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# Once More on the Dating of the “Royal” Five Brothers' Burial Mound No.8

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## Abstract

Burial-mound No. 8 in the necropolis of the Elizavetovskoye fortified settlement. The dates assigned to 14 amphorae found in the *dromos* are constantly argued over by scholars. When traditional methods of chronology are used, it emerges that some of the amphorae should be assigned to the 350s BC, and others to the 330s–320s BC. Recently N.F. Fedoseev attempted to explain this difference in dating of various stamps by stating that the two burials had been laid out in the burial-mound at different times and that, as a result, the amphorae had also been placed in the *dromos* at different times. Analysis of the assemblage of amphorae against a background of new sources has made it possible to assume with confidence that both burials in the burial-chamber of the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8 had been of the same date and that this spectacular monument should be dated to the second half of the 350s BC or to the 350/340s BC.

## Keywords

amphorae – Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8 – stamps – chronology – Elizavetovskoye burial-ground

In 1959 Valentin Shilov excavated a 9-metre-high burial-mound in the Elizavetovskoye necropolis, which had been first investigated as early as 1871 by P.I. Khitsunov. Khitsunov had found a horse burial with small items of

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jewellery from its decorated harness and he decided that the main burial must have been looted, so he did not dig out the whole mound.

V.P. Shilov excavated the rest of the mound in full, which enabled him to find a burial-chamber constructed of rough-hewn stones. There were two burials on the stone floor. The south burial had been almost completely looted: all that remained was the skull of an old man and scattered leg bones. To judge from the observations made by V.P. Shilov, the looting must have taken place in the 17th or 18th century through a shaft made from the top of the barrow mound, which had destroyed part of the burial-chamber’s wall and one of its corners.

The north burial of “royal” rank had not been intact, and a gold sword lay on it, under which there was a gold bow-case (*gorytos*) of the “Trojan series” and, in addition, 1,200 gold stamped plates and plaques previously sewn on to garments, a gold bracelet and torque, a silver *cup* and a silver jug, numerous spears, darts, warriors’ belts, *knemides* (greaves), quiver-sets with arrows and so on. The gold facing on the bow-case, bearing scenes from the *Iliad*, had been stamped with the same matrix as that which had been used for decorating artefacts found in the Chertomlyk, Melitopol and Il’intsy burial-mounds. The gold facings from the sword sheath were identical to those found in the Chertomlyk and Chayan burial-mounds.<sup>1</sup> V.P. Shilov published the materials pertaining to his excavations in two short articles.<sup>2</sup> This unique burial of royal rank became a subject of discussions in numerous publications, and its date remained the key problem.<sup>3</sup>

In order to reach a correct assessment of the dates for the objects found in the burial, it is necessary to look carefully at the stratigraphic situation of the find. The square burial-chamber was made, using a clay mortar, of slabs of sandstone measuring 6.5 × 6.4 m and 1.75 m thick. The walls were up to 1.3 m wide. A *dromos* (14.7 m long and 2 m high) was built up against the east side of the tomb. It was separated from the burial-chamber by four stone compartments with walls that were 1–1.2 m wide and which bore no traces of damage or realignment (fig. 1). The burial-chamber and the *dromos* were covered by oak logs measuring 60 cm in diameter, on top of which reeds had been laid out. In this way, the *dromos* had been divided into three sections and in the second of those, on the entrance side, there was a horse burial, and in the last one (in front of the burial-chamber) there was an assemblage of 14 amphorae,

1 Shcheglov & Katz 1991, 115–116; 2013, 12–13.

2 Shilov 1961; 1962.

3 Brashinskii 1961, 178–186; 1980, 121; Monachov 1997, 38, fig. 7; Monakhov 1999, 359; Alekseev 2003, 265; Bidzilya & Polin 2012, 533; Polin 2014, 432–434.

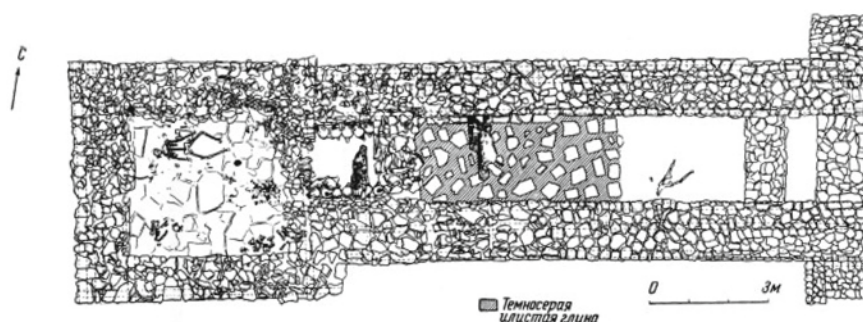


FIGURE 1 Burial-chamber in the Five-Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8

AFTER SHILOV 1961, FIG. 8

nine of which were from Heraclea and five from Sinope. A large part of the *dromos*, apart from the last section containing the amphorae, had been filled in with natural clay.<sup>4</sup>

Like V.P. Shilov, I.B. Brashinskii, who had carried out a detailed analysis of the stamps from the assemblage of amphorae, considered that “the amphorae ... if they did not date from the actual moment of the burial itself, must have been dated from a time very soon after it”.<sup>5</sup> It was a long time before any doubts arose as to whether the burials had been of the same date or not. It was A.Yu. Alekseev, who suggested that it remained unclear which of the burials “should be regarded as coinciding in time with the placing of the 14 amphorae in the *dromos*”.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, he pointed out that, according to V.P. Kopýlov, “secondary burials in a single grave had not been recorded”<sup>7</sup> at the Elizavetovskoye necropolis. Recently, V.P. Kopýlov repeated once again – referring as he did so to V.P. Shilov’s field documentation and his report in the archive of the Institute for the History of Material Culture – that in the burial-chamber of the Five Brothers’ Burial-mound No. 8 “the burials of two individuals took place at one and the same time,” and he dated the event not earlier than the 340s BC.<sup>8</sup>

This means that the whole question focuses on how the amphorae found in the tomb should be dated. Leaving to the side the detailed historiography reflected in recent publications, we shall attempt once more to describe the amphorae’ assemblage. In the last section of the *dromos* in front of the entrance

4 Shilov 1961, 163–164, fig. 8; 1962, 54.

5 Brashinskii 1961, 178, note 2.

6 Alekseev 2003, 265, note 221.

7 Kopýlov 2000, 9.

8 Kopýlov 2016, 242–243; Kopýlov & Shelov-Kovedyaev 2017, 269–270.

to the burial-chamber, there was a total of 14 amphorae arranged in two rows along the walls of the *dromos*: five from Sinope and nine from Heraclea (fig. 2). The vessels from Sinope belong to one and the same type – the conical type Variant I-E (fig. 3, I–4), and one of them bore the stamp *Chabrias*<sup>9</sup> on its handle. All Heracleean amphorae had englyphic stamps on their necks and were of two different types. Five vessels belong to the Type II-1<sup>10</sup> and the others were of the bi-conical Type III, an imitation of the bi-conical type from Thasos<sup>11</sup> (figs. 4–6).

In 1999, in a book on ceramic assemblages from the Pontic region, we examined in detail the amphorae assemblage from the burial-mound in question.<sup>12</sup> Starting out from the dates of stamps on amphorae from Sinope and Heraclea, which were common at that time, we reached the conclusion that there had been amphorae from at least two different chronological groups separated

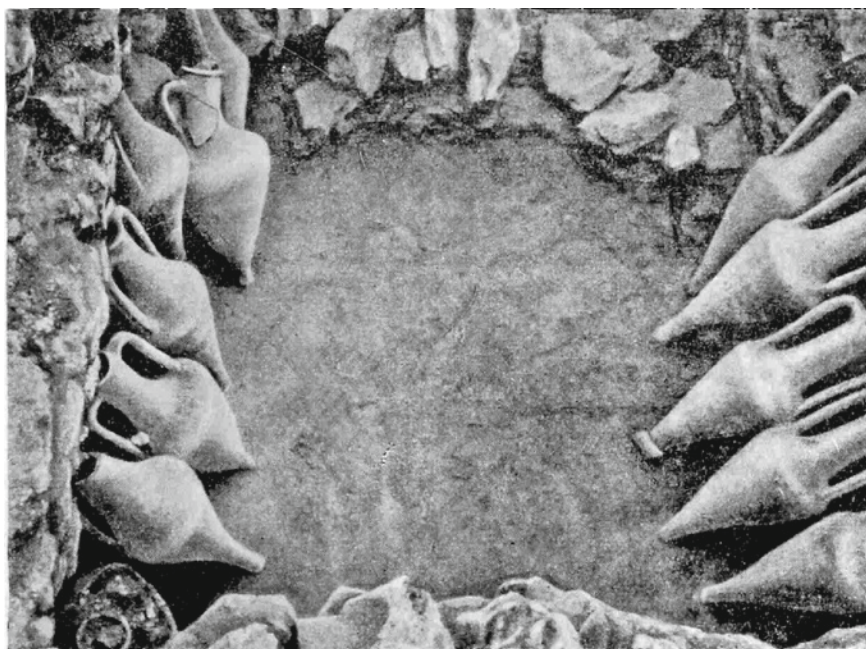


FIGURE 2 Store of amphorae in the *dromos* of the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8  
AFTER BRASHINSKIĬ 1961, FIG. 1

9 Monakhov 2003, 148, pl. 101, 3.

10 Monakhov 2003, 135.

11 Monakhov 2003, 141, pl. 98, 7.

12 Monakhov 1999, 358–362, pls. 157, 158.

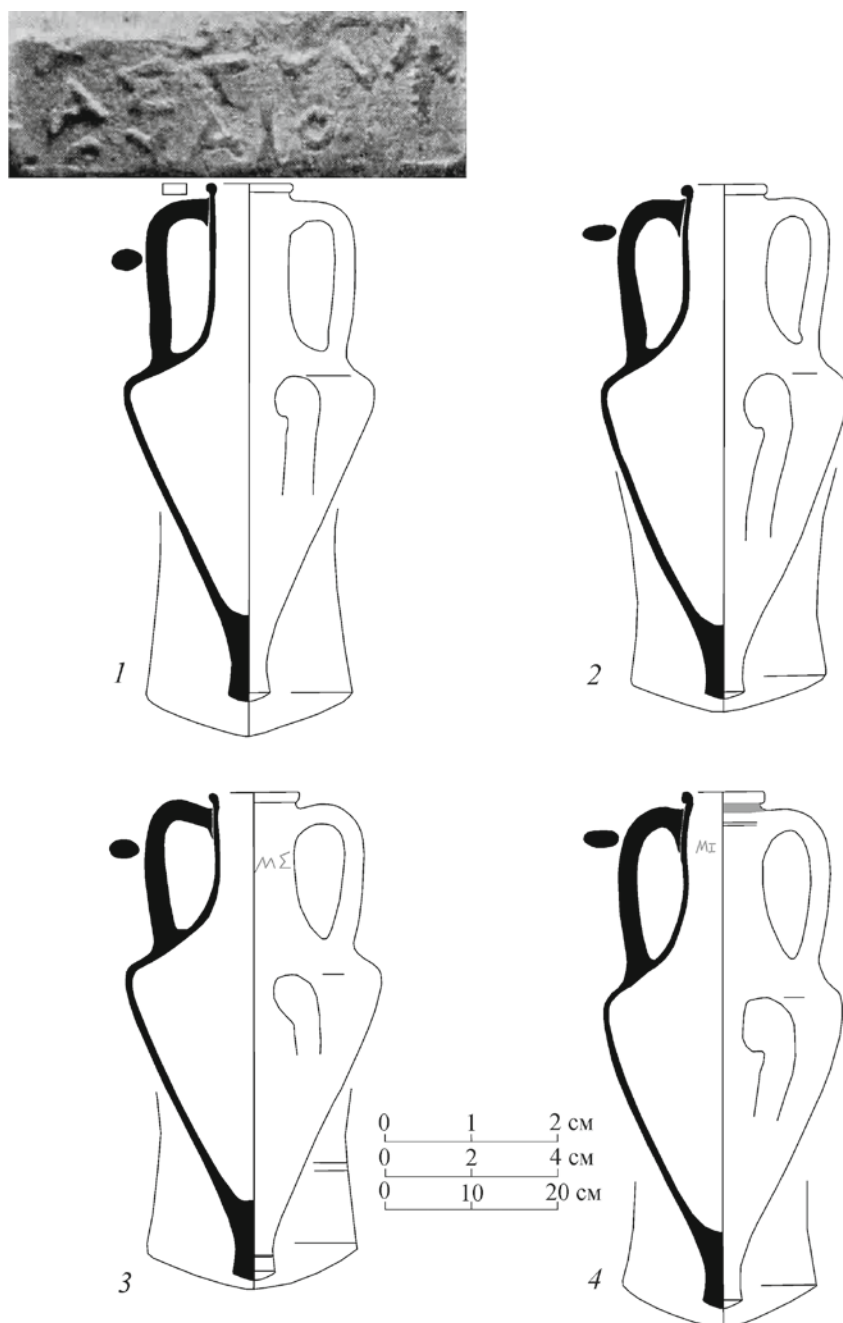


FIGURE 3 Sinopean amphorae from the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8. 1: Magistrate *Chabrias*; 2–4: No stamps

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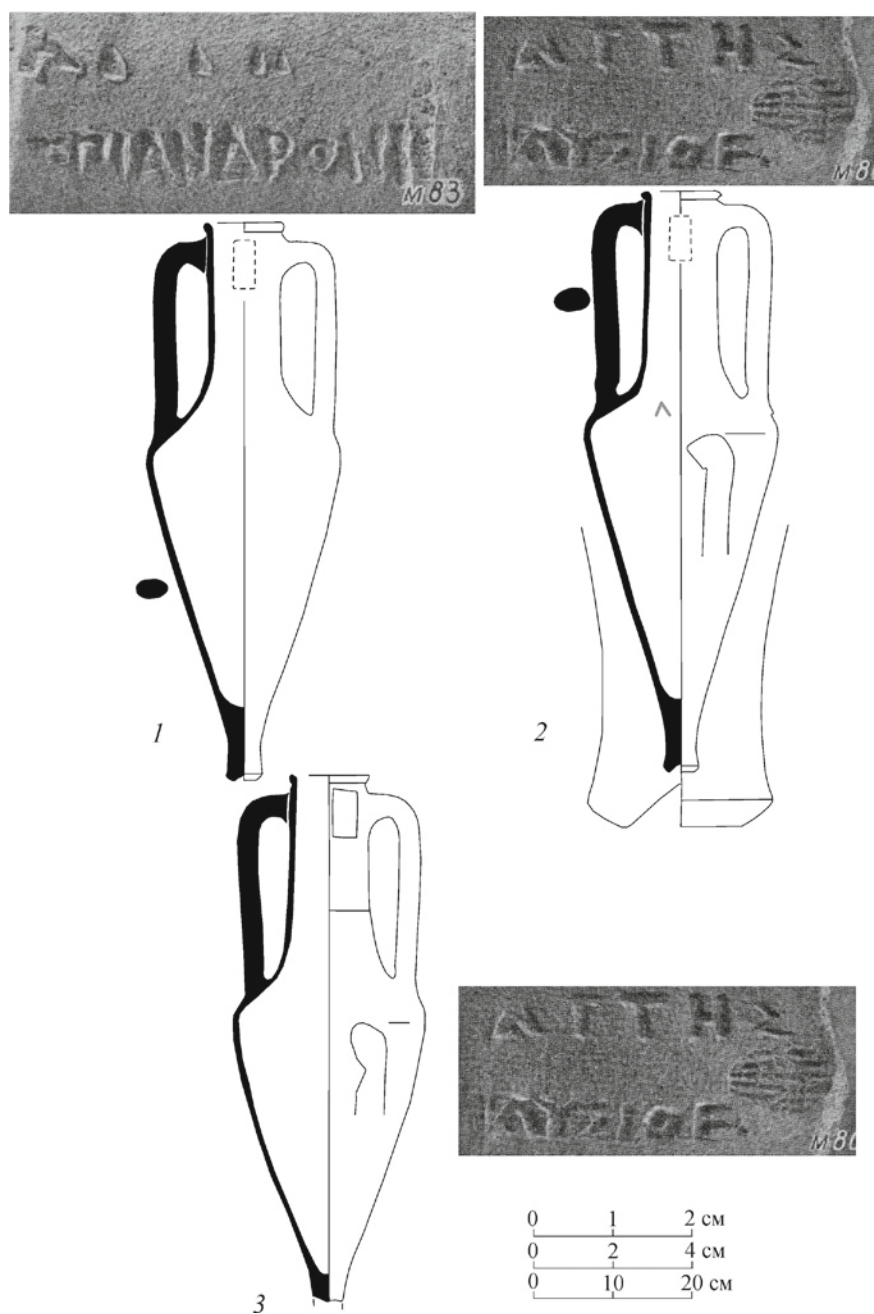


FIGURE 4 Heracleian amphorae from the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8. 1: Magistrate *Andronikos*; 2, 3: Magistrate *Lysitheos*  
DRAWING, PHOTO: S.YU. MONAKHOV



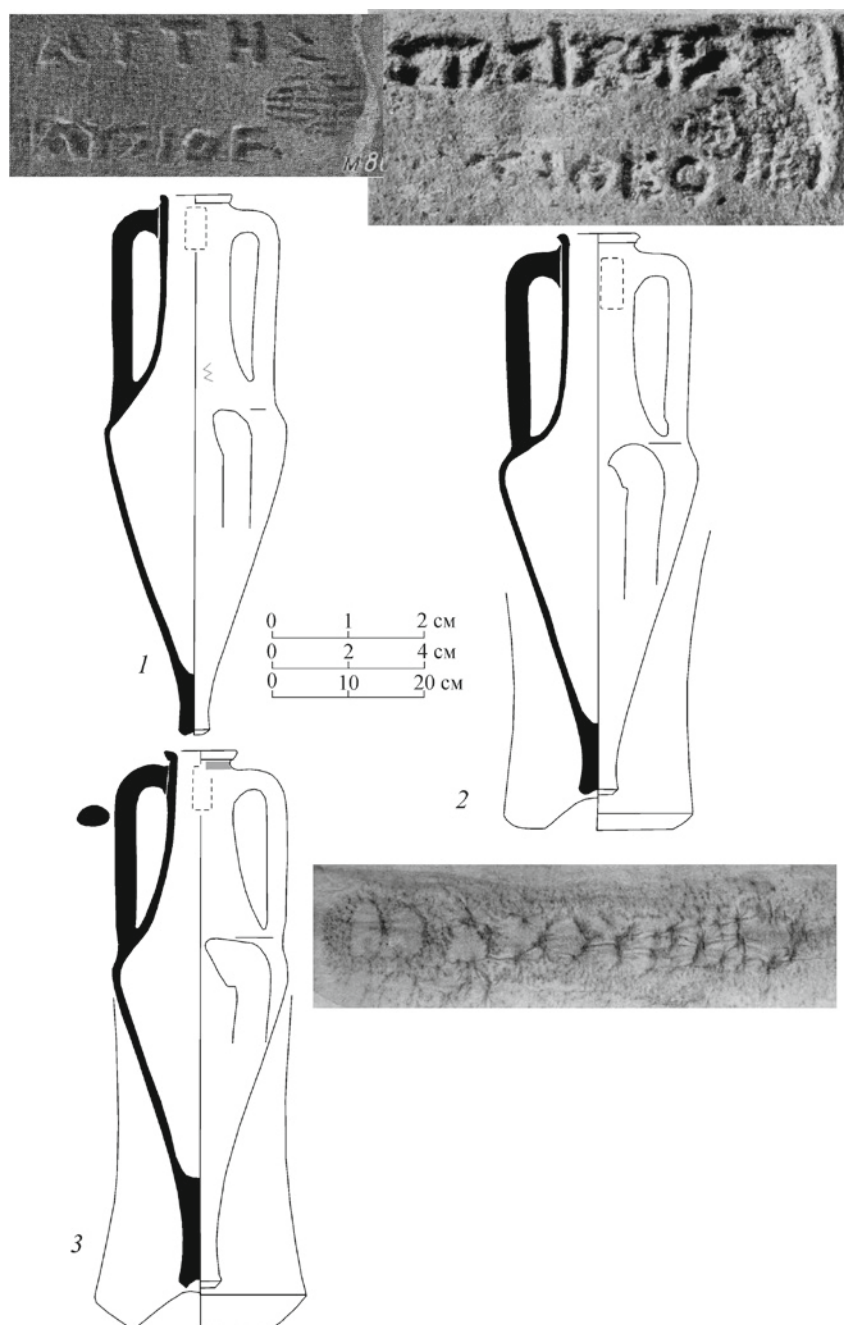


FIGURE 5 Heracleian amphorae from the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8. 1, 2: Magistrate *Lysitheos*; 3: Magistrate *Peisistratos*  
DRAWING, PHOTO: S.YU. MONAKHOV

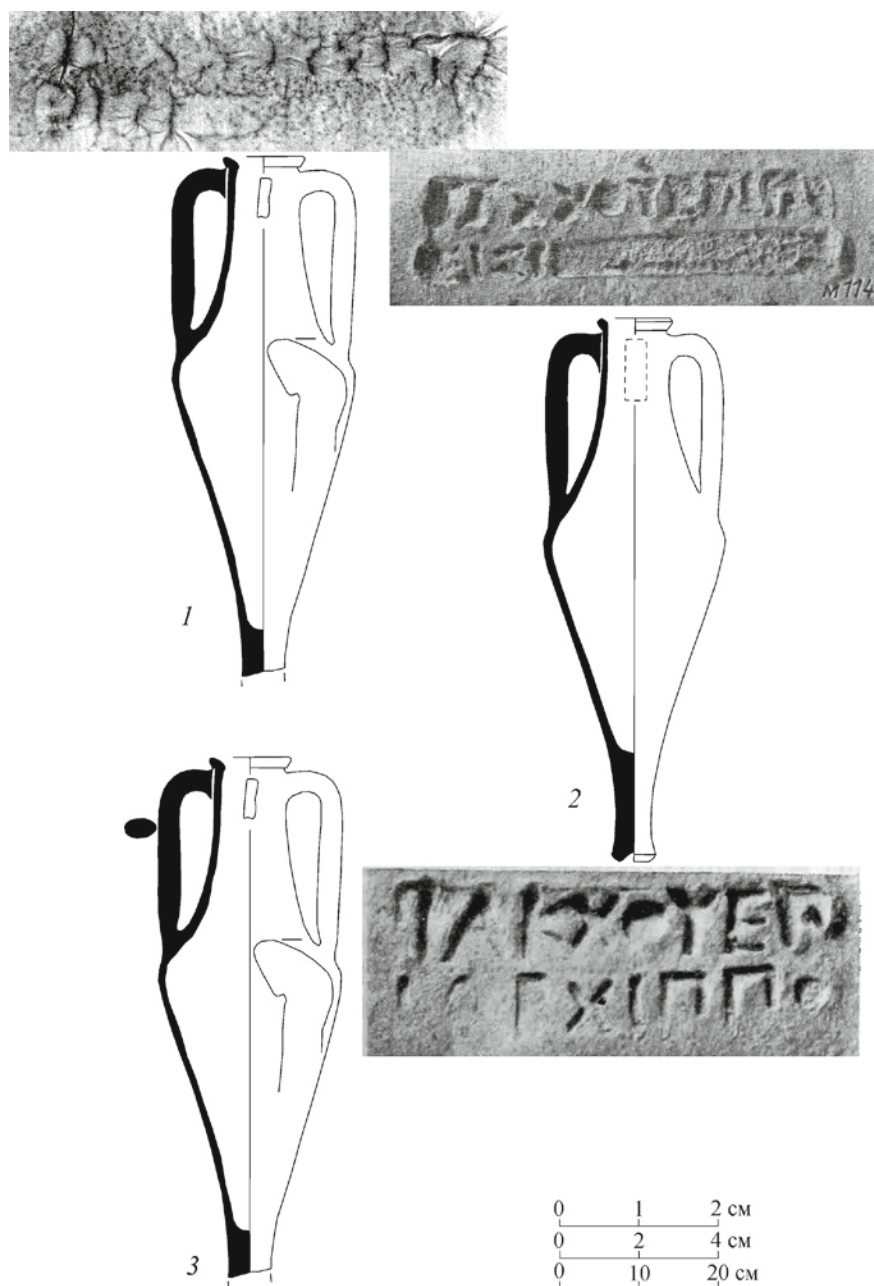


FIGURE 6 Heracleian amphorae from the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8. 1, 2: Magistrate *Peisistratos*; 3: Magistrate *Archippos*  
DRAWING, PHOTO: S.YU. MONAKHOV



by the period of over 20 years in the burial-chamber of the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8. V.I. Katz agreed with this conclusion.<sup>13</sup>

In our opinion, expressed at the end of the 1990s, the Heracleian amphora with the magistrate stamp of *Andronikos* (fig. 4, 1) and the four Heracleian vessels with stamps of magistrate *Lysitheos* (figs. 4, 2, 3; 5, 1, 2) belonged to the early group. The activity of these two magistrates fell in the second half of the 350s BC. The fabricant *Attes* is mentioned, who is also named in the stamp of magistrate *Andronikos*, in three of the four *Lysitheos* stamps. This provides grounds for bringing the dates of these two magistrates closer together, in particular since the stamps in both cases are to be found on the identical amphorae of the Type 2. The Sinopean amphora with the stamp of the *astynomos Chabrias*<sup>14</sup> was assigned to the same date as that of the Heracleian amphorae, as were the remaining unstamped amphorae from Sinope. That is borne out by the assemblage of amphorae as part of the funeral feast in Burial-mound No. 1 near the village of Chkalovo dating no later than from the first half of the 340s BC.<sup>15</sup>

At that time, in 1999, we classified vessels of bi-conical Type III with stamps of the magistrates *Peisistratos* (3 amphorae) and *Archippos* (one amphora) (figs. 5, 3; 6) as belonging to the second, later group of amphorae. At that time, these two magistrates would appear to have been close to each other, as is borne out by the range of fabricants' names recorded in all the dies of those magistrates and also by the identical form of the amphorae themselves. The whole question hinges on how much later they had been functioning as magistrates in comparison with *Andronikos*, *Lysitheos* and *Chabrias*. At that time, no assemblages with the stamps *Archippos* and *Peisistratos* had been confidently dated, and we had started out from V.I. Katz chronology for the Heracleian stamps.<sup>16</sup> We had though mentioned the fact that, on the basis of one retrograde stamp, *Peisistratos* had been encountered in Chertomlyk and in Burial-mound No. 18 near the village of L'vovo, and that the name of the fabricant *Attes*, known from stamps of *Andronikos* and *Lysitheos* from the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8, had appeared there together with the name *Peisistratos*, and also that of another fabricant *Atios*. At the present time, these assemblages have not been dated any later than 350–345 BC.<sup>17</sup> However, in 1999 we dated that group of amphorae within the decade from the mid-340s to

<sup>13</sup> Katz 2007, 340–341.

<sup>14</sup> Monakhov1999, 358–362; Garlan & Kara 2004, 95; Katz 2007, 434.

<sup>15</sup> Monakhov 1999, 354; Polin 2014, 505, 508.

<sup>16</sup> Katz 2007, 430.

<sup>17</sup> Monakhov 1999, 358–362; Polin 2014, 287.

the mid-330s. In general, not having found an explanation for this paradoxical phenomenon, we considered the amphorae assemblage from the Five Brothers’ Burial-mound No. 8 to be of quite a wide chronological range and assigned it a date from the second half of the 350s to the mid-330s BC. That decision can be explained by the impossibility of drawing unambiguous conclusions.<sup>18</sup>

S.V. Polin, referring to our conclusion regarding the existence of two series of amphorae from different points in time, stated directly that we were up against a situation that was “simply unrealistic” – a situation in which the chronological difference between two groups of amphorae within one and the same funerary assemblage amounted to more than 20 years. He saw the reason for that in the existing scheme of the chronology of Sinopean and Heracleian stamping, which had led to a situation in which any “attempt to achieve satisfactory dating ... would only lead to a dead end.”<sup>19</sup>

Soon after that, N.F. Fedoseev attempted to find a different explanation for the paradoxical difference in the chronology of the amphorae from the Five Brothers’ Burial-mound No. 8. While accepting our conclusions regarding the chronology of the amphorae and adhering to the chronological scheme of the stamps compiled by V.I. Katz, he decided to ‘resuscitate’ the cautious suggestion of A.Yu. Alekseev regarding the possibility that the two burials in the burial-chamber might have been of different dates.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, Fedoseev proceeded to formulate a number of strange – we might even say categorical – conclusions and hypotheses, which need to be cited word for word: “the reference to the absence of secondary burials in one grave within the Elizavetovskoye burial-ground cannot be accepted ... it is unlikely that both the deceased were buried simultaneously.” He went on to write “the bow-cases served as diplomatic gifts from Alexander the Great ... their manufacture could not have taken place before the capture of ... Susa ... where Alexander obtained more than 1.310 tons of silver and gold in ingots ... *i.e.* not earlier than 331 BC.” Later, he wrote, insofar as on the Heracleian amphorae there were stamps from both groups (the “early” and “late” group – s.m.), in which the names of the two manufacturers *Attes* and *Iakchos* appear during the periods when each of the four magistrates held office (*Andronikos*, *Lysitheos*, *Peisistratos*, and *Archippos*), this can be explained by the fact that “... the amphorae could have been collected together by the potters over several years bearing the stamps of various magistrates, which the potters later sold,”<sup>21</sup> *i.e.* the amphorae could have been

<sup>18</sup> Monakhov 1999, 362.

<sup>19</sup> Bidzilya & Polin 2012, 533; Polin 2014, 432–434.

<sup>20</sup> Fedoseev 2015a, 249–254.

<sup>21</sup> Fedoseev 2015a, 251.

accumulated over 20 years or more in workshop warehouses without any contradiction of the accepted chronology having taken place! A year later, V.I. Katz turned once again to the analysis of stamps found in the amphorae assemblage. His conclusion remained the same as before: the time gap between two series of Heracleian amphorae was more than three decades.<sup>22</sup>

As we attempted to demonstrate above, V.P. Shilov and I.B. Brashinskii as well, ruled out the possibility of a secondary burial in the burial-chamber: the photograph of the assemblage of stored amphorae (fig. 2) clearly shows that the amphorae had been arranged at the same time along the two sides of the *dromos*. It can clearly be seen on the photo that Sinopean and Heracleian bi-conical amphorae have been arranged on the left, while the Heracleian conical amphorae were on the right. It is quite incomprehensible, why Alexander the Great, or anyone else, would – in order to manufacture bow-cases – have needed to seize Persian treasure before ordering a consignment of bow-cases, each of which would have weighed a few hundred grams. It is quite unthinkable that series of unsold amphorae would have been collected together over 20 years in workshop warehouses.

Let us see the amphorae stamps in detail. What we have is a group of five amphorae from Sinope, one of which has a stamp, and nine stamped Heracleian amphorae of two different types. They should be read as follows:

[Χαβριὰ] | ἀστυν[όμου]. | Θυαίο “grape”. Sinopean stamp. *Astynomos Chabrias*, fabricant *Thyaios*.

Ἀττη[ς] | ἐπὶ Ἀνδρόνι[χο]. Heracleian stamp on the amphora of Type II-A. Magistrate *Andronikos*, fabricant *Attes*.

Ἀττης | Λυσιθέ[ο] “grape”. ←. Heracleian stamp on 3 amphorae of the Type II-A. Magistrate *Lysitheos*, fabricant *Attes*.

Στασίχορος | Λυσιθέ[ο] “*kantharos*” →. Heracleian stamp on the amphora of Type II-A. Magistrate *Lysitheos*, fabricant *Stasichoros*.

Ἰάχχου ἐπὶ Π|εισι[στράτου]. Heracleian stamp on three amphorae of Type III. Magistrate *Peisistratos*, fabricant *Iakchos*.

Ἰάχχου ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππο. Heracleian stamp on the amphora of Type III. Magistrate *Archippos*, fabricant *Iakchos*.

Now let us consider which of these magistrates and in which combinations could be found in the funerary assemblages.

The *astynomos Chabrias* from Sinope, as we noted above, was also encountered among the remains of the funeral feast laid out in Burial-mound No. 1

<sup>22</sup> Katz 2007, 340–341; Katz 2016, 243, 244.



FIGURE 7 Assemblage from the funeral feast in Burial-mound No. 1 near the village of Chkalovo. 1–4: Sinope; 5: Heraclea  
AFTER POLIN 2014, FIGS. 429, 431

near the village of Chkalovo (fig. 7), where three (!) of his stamps were found in conjunction with Sinopean amphora stamps of *astynomos Aischines-2* and the Heracleean stamp of *Peisistratos*.<sup>23</sup> It is worth pointing out that in this case we find the combination of *Chabrias* with *Peisistratos*, who had traditionally been linked to the “late” group of the amphorae from Five Brothers’ Burial-mound No. 8. If we accept the opinion of N.F. Fedoseev to the effect that stamping began in Sinope around 368 BC,<sup>24</sup> then *Chabrias* should be assigned a date

<sup>23</sup> Polin 2014, 505–507, figs. 429, 431, 432.

<sup>24</sup> Fedoseev 2015b, 360. Moreover, V.I. Katz dates *Chabrias* to the beginning of the 330s BC (Katz 2007, 340–341, 434).

of 348 BC, for instance. *Aischines*-2 should also be assigned a date around the same time. S.V. Polin dates the assemblage for the funeral feast in Burial-mound No. 1 near the village of Chkalovo to 350–345 BC.

The Heracleian magistrate *Andronikos* is recorded extremely rarely in the assemblages. Nevertheless, his leaf-shaped stamp is to be found on an amphora of Type 1-A from Burial-mound No. 26 (excavated in 1911) at the Elizavetovskoye necropolis (fig. 8), where it was dated to the second half of the 350s BC.<sup>25</sup> Another assemblage with two Heracleian amphorae bearing *Andronikos* stamps has been recorded in the storage pit at the Litvinenko Estate settlement (fig. 9), where vessels from Peparethos and Chios were also

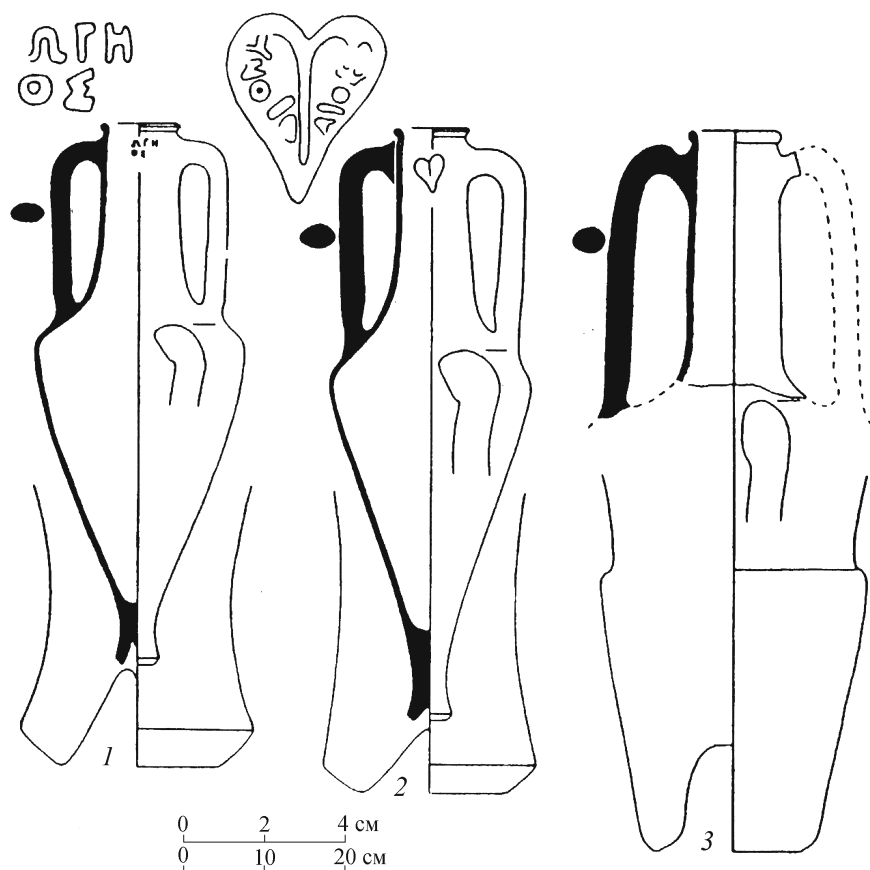


FIGURE 8 Burial-mound No. 26 (1911) in the Elizavetovskoe necropolis. 1, 2: Heraclea; 3: Chios

AFTER MONAKHOV 1999, PL. 146

<sup>25</sup> Monakhov 1999, 338–340; Polin 2014, 301–302; Monakhov *et alii* 2019, 55–56.

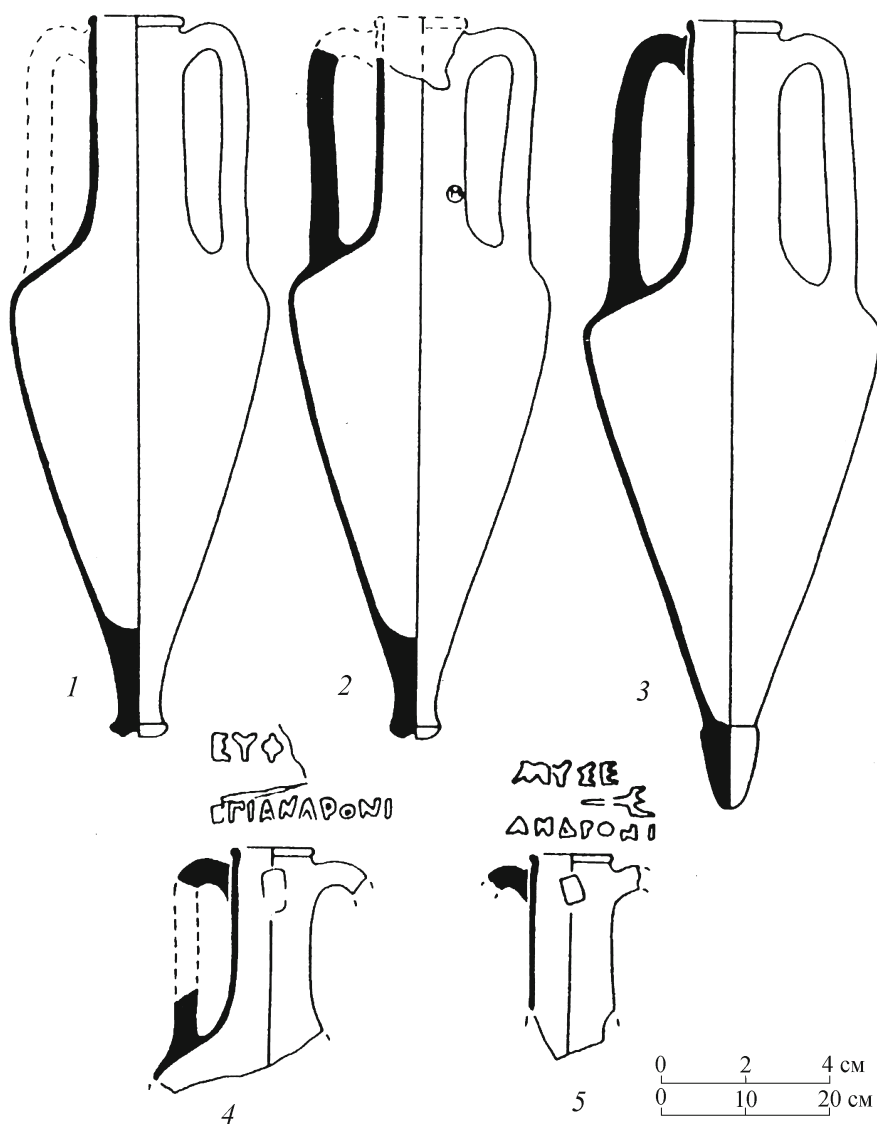


FIGURE 9 Storage in the Litvinenko Estate settlement. 1, 2: Peparethos; 3: Chios; 4, 5: Heraclea

AFTER MONAKHOV 1999, PL. 145



found. The assemblage has been assigned a date between the 370s BC and the second half of the 350s BC.<sup>26</sup>

The Heracleian magistrate *Lysitheos* has been recorded in a large number of assemblages, in particular, among the remains of the funeral feast in Burial-mound No. 32 near the city of Ordzhonikidze (fig. 10), where there were 54 amphorae including some with the stamp *Lysitheos* in conjunction with the Heracleian stamps of the magistrate *Satyros*, the early Sinopean *astynomos Apollodoros*, the Thasos magistrates *Aristokratos*, *Archestratos*, *Aristophon-1* and *Lagetos*, and also a profusion of amphorae from Ikos, Mende and Chios. S.V. Polin confidently and aptly dates this assemblage to the 360s–350s BC.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, a Heracleian amphora with a stamp of *Lysitheos* was found in a context together with a Thasos amphora bearing a stamp of the magistrate *Kleitos* in the Slavchova Mogila Burial-mound in Thrace (fig. 11).<sup>28</sup> According to the latest calculations, *Kleitos* held office not in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, as had formerly been believed, but no later than the second half of the 350s BC.<sup>29</sup>

Now we shall turn to the assemblages with stamps of the Heracleian magistrate *Peisistratos*. There are now more of these than at the end of the 1990s. First and foremost, this is the Burial No. 2 in Burial-mound No. 18 near the village of L'vovo and then the Slavchova Mogila Burial-mound in Thrace (fig. 11).<sup>30</sup> In the last one, two bi-conical amphorae of the same Type III as in the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8 were found; they also bear *Peisistratos* stamps. Their die is however different: the same die was used for the stamps found in Chertomlyk and among the remains of the funeral feast excavated in Burial-mound No. 1 near the village of Chkalovo.<sup>31</sup> Polin confidently dates this assemblage to approximately the 350s BC.

One other *Peisistratos* stamp stems from the remains of a funeral feast laid out in Burial-mound No. 22 at the Zolotaya Balka necropolis (fig. 12), where fragments of 22 amphorae produced in Heraclea (including one with the *Peisistratos* stamp), Mende, Knidos, Peparethos, and Thasos have been recorded. Moreover, on the Thasos stamp, the name of the magistrate *Aristokratos* had been reproduced using the same die<sup>32</sup> as that recorded in the above-mentioned Burial-mound No. 32 near the city of Ordzhonikidze. In that

<sup>26</sup> Monakhov 1999, 336–338.

<sup>27</sup> Polin 2011, 240–264; 2014, 377–381, figs. 296–299.

<sup>28</sup> Kitov 1996, 6, fig. 10; Tzochet 2009, 58, fig. 2; Polin 2014, 322.

<sup>29</sup> Tzochet 2009, 58; Ivashchenko 2015, 39.

<sup>30</sup> Kitov 1996, 6, fig. 10; Tzochet 2009, 58, fig. 2; Polin 2014, 322.

<sup>31</sup> Polin 2014, 285–287, fig. 218.

<sup>32</sup> Polin 2014, 168, 174, 296–297, fig. 97.

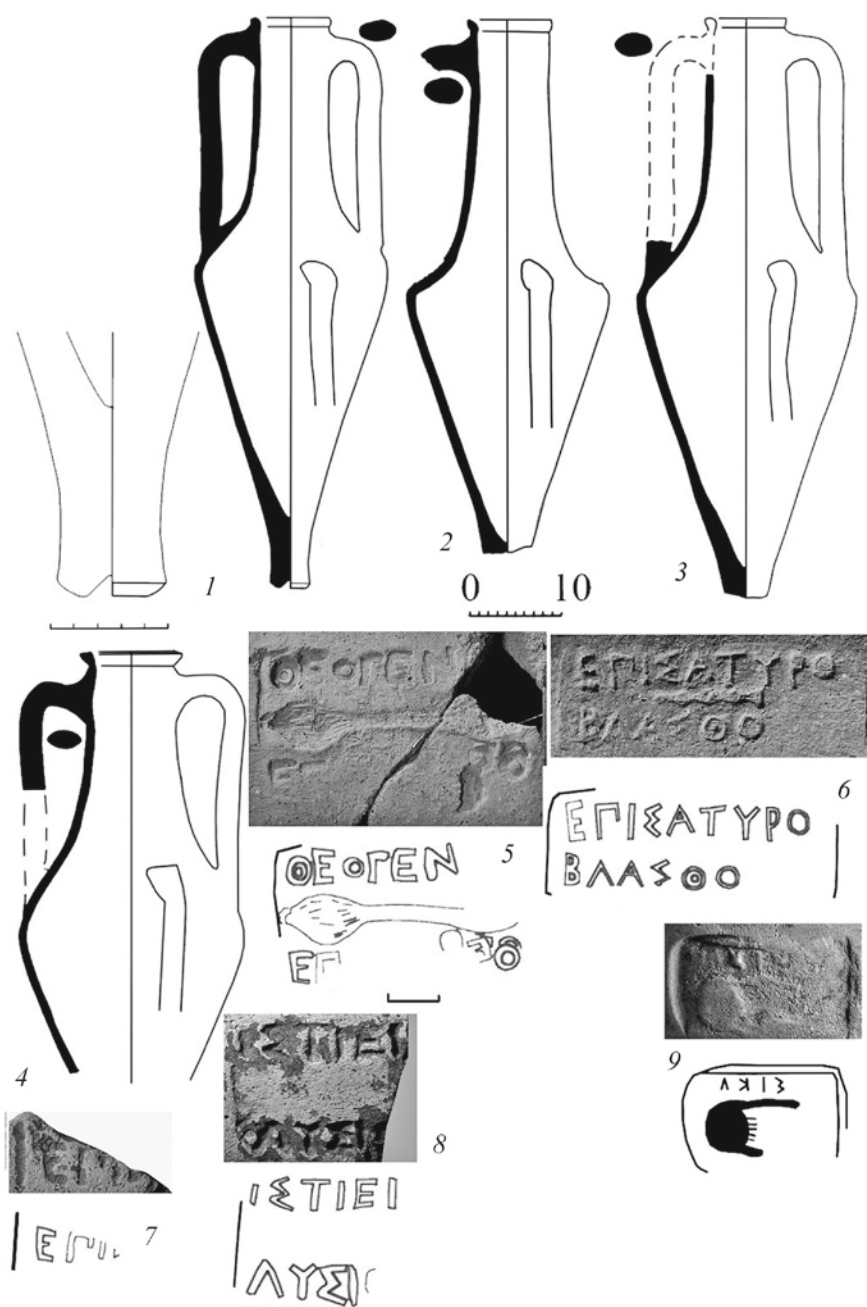


FIGURE 10 Funerary feast assemblage from Burial-mound No. 32 near the town of Ordzhonikidze. 1–3, 5–8: Heraclea; 4, 9: Thasos

AFTER POLIN 2014, FIG. 244

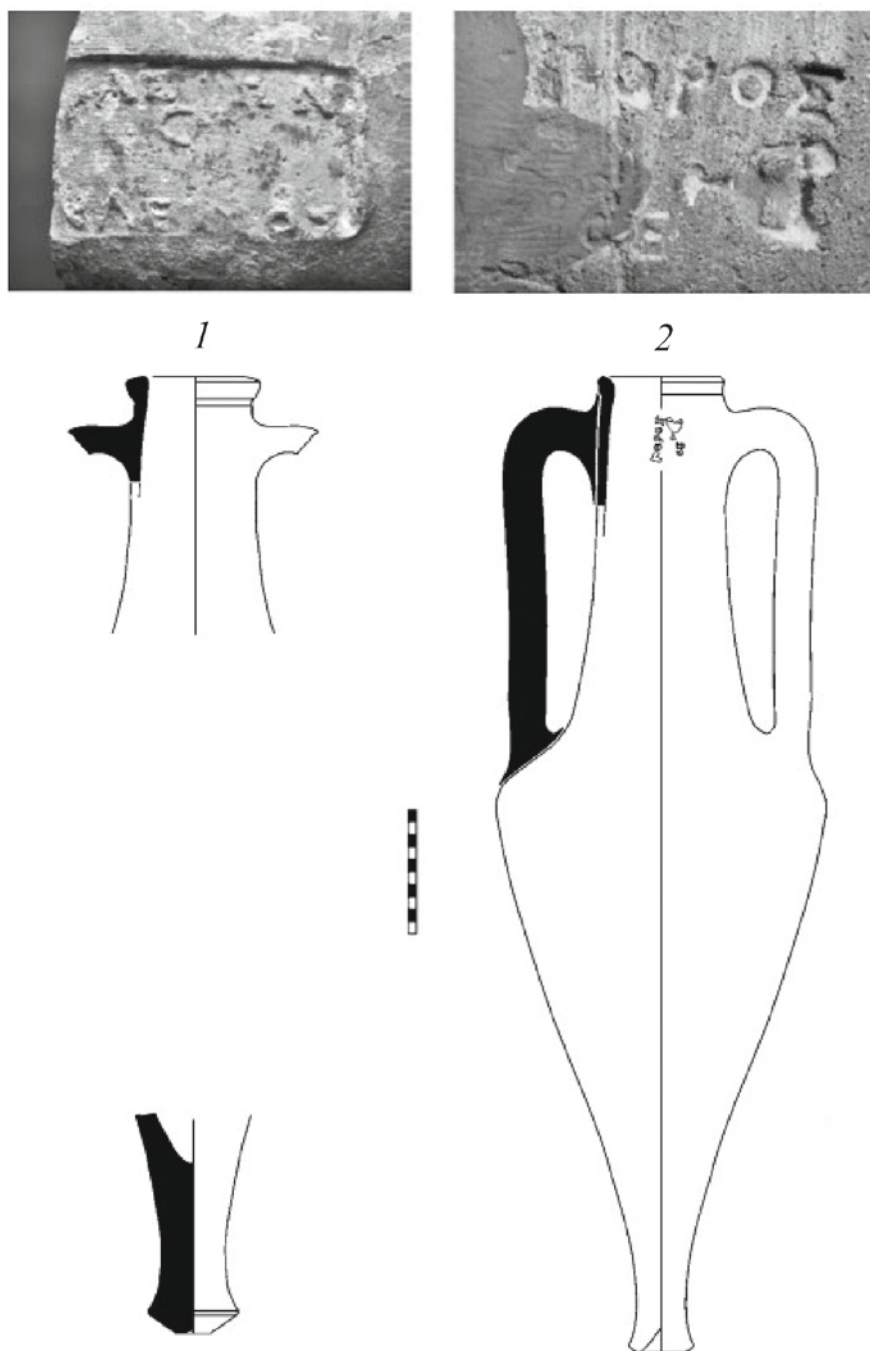


FIGURE 11 Slavchova Mogila Burial-mound in Thrace. 1: Thasos; 2: Heraclea  
AFTER TZOCHEV 2009, 58, FIG. 2

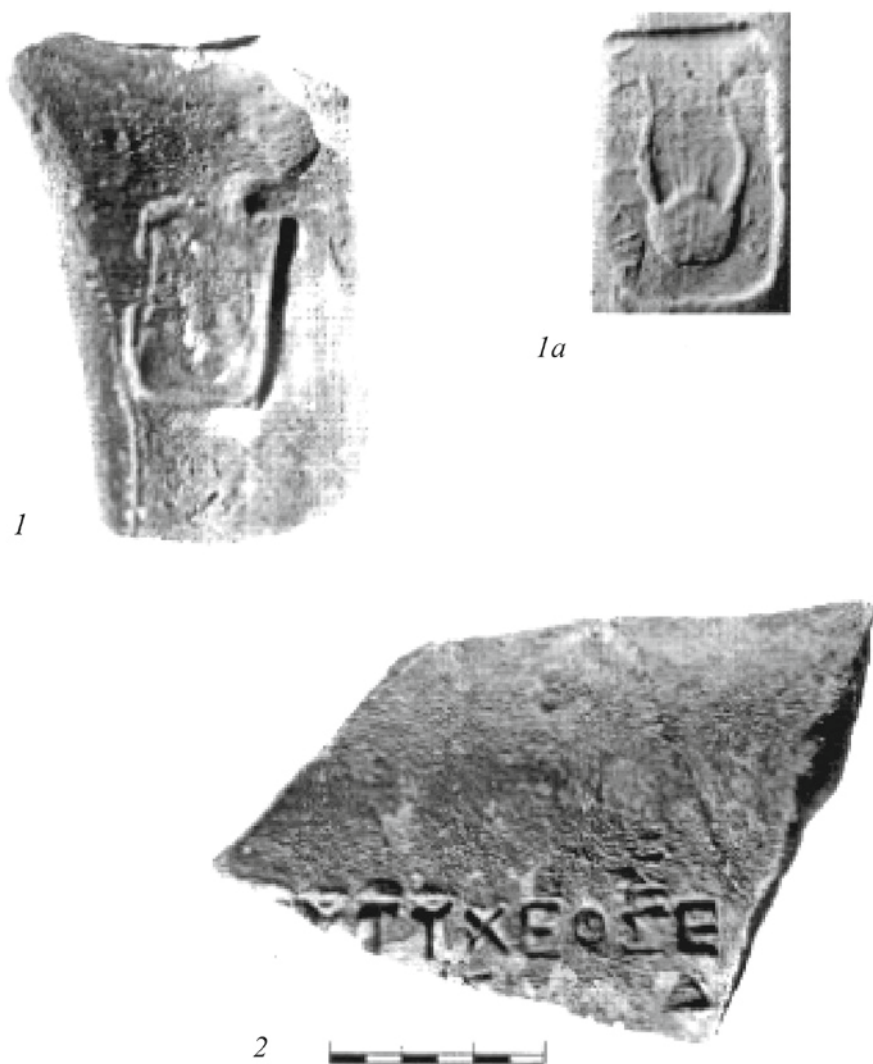


FIGURE 12 Funerary feast finds from Zolotaya Balka Burial-mound No. 22. 1, 2: Stamps from the funeral-feast; 1a: parallel for the Thasos stamp  
AFTER POLIN 2014, 174, FIG. 97; GARLAN 1999, NO. 965

last assemblage there is also a *Lysitheos* stamp, which facilitates associating both the said Heracleian magistrates with the same point in time, *i.e.* to date them as having been in office prior to the year 350 BC.

*Peisistratos* stamps have been found in Burial-mound No. 1 near the village of Chkalovo (fig. 7) in conjunction with the Sinopean stamps of the *astynomoi* *Chabrias* and *Aischines*-2, and also at Chertomlyk<sup>33</sup> (fig. 13), that made it possible to date them to around the mid-4th century BC.<sup>34</sup>

Stamps of the Heracleian magistrate *Archippos* unfortunately have not been encountered in any other assemblage, apart from the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8, but the complete morphological match between the bi-conical amphora with the *Archippos* stamp and three bi-conical vessels with *Peisistratos* stamps from the same context leave us with no doubt to the effect that the work of those two magistrates was carried out in the same period.

Strictly speaking, that marks the end of the list of assemblages with stamps of the Sinopean and Heracleian magistrates discussed above. Yet, when it comes to the inscriptions on ceramics, it is possible to make an active and, in general, productive use of the method for bringing the names of magistrates and fabricants into a chronological line. The crucial point is that the magistrate carried out his official duties – including inspections of pottery production – for just one year, while the fabricant (owner of a workshop or, perhaps, a potter) could carry out his work over many years. The compilation of the tables of their combination on the same vessel makes it possible to establish the order in which magistrates worked, involving naturally other methods as well. We shall now attempt to apply this method in our particular case, starting out from the latest information made available by V.I. Katz – the information which takes into account finds of Heracleian stamps throughout the North Pontic region.<sup>35</sup>

It turned out that for the stamps of the “early” magistrates *Andronikos* and *Lysitheos*, the following names of fabricants have been recorded: *Mikkios*, *Euporos*, *Euphraios*, *Chairesios*, *Blastos*, *Attes*, *Ariston*, *Myos*, *Satiriskos*, *Heraklides*, *Dionysios*, and *Hestiaios*. It is clear that precisely in the light of those findings, V.I. Katz placed both of the above mentioned magistrates into the “early” period. Yet the names of the further six fabricants (in the case of *Andronikos*) or 13 (in the case of *Lysitheos*) were not found on the stamps of any of the above magistrates.

A very different picture comes in connection with the “late” period involving the stamps of the magistrates *Peisistratos* and *Archippos*. In these two cases

33 Polin 2014, 438–449, fig. 385.

34 Monakhov 1999, 355, pl. 154; Polin 2014, 439–449, 508.

35 Katz 2016, 255.

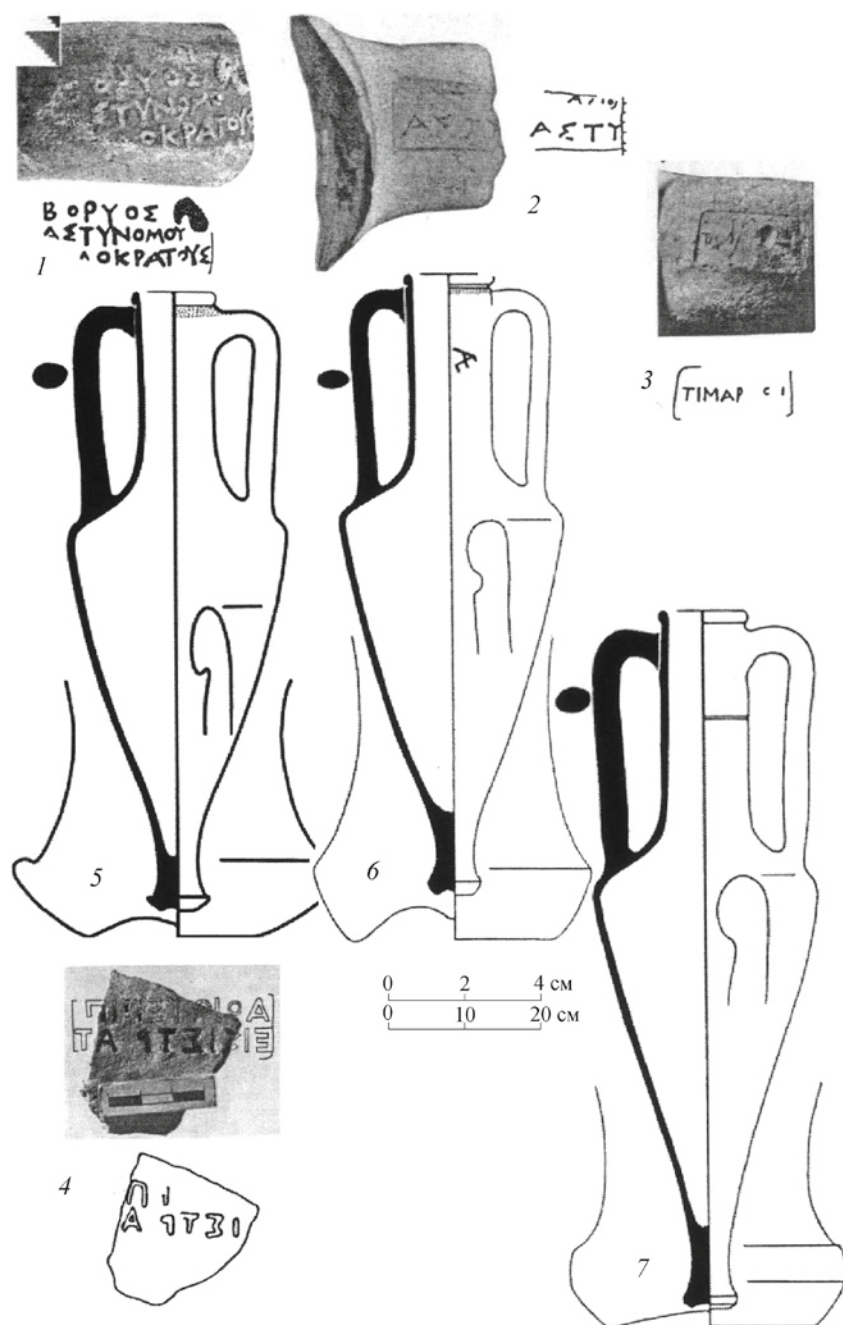


FIGURE 13 Stamps and amphorae from Chertomlyk. 1: Sinope; 2: Chersonesos; 3: Rhodos; 4: Heraclea; 5–7: Peparethos  
AFTER POLIN 2014, FIG. 385



the names of four fabricants were found: *Iakchos*, *Hestiaios* (referred to as *Hestiaios-2* in the Katz study), *Atios*, and *Dionysios*, while names of the further six fabricants do not overlap on stamps mentioning magistrates *Peisistratos* and *Archippos*. Nevertheless, for both groups of Heracleian stamps – from the “early” and “late” periods – names of fabricants, which they have in common, are *Dionysios*, *Heraklides* and *Hestiaios*. They could, of course, be homonyms, as V.I. Katz believes, but ...<sup>36</sup>

Where does this lead? There exists a large number of funerary assemblages of pottery transport vessels, in which stamps of *Andronikos*, *Lysitheos*, and *Peisistratos* “overlap”, but when it comes to attempts to link names of magistrates and those of fabricants, the stamps need to be assigned dates very differently. It appears to us that the dating method used has not been correctly applied. We need to understand that each year, in the course of archaeological excavations, many Heracleian pottery stamps come to light and these include new combinations of magistrates’ and fabricants’ names – something which is not denied by leading experts in pottery inscriptions – V.I. Katz and N.F. Fedoseev.<sup>37</sup> The available amount of stamps does not reflect quite adequately the range as a whole: chance factors play a part. Who knows how the situation will evolve? Perhaps in future we shall have at our disposal a new assemblage of Heracleian stamps bearing the names *Andronikos*, *Lysitheos*, *Peisistratos*, and *Archippos*, in which there will be a representative number of cases, in which magistrates’ and fabricants’ names overlap?

In order to confirm this hypothesis, we illustrate the situation by the example of the funerary assemblage and remains of the funeral feast found in a burial-mound near the village of Starotitarovskaya on the Taman peninsula (fig. 15) excavated by O.V. Bogoslovskii in 1982.<sup>38</sup> The burial-mound is of a slightly earlier date than the Five Brothers’ Burial-mound No. 8, but it is a very interesting one. In the burial and the accompanying funeral feast a remarkable selection of Classical imports was found: a fragmented red-figure *krater*, a *kantharos*-shaped *cup* and a standard black-glazed *cup*, several *lekythoi* with net patterns and palmettes, an *aryballos*, an *askos*, five black-glazed salt-cellars, a black-glazed fish-plate, a red-clay *pelike* and so on. On the basis of parallels from the Athenian Agora, they have been dated exclusively to the first half of the 4th century BC.

In the same context, a remarkable range of pottery transport vessels in fragments was also found. These included the neck of a Heracleian amphora

<sup>36</sup> Katz 2016, 244.

<sup>37</sup> Katz 2007, 236.

<sup>38</sup> Bogoslovskii 1983, 1, 5–7, pls. 2, 3, 4.

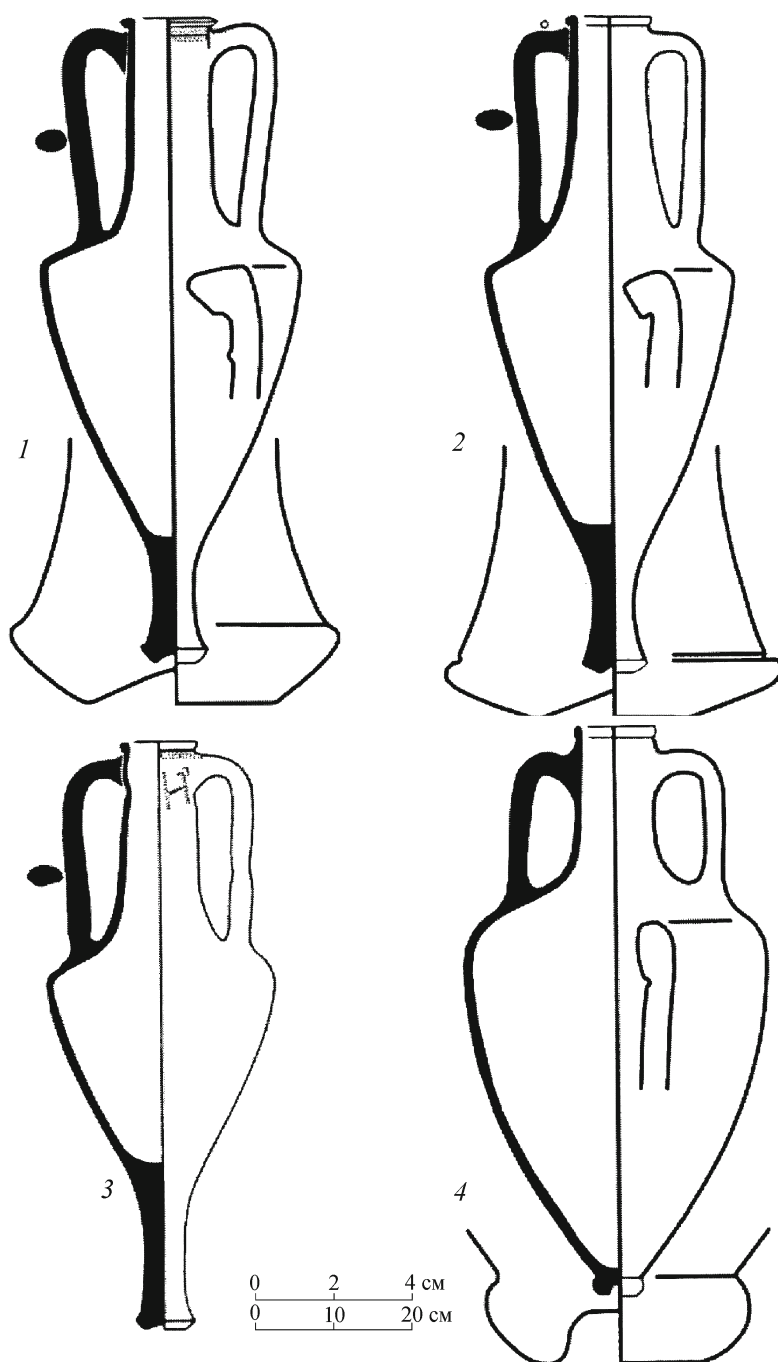


FIGURE 14 Stamps and amphorae from Chertomlyk. 1–3: Mende; 4: Erythrai  
AFTER POLIN 2014, FIG. 385



FIGURE 15 Stamps from the funeral-feast finds in the Burial-mound near the village of Starotitarovskaya (1982). 1, 2: Sinope; 3–5: Heraclea  
AFTER BOGOSLOVSKIĬ 1983, 55–57

bearing the stamp Ἀττης | ἐπὶ Λύκω[ν], in which the magistrate *Lykon* and the fabricant *Attes* (the same as on the stamps of the magistrates *Andronikos* and *Lysitheos* known from the assemblage in the Five Brothers' Burial-mound No. 8) are mentioned. As regards the magistrate *Lykon*, he would appear to have been working ten years earlier than *Andronikos*.<sup>39</sup> The second Heracleian amphora's neck fragment bears the stamp [Ε]ὐφραῖο[ς] [ἐ]πὶ Λύκω[ν] "club", which mentions that same magistrate *Lykon*, in a new (!) combination with the

<sup>39</sup> Monakhov 1999, 633; Katz 2007, 429.

name of the fabricant *Euphraios*. The third Heracleian amphora’s neck fragment bears the stamp Κρόνιος ἐπὶ Σχύθα “ivy leaf” ←. Here the magistrate mentioned is *Skuthas*, who was working a little later than *Lykon*<sup>40</sup> (fig. 15, 3–5).

It is very important to note that together with the Heracleian stamps Sinopean ones were also found: complete with the legends Βατίσκο | ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώ(ρο) | ἄστ(υ)νόμου “eagle on a dolphin” ← and [Ι]άχχου ἐπὶ | Ἀπολλοδώρου | ἄστ(υ)νόμου “eagle on a dolphin” ← (fig. 15, 1, 2). The magistrate *Apollodoros* held office in the 360s BC.<sup>41</sup> The example of this assemblage demonstrates a clearly relative nature of the chronological schemes currently used in connection with magistrates’ names appearing on stamps.

In the light of the said above, we believe that the analysis recently carried out makes it possible to draw confident conclusions to the effect that both burials in the tomb inside the Five Brothers’ Burial-mound No. 8 had taken place at one and the same time. In this respect we share the opinion of V.P. Kopylov<sup>42</sup> and consider that the date range for this remarkable monument should be from the second half of the 350s BC or 350/340s BC.

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40 Monakhov 1999, 633–634; Katz 2007, 435.

41 Fedoseev 1999, 31; Fedoseev 2014, 91; Katz 2007, 435.

42 Kopylov 2016, 243.

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