greek, although she mentions the characteristic presence of grave monuments which can be attributed to the Thrakians (Panayotova 1998, 102). In the most recent study considering the ethnicity observed in the Apollonian necropolis, J.H. Petersen states that terms like "strictly Greek" or "local" have to be avoided. He points to the cultural complexity proper to ethnic classifications. Therefore Petersen has been looking for elements indicating cultural interaction, which would have been low considering the evidence from the necropolis (Petersen 2004). However, Petersen did not take into account the fibulae or needles, and he failed to explain how exactly this cultural interaction had functioned. Although the appearance of the cremation ritual and the Thrakian fibulae are contemporaneous, this can not be interpreted as the arrival of a group of Thrakians in the city, as was done in the study of the 1940s. None of the graves displayed an exclusively Thrakian character which should have point-

[82] Tsetskhladze 1998, 47; Isaac 1986, 246. Venedikov mentions only one name from the 5th/first half of the 4th century which can possibly be attributed to a Thrakian woman: Venedikov 1962-63b, 394.

ed to the presence of a group of people unfamiliar with the habits of the citizens. Possibly a hybrid character can be allotted to the graves. The presence of the grills in the ritual fire places date to the same period as the change in the grave ritual, so another explanation might be given to these local developments in terms of belief, or social position, or the expression of an identity (family, corporation).
Inhumation graves with a body laid out in a foetal position have been found in Kallatis, too. There are no gifts associated with the graves. Possibly a correlation can be made between grave ritual, descent, and the expression of ethnic identity, but further research is necessary.
The graves with metal jewels can, because of the absence of other indications, not be attributed to the Thrakians. It is possible that a local producer was working in Apollonia, but everybody may have appreciated and bought his work, "Greeks" included. The graves in which the metal objects were found rather point to a certain prosperity of the dead. Problems of the correlation between fibulae and ethnicity have been discussed *supra* (1.3). The same can be said about the spearheads and the arrow heads: active signalling of ethnicity is not clearly present.

Characteristic for the necropolis of Apollonia Pontika is its diversity. The choice of the rituals and gifts presumably depended from religion, belief and habit. Major differences in social position cannot be noticed. Some elements in the funeral traditions can partially be related to similar Thrakian habits. A distinct Greek versus Thrakian ethnic identity cannot be observed; instead, hybridity and hybrid identity(-ies) seem to have been present.

## 3. Conclusion: archaeology of ethnicity in the north-western Black Sea area?

Although some scholars question the possibility of recognizing ethnicity in archaeological contexts, its study produces significant results indeed. Methodology has only been superficially considered here and used in a simple analytic way, but it is clear that a critical attitude towards traditional views allows for a more complex understanding of past societies. Local presence in the Greek colonies can be assumed. In most cases complex relations resulting in a varied pattern of material culture replace the traditional dichotomy resulting from primordial representations of Greeks and Thrakians.

In Histria some of the elements present in the earliest graves may possibly be related to local, Thrakian and other, traditions. But without further research in the Histrian necropolis it is difficult to establish the specific Histrian tradition in space and time and its relations on a formal level with existing traditions in general. For the time being the hybrid character of the rituals has been established. The term hybridisation is used to describe colonial encounters in which, on a material and mental level, elements of different cultural traditions

have been mixed to form a meaningful whole for the participating agents. Because of the complex relations of interacting "Greeks" and "Thrakians", elements of both traditions probably were integrated into a whole which was significant for those inhabiting Histria and its surroundings. The term hybridity can be used for the earliest graves of Histria and for the later ones, but major differences in material traditions seem to have disappeared later.
In Kallatis the graves testify in the first place of certain wealth of the population; known "Greek" traditions are most present. Some anomalies, on a formal level related to local traditions, have also been noticed. Their meaning on an ethnic level is difficult to establish. Before more clarity in the relations with existing traditions can be established, primordial connotations of these graves should be avoided to allow for a more complex understanding. Hybridity as a general tendency seems not to have been as prominently present as it was in Histria. Following the instrumental traditions in archaeological methodology, a clear ethnic connotation can be found in the cult of Herakles *ktistès*. Other indications of ethnic identity in Kallatis are clarified only with difficulty.
In contrast to the other necropoleis a lot of information is available for Apollonia Pontika. At first sight the grave seems not to have been used for the expression of an ethnic identity, neither for any other social identity. With a few exceptions, none of the graves can be labelled "rich". The richer graves containing some gifts are situated in the same location as the graves containing no gifts, or even the remnants of a chain of the owner of the grave. Some elements of some graves may be related to local traditions, but none of the components seem to point to a significant expression of ethnic identity. The rituals of the Apollonian necropolis testify in the first place to diversity. Computer manipulations of the many data should make it possible to discover patterns which are now absent. Such a pattern could be analysed in a contextual way to establish relations (or not) with other traditions.
The absence of some body parts in some of the graves has not been discussed. It can not be inferred from the publications whether the absence of these body parts is due to conservation or manipulation as a funerary ritual, as was practiced for example in Histria in the earliest periods. In Histria these manipulations can be considered to have been very meaningful, perhaps similar acts governed the Apollonian rituals. Further research into this topic is necessary.

The three case studies demonstrate that it is necessary to avoid primordial notions of ethnicity. Often such notions are accepted *a priori* by scholars, which disables research into the social structures, particularly ethnicity, because only three possibilities are accepted: "Greek", "local" or a troublesome mixed form which can not be thoroughly described nor explained.
The core problem remains the possible interpretation which is given to the objects in a specific historical situation. Possibly, signals of ethnicity exist but they are difficult to recognize by the contemporary researcher. Despite the few indications it can be assumed that each of the three poleis had its own ethnic

identity. C. Morgan has related the existence of an ethnic identity to the presence of a political framework (Morgan 2001). Morgan presents some conditions which had to be fulfilled to establish the political framework: she mentions the importance of a territory, a common myth of descent, the type of political structure and the external relations maintained by the community. The conditions for a political framework necessary for ethnic identity seem to have been fulfilled in the three poleis. Some other indications of their particular identity can be added: a name of their own and representative symbols, as has been found for example on the coins; such symbols may point to a population (or a part of it) which delineated the borders of the community and selected the symbols which they thought to be representative of the whole of their society. Different elements have been noticed during the research presented in this paper which can be tied to a hybrid tradition. This hybrid tradition presents a contrast to what J. Hall called the Greek *aggregative self-definition*, a self-definition which was formed from inside based on similarities. After the Persian Wars, the Greek self-definition was based on characteristics, significantly opposing a barbaric other. This self-definition has been called the *opposed self-definition* by J. Hall. It has generally been acknowledged that a contested image of the barbarians existed in post-Persian War Athens. In the cities of the western Black Sea Littoral no indications of a sharp contrast between "Greeks" and "barbarians" seems to have been operating one way or the other, as they were cultivated in Athens and used for the creation of the Athenian ethnic identity in that period. Despite problems in the interpretation of material culture, it can be doubted that the Athenian way of self-definition can be attributed to archaeological data with their hybrid character as can be seen in Histria, Kallatis and Apollonia Pontika. A definition of an all-encompassing Greek ethnicity in terms of an oppositional self-definition seems therefore not to be correct.
Major differences between the notions Doric and Ionic in the western Black Sea region seem not to have been working on a formal level. The similarities of the funerary traditions of Apollonia Pontika and Kallatis, respectively Ionian and Dorian, seem to have been less than between Apollonia and Histria, both of Ionian origin. Moreover, Histria and Kallatis are situated more closely to each other.

A precise definition of ethnicity in archaeology has not been commonly acknowledged. Similarities, differences, descent, geographical and political frameworks are separately, or in combination, considered to be of basic importance for the understanding of ethnicity. Refined research of ethnicity is therefore difficult. Detailed methodology has not been proposed for the archaeological research of ethnicity. A regional survey of the funerary habits in the Greek colonies, rural settlements and local centres can unequivocally make clear which tradition had been in use, and where which ritual had been a traditional habit, and which ritual was not. A statistic analysis of data might

reveal patterns in the data. A consistent use of terms and names (Thrakian, Getic, Geto-Dakian, Dakian, and Skythian) should make their application meaningful and should consequently allow for a more detailed understanding. A more precise understanding of ethnicity should enable a better understanding of this complex social phenomenon: the relationship of the data, obtained by the instrumental and contextual angles, the first one criticised by the second one, are not clear on a theoretical level. Although an unambiguous understanding of the ethnicity of Histria, Kallatis and Apollonia Pontika could not be presented, ethnicity has been proved at least to be a valuable analytic concept to demonstrate new understandings of traditional assertions of the coexistence between Greek colonists and local populations: this is more and more recognised by scholars, for example M. Damyanov and J.H. Petersen (Damyanov 2003; Petersen 2004). There is an enormous potential for future research of ethnicity and a better understanding of past societies.

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## APPENDIX

The schemes presented in the appendix are based on the reports referred to in

**HISTRIA**, N°:
- GR.: grave

Histria, DATE BC:
- c.: century

Histria, RIT.: ritual:
- cenot.: cenotaph
- cremat.: cremation
- inhum.: inhumation
- (for types JA and JB see 2.1.2 and Fig. 5)

Histria, GIFTS: the numbers between brackets refer to the figures in the original catalogue
- a: amphora
- alb.: albast
- alab.: alabastron
- aryb.: aryballos
- Att.: Attic
- b.c.: band cup
- cookw.: cookware
- fikk.: fikkelura
- fun.: funeral
- hm: handmade
- Ion.: Ionian
- kanth.: kantharos
- krat.: krater
- Kor.: Korinthian
- kx: kylix
- laos: lagynos
- lne: lekanes
- lekyt.: lekythos
- mini: miniature
- oe: oenochoe
- periph.: peripheral
- pke: pelike
- pl: plate
- pr: pitcher
- Rhod.: Rhodian
- sk: skyphos
- Thrak.: Thrakian
- uum: unguentarium
- wm: wheelmade

Histria, COMMENT:
- periph.: peripheral

**KALLATIS**, N°:
- G. *number*: grave - as referred to in the text
- M. *number*: tumulus - as referred to in the original publication

Kallatis, DATE: see Histria
- Greek: date given in the original publication (not specified)

Kallatis, RIT.: ritual:
- cremat.: simple cremation grave
- cremat. A: cremation in an amphora
- cremat. C: collective cremation grave
- cremat. K: cremation in a kalpis
- cremat. T: cremation in a tile grave
- inhum. A: inhumation in an amphora
- inhum. P: inhumation in a pit
- inhum. ST: inhumation in a stone tombe
- inhum. T: inhumation in a tile grave

Kallatis, GIFTS: see Histria
- Thas.: Thasian

**APOLLONIA PONTIKA**, I, II, ...: campaign in year …

Apollonia Pontika, DATE: see Histria

Apollonia Pontika, RIT.: ritual:
- A: inhumation in an amphora
- CP: contracted body position
- inhum.: inhumation in a pit
- P: inhumation in a pithos
- ST: inhumation in a stone tombe
- T: inhumation in a tile grave

Apollonia Pontika, GIFTS: see Histria

the text. Only reports providing sufficient information to allow for a classification have been included.

Following themes on the graves are presented: YEAR (indicating the year of the campaign),
N° (number of the grave referred to in the original publication), DATE (date attributed to the grave in the original publication), RITUAL (grave ritual observed in the grave), GIFTS (objects found in the grave following the scheme: number of objects, object, material, and supplementary comment), COMMENT (supplementary information concerning the grave, its ritual or construction).

Several abbreviations have been used:

| HISTRIA YEAR | N° | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1955-61 | XX | 560-550 | JAaI | 2 Att. b.c. (XX 1, XX 3)<br>krat. (XX 2)<br>pl, Rhod. B (XX 4)<br>oe (XX 5)<br>3 a (XX 6, XX 7, XX 8)<br>(fragment) (XX 9) | periph. gifts<br>(horse, ceramics)<br>funerary platform<br>ditch dressed with<br>stones |
| 1955-61 | XVII | mid-6 c. | JAaII | Lydion (urn) ((XVII 1)<br>Att. b.c. (XVII 2)<br>Kor. sk (XVII 3)<br>Ion. oe (XVII 4)<br>hm pot (XVII 5)<br>fikk. a or oe (XVII 9)<br>lne (XVII 10)<br>oe (XXVII 11)<br>wm cookw. (XVII 12)<br>Att. lip-cup (XVII 8)<br>3 a (XVII 6, XVII 14,<br>XVII 15)<br>2 alb. alab. (XVII 7,<br>XVII 16)<br>hm jug (XVII 17) | periph. gifts (3<br>humans, 4 horses,<br>ceramics)<br>funerary platform |
| 1955-61 | XIX | 550/525 | JAaI | fikk. oe (XIX 1)<br>Att. b.c. (XIX 2)<br>lne (XIX 3, XIX 4)<br>Rhod. B pinax (XIX 5)<br>wm cookw. (XIX 6)<br>Kor. pixis (XIX 7)<br>Ion. pl (XIX 9)<br>oe (XIX 8)<br>whetstone (XIX 11)<br>handle of a bronze mirror<br>(Skythian type) (XIX 12)<br>knife, iron (XIX 13)<br>Att. mini oe (XIX 14) | periph. gifts (2<br>humans, 1 horse)<br>funerary platform<br>ditch dressed with<br>stones |
| 1955-61 | XII | 510-500 | JAaI | Att. lekyt. (XII 1)<br>Att. kalpis (XII 2) | cremation +<br>2 collective graves |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | wm cookw. (XII 3)<br>alb. alab. (XII 4) | periph. gifts<br>5 humans, horses |
| | | | | button, bone (XII 5) | mules |
| 1955-61 | XI | begin 5 c. | cenot. | dagger, iron (XII 6)<br>plaquette, bone (XII 7)<br>beads, bronze (XII 8)<br>(fragment) iron (XII 9)<br>Att. b.c. (XII 10)<br>2 earrings, bronze (XII 12, XII 13)<br>2 a (Chios) (XI 1, XI 2)<br>a (XI 3)<br>pl (fragments) (XI 4, XI 5)<br>grey lekyt. (XI 6)<br>object, iron (XI 7)<br>oe (XI 8)<br>pl (XI 9) | |
| 1955-61 | XXII | mid-5 c. | JAbI | 2 a (Chios) (XXII 1a, XXII 7) | contained secondary grave |
| HISTRIA<br>YEAR | N° | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT<br>(GR. XXII) |
| | | | | 3 a (XXII 1b, XXII 8, XXII 18)<br>a (Lesbos?) (XXII 2)<br>2 lne (XXII 3, XXII 10)<br>pl (XXII 4)<br>2 coins from Histria (XXII 5, XXII 11)<br>cup (XXII 6)<br>wm cookw. (XXII 9)<br>3 pl (XXII 12, XXII 13b)<br>Att. cup (XXII 14)<br>Att. kanth. (XXII 15)<br>fish pl (XXII 16)<br>2 bowl (XXII 17, XXII 17b) | funerary platform |
| 1955-61 | XIV | 450-425 | ? | closed form (a or krat.) (XIV 1)<br>2 a (Chios) (XIV 2, XIV 3) | plundered |
| 1955-61 | III | 450-400 | JB2 | pyramidal amulet, lead covered with bronze (III 1)<br>kanth. (Att.?) (III 2)<br>grey lekyt. (III 3) | |
| 1955-61 | XXIII | 425-400 | JB1 | Att. bolsal (XXIII 1)<br>a (XXIII 2)<br>lekyt. (XXIII 3)<br>oe (XXIII 4)<br>fun. statuette, terracotta (XXIII 5) | |
| 1955-61 | I | 5 c. | inhum. | Ion. vase (I 1)<br>krat. (I 2)<br>marble figurine | ENE-WSW orientation |
| 1955-61 | XIII | 6-5 c. | cenot. | / | |
| 1955-61 | XXXII | ? | JAaV | 6 arrow-heads (no number) | |
| 1955-61 | XXVIII | 5 c. (?) | JAaIII | a (XXVIII 1) | |
| 1955-61 | XVIII | 400/begin 4 c. | inhum. | 2 Att. laos (XVIII 1, XVIII 2) | |
| 1955-61 | II | 350-325 (after | JAbVII | 2 fish pl (II 1, II 3)<br>Att. pke (II 2) | total of 4 graves |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 336 BC) | | pl (II 4)<br>closed form (fragments) | |
| | | | | (II 5) | |
| 1955-61 | XXI | 350-325 (after 336 BC) | JAaV | 2 lekyt. (II 6, II 9)<br>cup (II 8)<br>coin, bronze, Alexander (II 10)<br>Att. lekyt. (XXI 1)<br>Att. oe (XXI 2)<br>Att. bolsal (XXI 3)<br>bowl (XXI 4)<br>Att. askos (XXI 5)<br>2 cup (XXI 6, XXI 7)<br>fish pl (XXI 8)<br>coin, bronze, Alexander (XXI 9)<br>lekyt. (XXI 10)<br>2 a (Herakleia) (XXI 11, XXI 12) | child? |
| HISTRIA<br>YEAR | N° | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| | | | | a (Thasos) (XXI 13) | |
| 1955-61 | XXXIII | 350-325 | JAaIII (?) | fish pl (XXXIII 1)<br>3 Att. bowl (XXXIII 2, XXXIII 3, XXXIII 4)<br>laos (XXXIII 5)<br>2 Att. kanth. (XXXIII 6, XXXIII 7)<br>pl (XXXIII 8) | |
| 1955-61 | XXIX | 350-325 | JAaIII | uum (XXIX 1)<br>Att. kanth. (XXIX 2)<br>2 Att. bowl (XXIX 3, XXXIX 4)<br>Att. oe (XXIX 4)<br>2 a (Herakleia) (XXIX 6, XXIX 7) | stone circle |
| 1955-61 | XXXIV | end 4/ begin 3 c. | JAaV | Att. oe (XXXIV 1)<br>2 uum (XXXIV 2, XXXIV 15)<br>object, bronze (XXXIV 3)<br>cup (XXXIV 4)<br>coin (XXXIV 5)<br>fish pl (XXXIV 6)<br>a (atypical fragments) (XXXIV 7, XXXIV 13)<br>3 Att. kanth. (XXXIV 8, XXXIV 14, XXXIV 16)<br>strigilis, iron (XXXIV 10)<br>knife, iron (XXXIV 11)<br>fish pl (XXXIV 17)<br>Att. pl (XXXIV 18)<br>3 bowl (XXXIV 19, XXXIV 20, XXXIV 21) | total of 3 graves |
| 1955-61 | GR. XXII | ca. 450 | cremat. | pl (XXII 1, 1)<br>1 or 2 a (XXII 1, 2)<br>a (Chios) (XXII 1, 3) | secondary grave |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | a (XXII1, 4) | |
| 1959 | GR. 2 | 6/5 c. | inhum. | Ion. lekyt. (m 2.1) | no tumulus |
| 1959 | GR. 3 | 6/5 c. | inhum. | kanth. (m 3.1) | no tumulus |
| 1958 | GR. 4 | 5 c. | cenot. | olpe (m 4.1)<br>closed form (m 4.2)<br>3 Kor. mini sk (m 4.3-5) | no tumulus |
| 1958 | GR. 5 | 5 c. | inhum. | a (Thasos) (m 5.1)<br>cup (m 5.2)<br>Att. kanth. (m 5.3)<br>object, bronze (m 5.4)<br>Thrak. fibula, bronze (m 5.5)<br>ceramical forms (m 5.6-7)<br>Att. lekyt. (m 5.8)<br>object, iron (m 5.9) | no tumulus |
| 1958 | GR. 6 | mid-4 c. | cremat. | a (m 6.1)<br>lekyt. (m 6.2)<br>uum (m 6.3)<br>object, iron (m 6.4) | no tumulus |

| KALLATIS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| 1930 | / | 4 c. | inhum. ST | footing, bronze<br>disc, bronze<br>mini aryb.<br>pl<br>2 figurines, terracotta | adult, NO-SW |
| 1959/60 | G.1=M.1 | 350-300<br>or 3 c. | inhum. ST | 4 painted vases<br>2 diadems<br>papyrus | grave with the<br>papyrus |
| 1959/60 | G.2=M.2 | end 4 c. | cremat. C | ceramics (not specified)<br>2 strigiles, iron<br>2 objects, bronze<br>diadem | collective<br>cremation<br>grave |
| 1959/60 | G.3=M.3 | ? | inhum. P | arrow-heads<br>(Skythian type) | |
| 1959/60 | G.4=M.4 | ? | inhum. P | / | contracted<br>position |
| 1959/60 | G.6=M.6 | 4/3 c. | cremat. A | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.7=M.7 | 4/3 c. | inhum. A | / | child |
| 1959/60 | G.8=M.8 | ? | inhum. A | / | child |
| 1959/60 | G.8a=M.8a | ? | cremat. A | strigilis, iron<br>small vase | |
| 1959/60 | G.10=M.10 | ? | inhum. P | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.11=M.11 | ? | inhum. P | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.12=M.12 | ? | inhum. T | 2 lekyt., painted | rich gifts, but<br>no information |
| 1959/60 | G.13=M.13 | ? | inhum. ST? | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.14=M.14 | ? | inhum. T | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.16=M.16 | mid-4 c. | cremat. A | diadem | |
| 1959/60 | G.17=M.17 | ? | inhum. ST? | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.18=M.18 | 4/3 c. | cremat. A | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.19=M.19 | 350-300<br>or 3 c. | inhum. ST | pr<br>alab.<br>mirror, bronze | female adult |
| 1959/60 | G.20=M.20 | 350-325 | inhum. T | Att. lne<br>pr<br>alab.<br>4 statuettes, terracotta<br>ornaments, gilded clay<br>7 medaillons with<br>Medusahead<br>4 protomae of winged<br>griffins<br>buttons, different shapes<br>116 beads<br>necklace, gilded clay<br>object, unidentified<br>spade, bronze | 2 year old girl |
| 1959/60 | G.21=M.21 | ? | cremat. | strigilis, iron<br>small vase | |
| 1959/60 | G.22=M.22 | ? | inhum. P | / | child |
| 1959/60 | G.23=M.23 | ? | inhum. P | / | |
| 1959/60 | G.24=M.24 | 350-300<br>or 3 c. | inhum. ST | / | |
| 1970 | / | 325-<br>begin<br>3 c. | cremat. K | 34 medaillons with<br>Medusahead<br>gilded ceramics | |

| KALLATIS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| | | | | 230 circular beads<br>25 conical beads<br>diadem<br>uum | |
| 1972a | M.1 | Greek | inhum. ST | pr<br>2 rings, iron<br>button, bronze<br>strigilis, iron<br>beads, colored glass | adult |
| 1972a | M.5 | Greek | inhum. ST | needle, bronze<br>strigilis, iron | adult |
| 1972a | M.7 | Greek | inhum. ST | strigilis, iron | adult |
| 1972a | M.8 | Greek | inhum. P | / | adult, contracted position on left side, S-N orientation |
| 1972a | M.15 | Greek | inhum. P | / | adult |
| 1972a | M.16 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | cremat. | uum | cremation at the same place as burial, S-W orientation |
| 1972a | M.17 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. P | kanth.<br>lekyt. | teenager, NNW-SSE |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | lamp, terracotta | orientation |
| 1972a | M.25 | Greek | inhum. | P | / | adult |
| 1972a | M.28 | Greek | inhum. | ST | strigilis, iron | adult |
| | | | | | ring, iron | |
| 1972a | M.30 | Greek | inhum. | P | / | adult |
| 1972b | M.35 | Greek | inhum. | ST | uum | adult |
| | | | | | disc (part of a bobbin) | |
| | | | | | ring, iron | |
| 1972b | M.37 | Greek | inhum. | ST | ring, silver | adult |
| 1972b | M.38 | Greek | inhum. | ST | strigilis, iron | adult |
| | | | | | ring, iron | |
| 1972b | M.39 | Greek | inhum. | ST | / | child |
| 1972b | M.40 | 350-325 | inhum. | P | kanth. with | |
| | | | | | inscription in Greek | |
| 1972b | M.41 | Greek | inhum. | ST | ring, iron | adult |
| 1972b | M.42 | Greek | inhum. | ST | ring, bronze | recently |
| | | | | | necklace, bronze | disturbed |
| 1972b | M.45 | Greek | inhum. | ST | / | child |
| 1972b | M.46 | Greek | inhum. | ST | ring, gold and blue stone | adult, W-E |
| 1972b | M.47 | Greek | inhum. | ST | tiara, gold | adult |
| 1972b | M.48 | Greek | inhum. | ST | / | adult |
| 1972b | M.49 | Greek | inhum. | ST | / | disturbed |
| 1973-80 | M.2 | end 4/ | inhum. | ST | kanth. (West Slope Style) | adult, W-E |
| | | begin 3 c. | | | Thas. a | |
| 1973-80 | M.3 | end 4/ | inhum. | ST | 2 a (M.3a) | dubble grave, |
| | | begin 3 c. | inhum. | ST | 2 earrings, gold (M.3a) | M.3a is female, |
| | | | | | necklace, gold (M.3a) | M.3b is male |
| | | | | | ring, gold (M.3a) | W-E orientation |
| | | | | | pixis with pink make-up, | |
| | | | | | bronze (M.3a) | |
| | | | | | pixis, bronze (M.3a) | |
| | | | | | needle, bronze (M.3a) | |
| | | | | | mirror, bronze(M.3a) | |
| KALLATIS | | | | | | |
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| | | | | | ring, iron(M.3b) | |
| | | | | | strigilis, iron (M.3b) | |
| 1973-80 | M.5 | end 4/ | inhum. | ST | 2 a (M.5a) | dubble grave |
| | | begin 3 c. | cremat. | A | object, bronze (M.5a) | cremation at |
| | | | | | strigilis, iron (M.5b) | another |
| | | | | | ring, iron (M.5b) | place as burial |
| | | | | | | (M.5a), |
| | | | | | | inhum. is male |
| | | | | | | (M.5b) |
| 1973-80 | M.8 | 350-250 | cremat. | T | 5 bowl | cremation at the |
| | | | | | | same place |
| | | | | | | as burial |
| 1973-80 | M.9 | 350-250 | inhum. | ST | coin, copper | teenager |
| | | | | | necklace, bronze and gold | |
| | | | | | uum | |
| | | | | | 4 statuettes | |
| | | | | | ring, iron | |
| | | | | | strigilis, iron | |
| 1981 | / | 350-300 | inhum. | ST | 3 uum | |
| | | | | | 2 supports terracotta | |
| | | | | | 10 terracotta statuettes | |
| | | | | | 2 medaillons with | |
| | | | | | Medusahead | |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| I (1947) | 6 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 7 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 8 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 9 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | lamp, terracotta<br>23 astragaloi<br>coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 10 | end 4/begin begin 3 c. | inhum. | / | child |
| I (1947) | 23 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | ST | alab.<br>bowl<br>strigilis, bronze | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 24 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 25 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 26 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 27 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 28 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | CP | / | legs crossed under the body, fists in front of the chin |
| I (1947) | 29 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 30 | 350-325 | T | lekyt.<br>kx<br>spear head, iron | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 31 | 350-300 | inhum. | pyxis<br>kanth.<br>lekyt. | child, N orientation |
| I (1947) | 33 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 34 | 325-300 | A | / | child, S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 35 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 36 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 37 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | a (neck) | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 38 | end 4 c. | inhum. | kx<br>lamp, terracotta<br>bottom of a vessel (contamination?) | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 40 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 41 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | kx<br>bowl | |
| I (1947) | 42 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 43 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| I (1947) | 44 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 45 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt<br>bowl | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 46 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 48 | end 4 c | inhum. | fibula, bronze (Thrakian type) | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 49 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 50 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 51 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 52 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 53 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 54 | ca. 300 | inhum. | fibula, iron (Thrakian type)<br>ring, iron | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 55 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 61 | end 4/ begin 3 c | inhum. | kanth. | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 62 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | T | / | child, N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 63 | 350-300 | T | / | S-E orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| I (1947) | 64 | ? | inhum. | / | child |
| I (1947) | 65 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 66 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | spearhead, iron<br>coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 67 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 68 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 69 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 70 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | pl<br>lekyt.<br>coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 71 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 72 | 325-300 | inhum. | alab., glass<br>arrow-head, bronze<br>11 coins (350-306 BC)<br>(7 silver + 4 bronze) | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 73 | 325-300 | inhum. | oe<br>36 astragaloi | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 74 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 75 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 76 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 77 | 350-300 | T | coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 78 | 350-300 | inhum. | kanth.<br>lekyt. | no head, no anatomical order |
| I (1947) | 79 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 80 | 350-300 | inhum. | figurine, terracotta<br>fibula, bronze (Thrakian type)<br>earrings, bronze | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 81 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 82 | 350-300 | inhum. | fibula, bronze (Thrakian type)<br>needle, bronze<br>2 beads, glass<br>bronze coin | child, S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 83 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | ring, iron | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 84 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 85 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation, no head |
| I (1947) | 87 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 88 | 350-300 | A | ring, bronze | |
| I (1947) | 89 | end 4 c. | inhum. | kx | S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 90 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | T | askos<br>coin, bronze | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 91 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | T + A | / | young child, N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 92 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 93 | 350-300 | inhum. | 2 feeding bottles | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 94 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 95 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 96 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 97 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 98 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 99 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 100 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 101 | ? | inhum. | / | child, S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 102 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 103 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | T | ring, bronze<br>askos | E orientation,<br>T imitates a sarcophagus |
| I (1947) | 104 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| I (1947) | 105 | ? | inhum. | / | no anatomical order |
| I (1947) | 106 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 107 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 108 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 109 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>bowl | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 110 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 111 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 112 | 350-300 | inhum. | kanth.<br>2 rings, bronze | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 113 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| I (1947) | 114 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 115 | 350-300 | inhum. | oe<br>oe, glass | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 116 | 350-300 | inhum. | 2 jugs | no skull, no anatomical order |
| I (1947) | 117 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 118 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 119 | mid-4 c. | ST | lekyt.<br>needle, bronze<br>ring, bronze | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 120 | ? | CP | / | N-E orientation, arms next to the body |
| I (1947) | 121 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 122 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 123 | 350-300 | inhum. | ring, bronze | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 124 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 125 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 126 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| I (1947) | 127 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 128 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 129 | 400-350 | inhum. | strigilis | N-W orientation, no head |
| I (1947) | 130 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 131 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 132 | 375-350 | inhum. | lekyt. | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 133 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 134 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 135 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 136 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| I (1947) | 137 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| I (1947) | 138 | 400-350 | inhum. | a | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 140 | ? | inhum. | askos | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 141 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 142 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 143 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 144 | ? | inhum. | / | 4 graves (144, 145, |
| | 145 | | inhum. | / | 146,147) |
| | 146 | | inhum. | / | together |
| | 147 | | inhum. | / | in 1 pit |
| I (1947) | 148 | 350-325 | inhum. | kanth. | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 149 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 150 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | 2 lekyt.<br>bowl<br>bowl<br>mirror, bronze<br>ring, bronze<br>with incrusted figure<br>scissors, iron | N-E orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| | | | | 2 rings, iron | |
| I (1947) | 151 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| I (1947) | 152 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | N-W orientation |
| | | | | kx | |
| I (1947) | 153 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. kx | child |
| | | | | 2 Kor.kx | |
| | | | | bowl | |
| | | | | 7 figurines, terracotta | |
| I (1947) | 154 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | E orientation |
| | | | | lekyt. | |
| | | | | 2 sellars | |
| | | | | needle, bronze | |
| | | | | disc, bronze, perforated | |
| I (1947) | 155 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | / | close relation with grave 156 |
| I (1947) | 156 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | kx | |
| I (1947) | 157 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 158 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 159 | ? | inhum. | / | gravens 159 - 170 |
| I (1947) | 160 | ? | inhum. | / | together without |
| I (1947) | 161 | ? | inhum. | / | order |
| I (1947) | 162 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 163 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 164 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 165 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 166 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 167 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 168 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 169 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 170 | ? | inhum. | / | |
| I (1947) | 171 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | kanth. | graves 171, 172, |
| | 172 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | / | 173 together |
| | 173 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | / | without order |
| I (1947) | 174 | ? | inhum. | / | bodies of graves |
| | 175 | ? | inhum. | / | 174-175 together without order |
| I (1947) | 176 | 350-300 | T | / | child, N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 177 | 350-300 | inhum. | grey lekyt. | W orientation |
| I (1947) | 178 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 179 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| I (1947) | 180 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 181 | 350-300 | T | / | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 182 | 450-425 | inhum. | askos | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 183 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 184 | mid-5 c. | inhum. | earring, bronze | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 185 | 400-350 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| | | | | tool, bronze | |
| | | | | needle, bone | |
| I (1947) | 186 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| | | | | 3 sk | |
| I (1947) | 187 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 188 | 450-425 | inhum. | oe | S-E orientation |
| | | | | 2 kx | |
| | | | | lekyt. | |
| | | | | askos | |
| | | | | herma, terracotta | |
| I (1947) | 189 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 190 | ca. 430 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-W orientation |
| I (1947) | 191 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-W orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| I (1947) | 192 | ? | inhum. | / | child, N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 193 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| I (1947) | 194 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 195 | 450-425 | inhum. | small vessel with handles<br>a<br>alab., glass | N-E orientation |
| I (1947) | 196 | 450-425 | inhum. | 2 Att. lekyt. | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 197 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 198 | early 3 c. | inhum. | bowl<br>coin, bronze (360-281 BC) | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 199 | early 3 c. | inhum. | astragalos<br>needle, bronze | child, E orientation |
| II (1949) | 200 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | 2 lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 201 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | kanth.<br>bowl<br>2 lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 202 | ? | CP | / | E orientation, no arms |
| II (1949) | 203 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 204 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 205 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation, fire place nearby |
| II (1949) | 206 | end 4 c. | T | lekyt.<br>22 astragaloi | |
| II (1949) | 207 | end 4 c. | inhum. | 2 lekyt.<br>pincers, bronze | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 208 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 209 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | fibula, bronze (Thrakian type) | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 210 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 211 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| II (1949) | 212 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| II (1949) | 213 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| II (1949) | 214 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 218 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>ring, bronze | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 219 | 350-300 | inhum. | plaquette, bronze<br>earrings, bronze | |
| II (1949) | 220 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 222 | 350-325 | inhum. | 2 kanth. | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 223 | 350-200 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 224 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| II (1949) | 225 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | figurine, terracotta | E orientation, lower part of the body missing |
| II (1949) | 226 | 350-300 | inhum. | lamp, terracotta | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 227 | 350-325 | cremat. | krat. (urn)<br>grey bowl (lid) | |
| II (1949) | 228 | 350-300 | inhum. | oe | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 229 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>2 oe<br>6 figurines, terracotta | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 230 | 350-300 | inhum. | oe | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 231 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | alab., glass<br>2 lekyt. | no order |
| II (1949) | 232 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 233 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| II (1949) | 234 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 235 | end 4 c. | inhum. | strigilis, bronze | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 236 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 237 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| II (1949) | 238 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 239 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 240 | 325-300 | inhum. | 2 lekyt. | N orientation |
| II (1949) | 241 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 242 | 350-300 | inhum. | askos<br>lekyt.<br>2 beads, glass<br>ring, bronze | N orientation |
| II (1949) | 243 | mid-4 c.<br>or<br>350-325 | inhum. | 3 kx<br>figurine, terracotta | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 244 | 350-300 | cremat. | cylindrical vessel,<br>stone (urn) | |
| II (1949) | 246 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| II (1949) | 247 | 350-300 | inhum. | kx<br>bead, glass<br>needle, bronze | no order |
| II (1949) | 248 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 249 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 250 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation,<br>lower part of the<br>body missing |
| II (1949) | 251 | ? | inhum. | / | child, N<br>orientation |
| II (1949) | 252 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 253 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| II (1949) | 254 | ? | inhum. | 9 astragaloi | no order |
| II (1949) | 255 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 256 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>4 figurines, terracotta<br>8 astragaloi | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 257 | 350-300 | inhum. | bowl | |
| II (1949) | 258 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 259 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | askos<br>lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 260 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 261 | 350-300 | inhum. | fibula, bronze (Thrakian type) | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 262 | 350-300 | inhum. | earrings, bronze | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 263 | 350-300<br>or<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | fibula, bronze<br>(Thrakian type) | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 264 | 350-300<br>or<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | 2 rings of an iron<br>chain attached<br>to the right leg | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 265 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 266 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt. | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 267 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 268 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 269 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 270 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 271 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 272 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 274 | 350-300 | inhum. | kx<br>3 needles, bronze<br>wire, lead | N-W orientation<br>no order |
| II (1949) | 275 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | 2 oe | N-E orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| II (1949) | 276 | 350-300 | inhum. | grey bowl<br>strigilis, bronze | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 277 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | 2 lekyt.<br>strigilis, bronze | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 278 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| II (1949) | 279 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 280 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>fish-hook, iron | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 281 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>figurine, terracotta<br>coin, bronze, perforated | N-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 282 | 350-300<br>or<br>begin 3 c. | T | bronze coin<br>(350-306 BC) | N-W orientation |
| II (1949) | 283 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | 6 lekyt.<br>3 alab.<br>oe<br>2 alab., glass<br>figurine, glass<br>beads (part of<br>a bracelet), glass<br>object, iron<br>ring, iron<br>2 earrings, bronze<br>mirror, bronze<br>ring, bronze<br>fibula (Thrakian type)<br>fibula (Thrakian type)<br>3 coins, bronze<br>(350-300 BC)<br>coin, bronze | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 284 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 285 | 375-350<br>or<br>mid-4 c. | ST | lekyt.<br>salt cellar<br>strigilis, bronze<br>36 astragaloi | W orientation |
| II (1949) | 286 | ? | ST | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 287 | 375-350 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>strigilis, bronze | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 288 | 400-350 | inhum. | 2 lekyt. | N orientation |
| II (1949) | 289 | 325-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 290 | ca. 350 | inhum. | 7 lekyt.<br>3 kx<br>bowl<br>3 salt cellars<br>askos<br>lamp, terracotta<br>grey vessel with round bottom<br>2 rings, glass (possibly from<br>the neck of an alab.) | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 291 | 350-300 | inhum. | 3 lekyt.<br>object, bronze | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 292 | 350-300 | inhum. | strigilis, bronze | E orientation |
| II (1949) | 293 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 294 | 350-325 | inhum. | bowl<br>grey vessel with<br>round botto | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 295 | 375-350 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 296 | 400-350 | inhum. | kx<br>a, glass | N-E orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| II (1949) | 297 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 298 | ? | inhum. | | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 299 | 450-425 | inhum. | 5 figurines,<br>terracotta<br>shell of a mussel | child, N-E<br>orientation |
| II (1949) | 300 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 301 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 302 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| II (1949) | 303 | 425-400 | inhum. | a<br>grey pr | N-E orientation |
| III (1948) | 304 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| III (1948) | 305 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| III (1948) | 306 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| III (1948) | 307 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| III (1948) | 308 | ? | A | / | child |
| III (1948) | 309 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| III (1948) | 310 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | earring, bronze | S orientation |
| III (1948) | 311 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| III (1948) | 312 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | pendant, bronze | N orientation |
| III (1948) | 313 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 314 | 350-300 | inhum. | grey pr<br>grey olpe | N orientation |
| III (1948) | 315 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 316 | end. 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 317 | ? | CT | / | N-E orientation |
| III (1948) | 318 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| III (1948) | 319 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| III (1948) | 320 | 350-300 | inhum. | kx | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 321 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | kanth.<br>lekyt. | N orientation |
| III (1948) | 322 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | ring, iron | N orientation |
| III (1948) | 323 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| III (1948) | 324 | ? | inhum. | / | no order,<br>possible relation<br>with grave 325 |
| III (1948) | 325 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 326 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 327 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| III (1948) | 328 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 329 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| III (1948) | 330 | ? | inhum. | grey vessel with<br>round bottom | N orientation |
| IV (1949) | 331 | ? | inhum. | | E orientation |
| IV (1949) | 332 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>fibula, bronze (Thrakian type) | E orientation |
| IV (1949) | 333 | 350-300 | cremat. | alab. | |
| IV (1949) | 334 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | P | fibula, bronze (Thrakian type)<br>diadem with bronze leafs and<br>small ceramical balls | N-E orientation |
| IV (1949) | 335 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | earring, bronze | S-W orientation |
| IV (1949) | 336 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | ST | strigilis, bronze | S-W orientation |
| IV (1949) | 337 | mid-4 c. or<br>350-325 | ST | lekyt.<br>2 alb. alab. | E orientation |
| IV (1949) | 338 | 400-350 | inhum. | earring, bronze | S-E orientation |
| IV (1949) | 339 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | S-E orientation |

| APOLLONIA PONTIKA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| IV (1949) | 340 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| IV (1949) | 341 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| IV (1949) | 342 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 343 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 344 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| V (1948) | 345 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| V (1948) | 346 | end 4 c. | inhum. | oe | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 347 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | kanth.<br>bowl<br>ring, bronze | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 348 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 349 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | strigilis, bronze | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 350 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | T | kanth. | E orientation |
| V (1948) | 351 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 352 | 325-300 | inhum. | 2 earrings, bronze<br>34 astragaloi<br>ring, bronze<br>2 coins, bronze (350-306 BC) | child, N orientation |
| V (1948) | 353 | 350-300 | A | salt cellar | child |
| V (1948) | 354 | 350-300 | inhum. | figurine, terracotta<br>ring, bronze<br>5 astragaloi | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 355 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>astragalos | |
| V (1948) | 356 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| V (1948) | 357 | ? | cremat. | / | |
| V (1948) | 358 | ? | cremat. | / | |
| V (1948) | 359 | mid-4 c. or 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>2 grey vessels with round bottom | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 360 | ? | cremat. | / | |
| V (1948) | 361 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 362 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| V (1948) | 363 | 350-300 | inhum. | 3 figurines, terracotta | child, N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 364 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| V (1948) | 365 | 350-300 | A | a | E orientation |
| V (1948) | 366 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>needle, bronze<br>coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | S orientation |
| V (1948) | 367 | mid-4 c. | ST | lekyt.<br>6 bowl<br>7 astragaloi<br>figurine, terracotta | no body found, grave had the size of a child |
| V (1948) | 368 | ? | ST | grey vessel<br>strigilis, bronze | N-E orientation, circle of 27 A around the grave |
| V (1948) | 369 | 350-300 | inhum. | bowl<br>fibula, iron | W orientation |
| V (1948) | 370 | ? | CP | / | E orientation |
| V (1948) | 371 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | P | bowl<br>askos | |
| V (1948) | 372 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 373 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 374 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| V (1948) | 375 | 350-300 | inhum. | kx | S orientation |
| V (1948) | 376 | 350-325 | ST | 2 lekyt. | N-E orientation, |

APOLLONIA PONTIKA

| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 376a | | ST | | together with grave 376a |
| V (1948) | 377 | 350-325 | inhum. | sk.<br>jug<br>needle, bronze | no order |
| V (1948) | 378 | mid-4 c.<br>or<br>350-325 | T | 2 lekyt.<br>oe<br>mirror, bronze<br>needle, bronze<br>coin, bronze | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 379 | 350-300 | P | 2 bowl | N orientation |
| V (1948) | 380 | 350-300 | inhum. | 2 lekyt.<br>ring, bronze | S orientation |
| V (1948) | 381 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>askos | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 382 | *ca*. 350 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 383 | end 4 c. | inhum. | a | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 384 | ? | CP | / | S-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 385 | 430-420 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | child, E orientation |
| V (1948) | 386 | 350-325 | inhum. | 2 lekyt.<br>kx | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 387 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 388 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>strigilis, iron<br>strigilis, bronze | E orientation |
| V (1948) | 389 | 450-425 | inhum. | 3 jugs<br>Att. kx<br>4 figurines, terracotta<br>2 bracelets, silver<br>2 alb. alab. | child, N orientation |
| V (1948) | 390 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 391 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt.<br>6 kx<br>bowl<br>pr<br>oe<br>a<br>grey oe<br>vessel with 1 handle | child, N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 392 | 450-425 | inhum. | 2 lekyt.<br>5 kx<br>2 jugs<br>5 figurines, terracotta<br>a<br>aryb., glass | S-W orientation |
| V (1948) | 393 | *ca*. 450 | inhum. | askos | E orientation |
| V (1948) | 394 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>sk | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 395 | 350-325 | inhum. | lekyt. | gravestone related to the grave |
| V (1948) | 396 | 350-325 | inhum. | Att. lekyt.<br>askos | N-E orientation |
| V (1948) | 397 | 350-325 | inhum. | 8 figurines, terracotta | child, N-W orientation |
| V (1948) | 398 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| VI (1948) | 402 | begin 3 c. | cremat. | / | |
| VI (1948) | 410 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | bowl<br>diadem with bronze leafs and small ceramical balls | E orientation |
| VI (1948) | 411 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| VI (1948) | 412 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | strigilis, bronze | N-W orientation |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| VI (1948) | 413 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| VI (1948) | 418 | 450-425 | inhum. | 3 figurines, terracotta | child, S orientation |
| VI (1948) | 419 | 450-425 | inhum. | askos | E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 420 | 350-300 | inhum. | 2 lekyt.<br>needle, bronze | N-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 422 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| VII (1948) | 423 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | alab. | E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 424 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | askos | N-W orientation |
| VII (1948) | 425 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | askos | child, no order |
| VII (1948) | 426 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| VII (1948) | 427 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| VII (1948) | 428 | ? | inhum. | strigilis, bronze | N-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 429 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | kanth.<br>ring, bronze | S-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 431 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| VII (1948) | 432 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | sk<br>bowl | E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 433 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| VII (1948) | 434 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>2 kx<br>sk<br>oe<br>lamp, terracotta<br>2 vessels with round bottom | |
| VII (1948) | 435 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 437 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 439 | 400-350 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>bowl | S-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 440 | 350-300 | inhum. | fibula, bronze (Thrakian type)<br>a, glass | S-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 441 | end 5 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | child, S-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 442 | end 5 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>bowl | S orientation |
| VII (1948) | 443 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 444 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt.<br>askos<br>kx<br>pr | N-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 445 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 446 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| VII (1948) | 447 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 448 | end 5 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>2 pipes, bone<br>a, glass | N-E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 449 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | E orientation |
| VII (1948) | 450 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 451 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 452 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 453 | end 4 c. | inhum. | kanth.<br>pr | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 454 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 455 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 456 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 457 | ? | A | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 458 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| VIII (1948) | 459 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 460 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| VIII (1948) | 461 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | A | pr<br>vessel with round bottom | |
| VIII (1948) | 463 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 464 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 465 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 466 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 467 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 468 | ? | CP | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 469 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | S orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 470 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 471 | ? | inhum. | ring, iron part of a chain<br>attached to the leg | N-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 472 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 473 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 474 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 475 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 476 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 477 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 478 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | cremat. | / | |
| VIII (1948) | 479 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | askos | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 480 | 350-300 | ST | lekyt.<br>alb. alab. | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 481 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 482 | 350-300 | inhum. | fibula, bronze (Thrakian type) | N-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 483 | ? | A | / | |
| VIII (1948) | 485 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 486 | ? | inhum. | / | child, S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 487 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 488 | ? | inhum. | / | child, closely<br>located to graves<br>486, 487, 488 |
| VIII (1948) | 489 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 490 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 491 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 492 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>kanth.<br>sk<br>bowl | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 493 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 494 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 495 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 496 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 497 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 498 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>feeding bottle | N-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 499 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 500 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 501 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 502 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 503 | 350-300 | inhum. | kx<br>vessel with round bottom<br>kanth. | N-E |
| VIII (1948) | 504 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | askos | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 505 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 506 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 507 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 508 | 375-350 | inhum. | lekyt. | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| | | | | oe<br>feeding bottle<br>grey bowl | |
| VIII (1948) | 509 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 510 | 400-350 | inhum. | 2 lekyt. | E orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 511 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 512 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| VIII (1948) | 513 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 514 | ? | cremat. | / | |
| IX (1948) | 515 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 516 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | figurative lamella,<br>lead | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 517 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | T | / | N-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 518 | ? | A | / | |
| IX (1948) | 519 | ? | T | / | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 522 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | T | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 523 | ? | inhum. | coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | |
| IX (1948) | 524 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 525 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 526 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 527 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 528 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 529 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 530 | ? | ST | / | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 531 | ? | inhum. | vessel with round bottom | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 532 | ? | T | / | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 533 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>kx | child, E<br>orientation |
| IX (1948) | 534 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| IX (1948) | 536 | ? | inhum. | / | 12 corpses<br>without order at<br>a surface of 10m$^2$ |
| IX (1948) | 537 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | kanth.<br>feeding bottle | N-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 538 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| IX (1948) | 539 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation,<br>gravestone related<br>to the grave |
| IX (1948) | 540 | ? | T | / | N-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 542 | ? | T | / | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 543 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 544 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 545 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 546 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | S orientation |
| IX (1948) | 547 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 549 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 550 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| IX (1948) | 551 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| IX (1948) | 552 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 553 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| IX (1948) | 554 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 555 | ? | T | / | N orientation |
| IX (1948) | 556 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 557 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 558 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 559 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 560 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| IX (1948) | 561 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| IX (1948) | 562 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 563 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| IX (1948) | 564 | ? | inhum. | vessel with round bottom | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 565 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 566 | ? | T | / | E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 567 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 568 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 569 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| IX (1948) | 570 | end 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>lamp, terracotta | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 571 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| IX (1948) | 572 | ? | inhum. | / | S orientation |
| IX (1948) | 573 | end 5/<br>begin 4 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | S-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 574 | 450-425 | inhum. | Att. lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| IX (1948) | 575 | 450-425 | inhum. | lekyt.<br>Att. kx | no order |
| IX (1948) | 576 | end 5 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>bowl<br>olpe | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 577 | end 5 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | child, no order |
| X (1947) | 578 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 579 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 580 | end 5/<br>begin 4 c. | inhum. | 3 jugs<br>3 kx<br>alab., glass | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 581 | end 5/<br>begin 4 c. | T | lekyt.<br>kx | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 582 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 583 | end 5 c. | inhum. | lekyt.<br>askos | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 584 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| X (1947) | 585 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| X (1947) | 586 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| X (1947) | 587 | ? | inhum. | needle, bronze | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 588 | ? | inhum. | sk | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 589 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| X (1947) | 590 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 591 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 592 | ? | inhum. | / | no order |
| X (1947) | 593 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 594 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 595 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 596 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| X (1947) | 597 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| X (1947) | 598 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| X (1947) | 599 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | kanth. | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 600 | ? | inhum. | lekyt. | no order |
| X (1947) | 601 | ? | P | oe | |
| X (1947) | 602 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 603 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 604 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 605 | ? | P | / | |
| X (1947) | 606 | ? | A | bowl | |
| X (1947) | 607 | ? | T | knife, iron | N orientation |
| X (1947) | 613 | 350-300 | T | bowl<br>ring, bronze | child, N-E orientation |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
| | | | | coin, bronze | |
| X (1947) | 614 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 615 | end 4 c. | inhum. | ring, bronze | N-E orientation |
| X (1947) | 616 | ? | inhum. | needle, bronze | E orientation |
| X (1947) | 617 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | bowl | child, no order |
| XI (1948) | 618 | end 4 c. | inhum. | pr | E orientation |
| XI (1948) | 619 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| XI (1948) | 620 | 350-300 | T | pr | E orientation |
| XI (1948) | 621 | 350-300 | inhum. | / | no order |
| XI (1948) | 622 | ? | inhum. | / | N orientation |
| XI (1948) | 623 | ? | P | / | |
| XI (1948) | 624 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | lekyt. vessel with round bottom | N orientation |
| XI (1948) | 625 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XI (1948) | 626 | ? | T | / | N-E orientation |
| XI (1948) | 627 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| XII (1949) | 628 | end 4/ begin 3 c. | inhum. | kanth. | N-W orientation |
| XII (1949) | 629 | 350-300 | inhum. | 2 lamps, terracotta 2 vessels with round bottom | body lacking |
| XII (1949) | 630 | 350-300 | inhum. | oe 2 jugs | W orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 634 | 350-300 or begin 3 c. | inhum. | 2 rings, bronze | no order |
| XIII (1949) | 635 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 636 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 637 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 638 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 639 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | bowl | |
| XIII (1949) | 640 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 641 | ? | inhum. | / | S-E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 642 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 643 | 350-300 | inhum. | head of a lamp, terracotta | N orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 644 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 645 | 350-300 | inhum. | a, glass | E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 646 | 350-300 | inhum. | lekyt. | E orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 647 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation |
| XIII (1949) | 648 | ? | inhum. | / | N-W orientation, no head |
| XIII (1949) | 649 | mid-4 c. | inhum. | feeding bottle<br>askos | N-W orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 650 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 651 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 655 | begin 3 c. | ST+P | askos | S orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 656 | 350-300 | inhum. | 2 alb. alab.<br>a | S-W orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 657 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | askos | N-E orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 658 | ? | inhum. | ring, bronze | N-E orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 659 | 400-350 | inhum. | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 660 | ? | inhum. | / | S-W orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 661 | ? | inhum. | / | child, N orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 662 | 350-300 | inhum. | 3 coins, bronze (350-306 BC) | N orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 663 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| XIV (1949) | 667 | ? | T | diadem with bronze leafs and mall ceramical fruits | E orientation |

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| YEAR | No | DATE BC | RIT. | GIFTS | COMMENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | strigilis, iron | |
| XV (1949) | 670 | begin 3 c. | inhum. | beads, glass<br>ring, bronze<br>coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | N-E orientation |
| XV (1949) | 672 | ? | inhum. | / | N-E orientation |
| XV (1949) | 673 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | ST | pendant, tooth<br>of a bear<br>coin, bronze (350-306 BC) | E orientation |
| XV (1949) | 674 | end 4 c. | inhum. | pr<br>object, bronze | E orienation, ceramical sarcophagus |
| XV (1949) | 675 | ? | cremat. | / | |
| XV (1949) | 676 | ? | A | / | W orientation |
| XV (1949) | 677 | end 4/<br>begin 3 c. | inhum. | askos | W orientation |
| XV (1949) | 678 | end 4 c. | T | lekyt. | N-E orientation |
| XV (1949) | 679 | end 4 c. | inhum. | grey bowl<br>kanth. | |
| XV (1949) | 680 | ? | inhum. | / | E orientation |
| XV (1949) | 681 | ? | T | / | |
| XV (1949) | 682 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation |
| XV (1949) | 683 | ? | inhum. | / | W orientation, circle of stones |