To begin with, the site of Olbia itself is perfectly clear. The city stood on the right bank of the Bug estuary; there, about three miles abroad, at a point about a mile south of the village of Parutino. (Fig. 1) About four miles below the city, the estuary opens into that of the Dnieper or rather into a common estuary some nine miles across. If we follow this common estuary eastwards about nine miles from the mouth of the Bug, it is narrowed by a sharp promontory Cape Stanislav and beyond begins the Dnieper liman proper.

Figure 1. Satellite location of Olbia


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This Cape Stanislav, must be the Cape of Hippolaus mentioned by Herodotus\(^1\) and Dio, as running out between the Hypanis and Borysthenes rivers. Upon the Cape of Hippolaus, Herodotus says that there was a temple of Demeter (Μητρός)\(^1\) Bruun also thought that he had found its site a mile to the north of the actual headland, but no certain remains have been investigated.\(^2\)

As far as it concerns the topographical sketch, Olbia consists of three parts: the Upper (up to 42 m. above the modern level of Bug estuary), the Lower (up to 10 m.) and the Terraced city located between them covering almost with an amphitheater Lower one. The Upper city was the archaic core of the village and the center of the developing ἄστυ. It remained the lung of the city-state until the invasion of Getae of Burebista in 55 BC. Here was the oldest temple dedicated to Apollo Physician (Ἱητρό) and the Mother of the Gods, the Agora and the temple of Apollo Delphinios.\(^3\) (Fig. 2)

Furthermore, the Terraced city with a magnificent view of the port and the river was the main place of residence. From the end of the first quarter of 5\(^{th}\) c. BC, pit-shelter constructions disappeared and the city was built up with ground multi-chamber apartment houses with inner courts of usual for the Greek shape. These houses were grouped per quarters and in this case frequently had the common walls.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Herodotus, *Historiae* IV, 53.
\(^3\) Marianna Koromila, *Οι Έλληνες στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα. Από την εποχή του χαλκού ως τις αρχές του 20\(^{ο}\) αιώνα* (Athens: Panorama, 2002).
Figure 2. Drawing representation of buildings and walls of the Hellenistic Olbia

Based on the above site, the location of Olbia was established by engineer-general Suchtelev, started exploring the Olbia ruins in 1790, at a time when they were still officially within the Ottoman Empire. Also, P. S. Pallas visited the area in 1794. The interest at this early stage was mainly to focused on the identification of the site as the ancient Greek city of Olbia, as well as the discovery of the cemetery, the so-called “area of the hundred graves.”

In 1839, Mikhail Vorontsov, an ambitious governor-general of New Russia, sponsored the establishment of the Imperial Odessa Society

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which brought in the famous archaeologists in Russia, the Count Alexei Uvarov and Countess Uvarova, who gave much of their lives to Olbia.

Figure 4. Dromos and krypt

Source: accessed: 26/5/2016,
http://www.olbio.org/foto/gallery.php?category=22&galleryID=0

Figure 5. Burial

Source: accessed: 26/6/2016,
http://www.olbio.org/foto/gallery.php?category=22&galleryID=0
Near the end of the 19th c., the first publications on the history and archaeology of Olbia appeared; the most thorough and scientifically reliable for its time probably being V. V. Latyshev’s work on the political and economic history of Olbia based on epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Systematic excavations began there by Boris Farmakovskiy, from 1901 to 1914 and then, after war and revolution had subsided, from 1924 to 1928. He left behind him a series of meticulous and handsomely illustrated excavation reports which contain most of what is known about the “material culture” of Olbia.

What is more, after Farmakovskiy’s death, L. M. Slavin supervised over Olbian expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of AS of Ukraine (1936-1972). After Slavin’s death, the third generation took over from 1972, under the leadership of Kryzhitskiy (1972-1995) and Krapivina (from 1995). It is worth to note that, within the sphere of private architecture, the living quarters of the Hellenistic period have been investigated, especially through the excavations conducted by N. A. Leypunskaja, in the area of the northern part of the Lower City, Sector NGS. Lastly, excavations as well as research into a burial custom are conducted annually by V. Papanova of the University of Berdyansk.

**Ancient Period of Olbia (first half of 6th c.-490/80 BC)**

To start with, the foundation of the Olbia appeared as a result of the organized, planned Great Greek colonization. The first natives from Ionia and particular from Miletus, made their appearance in the area of the Lower Bug region in the second half of 7th c. BC, which were established the Berezan peninsula. Borysthenes/Olbia founded by the same colonizers probably, in the first half of 6th c. BC, in order to have the status of the city-state. However, about Olbia as a city-state we can speak enough confidently only from the end of the second third of 6th c. BC, when already almost the whole Lower Bug

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region was inhabited with Greek immigrants as a result of spontaneous colonization.\(^8\)

Based on the above, there is a graffito made in bone,\(^9\) which was found in the Berezan island probably dated to the third quarter of the 6th c. BC, which according to Yu. G. Vinogradov, it is an important document containing useful historical information; it seems that the number symbols 7.70.700 and 7000, correspond to the four historical stages of the development of the Milesian colonists to conquer the Lower Bug Region and the gradual increase of the colonial population. Mainly in the last two stages (700 and 7000), Vinogradov thinks that in this period, dated to the first half of 6th c. BC, the union took place of the two settlements (Berezan and Olbia) into a unique polis under the name Borysthenes, while the erection of a temple dedicated to Apollo Ietros came to approve this political decision.

Analyzing the archaic period of Olbia in the middle of 6th c. BC, we can see that it was a small settlement settled down in the southern and central part of the Upper City and consisting, mainly, from pit-shelters and semi pit-shelters. (Fig. 6-7) From the very beginning it was built the most ancient in Olbia cult site-temenos, connected to cults of Apollo the Doctor and Mother of Gods (Fig. 8) and at the end of the third-fourth quarter of 6th c. BC, a central temenos erected, with basic cult of Apollo Delfinio; the same period occurred agora – the area which had trading, administrative and public factions. In the second half and mainly in the last third of 6th c. BC, on both temenoi altars were under construction.\(^10\)

To sum up, the existence of these two temenoi, the agora and the coinage appearance of local bronze coin in the form of dolphins allows speaking about occurrence and city – state’s shape, at the end of the third quarter of 6th c. BC.

As far as their food supplies concerns, the population of the second half of 6th c. BC, deal with agricultural, fishing, cattle breeding,

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\(^8\) Kryzhitskiy, “Olbia–Berezan,” 398.

\(^9\) ἑπτά· λύκος ἀσθενής, ἑβδομήκοντα· λέων δεινός, ἑπτάκοσιοι· τοξοφόρος φιλικόν· ὄρος· ἑπτακις· ὄλβη· μακαρίζω ἐκεῖ, μέμνημαι Λη-[τ]ο[ɪ] (?). SEG 36: 694; VDI 2 (1986): 25-64.

\(^10\) Kryzhitskiy, op. cit., 400.
partly – hunt, as well as other works and craft; archaeologists insist that in this particular time trade hasn’t begun yet.\footnote{Koromila, \textit{Οι Έλληνες}, 198.}

Figure 6. Pit-shelter and semi pit-shelter of Olbia


Figure 7. Upper city, view of the southern part

\textit{Source:} Courtesy of the Photo Archives of Prof. E. Wladyka–Papuci.
Moreover, there were peaceful relations with the local tribes. Herodotus draws a sharp distinction between the city, its *emporion* (probably Berezan, then a peninsula) and its neighbors. Olbia’s immediate neighbors engage in agriculture, albeit together with pastoralism. They include not only Scythians but also the Callippidae, νέμονται ἑόντες Ἑλληνες Σκύθαι: “they range about being Greek-Scythians.”\(^{12}\) The main verb indicates a pastoral lifestyle, as also does his explicit description of their life as being the same as the Scythians except for their agriculture in grain and legumes.\(^{13}\)

Nevertheless, it seems that following the tradition, Olbia tried to avoid mixing with people from barbarian community. There is scarce information on mother-Greeks of Anacharsis and Scyles, the

\(^{12}\) Herodotus, *Historiae* IV, 76-80.

wife-Olbian citizen of the latter. Based on the rich funerary complexes of the second half of the 6th c. BC, one may assume that some Olbian citizens, married daughters of prosperous farmers from the Forest-steppe tribes. In the case of the Callippidae, something other than marriage between Greek males and local females may have been entailed. While details remain elusive, the earliest hypothesis seems to be that the Callippidae intermarriage with the population of Olbia itself, very possibly including marriage between local males and Olbian females.

Passing now in the beginning of 5th c. BC, there were essential changes of the whole life of Olbia. Excavations have shown that the pit and semi pit-shelter dwellings were replaced by ground adobe-stone houses of usual Greek types of that time (Fig. 12-13), occupying not only the Upper but also the Lower City. Monumental constructions began, such as the city’s defensive walls, with towers and gates.

In this era, there were radical changes in the economy of Olbia, in which basic wasn’t now the agricultural but trade. Inhabitants of Olbia were engaged in suburb agriculture, storing products in grain pits in the city, in the manors. At this time craft received significant development; metal working of different kinds, pottery, building, processing of bone and glass (Fig. 9-10). The serious place occupied by actively developing trading – exchange relations both with hinterland and with local tribes.

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14 Herodotus, Historiae IV, 78-80.
16 Compare the rather different Geloni, who developed a culture that was a mixture of Greek and Scythian by being Greeks who had settled among non-Greeks (Herodotus, Historiae IV, 108-9).
According to some scholars, as for the Olbian economy itself, believe that the 5th c. BC, saw it develop into one centered entirely on the mediation of trade instead of agriculture, as a consequence of
Scythian expansion. Marchenko has written of a deliberate elimination by the Scythian elite of the Olbian periphery in order to assure Scythian monopoly in grain trade.\textsuperscript{18} Vinogradov claimed that the Olbian economy of the 5\textsuperscript{th} c. BC underwent a change of focus agriculture and stock-raising to transit trade in goods received from Scythians and passed on the Aegean world and also to craft production.\textsuperscript{19}

However, as Leypunskaya noted, both these views underestimate the scale and potential for agriculture and stock-raising in the civic territory which Olbia retained, while they also overestimate the role of the market as a separate concern or force in Scythian exchange.\textsuperscript{20}

Based on the above, while archaeology shows these changes, a further change has also been supposed, which is rather less clear in the evidence: that is the creation of the so-called Scythian “protectorate,” over Olbia. The term “protectorate” is itself unclear: Vinogradov believed that, the power of the Scythian kings extended mainly over the economy of the polis, but there is no real evidence to show as much.\textsuperscript{21} While Vinogradov in particular has argued for the existence and importance of some such protectorate, others have argued that it did not exist at all.\textsuperscript{22}

The argument for a Scythian protectorate over Olbia rests primarily on inferences from coins and from Herodotus. However, its supporters have tried also to embrace within their arguments a range of archaeological data. The information derives during the reign of the following three Scythian kings: Ariapeithtes (480/70 BC aprx.), Skyles (470/50 BC aprx.) and king’s “protectorate” or that of his governor – Eminakos in (450/40 BC aprx.).

\textsuperscript{18} K. K. Marčenko, “Model grecheskoj kolonizatsii Nizhnego Pobuzhja” (Model of Greek colonization of the Lower Bug region), \textit{VDI} 1 (1980).

\textsuperscript{19} Yu. G. Vinogradov, \textit{Politicheskaja istorija Olvijskogo polisa VII-I vv. Do n.e. Istoriko-epigraficheskoe issledovanie} (The political history of Olbian city. 7\textsuperscript{th}-1\textsuperscript{st} c. BC. Historical and epigraphical research) (Moscow: 1989).

\textsuperscript{20} Leypunskaya, “Olbian–Scythian Trade,” 128.

\textsuperscript{21} Vinogradov, \textit{op. cit.}, 82-121.

Some of the most important evidences of the probably existence of Scythian “protectorate” are: 1) The Anacharsis’ philhellenism and Skyles’ story, that Herodotus insisted on Scythian resistance to Greek influence: ἡ μὴ ὁδύρα γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξέν; probably have been found the ruins of the “palace” of Skyles described by Herodotus in Olbia; 2) the appearance of a whole range of burials of Scythian nomads on the lower reaches of the River Bug, allegedly “clustered along the northern border of the state of Olbia;” 3) the discovery of twenty-six mirrors in burials found probably in archaic Olbia, shown at ten out of twenty-six are the so-called Scythian type; 4) the different coins, vessels and the ring all found in Olbia, with dedication to King Skyles, and 5) the appearance of many non-Greek and semi-Greek names in Olbia’s onomastics.

To sum up, Kryzhitskiy believes that, all these facts are no objective criteria in order to establish the number of barbarians in the population of Olbia during the 5th c. BC. These specific cultural features could only encourage the view that the city and its chora had a barbarian element but not a “protectorate.”

**Classical Period (490/80-323 BC)**

The Classical era of the life of Olbian polis, should be start with the Pericles’ expedition in Pontos, although by some scholars has never been taken place. There seems no reason to doubt the date usually given to Pericles’ expedition into the Pontus, 437 BC, thought it must remain provisional. Its main aims were probably to strengthen

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23 Herodotus, Historiae IV, 76.5.
Athenian commerce in this region; from the middle of the 5th c. BC, come in again. Whether Olbia was enrolled in the Delian League it is not sure. According to the opinion of Vinogradov and the “Coinage Decree” which was purchased in the village Parutino set out in 424 BC, there is a town beginning with Ο, but it only paid a talent which is no more than Nymphaeum and perhaps Tyras.29

At around the same time, it has been suggested that the tyrant Timesileos of Sinope took refuge at Olbia; for public decree of Olbia records honors to Timesileos and perhaps to his brother (?), Theopropos (citizenship, ateleia and enktesis).30 However, the inscription gives no grounds for supposing that the tyrant took refuge at Olbia. Accordingly, the Olbian honors if they were given, are to be dated before Pericles’ expedition, when the tyrant of Sinope would have been a key figure in the Black Sea region, well worth cultivation, not much after 440 BC and perhaps some years earlier (Sinope could supply the wine and olive which Olbia needed and could not produce for itself). The influence of Athens in Olbia was showed in close trading, cultural, religious and military connections. Olbia might be in the structure of the League about twenty-five years.31

Concerning the economy of the polis in first half of 4th c. BC, alongside with agriculture and crafts, trade took an important development with the centers of classical world (Athens, N. Aegean, Sinope, Heraclea) and with local tribes (Callippidae, Alazones, Scythians). The formations of the polis, reduction of agriculture territory, active development of crafts at a significant level of their marketability were those levers which promoted the further development of trade. Already, in 5th c. BC, there were credit relations between the


31 P. O. Karyškovskij, Moneti Olvii (Coins of Olbia) (Kiev: 1988).
citizens in the agora; graffiti is known with the list of debtors to the dealer of wine.\footnote{32}{V. P. Jajlenko, “Graffiti Levki, Berezani i Ol’vii 2” (Graffiti of Leuke, Berezan and Olbia), \textit{VDI} 3 (1980).}

Moreover, in 4\textsuperscript{th} c. BC, few inscriptions have survived, most epitaphs and grants of proxeny to foreigners: Dilopectichus of Byzantium.\footnote{33}{ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. \textit{Vacat} 2 \textit{Olbiopolitanē ἐδωκαν Δηλοπτίχου Μενίσ[κου] Βυζαντίων ἀντ[ῶι καὶ] ἐκχόνοις [προξενίαιν], πολιτείαιν, ἀτέλειαιν, π[άντων χρημάτων] — /} \textit{IOlbia, 9, Olbia} — ca. 325-300 BC\textsuperscript{?}.} Chaerigenes of Mesembria, Hellanicus of Rhodes (?), Nautimus of Callatis and a Dionysius whose city cannot be read. This last stone was found at Chesrsoneus. All this points to lively intercourse with other trading cities.\footnote{34}{For more inscriptions see \textit{IOlbiae}, 8-10; 14-15.}

Additionally, a decree found at the temple of Zeus Urius at the entrance of the Thracic Bosporus gives regulations for the treatment of foreign money at Olbia,\footnote{35}{[— — — — — — — πόλεος[— — — — — αὐτ[ῶι καὶ] ἐκχο[νοῖ] — — — — —] εἰς πάν[τα τῶν χρόνων]. \textit{IOlbia, 9, Olbia-4\textsuperscript{th} c. BC.}} directing that all copper, silver and gold, other than that of Kyzikos should be exchanged against Olbian currency according to market. Kyzikian stater have been found in Olbia and in later times their place was taken by those of the Macedonian kings (Fig. 11). Until now (1971), only one autonomous Olbian gold stater has been discovered;\footnote{36}{Minns, \textit{Scythians and Greeks}.} according to the decree of Kanobos about money, one stater of Kyzikos was equated to 8.5 Olbian staters.\footnote{37}{Karyškovskij, \textit{Moneti Olvii}, 128.}
To change subject, the “Wealth” colony had very good relationship with its mother city, Miletos, in the late classical era, as witnessed by the treaty from Miletos, dating before 323 and possibly to 330 BC. This decree establishes equal citizenship or *isopoleitia* between the two cities, Miletos and Olbia. Citizens from either city could go to the other and enjoy a privileged status: exemption from taxation, the right to sacrifice in the public cults, special seats at public gatherings and the right to argue law suits in the public court that
was reserved for citizens.\textsuperscript{38} This relationship was very unusual for, while it was common for mother cities to reserve the right to send later settlers to a colony as full citizens, the colonists’ right of return was usually strictly limited (see the foundation of Cyrene by Theraeans).\textsuperscript{39}

Once more, this relationship must have been in effect in the past and then lapsed for some reason before it was reestablished in this treaty. However, a more likely date for the original treaty of isopoliteia is when the city of Miletos was being refounded, probably immediately after the Battle of Mykale. The returning Milesian refugees would have naturally looked to the colonies – many of them prosperous cities in their own right – back to the ruins of Miletos.\textsuperscript{40}

Based on the above decree, we are in a position to assume the political system of Obian polis. At the initial stage in Olbia, the aristocratic form of board is supposed when managing role was executed by council of oligarchies.\textsuperscript{41} Later, Olbia was democratic slaveholding republic on the political system anyway from the 5\textsuperscript{th} c. BC, which on short intervals of time, under the assumption of a part of researchers, was replaced by tyranny in 5\textsuperscript{th} c. BC, democratic in 5\textsuperscript{th}-2\textsuperscript{nd} c. BC, with sometimes alternated oligarchical (second half of 4\textsuperscript{th}-3\textsuperscript{rd} c. BC, probably about the middle of 3\textsuperscript{rd} c. BC) form of board.\textsuperscript{42}

This period ends with the siege of Olbia by Zopyrion, the Alexander’s governor of Thrace, in 332-331 BC. During the siege, the citizens of Olbia released their slaves, granted citizenship to foreigners in the city, canceled debts and cooperated with Scythians; these emergency measures (related by the late antique writer Macrobius) contributed to their military success.\textsuperscript{43} The campaign ended with a total defeat of Zopyrion and his 30,000 soldiers; the destructions’

\textsuperscript{39} Herodotus, \textit{Historiae} IV, 156.3.
\textsuperscript{40} B. V. Gorman, “Milesian Decrees of Isopoliteia and the Refoundation of the City, ca. 479 B.C.,” History, Department of Faculty Publications, Department of History, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/historyfacpub/15, accessed 5-7-2016.
\textsuperscript{41} Kryzhitskiy et al., “Olbia–Berezan,” 349.
\textsuperscript{42} Anohin, \textit{Moneti antichnih gorodov}, 33.
siege left traces in the city itself and even more in the vulnerable settlements of the chora, which were burnt down, but quickly rebuilt.

To conclude, some scholars believe that the siege of Zopyrion never took place: Bertier-de-la-Garde⁴⁴ refuses to believe in the siege, saying that you cannot besiege an unwalled town, but part of the circuit had been completed in stone and the rest was no doubt defended by walls of crude brick or a palisade and ditch for which very likely Protogenes substituted stone. Grote regards Zopyrion as an unknown person and declines to fix any date for his attack upon Olbia.

To the end of 4th c. BC, belongs a tantalizing inscription,⁴⁵ in praise of a man who appears to have brought the citizens to one mind by arranging an impartial compromise? Presumably there had been a faction fight. Perhaps when the danger from Zopyrion had passed, there were difficulties between the old and the newly enfranchised citizens. But this discord may have to do with the subsequent decadence.⁴⁶

*Hellenistic Period (323-355 BC)*

Surprisingly, soon after Zopyrions’ siege, already at the end of 4th-first half of 3rd c. BC, Olbia reached the best bloom of its history. Extensive building actions were carried out; there were reconstructed and re-planned the whole areas. The ruins of the buildings of the Hellenistic period have been kept in a very good condition and enable us to form the picture that shown several homes or entire neighborhoods. The terraced part of the city was substantially built up, the big construction, as monumental –defensive, cult and public–and private was conducted. Particular reference must be done, to the

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⁴⁴ Comparative Values, 86, n. 2.
⁴⁵ ὈλβιοπολῖταιἈριστάνδρῳΜελισσοῦ όρχοΜενίωι ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἔδωκαν προξενίαν— — — — — — — Olbia — ca. 400-350 BC.
half kouros statue, which has been found in a room of the gymnasium.\textsuperscript{47} The whole area of the city achieves the maximum size – about 50-55 hectares and the population was near 15 thousand.\textsuperscript{48}

In the times after Zopirion, the area and volume of trading connections with the Greek world were considerably extended. In this sphere of Olbian economy the certain changes were observed during the Hellenistic period. Its first trade connections still proceeded and later brisk enough relations with the centers which appeared at this time on historical arena in connection with formation of new historian –economic event– Hellenism-Rhodes, Kos, Knidos, Italian region, Northern Africa began to be fastened and become stronger.\textsuperscript{49}

Main articles of import, as well as in previous time, remained a wine (Fig. 12), olive oil, raw material for some kinds of crafts (glassworks, paints for ceramics), smart utensils, fabrics, ornaments, subjects of art and many other artifacts. About brisk external trading activity, numerous finds of imported products, especially ceramics, in the layers of the city of time testify. The system of measures and weights with different images are known, as turtle, mostly with the image of the main deity of Olbia Apollo and inscription ΩΛΒΙΟ,\textsuperscript{50} special measured vessels with stamps of agoranomoi which number now had increased up to three.\textsuperscript{51} (Fig. 13)

\textsuperscript{47} A. A. Maslennikov, Οἱ Αρχαῖοι Ἐλληνες στο Βόρειο Εὔξεινο Πόντο (Θεσσαλονίκη: Κυριακόδης, 2000).
\textsuperscript{49} A. S. Ostroverhov, Kvoprosu o sirjevoj baze antichnih remeslenih tsentrov Dneprovsko-Bugskogo limana (To the question about raw materials of antique craft centers of Dnieper-Bug estuary) (Kiev: PDKSZP, 1981).
\textsuperscript{50} V. V. Krapivina, “Vesovie giri Olviji” (Weights of Olbia), IAASP (1980).
\textsuperscript{51} V. V. Ruban, Magistratura agoranomov v Ol’vii (The board of agoranomoi in Olbia), Arheologija 39 (1982).
Figure 12. Remains of a winery

*Source:* Courtesy of the Photo Archives of Prof. E. Wladyka–Papuci.

Figure 13. Bronze weights

*Source:* Museum of Archaeology IA NASU, Kiev.
Nevertheless, since the second half of the 3rd c. BC, the economic situation, international position of Olbia and social problems, were getting worst. The weak Olbia, forced to come under the protection of the potential Scythian king Skylouros, in the middle of the 2nd c. BC; since then commonly was called “Scythian city.” Whether the Olbiopolites liked their connection with Skylouros or not, it came into an end at the defeat of his son Palakos by Diophantos with the forces of Mithridates VI Eupator. That Olbia submitted to Mithridates, seems implied in the fragmentary decree in honour of … son of Philocrates, a master mariner of Amisos, thanking him for services in transporting supplies to certain Armenians in Sinope, also in facing a storm to bring home an embassy of the city’s and reinforcements granted to it by the king.

After the death of Mithridates VI Eupator in 64/63 BC, Olbia was sack by the Getae with their king Burebista in 55 BC; our authority for it is Dio Chrysostom. The destruction was complete, while the city never was able to return to its past wealth. After the complete abandonment of Olbia, wolves that had hosted the parturient Leto, returned to their lairs and Apollo never come back to the Olbia polis.

Institutions

To pass now to Olbian institutions, the population of the polis, consisted of citizens, free aliens and slaves. We hear nothing of metoikoi. Only the citizens formed the politic body. Apparently, the constitution was at any rate in theory a pure democracy: we do not know of any class of citizens having any special rights, nor of any division into tribes or φρατρίαι. But at any rate in the restored Olbia, this democracy had become something very like an oligarchy. For one reason or another, the responsible offices of the state are concentrated in the hands of a small number of families; the same names occur again and again showing that these families held their own for generations.

52 Maslennikov, Οἱ Ἀρχαῖοι Ἕλληνες, 51.
53 BCA XVIII.2: 97.
54 Maslennikov, Οἱ Ἀρχαῖοι Ἕλληνες, 52.
The legislative bodies of the polis were People Assembly, in abbreviated form in inscriptions named People in which all competent citizens might participate and the Council. On behalf of these state institutes decrees of the polis were issued. Functions of the Council included preliminary discussion of all major questions of the state activity, and then they were taken out on People Assembly. Besides, the Council observed also of work of enforcement authorities.\textsuperscript{55}

Executive authorities were the Boule and the Ecclesia or Demos. The former seems merely to have had probouleutic functions, propositions being first considered by it and then brought before the ecclesia. The formula for decrees generally mentions both. This formula when fully expressed gives the name of the proposer (\textit{ὁ ἐισηγησάμενος}) and says that the proposal was stated (\textit{ἐἶπον}) by the archons or in some cases by the archons and the Seven. In one complimentary decree, the proposal comes from the Synedroi, whom Latyshev regards as a permanent committee of the boule like the prytaneis in many cities.\textsuperscript{56}

Executive power in Olbia, belonged to colleges of magistrates. The only solitary officials were the king and the director of finances; there were five archons, six strategoi, five agoranomoi, a college of Nine and a college of Seven: we do not know the number of the astynomoi. Each college had a head as it was eponymous, for in official documents and the others are grouped round him as \textit{οἱ περί τὸν δείνα}. Also, each college had its patron deity to which it made a dedication after its year of office – the archons to Achilles Pontarches, strategoi to Apollo Prostates and sometimes to Achilles Pontarches; the agoranomoi to Hermes Agoraeus.

Analyzing the above, the Archons, a college of five devoted to Achilles Pontarches, were the principal magistrates. Their chief, the \textit{πρῶτος ἄρχων}, in later times gave his name to the year. They were the main executants of the will of the ecclesia, which they summoned and before which they laid proposals. Of the Strategoi, we can mention that they formed a college of six with a \textit{ὑπηρέτης}, whose good

\textsuperscript{55} Kryzhitskiy et al., “Olbia–Berezan,” 403.

\textsuperscript{56} He proposes to restore the word in IOlbiae, 28 and 42, cf. iv: 268.
service is often recorded, were the military leaders for, they had victorious triumphs and made dedications to Apollo Prostates, offering Nikai in gold or silver, gold torques, a gold and jeweled belt, silver vases, a tripod, a gold wreath, a statue, a little couch and also χαριστήρια to Achilles Pontarches.

Moreover, the college of Nine had something to do with the finances of Olbia, at least from the information that we have from the Protogenes decree (see above). We hardly know more of the college of Seven. They support the archons in speaking for the decrees in honor of Protogenes and of two other benefactors, whose names are imperfect and they are responsible for the tariff of taxes on sacrifices. Probably they administered the sacred treasury and its interests, were advanced by Protogenes and the other two men, and so the Seven lent their support to their being honored. Neither the Nine nor the Seven are mentioned in the later Olbia.

Lastly, the internal order and decency of the town and the conduct of trades and manufactures were the care of a college of five Agoranomoi: they suitably made dedications to Hermes Agoraeus. Their names sometimes occur on amphorae and we have a bronze label off a vessel marked ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ | ΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ | ΑΓΑΘΟ | ΚΛΕΟΥΣ | ΛΕΙΤΡΑ. The Astynomoi cannot be shown to belong to Olbia but certain amphorae and tiles marked with the name of the marked with the name of the maker and of an astynomous designated as such have been generally referred to Olbia.

Monetary System

The most original Olbian pieces are those of cast bronze: Plate II, gives nearly all the types and its letterpress the varieties. Coins with intrinsic value ought to show their mutual relations by their weights,
but their extraordinary variability prevents our arriving at an evident conclusion. To begin with, the archaic coins were the “arrow head” like bronze coins or with “dolphin” shape. From the beginning of 5th c. BC, in Olbia release of a large cast bronze coin, on which averse the image of Athena, Gorgona or Demeter and o reverse – an eagle on a dolphin was located, which image represented polis symbol of Olbia.\textsuperscript{64} On a boundary of 5th-4th c. BC, monetary system completely passed in conducting of the state and the significant attention now was paid to ordering of monetary circulation. So, the decree of the beginning of the second half of 4th c. BC, under offer of Kanobos the son of Frasidamantos ordered to make all trading calculations in Olbian copper and silver coin on the stone in ekklesiasterium. For infringement of the decision of the seller and the buyer confiscation of the goods and money expected. The same decree, established a rate of a city coin – 10 and a half of Olbian staters for one gold stater of Kyzikos.\textsuperscript{65} At the end of 4th c. BC, Olbia lets out gold coins-staters. Issue was small, but it played also a political role-declared an independence of the polis after reflection of attack of Zopyrion.\textsuperscript{66}

Additionally, the coins of the 2nd c. BC, witness the subjugation from king Skylouros and the coins of the second half of the 1st c. BC until the 3rd c. AD, betraying the presence and influence of Rome.\textsuperscript{67} Moreover, the well known smaller dolphins mostly been found in the hands of the dead on Berezan; according to von Šallet,\textsuperscript{68} the middle sized dolphins with \textit{APIXO} and gives an explanation \textit{άρριχος} (a fish being reckoned equal to a smaller dolphin), equal to a smaller dolphin marked \textit{ΘΥ[ννός]. So the APIX on the round coins disposes of Koehler’s T]\textit{APIXΟΣ; he vainly seeks to distinguish between tunnies and dolphins, but the back fin of the letter is always characteristic.}\textsuperscript{69}

What is more, the little coins with ΙΣΤ are puzzle –the casting technique and place of finding point to Olbia– v. Sallet thought ΙΣΤ

\textsuperscript{64} Anohin, \textit{Moneti antichnih gorodov}, 13-15.
\textsuperscript{65} IOSPE, I\textsuperscript{2}, 24.
\textsuperscript{66} Karyškovskij, \textit{Moneti Olvii}, 10-69.
\textsuperscript{67} Maslennikov, \textit{ΩΙ Αρχαίοι Έλληνες}, 53.
\textsuperscript{69} ΤΑΡΙΧΟΣ: 424.
could meant ΣΤΙΟΝ, Pick, takes it to be ΣΤΡΙΗΝΩΝ, comparing a coin found by Mourzakevitch on Leuke,\textsuperscript{70} bearing a wheel and ΣΤΙ but struck not cast. No satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested. Farmakovskiy\textsuperscript{71} puts them down to Istros itself: Bertier-del-la-Garde thinks them Olbian small-change tokens.

On the other hand, in Olbia were found native coins from different tribes and kingdoms. As we already written, as some scholars mentioned, in the first half of 5\textsuperscript{th} c. BC, Olbia was in independence from Scythians; as a proof of that there are coins of silver stater with non-Greek name Eminako.\textsuperscript{72} The 4\textsuperscript{th} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} c. BC, silver coins mostly bear the head of Demeter, with flowing locks and ears of corn above her forehead; the reverse has on the larger coins the group of the sea-eagle and dolphin, on smaller ones the dolphin with a wheatear or a leaf or alone, like the gold No. 1; these types are not uncommon also upon copper. An interesting type among the earlier coins is No. 3, on which Demeter, still wearing her wheatears, appears in a mural crown as Tykhe of the city; the reverse has a magistrate’s name and a Scythian archer. Lastly, there are coins came from Tyras and Tomis; two kings named Skostokes would seem to have dwelt in Thrace proper.\textsuperscript{73}

\textit{Cults}

In the last chapter, evidence as to cults of Olbia, is derived from the statements of Herodotus and Dio Chrysostom, inscriptions, one or two works of art and coins. These last, must be used with caution as often other than religious considerations dictated the choice of types even when these are actually heads or emblems of gods.

To start with, Apollo Prostates, the defender, he was as we have seen the object of special devotion on the part of the strategoi. Its dedications have been found just to the north of the Roman walls and

\textsuperscript{70} Trans. Od. Soc. III: 238, No. 4.
\textsuperscript{71} BCA XIII.1: 232.
\textsuperscript{72} Vinogradov, \textit{Politicheskaja istorija}, 123.
\textsuperscript{73} Minns, \textit{Scythians and Greeks}, 485-7.
this probably was the site of the temple. First epithet of the god was Ietros; moreover, there is the cylix of the careless red-figured style that Count Bobrinskoj found at Zhurovka near Chigirin, inscribed Δελφινίο(υ) ξυνή(ι) ἤτρο(ι), and this may have come from Olbia. This is rendered probable by the occurrence of the epithet Delphinius which spread from Athens and Miletus to most Ionian cities. In a fuller discussion of the cylix, Tolstoy maintains that the Healer and Delphinius are originally independent deities merged in Apollo. Granted that the myth in the Homeric hymn, is aetiological should not the explanation be sought in the resemblance of Δελφοί and δελ-φίς (?). 

Zeus is mentioned in the inscriptions with various epithets. As Soter he receives the dedication of the decree in honor of Callinicos son of Euxenos and another made by some private citizen on behalf of the peace and safety of the city. With the name Zeus Eletherios there is a 4th c. BC, fragment. In the next century we have Zeus Basileus. Most interesting is the title Zeus Olbios; Callithenes son of Callisthenes, is praised for “having been priest of the god who defends our city Zeus Olbios and having [vac] the god in holy fashion and making petition for good blending of the airs and so obtaining a favorable season.”

What is more, Demeter appears on some coins, with a mural crown adorned with ears of wheat; curiously enough her name has not yet appeared upon inscriptions and unluckily an uncertainty of reading in Herodotus, makes us unable to determinate whether she or Kybele had the temple by Cape Hippolaus. For Kybele and her cult, we have the evidence of an inscription of Roman date recording

75 Minns, op. cit., 477.
76 IOSPE, I, 12.
77 IOSPE, I, 458.
78 IOSPE, I, 105.
79 IOSPE, I, 24.
80 Very riskily on a late relief, BCA XIV.4: 98.
81 Herodotus, Historiae IV, 53.
the erection of a statue to her priestess.\textsuperscript{82} Her head appears on a rare coin. Probably, terra-cottas of goddess and priestess were found on the mosaic in the Prytaneum.

Aphrodite does not occur on the coins and the inscription\textsuperscript{83} which names her was set up by the Posideus. In any case the epithet \textit{Εὔπλοια} is interesting; but there is a graffito \textit{Ἱστιαῖος Ἀφροδίτη ὁ ὄνος}.\textsuperscript{84} On Berezan, G. L. Skadovskij dug up a cylix with the word ΑΠΑΤΟΡΗΣ. Artemis occurs on several coins and on one inscription, also round the neck of a vase in the shape of a woman’s head stands ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΟΤΙ.\textsuperscript{85} There was probably some cult of Hecate at her grove on Kinburn Spit, thought the only inscription there, is a dedication to Achilles.\textsuperscript{86}

Lastly, among heroes, Heracles and Achilles had the most important appearance in the Olbian religious life. Heracles could be regarded as the symbol of some party, presumably aristocratic, and that party and its entire works having been overturned by opponents. The coins with the head of the hero are rather rare but are assigned to the same period, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} c. BC. Meanwhile, rather by contrast with wide-ranging Heracles, the cult of Achilles in the north-west Black Sea was strongly linked to Olbia, as dedications by Olbian magistrates show clearly enough. Dio says expressly, that the Olbiopolites honor him extraordinarily. Further, he says that they had built him a temple in the city and another one in the island called Achilles’ Isle. Dedication epithets of Achilles are Hero and Pontarches.\textsuperscript{87}

\textit{Conclusion}

In conclusion, the whole history of Olbia, as it appears from the ancient sources, archaeological excavations and findings, shown that it is one of the most important settlements of the northern Black Sea region, together with Panticapaeum and the Doric Chersonesus. The

\textsuperscript{82} \textit{IOSPE}, I\textsuperscript{2}, 107.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{IOSPE}, I\textsuperscript{2}, 94.
\textsuperscript{84} Trans. Od. Sec. XXIII, 18.
\textsuperscript{85} Trans. Od. Soc. XXIII, 19.
\textsuperscript{86} Minns, \textit{Scythians and Greeks}, 475-80.
\textsuperscript{87} Braund, “Greater Olbia,” 51.
contacts with Scythians, Mithridates Eupator, Romans, the Aegean islands and Athens through trade, had the opportunity to meet other cultural customs and traditions and in some times to adopt them.\textsuperscript{88} We hope that the work of archaeologists will continue enriching our knowledge about the development of the Olbia.

\textsuperscript{88} Dio Chrysostom, \textit{Borysth. 7}.