



## Summary :

The largest socioeconomic, political and cultural centre of the north-western edge of the Black Sea was Olbia Pontica. The name with which it was earlier known (i.e. from the time of its establishment) was Borysthene. Later, mainly after the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, the phrase Olbie polis (hence Olbiopolis) was shortened to Olbie, replacing the earlier name Borysthene; the later name did not disappear altogether though.

## Other Names

Olbie polis

## Geographical Location

Ukraine

## Historical Region

Scythia

## Administrative Dependence

Province of Lower Moesia

## 1. Location - Name

The location of the ancient Greek colony of Olbia Pontica is today found on the right bank of the port created by the river Buh, approximately 45 km south of the modern city Mykolaiv, close to the village Porutino of the Ochakiv district in southern Ukraine. The site of the ancient city is defined by two gorges. Behind one of these gorges (the north) lies the ancient necropolis of the settlement, covering an area of 500 ha.

According to [Herodotus](#)<sup>1</sup> and [Dio Chrysostomus](#),<sup>2</sup> Olbia was located on the banks of the river Hypanis (modern Buh). Some other ancient writers<sup>3</sup> situate Olbia on the Borysthene river, although [Strabo](#) was quick to clarify “at a distance of 200 stadia”,<sup>4</sup> while the Latin author Pomponius Mela specified “at the point where the Borysthene flows into the sea”.<sup>5</sup>

According to the testimony of Scymnus of Chios<sup>6</sup> (or ‘Pseudo-Scymnus’ as he is usually called), Olbia is located at the confluence of the rivers Borysthene and Hypanis. Herodotus,<sup>7</sup> who is thought to have visited the city himself,<sup>8</sup> preserves a description of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC settlement. Another author to have travelled there, in the late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, was Dio Chrysostomus,<sup>9</sup> he describes the site and form of the city following its reconstruction after the destruction it suffered by the raids of the Getae. He also compares the current state of the city to that prior to the Getic incursions.

The name of the city is purely Greek. It derives from the word *olbos* which means wealth, happiness, joy. The name with which it was earlier known (i.e. from the time of its establishment) was Borysthene. Later, mainly after the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, the phrase Olbie polis (hence Olbiopolis) was shortened to Olbie, which replaced the earlier name Borysthene,<sup>10</sup> the later name did not disappear altogether though.<sup>11</sup> The name of the city has generally provoked and continues to provoke large debates and puzzlement.<sup>12</sup> An important role in the efforts to solve this particular problem is played by a reference in Scymnus of Chios, the only written testimony on the establishment of Olbia. According to this passage, “close to the confluence of the rivers Hypanis and Borysthene lies a city which used to be called Olbia, but the Greeks later named it Borysthene. This city was founded by Milesians during their conquest by the Medians”.<sup>13</sup>

The archaeologist A.C. Русяева has dedicated an extensive article on the analysis of this reference by comparing and correlating it with the available archaeological data.<sup>14</sup> A central conclusion of this study is that the city was originally named Borysthene and then,



approximately in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, it was renamed Olbie polis (and not simply Olbia or Olbie) being renamed again to Borysthene later, not, however, by its inhabitants but by the Greeks of metropolitan Greece. Its citizens continued to call the city Olbie polis. This name was apparently given by an oracle of the god Apollo in the sanctuary of [Didyma](#) of [Miletus](#), which was the metropolis of Olbia.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps out of respect for the oracle the citizens of Olbia preserved this appellation, ignoring (deliberately or due to the great distance of the city from Ionia) the new name, which had begun gaining popularity in its metropolis probably after its capture by the Persians.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Foundation

To date, fourteen different views have been expressed on the precise date for the establishment of Olbia, ranging from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> cent. to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.<sup>17</sup> Following detailed research and study on this issue, considering all the testimonies of the ancient authors and comparing them with the available archaeological finds,<sup>18</sup> even with evidence from the earliest graves of Olbia, archaeologists have come to the conclusion that the settlement was probably built in two phases: a) the first phase should be dated to between 590 and 570 BC, when a small colony was founded on the site of the future city; this was indeed named Borysthene, but its inhabitants obviously called it Miletopolis; and b) a second phase occurring at some point during the mid-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, more specifically in 560s BC: this phase is characterized by the arrival of new waves of colonists from the metropolis. The waves of incomers significantly altered the features and evolution of the settlement of Olbia, which we will examine shortly.<sup>19</sup>

## 3. Archaeological research - History

The site of Olbia was identified in the late 18<sup>th</sup> cent. and the first archaeological excavation begun in the early 19<sup>th</sup> cent., while in the middle of the same century count A.S. Uvarof. Systematic excavations commenced only in 1901. Archaeologists M.B. Farmakovskiy (1902-1926), L.M. Slavin, A.N. Karasiov and E.J. Levi conducted excavations until 1971, which yielded a wealth of material. Since 1972 excavational research is continued by archaeologists of the Ukrainian Archaeological Institute, under the direction of S.D. Kryzhitskiy and S.N. Krapivina.<sup>20</sup>

Archaeologists and historians distinguish three basic periods in the city's history. The first begins with the establishment of the settlement and lasts until the raid of the Getae under Byrebistas, c.55 BC. During this period the city reaches a political, economic, social and cultural apogee. This growth influenced and swept along the hinterland of Olbia. The second phase of its history extends to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD and it is defined by presence Roman and conquest. Olbia receives a Roman garrison and the city administratively belongs to the province of Lower Moesia.<sup>21</sup> Its feuds with barbarian tribes, the introduction of non-Greek customs in the life of its inhabitants and the dwindling of its domain are some of the defining features of this period. Finally, the third and last phase begins with the raids of 269-277 and ends in the 370s, when habitation in Olbia is finally discontinued.<sup>22</sup> Each of these three phases can be subdivided in smaller periods defined by lesser events in the city's history.<sup>23</sup>

## 4. Growth and development of the settlement

During the phase of its establishment, between 590 and 570 BC, Olbia formed a small settlement<sup>24</sup> consisting mainly in underground and half-underground houses, as indicated by archaeological evidence and confirmed by research.<sup>25</sup> At the time of the city's foundation we also have the establishment of the first temenos, in which two sanctuaries have been unearthed, one dedicated to Apollo Iatros (a purely local aspect of the god Apollo, who was a patron deity of Greek colonists) and a second one dedicated to the Mother of the Gods.<sup>26</sup> The identification of the worship of Apollo was made possible thanks to the discovery of an inscription from the roof of the building, bearing the word IHTPOON.<sup>27</sup> We may conclude that the [worship of the god Apollo](#) was very important to the ancient Greeks that founded this city. They dedicated to this god a temenos (the so-called West Temenos), i.e. a secluded space within the settlement, from the earliest days of its foundation.<sup>28</sup> This clue alone could reasonably indicate that the establishment of the city was not the result of a spontaneous expedition, i.e. a hurried attempt by colonists which led to the emergence



of a common agricultural settlement, but something different.<sup>29</sup> It was obviously founded as the result of a well-planned effort and featured a specific city plan. It appears that from the outset the Greeks planned this settlement as a city that was to become a large, mainly political, centre of the Southern Dnieper river.<sup>30</sup>

The view that the settlement of Olbia was founded with the aim of creating a city is clearly seen in another, equally important, piece of evidence: at the same time of the establishment of the temenos a distinctive type of cast bronze coinage, the so-called arrowhead-shape coins, appear.<sup>31</sup> The discovery of this type of coinage greatly impressed, as we would expect, archaeologists and widened the horizons of research. Although initially there was disagreements with respect to the place these coins were minted,<sup>32</sup> it was finally established that they belong exclusively to the group of colonists who founded the settlement of Olbia. The minting of coinage once again leads to the conclusion that this city did not emerge incidentally, revealing also that in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, and not after, we have here the methodical establishment of a city, which will soon become a prosperous and politically developed entity.<sup>33</sup> Its economic growth leads to the extension of its agricultural hinterland (*chora*), where all the basic agricultural produce necessary for the sustenance of its populations is farmed. Furthermore, the circulation of its coins reveals the stabilization and further intensification of commercial relations and contacts with the various regions of the wider zone of the north-western Black Sea (like the Milesian colony of [Histria](#) on the estuary of the Danube) and the hinterland.

Within 50 years of its establishment, approximately in the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, a new (the so-called East) temenos appears right next to the older one, this one being dedicated to Apollo Delphinios.<sup>34</sup> During this period we also have the creation of the city's agora used as a place of civic gatherings.<sup>35</sup>

Its presence in the centre of the city indicates Olbia distinctiveness and proves its dissimilarity to typically agricultural settlements. Perhaps the presence of an early defensive wall, as well as the lack of the apportionment of the agricultural hinterland into lots, can be considered as clues indicative of a settlement lacking the organizational structure of a *polis*. Let us not forget, however, that throughout the region of the Black Sea the first defensive walls appear rather later,<sup>36</sup> mainly in the early or the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC,<sup>37</sup> and are connected to the alteration of the demographics in the region during this period.<sup>38</sup>

At the time of the creation of the East Temenos we have the minting of new cast coins in the shape of dolphins, which are called *delphinakia*.<sup>39</sup> This type of coins is evidently connected with the worship of Apollo Delphinios. Almost immediately the *delphinakia* replace earlier coins, i.e. the Olbia's earlier arrowhead-shape coins, flooding the entire region of the Southern Dnieper.<sup>40</sup> This new situation has provoked great puzzlement: the appearance of the new temenos, dedicated to the worship of Apollo Delphinios, which replaced the earlier cult of Apollo Iatros, is accompanied by a change in the city's coinage.<sup>41</sup> The obvious question is why did this change come about and how these sudden development occurred in the settlement of Olbia.

One possible answer involves all the abovementioned and pertains to the colonizing activities of Ionians in Olbia. More specifically it appears that when the city of Olbia was established, its inhabitants built the first temenos and minted cast coins in the shape of arrowheads. All these occurred during the establishment of the settlement in the period between 590 and 570 BC. When new colonists from the metropolis arrived at Olbia, apparently they wished to alter the situation created by the founders of the city. This new state of affairs was sealed by the switch in the worship of Apollo and the minting of new coins, as well as by the creation of an agora in Olbia, used for civic gatherings. All these clues indicate that Olbia was a city built on the basis of a carefully worked out plan and should not be compared to the typical agricultural settlements.<sup>42</sup>

Another piece of evidence supporting this view is the fact that all the agricultural settlements that were founded at the time or after the establishment of Olbia form the hinterland of this city, and not of [Berezan](#), as some scholars used to think. Archaeological testimonies and indications nowadays lead more and more scholars to the conclusion that settlements like Yagorlik, Sirokaya balka and Baikous, which were built on the port of the river Dnieper, antedate the foundation of Olbia, although dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.<sup>43</sup> Especially the settlement of Baikous, according to archaeological research, had a devotional function, containing a sanctuary dedicated to [Achilles](#).<sup>44</sup> During the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC many settlements are built around Olbia and become incorporated



into its *chora*. The inhabitants of these settlements were mainly farmers, stock breeders, hunters and artisans.<sup>45</sup> According to research conducted by archaeologist V. Bylkova, the dynamics of the development of Olbia's agricultural hinterland in the Southern Dnieper unfold in two phases: a) between 400 and 300-270 BC, and b) between 100 BC and the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.<sup>46</sup>

During the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC the city's face changed drastically. The Greek half-underground residences are almost entirely replaced by Greek type buildings (houses with rooms arranged around an internal courtyard, often featuring a peristyle). According to the view of Ю.Г. Виноградов, a Scythian protectorate is formed in Olbia during the same period, and the city's economy is now controlled by the Scythian nobility.<sup>47</sup> In the view of archaeologist S.D. Kryzhitskiy, though, this is cannot be maintained nowadays.<sup>48</sup> During the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC relations between Olbia and the [Scythian](#) nomads intensify, which is revealed by Herodotus'<sup>49</sup> reference to the Scythian king Scyles. He found a horrible death at the hands of his compatriots and the new Scythian king Octamasedes, when it was revealed that he had been initiated into the Greek religion at Olbia.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC a huge tragedy strikes Olbia. While originally the city contained a relatively homogenous population, with almost negligible social inequalities, over time the number of slaves and economically dependant persons grew; i.e. there was more social inequality among the inhabitants. This can be observed in an incident dating to 331 BC, when Zopyrion, a general of [Alexander the Great](#), appeared before the gates of the city. Most of the agricultural settlements had been abandoned and the city's population was facing the spectre of famine. The magistrates of Olbia were forced to free the slaves to counter the threat. According to a reference in Macrobius,<sup>50</sup> which today can be confirmed by archaeological data,<sup>51</sup> Zopyrion did not manage to capture the city.

Following the events that occurred during Zopyrion's siege, life in the city and its agricultural hinterland return to normalcy. By the late 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC the city enters a period of economic, social, political and military decline, evinced in the epigraphical finds from this period.<sup>52</sup> Then, in the first decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC Olbia is annexed into the state of Mithridates, king of the Pontus. Following a raid of the Getae the city tried to recover and from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD it enters another period of growth. Olbia, however, was unable to withstand the two Gothic raids in the 230s and 260s, declining until the site is finally abandoned in the 370s.<sup>53</sup>

1. Hdt. 4.18.
2. Dio Chrys., *Orat.* 36.2.4, which also mentions that the city was named after the river Borysthene due to its beauty and size. On the beauty of Borysthene see also Pomponius Mela (*De Chorographia* 2.6).
3. Strabo 7.3.17; Plin., *HN* 4.12; Pomp. Mel., *De Chorogr.* 2.6; Amm. Marc., *Rerum Gestarum Libri* 22.8; Arr., *Peripl. M. Eux.* 31.
4. Strabo 7.3.17.
5. Pomp. Mel., *De Chorogr.* 2.6.
6. Scymnus of Chios *Periegesis* 804.
7. Hdt. 4.78-79.
8. Нейхарт, А.А., *Скифский рассказ Геродота в отечественной историографии* (Москва 1982), σελ. 215-216· Кошеленко, Г.А. – Кругликова, И.Т. – Долгоруков, В.С. (επιμ.), *Античные Государства Северного Причерноморья* (Москва 1984), σελ. 34· Скржинская, М.В., *Древнегреческий фольклёр и литература о Северном Причерноморье* (Киев 1991), σελ. 89.
9. Dio Chrys., *Orat.* 36.



10. Русяева, А.С., "Милет-Дидимы-Борисфен-Ольвия. Проблемы колонизации Нижнего Побужья", *Journal of Ancient History* (1986), σελ. 43, 51.
11. Herman-Hansen, M. - Heine-Nielsen, T. (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation* (Oxford 2004), no. 690, p. 937.
12. An extensive discussion of this issue in Виноградов, Ю.Г., *Политическая история Ольвийского полиса. VII-I вв. до н.э. Историко-эпиграфическое исследование* (Москва 1989), pp. 25-31.
13. Scymnus of Chios, *Periegesis* 804-809.
14. Русяева, А.С., "К вопросу об основании ионийцами Ольвии", *Journal of Ancient History* (1998), pp. 160-170.
15. Русяева, А.С., "Милет-Дидимы-Борисфен-Ольвия. Проблемы колонизации Нижнего Побужья", *Journal of Ancient History* (1986), pp. 26ff.; Виноградов, Ю.Г., *Политическая история Ольвийского полиса. вв. до н.э. Историко-эпиграфическое исследование* (Москва 1989), pp. 78ff.; Русяева, А.С., "К вопросу об основании ионийцами Ольвии", *Journal of Ancient History* (1998), pp. 168-169.
16. Русяева, А.С., "К вопросу об основании ионийцами Ольвии", *Journal of Ancient History* (1998), p. 169.
17. An summary of these views is given in Русяева, А.С., "К вопросу об основании ионийцами Ольвии", *Journal of Ancient History* (1998), p. 161.
18. Виноградов, following a detailed analysis of the archaeological evidence and the written testimonies, dates the foundation of the settlement to the late 7<sup>th</sup> or the early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, see Виноградов, Ю.Г., *Политическая история Ольвийского полиса. VII-I вв. до н.э. Историко-эпиграфическое исследование* (Москва 1989), pp. 32-39.
19. Русяева, А.С., "К вопросу об основании ионийцами Ольвии", *Journal of Ancient History* (1998), p. 169; Буйских А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии вУ1 в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), p. 158.
20. For more information on the history of archaeological research in the site of Olbia see Kryzhitskiy, S.D. - Krapivina, V.V. - Leypunskaya, N.A. -Nazarov, V.V., "Olbia-Berezan", in Grammenos, D.V. - Petropoulos, E.K. (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea I* (Thessaloniki 2003), pp. 391-397.
21. On the Roman conquest of the Black Sea see Bekker-Nielsen, T. (ed.), *Rome and the Black Sea Region: Domination, Romanisation, Resistance* (Aarhus 2006).
22. *Ancient Greek Sites on the Northwest Coast of the Black Sea* (Kiev 2001), pp. 24-25.
23. Виноградов proposes a more detailed periodization, cf. Виноградов, Ю.Г., *Политическая история Ольвийского полиса. VII-I вв. до н.э. Историко-эпиграфическое исследование* (Москва 1989), pp. 20-25.
24. Kryzhitskiy, S.D. - Krapivina, V.V. - Leypunskaya, N.A. - Nazarov, V.V., "Olbia-Berezan", in Grammenos, D.V. -Petropoulos, E.K. (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea I* (Thessaloniki 2003), p. 399; Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии вVI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), p. 157, and Буйских, С.Б., "Земляничное домостроительство эпохи колонизации Северного Причерноморья (на примере Нижнего Побужья)", *Боспорские исследования* (2005), p. 10, with references to the relevant bibliography.
25. The subject of the underground and half-underground residences continues to cause large debates and puzzlement among scholars, see Petropoulos, E.K., *Hellenic Colonization in Euxeinus Pontos: Penetration, Early Establishment and the Problem of the "Emporion" Revisited* (Oxford 2005), pp. 36-41.



26. Русяева, А.С., "Милет-Дидимы-Борисфен-Ольвия. Проблемы колонизации Нижнего Побужья", *Journal of Ancient History* (1986), pp. 124-128.
27. Русяева, А.С., "Милет-Дидимы-Борисфен-Ольвия. Проблемы колонизации Нижнего Побужья", *Journal of Ancient History* (1986), p. 28.
28. For a detailed description and reconstruction of the temple dedicated to Apollo Iatros see Крыжитский, С.Д., "Храм Аполлона Врача на Западном Теменосе Ольвии (*Опыт реконструкции*)", *Journal of Ancient History* (1998), pp. 170-190.
29. Solovyov, S.L., "Ancient Berezan", in Boardman, J. - Tsetskhladze, G.R. (eds.), *ColloquiaPontica* 4 (Leiden 1999), pp. 84-87. Solovyov's view, which he lately supports vigorously, has been criticized by other scholars, see Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии в VI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), pp. 155-161, with references to the Russian bibliography.
30. Kryzickij, S.D., "The Rural Environs of Olbia: Some Problems of Current Importance", in Guldager Bilde, P. - Stolba, V.F. (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora: The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective* (Aarhus 2006), p. 100. See also Bujksich, S.B., "Die Chora des pontischen Olbia: Die Hauptetappen der raumlich-strukturellen Entwicklung", in Guldager Bilde, P. - Stolba, V.F. (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora: The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective* (Aarhus 2006), pp. 116-135.
31. Русяева, А.С., "Милет-Дидимы-Борисфен-Ольвия. Проблемы колонизации Нижнего Побужья", *Journal of Ancient History* (1986), pp. 49-51; Herman Hansen, M. - Heine Nielsen, T. (επεδστ.), *An Inventory of Archaic Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation* (Oxford 2004), p. 940.
32. Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии в VI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), pp. 160-161, with references to the relevant Russian bibliography.
33. Виноградов, Ю.Г., *Политическая история Ольвийского полиса VII-I вв. до н.э. Историко-эпиграфическое исследование* (Москва 1989), p. 64.
34. Herman-Hansen, M. - Heine-Nielsen, T. (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation* (Oxford 2004), pp. 939-940.
35. Kryzhitskiy, S.D. - Kravivina, V.V. - Leypunskaaya, N.A. - Nazarov, V.V., "Olbia-Berezan", in Grammenos, D.V. - Petropoulos, E.K. (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea I* (Thessaloniki 2003), p. 399; Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии в VI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), p. 158.
36. Perhaps the absence of defensive walls in the settlements of the northern Black Sea (with only two currently known exceptions for the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) can be attributed to the lack of serious threats, for example the existence of warlike non-Greek neighbours Petropoulos, E.K., *Hellenic Colonization in Euxeinus Pontos: Penetration, Early Establishment and the Problem of the "Emporion" Revisited* (Oxford 2005), pp. 27-29.
37. According to the archaeological evidence, defensive walls are absent even in the settlement of Histria on the estuary of the Danube – this is the earliest (archaeologically documented) Greek settlement in the entire region of the Black Sea (mid-7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC). The first defensive wall is built in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC and is connected to the change in the region's demographics: Avram, A., "Histria", in Grammenos, D.V. - Petropoulos, E.K. (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea I* (Thessaloniki 2003), p. 285.
38. Petropoulos, E.K., *Hellenic Colonization in Euxeinus Pontos: Penetration, Early Establishment and the Problem of the "Emporion" Revisited* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 139, Oxford 2005), p. 28, with the relevant bibliography.
39. Herman-Hansen, M. - Heine-Nielsen, T. (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by The*



Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation (Oxford 2004), p. 940.

40. Kryzhitskiy, S.D. - Krapivina, V.V. - Leypunskaya, N.A. - Nazarov, V.V., "Olbia-Berezan", in Grammenos, D.V. - Petropoulos, E.K. (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea I* (Thessaloniki 2003), p. 399.
41. For the minting dates of the coins see Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии в VI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), pp. 160-161.
42. This is the mood that characterises the article by Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии в VI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), pp. 146-165.
43. Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии в VI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), pp. 159-165.
44. Буйских, А.В., "Некоторые полемические заметки по поводу становления и развития Борисфена и Ольвии в VI в. до н.э.", *Journal of Ancient History* (2005), p. 159.
45. Kryzhitskiy, S.D. - Krapivina, V.V. - Leypunskaya, N.A. - Nazarov, V.V., "Olbia-Berezan", in Grammenos, D.V. - Petropoulos, E.K. (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea I* (Thessaloniki 2003), p. 399.
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