

## A CHALCEDONIC DIE OF ASTYNOMOS ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΣ FROM TAURIC CHERSONESUS

In 2018, a die made of semiprecious stone was discovered in the Quarter XX of Tauric Chersonesus during the excavations conducted by the Chersonesus Archaeological Expedition of the State Hermitage under the direction of Nadezhda Yu. Novoselova.<sup>1</sup> The object originates from filling of a cellar of the Hellenistic house located at the crossroads of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Longitudinal and 11<sup>th</sup> Transverse Streets. Originally, this territory had been situated beyond the defensive walls of Chersonesus and was incorporated into the urban layout when restructuring the city under ‘Hippodamian plan’ in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>2</sup>

The building complex at the intersection of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Longitudinal and 11<sup>th</sup> Transverse Streets is conventionally called ‘The House of Archelaos’ (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Erected in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, it has existed until the middle or the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC that coincides with general chronology of residential housebuilding in the Northern District of Chersonesus.<sup>4</sup> Dimensions and area of the house (11.4×12.6 m and 143.6 sq. m correspondingly) are close to those of most ‘small area’ houses excavated on the northern seashore of the city.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The die is kept in the State Historical and Archaeological Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesus (Inv. no. 37708/31). A preliminary report on the find was delivered at the International Conference “The Bosporean Phenomenon” (St Petersburg, November 2018): Novoselova–Namojlik 2018 [Н. Ю. Новоселова, А. С. Намойлик, “Халцедоновый (?) штамп астинома из Херсонеса Таврического: новейшая находка экспедиции Государственного Эрмитажа”, *Боспорский феномен: общее и особенное в историко-культурном пространстве античного мира*], 98–105.

<sup>2</sup> Ryzhov 2007 [С. Г. Рыжов, “Оборонительная стена V в. до н. э. в Северном районе Херсонеса”], 29.

<sup>3</sup> The name was given due to the finding of an amphora fragment with the owner’s graffito Ἀρχελάου in Cellar 2 of the house (Novoselova 2017 [Н. Ю. Новоселова, *Отчет об археологических раскопках в XX квартале Херсонеса Таврического в 2017 г.*], 11, 86–87).

<sup>4</sup> Bujskikh 1999 [А. В. Буйских, “Жилые дома на Северном берегу Херсонеса”], 27.

<sup>5</sup> Bujskikh 2008 [А. В. Буйских, *Пространственное развитие Херсонеса Таврического в античную эпоху*], 128.

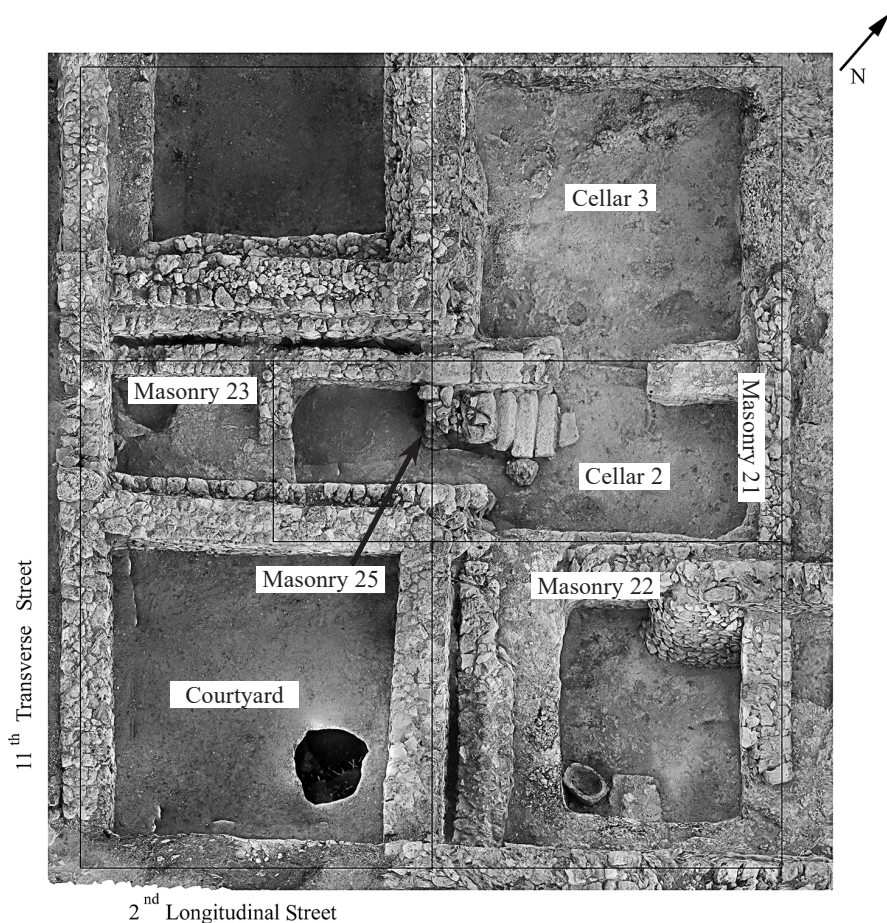


Fig. 1. Orthophoto plan of 'The House of Archelaos'.

'The House of Archelaos' is supposed to have had a courtyard adjacent to the corner of the streets, and five small rooms of areas varying from 10.5 to 18.0 sq. m. Some rooms had cellars contouring their layout. The earliest structures of the house survived from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC are four stone masonries (nos. 21, 22, 24, 26) put up on the bedrock surface, and two cellars (nos. 2, 3) cut in the bedrock and connected with a passage. Dimensions of the cellars were correspondingly 6.62×2.10 m and 4.52×4.50 m. When redesigning the house 20–30 years after the construction, the Cellar 2 was partially filled so that it became shorter. In order to isolate the filled (southern) section from functioning (northern) part of the cellar, a Masonry 25 was erected on the bedrock. The preserved ten courses of the masonry are 1.10 m high. Under a stone fallen from its fifth course, there was the die.

For dating the find, it is essential to analyze ceramic materials from the filling of Cellar 2 separated by Masonry 25. The amphora material, according to S. Yu. Monakhov, belongs to the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. These are rim fragments of Sinopean amphorae of Type II Pythoid<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 2. 1–3), feet of Chersonesan amphorae of Variant I<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 2. 4–6) as well as a foot of a Knidian amphora of Type II-B Pythoid<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 2. 7). A considerable amount of black-glazed tableware has happened to be in the filling, too. There are bowls with outturned rim (Fig. 3) deriving in their shape from vessels dated back to approximately 300 BC,<sup>9</sup> fish dishes (Fig. 4) similar to those from the Athenian Agora that were produced between 310 and 290 BC,<sup>10</sup> and a group of *kantharoi* including fragments of more than 30 vessels (Fig. 5). The most representative samples of the *kantharoi* are dated to approximately 285–275 BC.<sup>11</sup> The given data indicate that partial filling of the Cellar 2 and construction of the Masonry 25 had taken place not later than the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

The die is a rectangular plate with a base for mounting handle on its backside (Figs. 6, 7).<sup>12</sup> The angles of the plate are slightly rounded. Its dimensions are 3.4×2.4 cm, and its thickness varies from 0.25 to 0.4 cm. The base for a handle, 2.4×1.4 cm in size, together with the plate make up the maximum thickness of the die that equals 0.7 cm. At the junction of the plate and the base, there is a groove of 0.1–0.15 cm in depth. The die is made of a translucent mineral, light grey in colour, belonging to the chalcedony group. The stone surface is finely smoothed. On the face side of the die, there is a retrograde three-line inscription and two emblems rendered in hollow relief:

← ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ

← ΝΤΟΣΗΡΑΚ

a bunch of grapes

← ΛΕΙΟΥ

a *caduceus* (rightwards)

The text is clearly read as ἀστυνομόντος Ἡρακλείου – “Herakleios being *astynomos*”.

<sup>6</sup> Monakhov 2003 [С. Ю. Монахов, *Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье. Типология амфор ведущих центров-экспортеров товаров в керамической таре. Каталог-определитель*], 148–149, 158.

<sup>7</sup> Monakhov 1989 [С. Ю. Монахов, *Амфоры Херсонеса Таврического IV–II вв. до н. э.*], Table 17.

<sup>8</sup> Monakhov 2003, 106–107, 110.

<sup>9</sup> Rotroff 1997, nos. 866–871 Fig. 59.

<sup>10</sup> Rotroff 1997, nos. 711–715 Fig. 50.

<sup>11</sup> Rotroff 1997, nos. 22–31 Fig. 5.

<sup>12</sup> We express our appreciation to N. A. Pavlichenko, research fellow of the St Petersburg Institute for History, Russian Academy of Sciences, for her valuable comments and corrections on epigraphic matters.

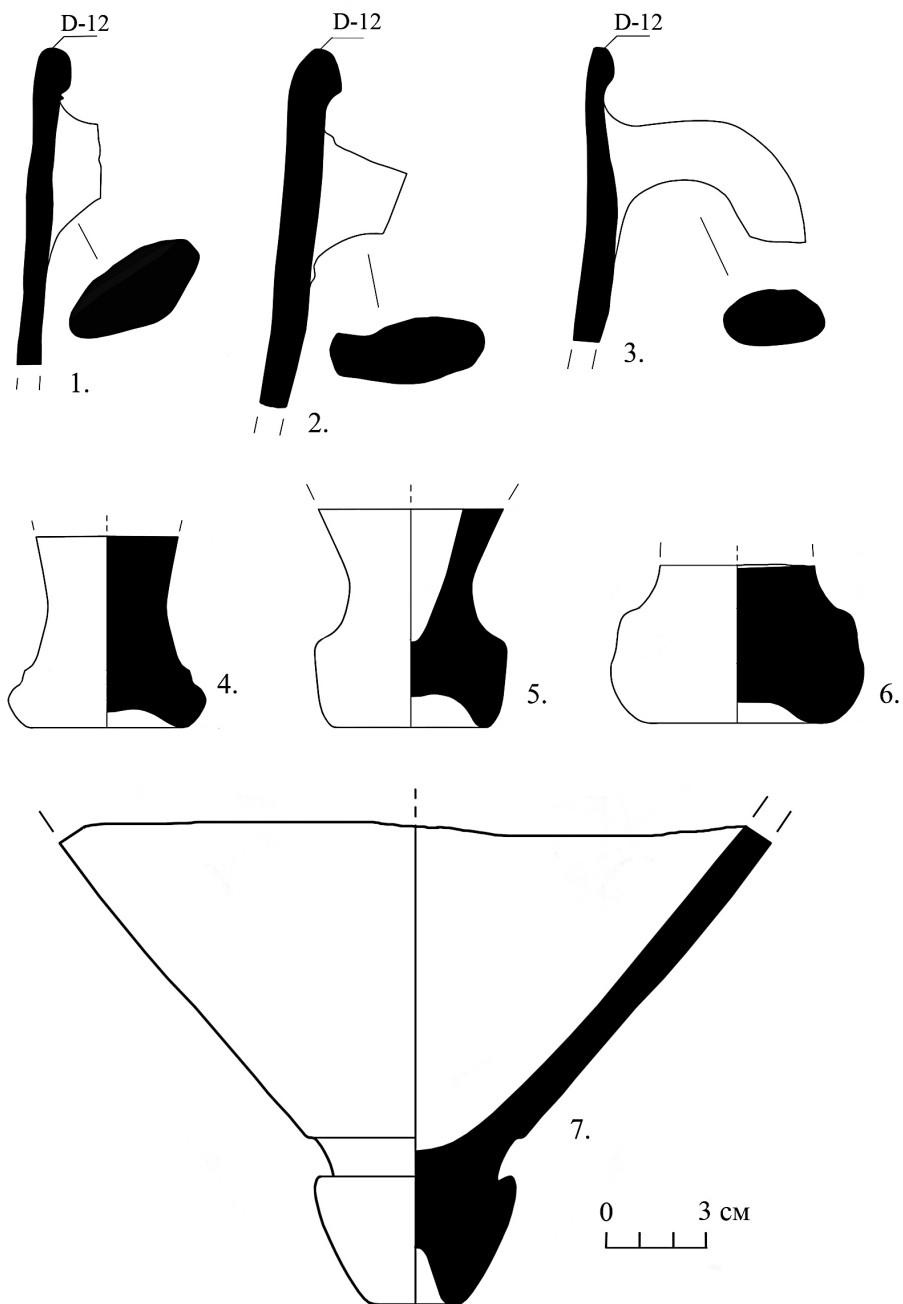


Fig. 2. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Amphorae.  
 1–3 – fragments of Sinopean amphorae; 4–6 – fragments of  
 Chersonesan amphorae; 7 – fragment of Knidian amphora.

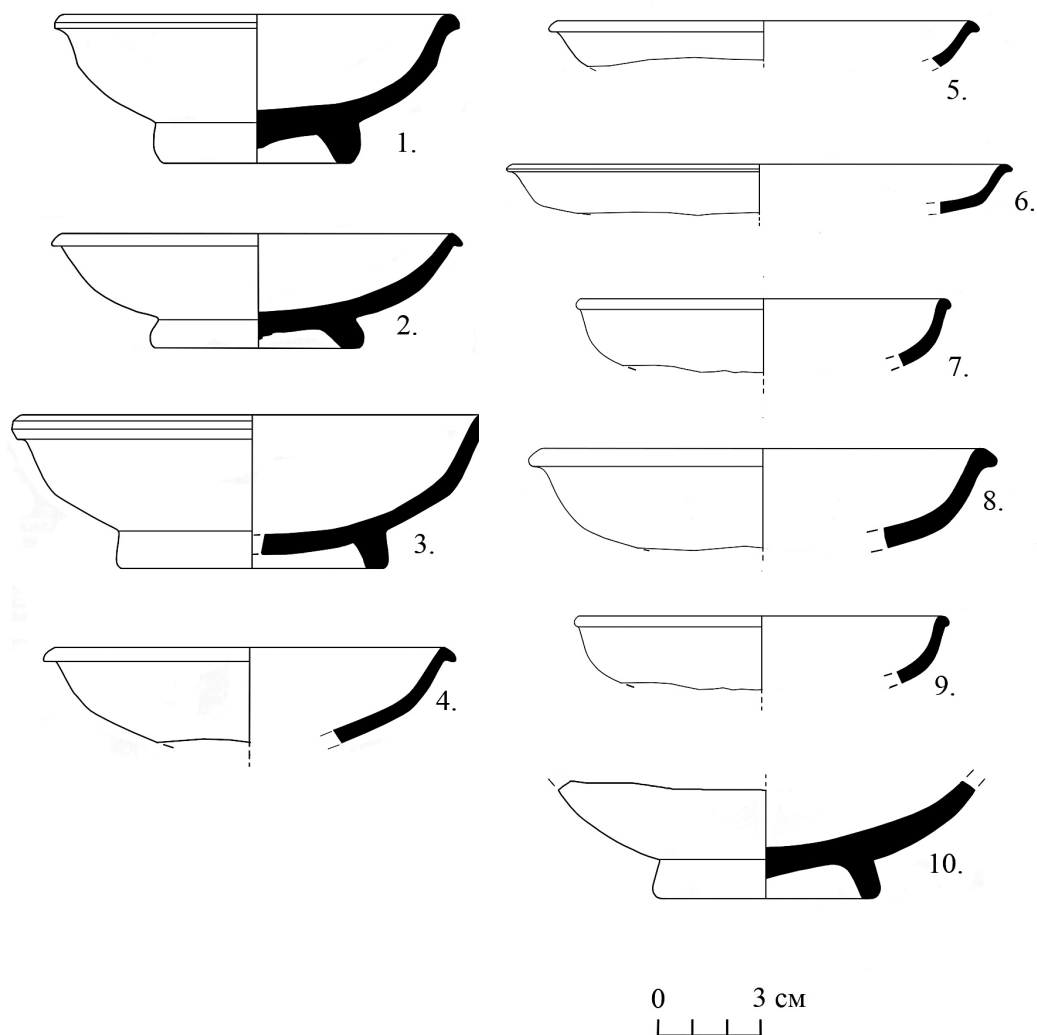


Fig. 3. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Black-glazed tableware.  
1–10 – bowls with outturned rim.

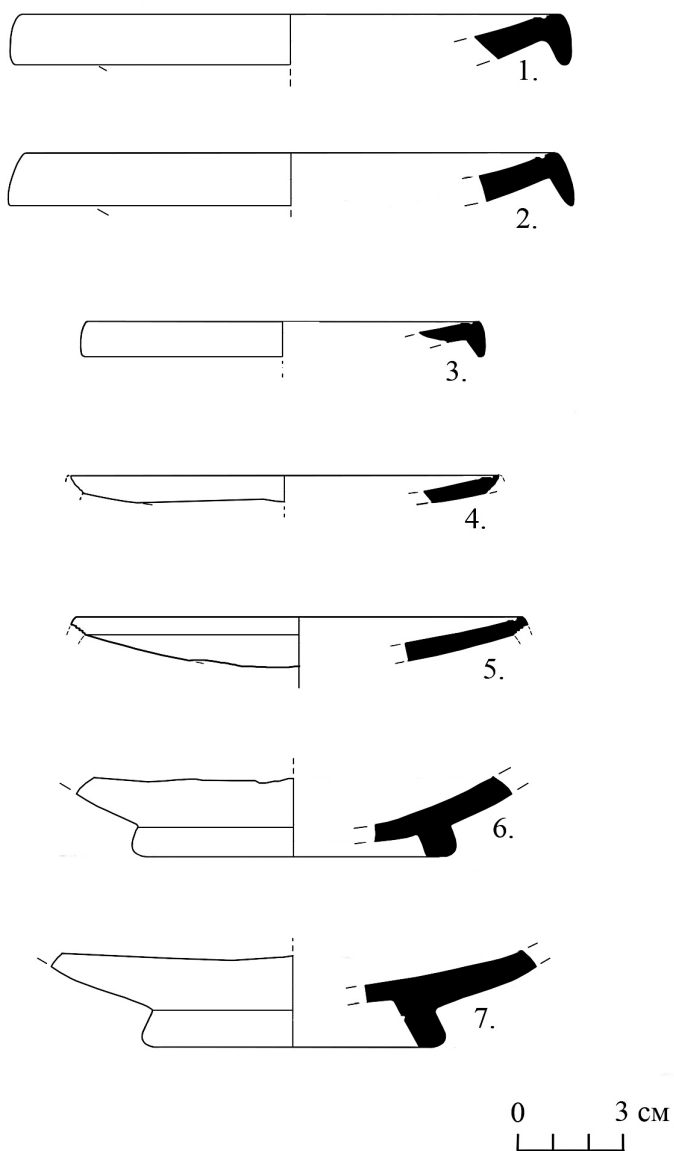


Fig. 4. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Black-glazed tableware.  
1-7 – fish dishes.

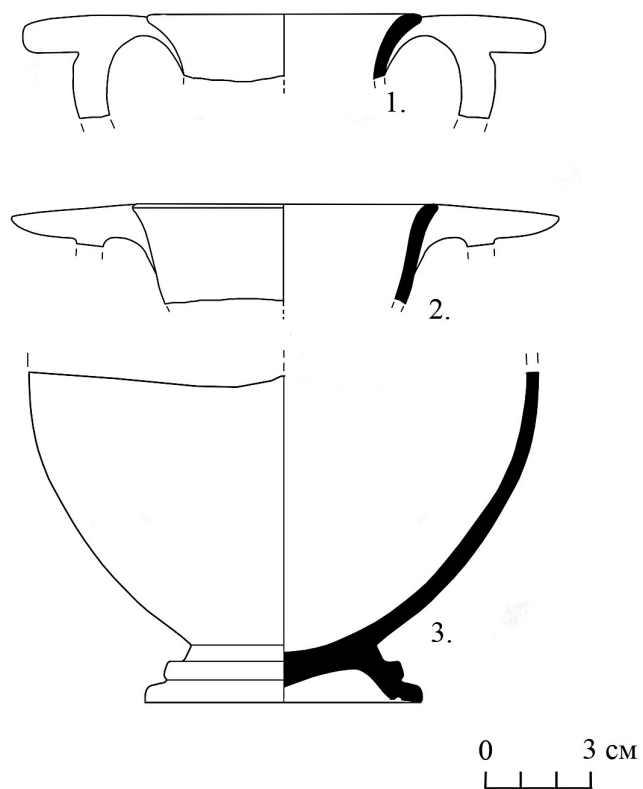


Fig. 5. 'The House of Archelaos', Cellar 2. Black-glazed tableware.  
1-3 – kantharoi.

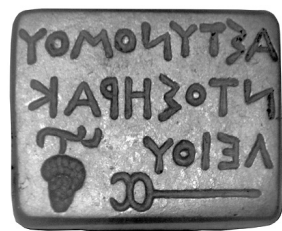


Fig. 6. Die of astynomos  
Hērakleios. Photographs.  
Front, back, and lateral views.

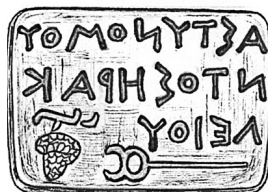
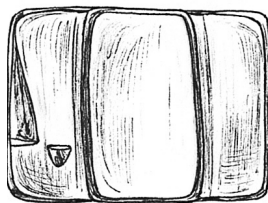


Fig. 7. Die of astynomos  
Hērakleios. Drawing.

The carver has performed his work at a high professional level combining machine and hand engraving.<sup>13</sup> The bunch of grapes is shown particularly detailed having perfectly visible grape berries machined with a round graver tool. On the back side, there are two cavities probably made to test the material while machining template for the die.

Height of the letters ranges from 0.25 cm (*omicron*) to 0.5 cm (*sigma*), and distance between lines is equal to 0.15–0.2 cm. Characteristics of the

<sup>13</sup> For the information on stone cutting in Antiquity, we thank Ye. I. Arsent'jeva, research fellow of the Department of the Ancient World and curator of the Collection of Carved Stones, State Hermitage, and I. A. Cvetkova, restoration artist of the Laboratory for Scientific Restoration of Sculpture and Semiprecious Stones, State Hermitage.



type are as follows: broad *alpha* with a straight crossbar, *epsilon* with slightly opened upper and lower horizontals and a short medium one, *mu* and *sigma* with hastae set widely apart, *kappa* with shortened slants, broad *nu* with a highly raised right angle, and *omicron* twice smaller than the height of the line. Some letters are decorated with thickenings at the ends of their hastae and subtly traced curves. The shapes of *kappa*, *mu*, *nu*, and *sigma* are typical of the Classic time while small *omicron* and ornamentation are common for the Hellenistic period. Such a combination of palaeographic peculiarities is recorded in ceramic stamps of Chersonesus of the late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>14</sup> and in legends of coins minted in the city ca. 325–275 BC.<sup>15</sup> Similar characteristics are found in Early Hellenistic ceramic stamps of Sinope,<sup>16</sup> a major manufacturing and trade center of the South Pontus region, which substantially affected amphora production of Chersonesus.<sup>17</sup> Thus the palaeography of the inscription points to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; this agrees with dating of the assemblage.

No stamp impressed by this die has been found in Chersonesus or elsewhere. However, stamps on the Chersonesan amphorae bear evidence on *astynomoi* named Ἡράκλειος. Two of them held the office in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and two others, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>18</sup> According to the updated chronology of V. I. Кас, Ἡράκλειος I was active between

<sup>14</sup> State Historical and Archaeological Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesus, Inv. nos. 17509, 17573 (excavations of R. Ch. Löper in 1908): stamps of Ἡράκλειος, Inv. no. 37563/4 (excavations of S. V. Ushakov in 2010): stamp of Ἡράκλειος, Inv. no. 36952/7 (excavations of A. I. Romanchuk in 1976): stamp of Ἀλέξανδρος, Inv. no. 37563/5 (excavations of S. V. Ushakov in 2010): stamp of Ξάνθος, and others; Кас 2007 [В. И. Кац, *Греческие керамические клейма эпохи классики и эллинизма*], 326, 442 Table 20 App. X. We are grateful to M. I. Tyurin, research fellow of the Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesus, who rendered assistance in ascertaining inventory numbers.

<sup>15</sup> Turovskij–Gorbatov 2013 [Е. Я. Туровский, В. М. Горбатов, *Монеты античного и средневекового Херсонеса. Каталог-определитель*], 90–93 Table 7 no. 89, Table 8 nos. 101, 103, 107, 111.

<sup>16</sup> Garlan 2004, nos. 139, 158, 168, 175, and others. – Another center that influenced ceramic manufacture of Chersonesus was its metropolis Heraclea Pontica (Borisova 1974 [В. В. Борисова, “Керамические клейма Херсонеса и классификация херсонесских амфор”, *Нумизматика и эпиграфика*], 101; Monakhov 1989, 93). Inscriptions stamped on Heracleian amphorae of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC have close palaeographic features except thickenings at the ends of hastae (Fedoseev 2016 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, *Керамические клейма. Гераклея Понтийская*], nos. 569, 738, 743, 747).

<sup>17</sup> Borisova 1974, 101; Monakhov 1989, 75–77, 93.

<sup>18</sup> Кас 1994 [В. И. Кац, *Керамические клейма Херсонеса Таврического. Каталог-определитель*], 51, 68, 76–77 nos. 47–50.

316 and 305 BC, and Ἡράκλειος II, between 304 and 295 BC.<sup>19</sup> V. F. Stolba dated activities of both the *astynomoi* to 321–304 BC.<sup>20</sup> It is worth mentioning that the Ἡράκλειοι have been identified as homonyms just because of a high variety of stamps imprinted by 20 different dies while an average number of dies for an *astynomos* from corresponding chronological group is 5.<sup>21</sup> Some researchers do not consider this argument to be crucial and attribute all the dies to one person.<sup>22</sup>

According to the *LGN*, the name Ἡράκλειος was particularly popular in Tauric Chersonesus. Epigraphic and numismatic sources mention nearly a dozen different Ἡράκλειοι living in the city in the Hellenistic period.<sup>23</sup> As *astynomoi* bearing this name are known only in Chersonesus, we identify the keeper of the die with a magistrate who worked there in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Legends of the stamps of Ἡράκλειοι (or Ἡράκλειος) belonging to this span are organized in two ways: Ἡράκλειου ἀστυνόμου or Ἡράκλειου ἀστυνομοῦντος.

It is noteworthy that a fragment of a black-glazed Attic bowl with graffito HPA[ ] was found in the same assemblage as the die (Fig. 8). The inscription may be reconstructed as Ἡρα[κλείου] providing some grounds to believe that the owner of the bowl and *astynomos* Ἡράκλειος are the same person.

The die under discussion differs from stamps of Chersonesan *astynomoi* in both iconography and structure of legend. In the inscription on the die, the title of the official precedes his name, while legends of synchronous amphora stamps demonstrate the reverse order. Title of the official shifted ahead as late as the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>24</sup> In its form, namely aspect ratio, the die of Ἡράκλειος is also different from stamps of Chersonesus, whether plane or channel-shaped, which are more oblong.

There are two images on the die, a bunch of grapes and a *caduceus*, whereas emblems are uncommon for stamps of Chersonesan magistrates. The catalogue by V. I. Kac registers only six dies with emblems, four

<sup>19</sup> Кас 2007, 326, 442 Table 20 App. X.

<sup>20</sup> Stolba 2005, 168 Table 2.

<sup>21</sup> Кас 1985 [В. И. Кац, “Типология и хронологическая классификация херсонесских магистратских клейм”], 102.

<sup>22</sup> Kolesnikov 1985 [А. Б. Колесников, “Керамические клейма из раскопок усадеб у Евпаторийского маяка”], 76; Fateev 2014 [О. В. Фатеев, “Хронология амфорных клейм Херсонеса конца IV – начала III вв. до н.э. (исследование комплексов и комплексные исследования)”], 233, 236.

<sup>23</sup> *LGN* 4, s. v.

<sup>24</sup> Кас 1985, 98.

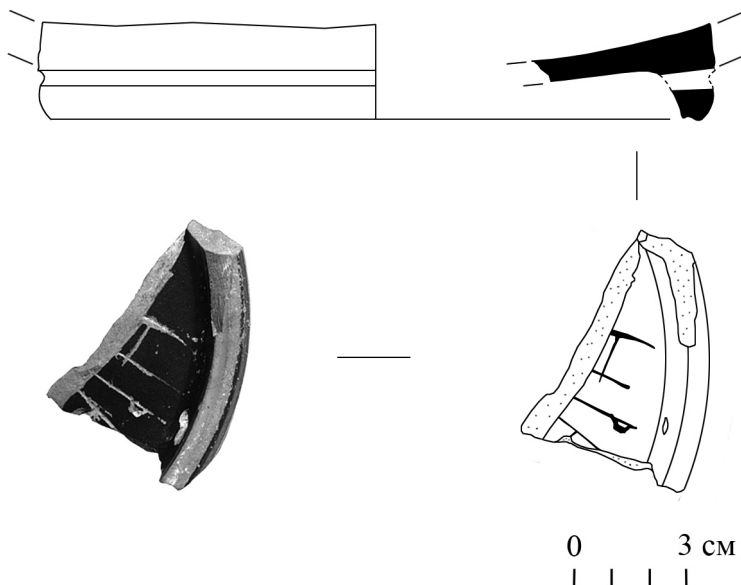


Fig. 8. Fragment of black-glazed bowl with graffito, photograph and drawing.

of them being images of grapes.<sup>25</sup> The latter dated from the later period are similar to the grapes on the die under discussion neither in shape nor in manner of carving. *Caduceus* has not been attested among emblems on stamped ceramic wares of Chersonesus. The iconography of the die may have been influenced by other manufacturing centers, for example Sinope that had a distinct impact on typology of the Chersonesan amphora stamps.<sup>26</sup> There was at least one Sinopean die (of *astynomos* Ἡρώνυμος I and producer Νουμήνιος) with images of bunch of grapes and *caduceus* dated to 350–340 BC.<sup>27</sup> The structure of legend and both disposition and shape of *caduceus* differ from those on the die from Chersonesus, the bunch resembling that on the die of Ἡράκλειος.<sup>28</sup>

Ancient dies for stamping earthenware are extremely rare finds. Only one die comparable to the find from Chersonesus has been

<sup>25</sup> Kac 1994, Nos. 33, 36, 53, 66.

<sup>26</sup> Kac 1985, 98–99; Kolesnikov 1985, 76.

<sup>27</sup> Fedoseev 1999, 32 Tableau I no. 65; Garlan 2004, 120 no. 69 Pl. IX.

<sup>28</sup> The combination of grapes and *caduceus* is also present on stamps of a Rhodian ceramic workshop, which functioned in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Finkielsztejn 2001, 131, 195).

published to date. Discovered in 1961 on the island of Thasos, it had been manufactured of clay fabric and then baked.<sup>29</sup> The Thasian tool has a parallelepipedal body with a flat rectangular face and a short roughly modeled handle. The face side bears a hollow representation of an amphora and an engraved inscription: Ἀστυκρέων | Θασίων. As far as we know, stamps imprinted by the die have not been found yet. However, there are some Thasian stamps with the same infrequent name Ἀστυκρέων dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>30</sup> According to Ch. Tzochев, this object has been lost while another Thasian die found in 2003 remains unpublished.<sup>31</sup> The second die is reported to resemble the first one and to name a Ἡγήσιππος.

Even before the discovery of 1961 on Thasos, V. Grace had arrived at the conclusion that the dies for pottery, predominantly made of clay, were in use only a limited time and then were destroyed.<sup>32</sup> This suggestion would explain the puzzling lack of such finds while stamps are abundant.

There are several known examples of dies manufactured of handle fragments and a bottom part of amphorae. Inscriptions were carved on flank (broken) surface that could provide space for no more than two or three symbols. Stamps imprinted with such tools had ovoid or round shape. The dies mainly originate from the territory of Bosporan Kingdom: Panticapaeum (inscription ΠΑΡ in monogram),<sup>33</sup> Tyritake (ΠΑ in monogram),<sup>34</sup> settlement of Generalskoye Zapadnoye (ΘΕ in monogram followed by C),<sup>35</sup> and Nymphaeum (Ε with additional symbols; Δ with additional symbols).<sup>36</sup> One die made of the bottom part of an amphora was reported to be kept in a private collection of Lucas Benaki (inscription ΠΑΡ in monogram).<sup>37</sup> The samples with monograms ΠΑΡ, ΠΑ, and ΘΕ

<sup>29</sup> Grace–Salviat 1962, 510–516; Garlan 2000, 93–94 Fig. 47. The die originates from the excavations of a residential quarter, as the one from Chersonesus.

<sup>30</sup> Grace–Salviat 1962, 512–513; Debidour 1979, 281, 311, 312; Tzochев 2016, 70.

<sup>31</sup> Tzochев 2016, 20 n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Grace 1935, 422–424.

<sup>33</sup> Yel'nickij 1947 [Л. А. Ельницкий, “Эпиграфические новинки из Керчи”], 207–208.

<sup>34</sup> Gajdukevich 1958 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, “Раскопки Тиритаки и Мирмекия в 1946–1952 гг.”], 171–172 Fig. 25.

<sup>35</sup> Koval'chuk 2006 [А. В. Ковальчук, “Керамический штамп с пос. Генеральское Западное”], 3–7.

<sup>36</sup> Boriskovskaja 1999 [С. П. Борисковская, *Древний город Нимфей. Каталог выставки*], nos. 335–336.

<sup>37</sup> Grace–Salviat 1962, 515–516 Fig. 8.

are supposed to have been used for stamping Bosporan amphorae and tiles, and the dies from Nymphaeum may well have been intended for items of another material, for example bread products.<sup>38</sup>

In Chersonesus, there was also a practice of carving dies on broken amphora handles with the only difference that oblong lateral surface was the working one.<sup>39</sup> Stamps imprinted with such tools took typical channelled shape. They are more numerous than plane stamps.<sup>40</sup>

Generally, clay dies were widely spread. They served not only for marking ceramic containers and tiles, but also for ornamenting pottery and imprinting different images on ritual breads and votive clay medallions.<sup>41</sup>

It has long been observed that some dies for stamping tiles and amphorae were made of wood as stamps occasionally have prints of timber veins.<sup>42</sup> Wooden rectangular dies for sealing clay amphora stoppers were found in Egypt.<sup>43</sup> Dated from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, they bear Greek inscriptions marking dates of production and names of vineyards. Inscribed bronze dies were used in the Roman period for marking bread and maybe fabric and leather.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Fedoseev 2011 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, “Производство клейменной черепицы в античном мире и на Боспоре Киммерийском”], 290–293.

<sup>39</sup> Monakhov 1981 [С. Ю. Монахов, “О штампах для клеймения херсонесских амфор”], 265–271.

<sup>40</sup> Some medieval clay dies with Christian inscriptions and symbols were found in the city as well (Kolesnikova 1978 [Л. Г. Колесникова, “Храм в портовом районе Херсонеса (раскопки 1963–1965 гг.)”], 170, 172 Fig. 13; Romanchuk–Solomonik 1987 [А. И. Романчук, Э. И. Соломоник, “Несколько надписей на средневековой керамике Херсонеса”], 95–96, 97–98, 100 nos. 1, 4 Figs. 1. 1, 2. 4).

<sup>41</sup> E. g., Sparkes–Talcott 1970, 23: on the application of dies for decorating black-glazed vessels; Rotroff 1982, 93 nos. 411–413 Pl. 72: dies with ornaments of rosette, palmette, and ovule, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC; Kosciushko–Val’uzhinich 1902 [К. К. Косцюшко–Валюжинич, “Извлечение из отчета о раскопках в Херсонесе Таврическом в 1900 году”, *Известия Императорской археологической комиссии*], 20: die with ornaments (small and large ovules, rippled decoration, circles) on its four facets, 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC; Gajdukevich 1951 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, “Новые исследования Илурата”], 209–210 Fig. 69: die with an image of goddess and two winged animals, 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD; Kruglikova 1952 [И. Т. Кругликова, “Глиняный штамп из Киммерика”], 119–125 Fig. 40, 1: die with an image of a bird, 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD; Sekhmistrenko 1962 [В. И. Цехмистренко, “Глиняный штамп из Пантикапея”], 279–282 Fig. 1: die with an image of a deity and two sacrificial animals, 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, and others.

<sup>42</sup> Wace 1907, 17 n. 3; Gajdukevich 1935 [В. Ф. Гайдукевич, “Строительные керамические материалы Боспора”, *Известия Государственной академии истории материальной культуры*], 257–260 Fig. 72.

<sup>43</sup> Denecker–Vandorpe 2007, 119–120 Fig. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Cooley 2012, 101–103 Fig. 1.32; Loreti 1994, 645–653.

As for dies of stone,<sup>45</sup> they seem to have been less common in antiquity, probably because their functions were largely performed by engraved gems normally used for sealing.<sup>46</sup>

Named dies of the officials were obviously to be destroyed after the term of office had been completed.<sup>47</sup> The chalcidonic die of *astynomos* Ἡράκλειος from Chersonesus, which for some reason escaped this fate, is nowadays a unique find with no direct analogy.

Absence of identical or similar stamps and relatively small depth of letters on the Chersonesian die suggest that it was intended not for earthenware, but for a more plastic and finer material such as wax or well levigated clay. Functions of *astynomoi* were not confined to the field of ceramic production, and application of the die could be connected with other activities of these officials.<sup>48</sup>

The board of *astynomoi* is traditionally believed to have occupied one of the lowest levels in the administrative system of ancient Greek polis functioning as ‘Polizeibehörde’.<sup>49</sup> To a large extent, this opinion is based on the information from ancient authors, primarily Aristotle and

<sup>45</sup> Steatite dies of shape similar to that of the Chersonesian one (rectangular plate with a handle) existed in Minoan and Geometric periods (Vollenweider 1967, no. 120; Brandt 1968, nos. 13, 95).

<sup>46</sup> Richter 2006, XVI–XVII. – Stone dies as well as signets were products of glyptics, so they might have had to fall under a Solon’s law prohibiting engravers from retaining impressions of the seals produced: δακτυλογλύφω μὴ ἐξεῖναι σφραγίδα φυλάττειν τοῦ προθέontos δακτυλίου (D. L. 2. 57).

<sup>47</sup> Garland 2000, 157 n. 15.

<sup>48</sup> The fact that magistrates regularly used sealing tools in their activities is reflected in literary sources. As evidenced by Aristotle, Demosthenes and some other ancient authors, *diaitetai* of Athens sealed ἔχιννοι – special vessels for keeping documents from arbitration process before a trial (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 53. 2–3; Dem. 45. 17; *Sch. Aristoph. V.* 1436). All the testimonies on ἔχιννοι are collected in Boegehold 1995, 79–81, 222–226, Nos. 288–305. According to Isocrates, Athenian *prytaneis* sealed ballot urns: σεσημασμένοι μὲν ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πρυτάνεων (Isoc. 17. 33–34). In Chersonesus, a practice of sealing decrees by officials is well attested by inscriptions of the first centuries AD ending with lists of σφραγισάμενοι (Solomonik 1973 [Э. И. Соломоник, “Новые эпиграфические памятники Херсонеса”], 25–36; Kadeev 1981 [В. И. Кадеев, “Херсонес Таврический в первых веках нашей эры”], 65–66).

<sup>49</sup> Häderli 1887, 47–48; Oehler 1896, 1870; Grakov 1928 [Б. Н. Граков, *Древне-греческие керамические клейма с именами астиномов*], 43–44; Pavlichenko 1990 [Н. А. Павличенко, “Коллегия астиномов в эллинистическом полисе”, *Античный мир и археология*], 52. – Here, we must point at an inaccuracy that sneaked in some studies on astynomy. It is a reference to a thesis of P. Stanley as containing information on the matter while it contains none (Stanley 1976).

Demosthenes, concerning Athenian political institutions. According to these data, the *astynomoi* were in charge of maintenance of streets, canalization, water supply system, buildings and walls; they policed the city including supervising fees of women who played auloi, harps, or lyres; they were chosen by lot for a one-year term (Arist. *Pol.* 1321 b 18–27; *Ath. Pol.* 50. 2). An *astynomos*, together with *agoranomos* and local judge, is referred to as ‘a poor, low skilled man of little experience’ (Dem. 24. 112).<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, Plato who wrote about ideal institutions modeled on the Athenian ones, considered that the *astynonomoi* should have ability and spare time to take care of public affairs, therefore they were to be elected from the upper classes. The author empowered the *astynomoi* to impose fines up to a mina on their own motion (Plat. *Leg.* 763 c–e; 764 c).<sup>51</sup>

Evidences on astynomy in other Greek poleis are available only from epigraphical sources. The most informative document is a so-called ‘Astynomoi Law’ from Pergamon, a Roman copy of a *prostagma* originating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>52</sup> This regulation strictly defines the duties of *astynomoi* in numerous pragmatic details. The Law lets us know that Pergamon *astynomoi* were responsible for controlling main city infrastructures (buildings, streets, water deposits) and supervised *amphodarchai* who headed urban territorial units of *amphodai*. Subordinate directly to *strategoï*, they played a key role in city administration. For our study, of great interest are two provisions concerning the duty to check water cisterns in private houses as to whether owners keep them waterproof and clean:<sup>53</sup>

νν φρεάτ{ρ}ων νν οἱ καθεσταμένοι ἀστυνόμοι  
τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις δεξαμεν[α]ς  
ἀναγραφόμενοι ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ μηνὶ τι-  
θέσθωσαν τὴν γραφὴν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς.

Cisterns: after recording the cisterns situated in houses, the *astynomoi* in office should put the record before the *strategoï* in the month *Pantheios*.

<sup>50</sup> For more complete information on the Athenian *astynomoi* from literary and epigraphical sources, see Cox 2007, 769–775; Saba 2012, 90–96.

<sup>51</sup> Busolt–Swoboda 1926, 1054–1056 n. 2, 1116–1118. On *astynomoi*, see also Busolt 1920, 492–493.

<sup>52</sup> *OGIS* 483; Klaffenbach 1954; Saba 2012.

<sup>53</sup> *OGIS* 483<sub>190–193</sub>; Saba 2012, 25, lines 203–206 and *OGIS* 483<sub>214–220</sub>; Saba 2012, 26, lines 227–232.



ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν ἀστυνόμων μὴ  
 θῶνται τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γραφὴν τῶν φρε-  
 ἄτων εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἢ μὴ ποιήσωσιν καθ' ἃ  
 ὁ νόμος προστάσσει, πραξάτωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ  
 νομοφύλακες δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ κατα-  
 ταξάτωσαν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς προσόδους.

As regards the *astynomoi* who do not put this record of cisterns to *archeion* or do not act as the law prescribes, the *nomophylakes* should collect 100 drachmas from them and add it to the same funds.

The above quoted implies that in Pergamon the *astynomoi* submitted the records they kept to the ἀρχεῖον – an administrative building of the chief city magistrates including *strategoī*.<sup>54</sup>

On the island of Tenos, the *astynomoi* registered land plot sales and transfers of dowries in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>55</sup> In the regulation of Cean ruddle export of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the *astynomoi* of Koresia are mentioned as officials to be notified about violations of the law and obliged to cast a vote on the issue for presenting it to the court.<sup>56</sup> The inscription of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC from Delos also gives evidence of police functions performed by the local *astynomoi*.<sup>57</sup> In the Carian city of Iasos, these officials took part in the sale of properties confiscated from those who had conspired against Mausolus. In the list of magistrates, they occupy the third position after *archontes* and *tamiai* preceding some other boards.<sup>58</sup> In Hellenistic Cyzicus as well as in Rhodes, the *astynomoi* were in charge of setting up steles with inscriptions.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Saba 2012, 84. The word ἀρχεῖον in the same meaning see e.g. in *OGIS* 268<sub>19</sub>.

<sup>55</sup> *IG* XII. 5. 872<sub>1</sub>: [κατὰ τάδε πράξεις ἐγέ]νοντο χωρίων [καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ προικ[ῶν] δόσεις [ἐ]π' ἄρχοντος Ἀμ[ει]νό[λ]α πρὸς τ[ο]ὺς ἀστυνόμου[ς] Σω-σ[ι]μ[ι] [...]. See also Zelnick-Abramovitz 2016, 57–59.

<sup>56</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 1128<sub>17–18</sub>: [τὴν δὲ ἔνδειξιν εἶν]-[αι] πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους δοῦνα[ι] τὴν ψήφον περὶ αὐτῆς τριάκοντα ἡ[μ]ερῶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ... See also Rhodes–Osborne 2003, 204–209; Pridik 1892, 93.

<sup>57</sup> *IG* XII. 4. 1296 A<sub>2–11</sub>: ὅστις ἐ-|γ Δήλου ἀνδράποδον ἐξάγει εἰ-|τε ἄκον εἴτε ἐκὸν ἢ ἐκ τῶν τε-|μενῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ | ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ δεσπότη, ἐξώ-|λη εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος | καὶ οἴκησιν τὴν ἐκείνου· καὶ ὅστις | συνεδῶς μὴ δηλώσει ἐν τοῖς ἀσ-|τυνόμοις, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχος ἔσ-|τω... See also Vial 1985, 236–237.

<sup>58</sup> *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 169: among οἶδε τὰ κτήματα ἐπώλησαν, there are ἀρχοντες, ταμίαι, ἀστυνόμοι, συνήγοροι, πρυτάνεις, ἱερεῖς, and οἶδε ἀπὸ φυλῆς. See also Fabiani 2010, 467–469.

<sup>59</sup> *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 644/645<sub>92–93</sub>: τὸν δὲ ἀστυνόμον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, | ὅπως ἂν ἀναγραφῇ εἰς τὴν στήλην τῶν π[ρ]οξέ[ν]ων; *IG* XII. 1. 1<sub>6–8</sub>: τὸ δὲ ψά<φι>σμα τότε ἀν[α]γράφαν-|ταν-|τες τοῖς ἀστυνόμοι ἐστ[ά]λαν λιθί-|ναν] θέντω πρὸ τῶν θυρ[ῶν] τοῦ...].



This brief overview of the information on *astynomoi* includes only the most important evidence relevant for our topic. All the sources available up to date were thoroughly collected and analyzed by S. Saba.<sup>60</sup> The author has arrived at a conclusion that while the *astynomoi* throughout the Mediterranean had a generally common set of duties, there were significant local differences. Therefore, it would be inaccurate to apply the data concerning *astynomoi* in Athens or somewhere to those in other cities, as it became a standard approach in modern scholarship.<sup>61</sup>

What evidence do we have on the *astynomoi* of Chersonesus? There is no any reference to them in lapidary inscriptions. Except for the newly found die, the only source mentioning these officials is stamps on the local ceramic production. This plentiful, but uniform material gives nothing but names. It is generally accepted that the Chersonesan *astynomoi* were low-ranked magistrates performing state control over the metrological standards in trade affairs.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, the stamping might aim at chronological identification of goods, the *astynomoi* being *eponyms* in the field of ceramic production.<sup>63</sup> The scarce inferences based on mere stamps are supplemented by some indirect, mainly onomastic data. Observations on names and patronymics showed kinship between the *astynomoi* and led to a conclusion that members of several families had systematically held this office for some generations.<sup>64</sup> Presence of the same names in legends of stamps and coins suggests that astynomy had been a transitive step to higher posts including that of monetary magistrate.<sup>65</sup> Some persons mentioned in stamps appear as Chersonesan ambassadors in proxeny decrees from Callatis, Olbia, and Delphi, which attests to high social and material status of these people.<sup>66</sup> The latter assertion is also supported by

---

<sup>60</sup> Saba 2012, 87–113.

<sup>61</sup> Saba 2012, 11–12, 87, 113.

<sup>62</sup> Borisova 1955 [В. В. Борисова, “К вопросу об астиномах Херсонеса”], 143–148; Mikhlin 1979 [Б. Ю. Михлин, “К изучению херсонесских керамических клейм”], 140; Involvement of the *astynomoi* in controlling craft production is evidenced by some literary and epigraphical sources from outside Chersonesus: Pavlichenko 1990, 57–62.

<sup>63</sup> Akhmerov 1949 [Р. Б. Ахмеров, “Об астиномных клеймах эллинистического Херсонеса”], 123; Fedoseev 2017 [Н. Ф. Федосеев, “О характере клеймения керамики”, *Древности Боспора*], 394. On the purpose of Greek amphora stamping, see Garlan 1993, 181–190.

<sup>64</sup> Кас 1985, 99.

<sup>65</sup> Oreshnikov 1922 [А. В. Орешников, “Этюды по нумизматике Черноморского побережья”, *Известия Российской Академии истории материальной культуры*], 114–115. On a certain case of *astynomos* Βάθυλλος, see Gilevich–Shcheglov 1996 [А. М. Гилевич, А. Н. Щеглов, “Херсонесец Батилл, сын Никагора”], 120–123.

<sup>66</sup> Avram 2010, 55–59.

the fact that names coinciding with those of *astynomoi* without designation of office occur in some lapidary inscriptions of Chersonesus.<sup>67</sup>

The find of the unique die of *astynomos* makes it possible to add some new details to understanding of this magistracy in Chersonesus. It is highly likely that the die was intended for sealing documents. The ‘Astynomoi Law’ cited above explicitly points to official records they had to keep. Of the finds relative to our topic, we would refer to two clay impressions of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC discovered on the agora of Pella.<sup>68</sup> Impressed by the same die, they bear an inscription Πέλλης | πολιταρχῶν (‘of *politarchai* of Pella’) and two symbols – a club and a rosette. *Politarchai* were senior offices in civic affairs in the cities of Macedonia. The sealings are supposed to have been attached to documents written on papyrus, namely to copies of decrees that had passed.<sup>69</sup> The material used for sealing documents could also be wax (Luc. *Alex.* 21). The records of this kind were to be kept in an administrative building like ἀρχεῖον of Pergamon. So far, no structure in Chersonesus has been confidently identified as an office of city magistrates. In Greek poleis, public buildings were usually concentrated near agora.<sup>70</sup> The agora of Chersonesus was evidently situated in the area under the modern Vladimir’s Cathedral. Archaeological remains in this territory were destroyed or at least hardly damaged during the construction of the Cathedral in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>71</sup>

To produce a die of ornamental stone was quite expensive and time-consuming task. It seems unlikely that such a thing was to be a subject to destruction after a one-year term. At the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, an attempt of coup d’état against democracy failed in Chersonesus.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Akhmerov 1949, 104–105.

<sup>68</sup> Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 1971 [Δ. Παπακωνσταντίου-Διαμαντούρου, *Πέλλα 1: Ιστορική επισκόπησης και μαρτυρία*], 91, 144 Fig. 28γ; Akamatis 1991 [Ι. Ακαμάτης, “Η αγορά της Πέλλας”, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη*], 80, 84 n. 15 Pl. 11.

<sup>69</sup> Horsley 1994, 101, 105, 116–117 n. 14 No. 27.

<sup>70</sup> In Pella, a building on the agora where several dozens of papyrus imprints were found (some of them with an inscription Πέλλης ἐμπόριον and an image of grazing ox) is identified an archive (Akamatis 1991, 81, 84 Pl. 12).

<sup>71</sup> Bujskikh 2008, 175–177. In the medieval Cherson, an archive (in its modern meaning) could be located in the coastal zone of the northeastern part of the city, which has crashed into the sea. This opinion is based upon a discovery of numerous lead seal impressions dated from the 6<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries at the bottom of the Quarantine Bay under the crashed shore (Alekseenko 2006 [Н. А. Алексеенко, “Херсонский архив печатей: миф или реальность?”], 7–16).

<sup>72</sup> Zubar’–Bujskikh–Kravchenko–Rus’ajeva 2005 [В. М. Зубарь, А. В. Буйских, Э. А. Кравченко, М. В. Русаева, *Херсонес Таврический в третьей четверти VI – середине I в. до н. э.*], 154–161.

The die is synchronous with the crucial documents of the epoch – the civic oath<sup>73</sup> and the honorific decree for Ἀγασικλῆς,<sup>74</sup> the three inscriptions being close in their palaeographic peculiarities. Might not the astynomy term be prolonged in that dramatic period?<sup>75</sup> It would explain a great number of amphora dies of *astynomos* Ἡράκλειος, which were in use for a short time span. Cases when terms of office of state magistrates were extended are known in the history of Hellenistic Greece.<sup>76</sup>

The die is another proof of rather high status of astynomy in the political system of Chersonesus. E. M. Pridik has long ago suggested that in cities of the Pontus region the *astynomoi* played more important role than in Athens acting as city majors.<sup>77</sup> According to Aristotle, the scope of officials' responsibilities depended upon the size of a state, bigger poleis tending to specialization, and smaller ones, to concentration of duties in one hand (Arist. *Pol.* 1321 b 8–10).<sup>78</sup> In small poleis like

<sup>73</sup> The bibliography on the oath being abundant, here we refer only to the studies that discuss the date of the document: Latyshev 1909 [В. В. Латышев, “Гражданская присяга херсонисцев”, *Изборник научных и критических статей по истории, археологии, географии и эпиграфике Скифии, Кавказа и греческих колоний на побережьях Черного моря*], 146–147: the late 4<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 401: not later than the first decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; Levi 1947 [Е. И. Леви, “К вопросу о датировке херсонесской присяги”], 99: 281–280 BC; Solomonik 1984 [Э. И. Соломоник, “Фрагмент надписи из Херсонеса о политических изгнанниках”], 80: the 280s BC; Vinogradov–Shcheglov 1990 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, А. Н. Щеглов, “Образование территориального Херсонесского государства”, *Эллинизм: экономика, политика, культура*], 335: the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, not later than the very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; Yajlenko 2001 [В. П. Яйленко, “Некоторые вопросы интерпретации херсонесской присяги и почетной надписи Агасикла”], 181: the 270s BC; *IOSPE*<sup>3</sup> III 100: the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

<sup>74</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 401: 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; Vinogradov–Shcheglov 1990, 335: turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, not later than the very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; Yajlenko 2001, 181: 270s BC; *IOSPE*<sup>3</sup> III 151: late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

<sup>75</sup> A. M. Gilevich and A. N. Shcheglov have assumed, with no real evidence, that the Chersonesan board of *astynomoi* consisted of three magistrates (depending on a number of *phylai*) who held the office for three years, their functions annually rotating [Gilevich–Shcheglov 1996, 120]. The proposal that there were three Doric *phylai* in Chersonesus was earlier made by Yu. G. Vinogradov on the basis of his restoration of a severely damaged inscription mentioning two *prytaneis* (Vinogradov 1993 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, “Дорийские филы в Херсонесе Таврическом”], 61–66).

<sup>76</sup> R. Étienne 1990, 42–45; Dmitriev 2005, 58, 61–62; Klimov 2010 [О. Ю. Климов, “Полисный строй и демократия в городах Малой Азии эпохи эллинизма”], 45.

<sup>77</sup> Pridik 1928, 3–4; Pridik 1941 [Е. М. Придик, “Керамические надписи из раскопок Тиритак и Мирмекия в 1932–1934 гг.”], 173–174.

<sup>78</sup> Saba 2012, 100, 113. On multiple functions of *astynomoi* overtaken by special officials in larger poleis, see Arist. *Pol.* 1321 b 27–40.

Chersonesus, the set of functions of *astynomoi* was to be quite diverse. The Chersonesian *astynomoi* were probably entrusted with important responsibilities for administrative and economic matters. Scarceness of evidence on these officials, namely the lack of references in lapidary inscriptions, should not be considered as a decisive argument for low status of *astynomy* in Chersonesus.<sup>79</sup>

Nadezhda Novoselova  
*State Hermitage, St Petersburg*  
 novoselova-n@yandex.ru

Anna Namoylik  
*State Museum-Preserve of Tauric Chersonesus,  
 Sevastopol*  
 anna\_namoilik@mail.ru

#### Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	– <i>Athenian Agora</i>
<i>KhS</i>	– <i>Херсонесский сборник</i>
<i>KSIMK (КСИИМК)</i>	– <i>Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры</i>
<i>MAIET (МАИЭТ)</i>	– <i>Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии</i>
<i>MIA (МИА)</i>	– <i>Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР</i>
<i>PIFK (ПИФК)</i>	– <i>Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры</i>
<i>SA (СА)</i>	– <i>Советская археология</i>
<i>VV (ВВ)</i>	– <i>Византийский временник</i>

---

<sup>79</sup> In Pergamon, the *astynomoi* appear nowhere except the ‘Astynomoi Law’.

## Bibliography

- I. Akamatis, “I agora tis Pellas” [“The Agora of Pella”], *To Archeologiko Ergo sti Makedonia ke Thraki* 1988: 2 (1991) 75–90.
- R. B. Akhmerov, “Ob astinomnykh klejmakh ellinisticheskogo Khersonesa” [“On Astynomoi’s Stamps of Hellenistic Chersonesus”], *VDI* 1949: 4, 99–123.
- N. A. Alekseenko, “Khersonskij arkhiv pechatej: mif ili real’nost’?” [“Cherson Archive of Sealings: Myth or Reality?”], *KhS* 15 (2006) 7–16.
- A. Avram, “Timbres amphoriques et épigraphie lapidaire: astynomes et proxènes”, in: I. Căndeă (ed.), *The Thracians and Their Neighbours in Antiquity. Studia in honorem Valerii Sîrbu* (Brăila 2010) 53–61.
- A. L. Boegehold, *The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia*, AA 28 (Princeton, NJ 1995).
- S. P. Boriskovskaja (ed.), *Drevnij gorod Nimfej. Katalog vystavki [Ancient City of Nymphaeum. Exhibition Catalogue]* (St Petersburg 1999).
- V. V. Borisova, “K voprosu ob astinomakh Khersonesa” [“On Matter of Astynomoi of Chersonesus”], *VDI* 1955: 2, 143–148.
- V. V. Borisova, “Keramicheskiye klejma Khersonesa i klassifikacija khersoneskikh amfor” [“Ceramic Stamps of Chersonesus and Classification of Chersonesan Amphorae”], *Numizmatika i epigrafika* 9 (1974) 99–124.
- E. Brandt, *Griechische Gemmen von minoischer Zeit bis zum später Hellenismus*, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* 1: 1 (München 1968).
- A. V. Bujskikh, “Zhylyje doma na Severnom beregu Khersonesa” [“Residential Houses on Northern Seashore of Chersonesus”], *KhS* 10 (1999) 23–30.
- A. V. Bujskikh, *Prostranstvennoje razvitije Khersonesa Tavricheskogo v antichnuju epokhu [Spatial Planning Development of Tauric Chersonesus in Ancient Epoch]*, MAIET Supplementum 5 (Simferopol’ 2008).
- G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* 1 (München 1920).
- G. Busolt, H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* 2 (München 1926).
- V. I. Cekhmistrenko, “Glin’anyj shtamp iz Pantikapeja” [“A Clay Die from Panticapaeum”], *SA* 1962: 1, 279–282.
- A. E. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge 2012).
- Ch. A. Cox, “The ‘Astynomoi’, Private Wills and Street Activity”, *CQ* 57: 2 (2007) 769–775.
- E. Denecker, K. Wandorpe, “Sealed Amphora Stoppers and Tradesmen in Greco-Roman Egypt: Archaeological, Papyrological and Inscriptional Evidence”, *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 82 (2007) 115–128.
- S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford 2005).
- R. Étienne, *Ténos II: Ténos et les Cyclades du milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.* (Paris 1990).
- R. Fabiani, “Magistrates and *Phylai* in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Iasos”, in: R. van Bremen, J.-M. Carbon (eds.), *Hellenistic Karia* (Bordeaux 2010) 467–576.

- O. V. Fateev, "Khronologija amfornykh klejm Khersonesa konca IV – nachala III vv. do n. e. (issledovanie kompleksov i kompleksnyje issledovanija)" ["Chronology of Chersonesus Amphora Stamps of the Late 4<sup>th</sup> – Early 3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries BC (studies of complexes and complex studies)"], *Stratum plus* 2014: 3, 223–244.
- N. F. Fedoseev, "Classification des timbres astynomiques de Sinope", in: Y. Garlan (ed.), *Production et commerce des amphores anciennes en Mer Noire* (Aix-en-Provence 1999) 27–47.
- N. F. Fedoseev, "Proizvodstvo klejmenoj cherepicy v antichnom mire i na Bospore Kimmerijskom" ["Stamped Tile Production in Ancient World and in Cimmerian Bosphorus"], *PIFK* 2011: 4 (34) 275–308.
- N. F. Fedoseev, *Keramicheskiye klejma. Gerakleja Pontijskaja* [*Ceramic Stamps. Heraklea Pontica*], Kollekcija keramicheskikh klejm iz sobranija Vostochno-Krymskogo muzeja-zapovednika 2 (Kerch 2016).
- N. F. Fedoseev, "O kharaktere klejmenija keramiki" ["On Nature of Stamping Ceramics"], *Drevnosti Bospora* 21 (2017) 384–397.
- G. Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie détaillée et révisée des éponymes amphoriques rhodiens, de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ*, BAR International Series 990 (Oxford 2001).
- V. F. Gajdukevich, "Stroitel'nyje keramicheskiye materialy Bospora" ["Ceramic Building Materials of Bosphorus"], *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury* 104 (1935), 211–315.
- V. F. Gajdukevich, "Novyye issledovanija Ilurata" ["New Explorations of Ilurat"], *KSIMK* 37 (1951) 196–211.
- V. F. Gajdukevich, "Raskopki Tiritaki i Mirmekija v 1946–1952 gg." ["Excavations of Tyritake and Myrmekion in 1946–1952"], *MIA* 85 (1958) 149–218.
- Y. Garlan, *Amphores et timbres amphoriques grecs. Entre érudition et idéologie*, Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (nouvelle série) 21 (Paris 2000).
- Y. Garlan, *Les timbres céramiques sinopéens sur amphores et sur tuiles trouvés à Sinope. Présentation et catalogue*, Varia Anatolica 16 (Paris 2004).
- Y. Garlan, "À qui était destinés les timbres amphoriques grecs?", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 137: 1 (1993) 181–190.
- A. M. Gilevich, A. N. Shcheglov, "Khersonesec Batill, syn Nikagora" ["Bathyllos, Son of Nikagoras from Chersonesus"], *Hyperboreus* 2: 2 (1996) 100–124.
- V. Grace, "The Die Used for Amphora Stamps", *Hesperia* 4: 3 (1935) 412–429.
- V. Grace, F. Salviat, "Sceau thasien à marquer les amphores", *BCH* 86: 2 (1962) 510–516.
- B. N. Grakov, *Drevnegrecheskiye keramicheskiye klejma s imenami astinomov* [*Ancient Greek Ceramic Stamps with Names of Astynomoi*] (Moscow 1928).
- R. Häderli, "Die hellenischen Astynomen und Agoranomen, vornehmlich in alten Athen", *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* Supplbd. 15 (Leipzig 1887) 47–94.

- G. H. R. Horsley, "The Politarchs in Macedonia, and Beyond", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 7 (1994) 99–126.
- V. I. Kac, *Keramicheskije klejma Khersonesa Tavricheskogo. Katalog-opredelitel'* [*Ceramic Stamps of Tauric Chersonesus. Determinant Catalogue*] (Saratov 1994).
- V. I. Kac, *Grecheskije keramicheskije klejma epokhi klassiki i ellinizma (opyt kompleksnogo izuchenija)* [*Greek Ceramic Stamps of Classic and Hellenistic Epochs (results of complex research)*], Bosporskije issledovanija 18 (Simferopol' 2007).
- V. I. Kac, "Tipologija i khronologicheskaja klassifikacija khersonesskikh magistratskikh klejmov" ["Typology and Chronological Classification of Chersonesan Magistrates' Stamps"], *VDI* 1985: 1, 87–113.
- V. I. Kadeev, *Khersones Tavricheskij v pervykh vekakh nashej ery* [*Tauric Chersonesus in the First Centuries of Our Era*] (Kharkov 1981).
- G. Klaffenbach, *Die Astynomeninschrift von Pergamon*, Abh. DAW zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst 1953: 6 (Berlin 1954).
- O. Ju. Klimov, "Polisnyj stroj i demokratija v gorodakh Maloj Azii epokhi ellinizma" ["Polis System and Democracy in Cities of Ancient Greece of Hellenistic Epoch"], *Vestnik SPbGU Series 2*, 2010: 1, 39–47.
- A. B. Kolesnikov, "Keramicheskije klejma iz raskopok usadeb u Yevpatorijskogo majaka" ["Ceramic Stamps from Excavations of Farmhouses near Yevpatoria Lighthouse"], *VDI* 1985: 2, 67–93.
- L. G. Kolesnikova, "Khram v portovom rajone Khersonesa (raskopki 1963–1965 gg.)" ["A Church in Harbour District of Chersonesus (excavations in 1963–1965)"], *IV* 39 (1978) 160–172.
- K. K. Kosciushko-Val'uzhich, "Iz vlechenije iz otcheta o raskopkakh v Khersonese Tavricheskom v 1900 godu" ["Extract from Report on Excavations in Tauric Chersonesus in 1900"], *Izvestija Imperatorskoj arkheologicheskoy komissii* 2 (St Petersburg 1902).
- A. V. Koval'chuk, "Keramicheskij shtamp s pos. General'skoje Zapadnoje" ["A Ceramic Die from Generalskoe Zapadnoe Settlement"], *PIFK* 16: 3 (2006) 3–7.
- I. T. Kruglikova, "Glin'anyj shtamp iz Kimmerika" ["A Clay Die from Kimmerikon"], *KSIIMK* 43 (1952) 119–125.
- V. V. Latyshev, "Grazhdanskaja pris'aga khersoniscev" ["The Civic Oath of Chersonesan Citizens"], in: V. V. Latyshev (ed.), *ΠΟΝΤΙΚΑ. Izbornik nauchnykh i kriticheskikh statej po istorii, arkheologii, geografii i epigrafike Skifii, Kavkaza i grecheskikh kolonij na poberezhjakh Chernogo mor'a* (St Petersburg 1909) 142–167.
- Ye. I. Levi, "K voprosu o datirovke khersonesskoj pris'agi" ["On Matter of Dating of the Chersonesan Oath"], *SA* 9 (1947) 89–100.
- E. M. Loreti, "Signacula bronzei dell'Antiquarium comunale di Roma", *Collezione de l'École Française de Rome* 193: *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (Rome 1994) 645–653.



- B. Yu. Mikhlin, "K izucheniju khersonesskikh keramicheskikh klejm" ["On Study of Chersonesan Ceramic Stamps"], *VDI* 1979: 2, 139–159.
- S. Yu. Monakhov, *Amfory Khersonesa Tavricheskogo IV–II vv. do n. e.* [*Amphorae of Tauric Chersonesus of the 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> Centuries BC*] (Saratov 1989).
- S. Yu. Monakhov, *Grecheskije amfory v Prichernomor'je. Tipologija* [*Greek Amphorae in Black Sea Littoral. Typology*] (Moscow–Saratov 2003).
- S. Yu. Monakhov, "O shtampakh dl'a klejmenija khersonesskikh amfor" ["On Dies for Stamping Chersonesan Amphorae"], *SA* 1981: 2, 265–271.
- N. Yu. Novoselova, *Otchet ob arkheologicheskikh raskopkakh v XX kvartale Khersonesa Tavricheskogo v 2017 g.* [*Report on Archaeological Excavations in the 20<sup>th</sup> Quarter of Tauric Chersonesus in 2017*] Arkhiv IARAN F-1 R-1 No. 56016.
- N. Yu. Novoselova, A. S. Namoylik, "Khalcedonovyj (?) shtamp astinoma iz Khersonesa Tavricheskogo: novejshaja nakhodka ekspedicii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha" ["A Chalcedonic (?) Die of Astynomos from Tauric Chersonesus: the Latest Find by the State Hermitage Expedition"], in: *Bosporskij fenomen: obshcheje i osobennoje v istoriko-kul'turnom prostranstve antichnogo mira* 2 (St Petersburg 2018) 98–105.
- J. Oehler, "Ἀστυνόμοι", *RE* 2 (1896) 1870–1872.
- A. V. Oreshnikov, "Et'udy po numizmatike Chernomorskogo poberezhja" ["An Assay on Numismatics of Black Sea Littoral"], *Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury* 2 (St Petersburg 1922) 113–138.
- D. Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, *Pella 1: Istorike episkopesis kai martyriai* [*Pella 1: Historical Review and Testimonies*] (Athens 1971).
- N. A. Pavlichenko, "Kollegija astinomov v ellinisticheskom polise" ["Board of Astynomoi in Hellenistic Polis"], *Antichnyj mir i arkheologija* 8 (Saratov 1990) 52–62.
- E. M. Pridik, *Die Astynomennamen auf Amforen- und Ziegelstempeln aus Südrussland* (Berlin 1928).
- E. M. Pridik, "Keramicheskije nadpisi iz raskopok Tiritaki I Mirmekija v 1932–1934 gg." ["Ceramic Inscriptions from Excavations of Tyritake and Myrmekion in 1932–1934"], *MIA* 4 (1941) 173–178.
- G. M. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman* (Rome 2006).
- A. I. Romanchuk, E. I. Solomonik, "Neskol'ko nadpisej na srednevekovoj keramike Khersonesa" ["Some Inscriptions on Medieval Ceramics of Chersonesus"], *VV* 48 (1987) 95–100.
- S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, AA 22 (Princeton, NJ 1982).
- S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material*, AA 29 (Princeton, NJ 1997).
- S. G. Ryzhov, "Oboronitel'naja stena V v. do n. e. v Severnom rajone Khersonesa" ["A Defensive Wall of the 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC in Northern District of Chersonesus"], *MAIET* 13 (2007) 20–30.



- S. Saba, *The Astynomoi Law from Pergamon*, Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform 6 (Heidelberg 2012).
- E. I. Solomonik, *Novyye epigraficheskiye pam'atniki Khersonesa* [New Epigraphic Monuments of Chersonesus] (Kiev 1973).
- E. I. Solomonik, "Fragment nadpisi iz Khersonesa o politicheskikh izgnannikakh" ["A Fragment of Inscription from Chersonesus Concerning Political Exiles"], *VDI* 1984: 1, 72–81.
- B. A. Sparkes, L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC*, AA 12 (Princeton, NJ 1970).
- P. V. Stanley, *Ancient Greek Market Regulations and Controls*, PhD (Berkeley 1976).
- V. F. Stolba, "Hellenistic Hersonesos: Towards Establishing Local Chronology", in: V. F. Stolba, L. Hannestad (eds.), *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period c. 400–100 BC* (Aarhus 2005) 153–322.
- Ye. Ya. Turovskij, V. M. Gorbатов, *Monety antichnogo i srednevekovogo Khersonesa. Katalog-opredelitel'* [Coins of Ancient and Medieval Chersonesus. Determinant Catalogue] (Simferopol' 2013).
- Ch. Tzochev, *Amphora Stamps from Thasos*, AA 37 (Princeton, NJ 2016).
- C. Vial, *Délos indépendante (314–167 av. J.-C.)*, BCH Supplement 10 (1985).
- Yu. G. Vinogradov, "Dorijskije fily v Khersonese Tavricheskom" ["Doric Phylai in Tauric Chersonesus"], *VDI* 1993: 4, 61–66.
- Yu. G. Vinogradov, A. N. Shcheglov, "Obrazovaniye territorial'nogo Khersonesskogo gosudarstva" ["Formation of Territorial Chersonesus State"], in: Ye. S. Golubcova (ed.), *Ellinizm: ekonomika, politika, kul'tura* (Moscow 1990) 310–371.
- M.-L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue raisonné des sceaux cylindres et intailles 1* (Genève 1967).
- A. J. B. Wace, "The Stamped Tiles", *ABSA* 13: *Lakonia: 1. Excavations in Sparta* (1907) 17–43.
- V. P. Yajlenko, "Nekotorye voprosy interpretacii khersonesskoj pris'agi i pochetnoj nadpisi Agasikla" ["Some Questions of Interpretation of the Chersonesus Oath and Honorific Decree for Agasikles"], *PIFK* 10 (2001) 175–188.
- L. A. Yel'nickij, "Epigraficheskiye novinki iz Kerchi" ["Epigraphic News from Kerch"], *VDI* 1947: 3, 205–208.
- R. Zelnick-Abramovitz, "Public Registers of Land Sales in Ancient Greece", in: E. Jakab (ed.), *Sale and Community. Documents from the Ancient World: Individuals' Autonomy and State Interference in the Ancient World* (Trieste 2016) 41–65.
- V. M. Zubar', A. V. Bujskikh, E. V. Kravchenko, A. S. Rus'ajeva, *Khersones Tavricheskij v tret'jej chetverti VI – seredine I vv. do n. e.* [Tauric Chersonesus in the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> Centuries BC] (Kiev 2005).

In 2018, a chalcedonic die was discovered in filling of a cellar of the Hellenistic house in the Quarter XX of Tauric Chersonesus. It bears an inscription ἄστυνομοῦ-|ντος Ἡράκ-|λείου (‘Herakleios being *astynomos*’) and two emblems – a bunch of grapes and a *caduceus*. Palaeographic peculiarities of the inscription as well as archaeological context of the find point to the date of the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. *Astynomoi* named Ἡράκλειος are known from stamps on Chersonesan amphorae, however no stamp imprinted by the die under discussion has been found. This tool might have been intended for sealing documents. The unique find supplements scarce evidence on the board of *astynomoi* making us revise a traditional view that it was a low-status magistracy in Chersonesus.

В 2018 г. при раскопках XX квартала городища Херсонес Таврический в насыпи подвала эллинистического дома был обнаружен халцедоновый штамп с надписью ἄστυνομοῦ-|ντος Ἡράκ-|λείου (“При астиноме Гераклии”) и двумя эмблемами – виноградной гроздью и кадуцеем. Палеографические особенности надписи и археологический контекст находки позволяют датировать изделие концом IV – началом III в. до н.э. Астиномы по имени Ἡράκλειος известны по клеймам на херсонесских амфорах, однако оттиски данного штампа не засвидетельствованы. Возможно, штамп предназначался для опечатывания документов. Уникальная находка дополняет немногочисленные свидетельства о деятельности коллегии астиномов, заставляя пересмотреть устоявшееся мнение о низком статусе этой магистратуры в Херсонесе.

## CONSPECTUS

VIKTORIA T. MUSBAKHOVA	
A Scythian Ares (Aesch. <i>Ch.</i> 161–162)?	181
CARLO M. LUCARINI, MARIA SCERMINO	
Il ruolo di Posidonio e della dossografia per la datazione del <i>Περὶ κόσμου</i> e i rapporti di quest'ultimo con l' <i>Elogium geographiae</i> . I	198
AUDRONĖ KUČINSKIENĖ	
Play on the Meaning of Name in Cicero's <i>Verrines</i> : Some Remarks on <i>Div. Caec.</i> 48–50	229
WJATSCHESLAW K. CHRUSTALJOW	
<i>Sic est (non) iusta causa belli?</i> Issues of Law and Justice in the Debate Concerning a Roman Annexation of Egypt in 65 BC	244
SOFIA EGOROVA	
<i>Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox</i> (Hor. <i>Epod.</i> 16. 6)	265
DENIS KEYER	
The Train of Thought in Horace, <i>Epist.</i> 2. 2. 213–216	274

## EPIGRAPHICA

NADEZHDA NOVOSELOVA, ANNA NAMOYLIK	
A Chalcedonic Die of Astynomos Ἡράκλειος from Tauric Chersonesus	289
NATALIA PAVLICHENKO, NIKOLAJ FEDOSEEV	
A New Inscription of Herakas, Son of Pontikos, ἀρχερμηγεὺς Ἀλανῶν	315

## COMMENTARII BREVIORES

S. DOUGLAS OLSON	
Some Late 4 <sup>th</sup> -century Comic Fragments (Antiph. fr. 288 = Timocl. fr. 41 = adesp. tr. fr. 123a; Antiph. fr. 167; adesp. com. fr. 149) and Eratosthenes of Cyrene on Demosthenes	339
ЕКАТЕРИНА НОВИКОВА	
De <i>rutilo</i> metri Graeci nomine	343
Keywords	346