



REVISTA INCLUSIONES

CENCIA EN TIEMPOS DE CAMBIOS

Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales

Volumen 7 . Número Especial

Julio / Septiembre

2020

ISSN 0719-4706

CUERPO DIRECTIVO

Directores

Dr. Juan Guillermo Mansilla Sepúlveda

Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile

Dr. Francisco Ganga Contreras

Universidad de Tarapacá, Chile

Editor

Drdo. Juan Guillermo Estay Sepúlveda

Editorial Cuadernos de Sofía, Chile

Editor Científico

Dr. Luiz Alberto David Araujo

Pontificia Universidade Católica de Sao Paulo, Brasil

Editor Europa del Este

Dr. Aleksandar Ivanov Katrandzhiev

Universidad Suroeste "Neofit Rilski", Bulgaria

Cuerpo Asistente

Traductora: Inglés

Lic. Pauline Corthorn Escudero

Editorial Cuadernos de Sofía, Chile

Portada

Lic. Graciela Pantigoso de Los Santos

Editorial Cuadernos de Sofía, Chile

COMITÉ EDITORIAL

Dr. Jaime Bassa Mercado

Universidad de Valparaíso, Chile

Dra. Heloísa Bellotto

Universidad de Sao Paulo, Brasil

Dra. Nidia Burgos

Universidad Nacional del Sur, Argentina

Mg. María Eugenia Campos

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

Dr. Francisco José Francisco Carrera

Universidad de Valladolid, España

Dr. Pablo Guadarrama González

Universidad Central de Las Villas, Cuba

Mg. Amelia Herrera Lavanchy

Universidad de La Serena, Chile

Dr. Claudio Llanos Reyes

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile

Dr. Werner Mackenbach

Universidad de Potsdam, Alemania

Universidad de Costa Rica, Costa Rica

Mg. Rocío del Pilar Martínez Marín

Universidad de Santander, Colombia

Ph. D. Natalia Milanese

Universidad de Houston, Estados Unidos

Ph. D. Maritza Montero

Universidad Central de Venezuela, Venezuela

Dra. Eleonora Pencheva

Universidad Suroeste Neofit Rilski, Bulgaria

Dra. Rosa María Regueiro Ferreira

Universidad de La Coruña, España

Dr. Andrés Saavedra Barahona

Universidad San Clemente de Ojrid de Sofía, Bulgaria

Dr. Efraín Sánchez Cabra

Academia Colombiana de Historia, Colombia

Dra. Mirka Seitz

Universidad del Salvador, Argentina

Ph. D. Stefan Todorov Kapralov

South West University, Bulgaria

COMITÉ CIENTÍFICO INTERNACIONAL

Comité Científico Internacional de Honor

Dr. Adolfo A. Abadía

Universidad ICESI, Colombia

Dr. Carlos Antonio Aguirre Rojas

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

Dr. Martino Contu

Universidad de Sassari, Italia

Dr. Luiz Alberto David Araujo

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Sao Paulo, Brasil

Dra. Patricia Brogna

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

REVISTA INCLUSIONES

REVISTA DE HUMANIDADES
Y CIENCIAS SOCIALES

Dr. Horacio Capel Sáez

Universidad de Barcelona, España

Dr. Javier Carreón Guillén

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

Dr. Lancelot Cowie

Universidad West Indies, Trinidad y Tobago

Dra. Isabel Cruz Ovalle de Amenabar

Universidad de Los Andes, Chile

Dr. Rodolfo Cruz Vadillo

*Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla,
México*

Dr. Adolfo Omar Cueto

Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Argentina

Dr. Miguel Ángel de Marco

Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dra. Emma de Ramón Acevedo

Universidad de Chile, Chile

Dr. Gerardo Echeita Sarrionandía

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, España

Dr. Antonio Hermosa Andújar

Universidad de Sevilla, España

Dra. Patricia Galeana

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

Dra. Manuela Garau

Centro Studi Sea, Italia

Dr. Carlo Ginzburg Ginzburg

*Scuola Normale Superiore de Pisa, Italia
Universidad de California Los Ángeles, Estados Unidos*

Dr. Francisco Luis Girardo Gutiérrez

Instituto Tecnológico Metropolitano, Colombia

José Manuel González Freire

Universidad de Colima, México

Dra. Antonia Heredia Herrera

Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, España

Dr. Eduardo Gomes Onofre

Universidade Estadual da Paraíba, Brasil

CUADERNOS DE SOFÍA EDITORIAL

+ Dr. Miguel León-Portilla

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

Dr. Miguel Ángel Mateo Saura

*Instituto de Estudios Albacetenses "Don Juan Manuel",
España*

Dr. Carlos Tulio da Silva Medeiros

Diálogos em MERCOSUR, Brasil

+ Dr. Álvaro Márquez-Fernández

Universidad del Zulia, Venezuela

Dr. Oscar Ortega Arango

Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, México

Dr. Antonio-Carlos Pereira Menaut

Universidad Santiago de Compostela, España

Dr. José Sergio Puig Espinosa

Dilemas Contemporáneos, México

Dra. Francesca Randazzo

*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras,
Honduras*

Dra. Yolando Ricardo

Universidad de La Habana, Cuba

Dr. Manuel Alves da Rocha

Universidade Católica de Angola Angola

Mg. Arnaldo Rodríguez Espinoza

Universidad Estatal a Distancia, Costa Rica

Dr. Miguel Rojas Mix

*Coordinador la Cumbre de Rectores Universidades
Estatales América Latina y el Caribe*

Dr. Luis Alberto Romero

CONICET / Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dra. Maura de la Caridad Salabarría Roig

Dilemas Contemporáneos, México

Dr. Adalberto Santana Hernández

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

Dr. Juan Antonio Seda

Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dr. Saulo Cesar Paulino e Silva

Universidad de Sao Paulo, Brasil

Dr. Miguel Ángel Verdugo Alonso
Universidad de Salamanca, España

Dr. Josep Vives Rego
Universidad de Barcelona, España

Dr. Eugenio Raúl Zaffaroni
Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dra. Blanca Estela Zardel Jacobo
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México

Comité Científico Internacional

Dra. Elian Araujo
Universidad de Mackenzie, Brasil

Mg. Romyana Atanasova Popova
Universidad Suroeste Neofit Rilski, Bulgaria

Dra. Ana Bénard da Costa
Instituto Universitario de Lisboa, Portugal
Centro de Estudios Africanos, Portugal

Dra. Noemí Brenta
Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Ph. D. Juan R. Coca
Universidad de Valladolid, España

Dr. Antonio Colomer Vialdel
Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, España

Dr. Christian Daniel Cwik
Universidad de Colonia, Alemania

Dr. Eric de Léséulec
INS HEA, Francia

Dr. Andrés Di Masso Tarditti
Universidad de Barcelona, España

Ph. D. Mauricio Dimant
Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalem, Israel

Dr. Jorge Enrique Elías Caro
Universidad de Magdalena, Colombia

Ph. D. Valentin Kitanov
Universidad Suroeste Neofit Rilski, Bulgaria

Mg. Luis Oporto Ordóñez
Universidad Mayor San Andrés, Bolivia

Dr. Gino Ríos Patio
Universidad de San Martín de Porres, Perú

Dra. María Laura Salinas
Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, Argentina

Dra. Jaqueline Vassallo
Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

Dra. Maja Zawierzeniec
Universidad Wszechnica Polska, Polonia

Editorial Cuadernos de Sofía
Santiago – Chile
Representante Legal
Juan Guillermo Estay Sepúlveda Editorial

Indización, Repositorios y Bases de Datos Académicas

Revista Inclusiones, se encuentra indizada en:





REX



UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN



Universidad de Concepción



BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSIDAD DE CONCEPCIÓN

NOMADIC IMPACT ON THE LATE ANTIQUE BOSPORAN STRATEGY

Lic. Ivan Alekseevich Astakhov

Tula State Lev Tolstoy Pedagogical University, Russia

ORCID: 0000-0002-5377-9949

astaha1@rambler.ru

Fecha de Recepción: 17 de marzo de 2020 – **Fecha Revisión:** 28 de abril de 2020

Fecha de Aceptación: 30 de junio de 2020 – **Fecha de Publicación:** 01 de julio de 2020

Abstract

The Bosporan Kingdom throughout its existence was in close proximity to various nomadic societies of antiquity. Late antiquity was for the Bosphorus not only a period of difficult economic, social, internal and foreign policy crises, but also a period of active “barbarization”. The influence of the tribes, which the Migration Period “threw out” in the steppes of the Northern Black Sea Region, on the ancient society of the Bosphorus was enormous. Barbarization was expressed in ethnic mixing, as well as material and technical borrowing. Nomads of the Northern Black Sea Region, being representatives of a unique culture, undoubtedly took an active part in this process. However, could they not only bring to the military affairs of the Bosphorus technical innovations, but also modify the very principles of warfare? To answer this question, one needs to understand what the strategic thought of a nomadic army was.

Keywords

Bosporan Kingdom – Barbaric nomads – Alan ethnic group

Para Citar este Artículo:

Astakhov, Ivan Alekseevich. Nomadic impact on the late antique Bosporan strategy. Revista Inclusiones Vol: 7 num Especial (2020): 75-83.

Licencia Creative Commons Attribution Non-Comercial 3.0 Unported
(CC BY-NC 3.0)

Licencia Internacional



Introduction

It is worth noting that the strategic methods of the barbaric nomads of the Northern Black Sea Region are due to the armament and organization of the nomadic army. The weak organization was the cause of the clan system of the nomadic society. Nomads, divided into clans, were more likely to submit to personal “petty” rulers than to a “king” ruler.

The war was a permanent state for barbaric nomads. The nomads of the Northern Black Sea Region waged offensive wars, the main form of which was a foray into the neighboring territories. The reasons could be completely different, from blood feud to failure to pay tribute (Polyaen., VIII, 56; IOSPE, I, 32).

Winter was considered the most convenient time of the year for invasion, and there were several reasons for this. First, in winter, rivers and other water obstacles freeze, which allows one to easily navigate enemy territory (Jord. Get., 280). An example is the numerous winter invasions of nomads and other barbarians into the Roman Empire through the frozen Danube (Oros. Hist., IV, 20, 34-35; Liban. Or., LIX, 90; Claud., V, 27; Philostorg. Hist. XI, 8). Second, in winter, the troops of the settled peoples, who were the main opponents of the nomads, dispersed to the “winter apartments”. Gathering them gave the nomads time to achieve all their goals and return to their country (Tac. Agr., 22; Tac. Hist., III, 46; Amm., XIX, 11, 4). Third, winter invasions of the nomads were largely due to the internal and economic life of nomadic societies. Summer was a time of active cattle grazing in the steppes of the Northern Black Sea Region. Herds migrated to the north, and in winter they returned to the coast of the Sea of Azov or the mouths of large rivers for permanent camps (Strab., VII, 3, 17; Verg. Georg., III, 349-355; Jord. Get., 37). In winter, men were not burdened with grazing and driving cattle, which allowed them to go on raids on their neighbors (Amm., XIX, 11, 1). It is also worth noting that the nomads did not create reserves for the winter; therefore, their horses were starving (Mauric. Strat., VII, 1, 12). In this case, winter invasions of nomads were also a way to replenish fodder for livestock.

Entering the borders of a neighboring country, the nomads scattered into small units, whose tasks included the most rapid and massive looting of enemy territory (Tac. Hist., I, 79, 1-2; Amm., XVI, 10.20; XVII, 12, 2; 13, 27; XXIX, 6, 8). In the event of the appearance of an enemy army, these units retreated to the main group of nomads, headed by the “king” (Tac. Hist., I, 79, 1; Amm., XVII, 12, 2). Further, the army moved as a united mass either to meet the enemy or retreating from it, depending on the situation, trying to inflict the greatest possible damage. Enemy troops were attacked by small mobile units that came to their rear and flanks. In impassable places on enemy territory ambushes were arranged, which was typical of nomads¹ (Amm., XVII, 12, 2). Depending on the situation, the nomads could either give a general battle or retreat with all the loot².

In addition to offensive wars, the nomads of the Northern Black Sea Region also waged defensive wars. The scorched earth tactics were widely used here, as well as the general nomadic “Scythian” tactics of starvation (Amm. XVII, 12, 7; Hdt., I, 211; Polyaen., VII, 11, 6; Oros. Hist., II, 7, 2).

¹ A. M. Khazanov, *Ocherki voennogo dela sarmatov* (Moscow: Nauka, 1971).

² A. A. Rosliakov, “Voennoe iskusstvo narodov Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana v VI—XV vekakh”, *Uchen. zap. Turkmenskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A. M. Gorkogo* num 21 (1962): 232.

Returning to the late antique Bosporan strategy, we are primarily interested in the question of what the number of immigrants from the nomadic societies of the Northern Black Sea Region as part of the Late Antique Army of the Bosporan Kingdom was. It is reasonably believed that the barbarian contingent always accounted for a significant part of the total number of Bosporan troops (Luc. Tox. 54; Diod. XX, 22-24)³. Under Mithridates VI, the basis of his guard was barbarian warriors⁴. Probably the nomads who served in the Bosporan army were the Maeotians, Scythians, Iaksmaty, Iksivity, Siraces, Aorsi, Iazyges, Roxolani, etc⁵. At the turn of the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, the number of Iranian names on the Bosphorus was about 20%⁶.

Results

From the middle of the 3rd century AD as a result of the invasion of the Goths and their allies, the number of barbarians in the territory of the Bosporan Kingdom increased significantly. In addition to Borany, Heruli, Goths, Carpi, Urugondy, Gepids, Taifals, Peucini and Greuthungi that infiltrated the Bosphorus, ancient authors mention nomadic Alans and Sarmatians (Trebell. Poll. Claudius, 6.2; Iord. 107-108; Dexipp. 21; Zosim. 1. 31.). The Bosporan kings Fophors (285-308 AD) and Rhadamsades (309-322 AD) both had Iranian names and, undoubtedly, were representatives of the Alans and Sarmatians nobility, who seized power in the Bosphorus after the defeat of the Goths⁷. The close connection between military institutions and the institution of kings is undeniable. Therefore, if the Alans and Sarmatians managed to establish themselves as kings in the Bosphorus, then, naturally, they played a crucial role in military affairs. The 4th century AD is also characterized by the continued extensive penetration of the Alans ethnic group into the territory of the Bosphorus, which can be traced by the funerary inventory of the necropolises of the Bosporan cities⁸. By the 4th century AD, the number of Iranian names on the Bosphorus reaches 40% and higher⁹. In this case, up to the third quarter of the 4th century AD the Alans were certainly nomads (Amm. XXXI, 2. 12-25)¹⁰. Appearance at the turn of the 4th-5th centuries AD of the Huns on the Bosphorus¹¹, in our opinion, only increased the tendency to increase the nomadic elements in the Bosporan army. Undoubtedly, the second half of the 4th century AD became a time of active penetration of the Goths on the Bosphorus¹² and probably at the same time, they held power in the Bosphorus in their hands. However, it seems that the Bosporan

³ M. Mielczarek, *The Army of the Bosporan kingdom* (Lodz: Studies in the History of the Ancient and Medieval Art of Warfare, 1999).

⁴ S. Saprykin, *Pontiiskoe tsarstvo: Gosudarstvo grekov i varvarov v Prichernomorie* (Moscow: Nauka, 1996).

⁵ M. V. Tsigler, "Bosporskoe Tsarstvo I Varvarkaia Periferiia V I-IV N.E.: Voennyi Aspekt Vzaimootnoshenii", *Nauchnye vedomosti Belgorodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Istoriiia. Politologiiia. Ekonomika. Informatika* num 7 (2015): 48-52.

⁶ D. B. Shelov, "Nekotorye voprosy etnicheskoi istorii Priazovia II-III vv.n.e. po dannym onomastiki", *VDI* num 1 (1947): 90-93.

⁷ A. N. Zograf, *Antichnye monety* (Moscow: Iz-vo AN SSSR, 1951).

⁸ I. T. Kruglikova, *Bospor v pozdneantichnoe vremia: ocherki ekonomicheskoi istorii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966) y T. M. Minaeva, "Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki na r. Galich v verkhoiviakh Kubani", *MIA* num 23 (1951).

⁹ A. A. Maslennikov, *Naselenie Bosporskogo gosudarstva v pervykh vekakh n.e.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990), 111.

¹⁰ A. I. Aibabin, *Etnicheskaiia istoriia rannevizantiiskogo Kryma* (Simferopol: DAR, 1999), 29-30.

¹¹ A.I. Aibabin, *Etnicheskaiia istoriia rannevizantiiskogo...*

¹² M. L. Riabtseva, *Bospor i germantsy v kontse IV – seredine VI v.: avtoreferat dissertatsii, kandidat istoricheskikh nauk* (Stavropol, 2009) y M. M. Kazanskii, *Goty na Bospore Kimmeriiskom. Sto let cherniakhovskoi culture* (Kiev, 1999)

Kingdom, surrounded by various nomadic tribes, and lacking support from the empire, could not but incorporate neighboring nomads into its army. Moreover, the Hunnic protectorate in the first half of the 5th century AD made Bosphorus dependent on nomads. The numerous Black Sea tribes were likely an extensive military reserve of the Huns, and the Bosporan nobility took part in the Hunnic conquests¹³.

The departure of the bulk of the Huns to the west allowed various nomadic pro-hunnic groups to occupy the steppes of the Northern Black Sea Region. These nomads included the tribes of Akatziri, Saraghurs, Ugory, Onogurs (Prisc. IV. 30). These nomads likely played an important role in the domestic politics of the Bosporan Kingdom. The Bosphorus, in turn, playing on the contradictions of numerous barbarian tribes, could use nomads as federal soldiers¹⁴. The inscription from Hermonassa of 1868 (KBN (Korpus Bosporskikh Nadpiseii, *Corpus Inscriptionum Bosporus Regnum* No. 1099) and the Hunnic names¹⁵ listed in it only confirm our version of the incorporation of the Huns into Bosporan society.

Thus, during the entire Late Antique period, the Bosphorus experienced a colossal influx of various nomads into its territory. There is no doubt that, due to their specificity, nomads integrated into the Bosporan society became warriors and a part of the Bosporan army.

In this regard, an important factor, undoubtedly influencing the military affairs and strategy of the Bosphorus, was a certain mentality of nomads. As we noted earlier, a state of permanent war of everybody against everybody is inherent in nomadic societies¹⁶. This applied both to the same nomads and to the neighboring settled population. At the same time, another important feature of the mentality of a nomad was conservatism¹⁷. Nomads were reluctant to change, preferring the same lifestyle as their ancestors from centuries ago¹⁸.

Nomadic horsemen (Sarmatians, Roxolani, Iazyges) in the service of the Roman Empire, reluctantly used Roman equipment and fought in their equipment. Tombstone of a horseman of the Sarmatian auxiliary troops from the limes of Deva Victrix in Roman Britain, dated 2nd century AD, shows the equipment of a warrior of a nomadic tribe¹⁹. The monument in Roman Civitas Tropaensium (site of modern Adamclisi, Romania), the terracotta figure from Alba Iulia, the sculptural sources of the times of Marcus Aurelius, Arch of Galerius show the cavalry warriors in armor inherent in the Sarmatian tradition²⁰.

¹³ A. K. Ambroz, "Problemy rannesrednevekovoi khronologii Vostochnoi Evropy", SA num 2 (1971).

¹⁴ V. F. Gajdukevic, *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Amsterdam: Akademie-Verlag, 1971).

¹⁵ V. P. Iailenko, "Gunnskii imennik V v. n.e. s Tamani i ego chuvashskie sootvetstviia", *Onomastika Povolzhia* num 6 (1991): 126.

¹⁶ A. V. Iarovoi, *Ot kultury voyny k voine kultur: sotsiokulturnye proektsii agonalnosti v evropeiskoi i evraziiskoi kulturakh* (Moscow, 2017).

¹⁷ V. P. Budanova; A. A. Gorskii y I. E. Ermolova, *Velikoe pereselenie narodov: Etnopoliticheskie i sotsialnye aspekty* (St. Petersburg: Aleteya, 2011).

¹⁸ S. G. Zhambalova, "Kochevoi obraz zhizni v sovremennom mire: problemy traditsionalizma i modernizatsii", *Scholarly Notes of Transbaikalian State University. Series: Philology, History, Oriental studies* (2012): 152-149; B. Enkhtuvshin, "Nomads and nomadism: traditions and modernity. *Izvestiya Irkutskoy gosudarstvennoy ekonomicheskoy akademii*", *Izvestiya of Irkutsk State Economics Academy* Vol: 25 num 4 (2015): 691-699 y

¹⁹ R. D'Amato, *Voin Rima: Evoliutsiia vooruzheniia i dospekhov 112 g. do n.e. – 192 g. n.e.* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2012).

²⁰ H. R. Robinson, *The armour of Imperial Rome* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1975).

Thus, it can be assumed that the conservatism inherent in nomads extended not only to weapons or everyday objects, but also to the principles of nomadic tactics and strategies that had been established for centuries.

By the beginning of the 6th century AD, the strategic thought of the Byzantine army had been completely modified. From exclusively defensive, it had been transformed into mobile and offensive²¹. First, this became a consequence of a change in the ethnic picture on the borders of the empire. Sedentary barbarians, for the most part, gave way to nomadic Hunnic tribes²². Starting from the 5th century AD, the Hunnic units began to be included in the Byzantine army, at first, on the rights of mercenaries and later as foederati (espondy) (Procop., BG, I, 27, 106). Gradually, the mobile horse archers of the Huns, or the like, became the main striking force of the imperial army, pushing the infantry and heavy cavalry into the background²³.

It seems that this could happen with the Bosporan army. Light horse archers became the basis of the Bosporan army. Moreover, this happened much faster than in the empire, because the Bosporan Kingdom did not have to invite nomads on espondy rights. They, starting from the 3rd century AD and until the end of the Migration Period, penetrated the Bosphorus and integrated into its society and army.

In this regard, we are interested in the subjects described in the treatise of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus *De Administrando Imperio* ("On the Governance of the Empire") (Const. Porph. De administrando imperio, 53) as the only sources mentioning the military campaigns conducted by the Bosporan Kingdom in the late antiquity period.

First, it is necessary to note the military conflict between the Bosphorus and Chersonesus could occur in the last quarter of the 3rd century AD. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus directly indicates that the king of Bosphorus Sauromates, having gathered an army of Maeotian barbarians, Alans and Sarmatians, led a campaign in the empire, invading from the Caucasus Mountains and reached the river Halys in the province of the Pontus. In response to this, people of Chersonesus, in alliance with Rome, attacked the Bosporan Kingdom of and, having captured the capital, captured the king's family. After this, the barbarians, led by Sauromates, left the occupied lands and returned home (Const. Porph. De adm. Imp., 53, 1-120).

According to Ia. Kharmmata, this war could take place in 291-293 AD. Constantius I, who fought against the Maeotian barbarians, received the title of Caesar on March 1, 293 AD, most likely after defeating them. Therefore, the end of the invasion can be considered the very end of 292 - the beginning of 293 AD, which in our opinion is the most accurate dating of the events. Ia. Kharmmata also notes that the name Sauromates could be a generic name for all Bosporan kings in the Chersonesus chronicle. These events should be identified with Fophors²⁴, which has a certain logic, because in the subsequent military conflicts described by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in two out of three cases some Sarmatians also controlled the barbarians from Maeotius.

²¹ E. N. Luttwak, *Trategiia Vizantiiskoi imperii* (Moscow: Russian Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Science. 2010).

²² O. Jordanes. *Proiskhozhdenii i deianiiakh getov* (Getica) (St. Petersburg: Aleteya, 1997).

²³ A. V. Bannikov y M. A. Morozov, *Vizantiiskaia armiia* (IV – XII vv.) (St. Petesburg: Evraziya. 2013).

²⁴ Ia. Kharmmata, *K istorii Khersonesa Tavricheskogo i Bospora* (Moscow: Antichnoe obshchestvo, 1967).

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus mentions the second military campaign of the Maeotian barbarians where a unit of people of Chersonesus went to the Danube, in the province of Scythia, and fought there with some barbarians, defeating them (Const. Porph. De adm. Imp., 53, 125-160). Zosimus, also describing these events, reports that in 322 AD a unit of Maeotian barbarians and Sarmatians under the command of a certain king Ravsimod invaded Pannonia, but was defeated by the Roman army under the command of Constantine somewhere on the Danube (Zosim. II, 21). We can draw parallels between the Bosporan king Rhadamsades (308 - 322 AD) and the mentioned by Zosimus king Ravsimod²⁵ and assume that this is one person.

Thus, we see that some barbarian military contingents, led by Bosporan kings with an interval of 30 years, invaded of the Roman Empire in two different ways: through the Caucasian Black Sea Region to Asia Minor and west of the Bosporan Kingdom to the Danube.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus mentions two more military conflicts between the Bosporians and people of Chersonesus. The center, as indicated in the text, was the region of Feodosia. In both cases, the Bosporan army was led by certain Sarmatians, the relationship between which was not established. Both conflicts led to the defeat of the Bosporus. In the latter, people of Chersonesus captured all the representatives of the Bosporan Kingdom and released the Maeotian barbarians (Const. Porph. De adm. Imp., 53). It is difficult to establish the dating of these events, however, if one imagines that the data are reliable, they can be connected with the reign of Rhescuporis VI (323-341 AD) on the Bosporus. First, this is indicated by discovered treasures in the Sudak area, dating back to 328 and 329 AD²⁶ and on Taman dating back to 336 AD²⁷. Second, according to V. K. Golenko, it was the defeat in the Bosporan-Chersonesian war that pushed the border of the Bosporan Kingdom from the region of Feodosia to the Uzunlarskii shaft, which contributed to the creation of the citadel on Mount Opuk in 336 AD²⁸. At the same time, M. G. Abramzon connects the massive hoarding of coins in the settlements of Bospor at that time not with the Bosporan-Chersonesian wars, but with the movements of the Sarmatians, Alans and Gothic tribes in the Northern Black Sea Region²⁹. Probably both events took place one after another. The defeat of the Bosporus and allied Maeotian barbarians could lead to the Maeotian raids on the Bosporan Kingdom. Moreover, according to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the people of Chersonesus captured all the representatives of the Bosporan Kingdom and released the Maeotian barbarians. Then a situation arises in which the Bosporan Kingdom remains defenseless against the Sarmatians, Alans and Gothic tribes of the Northern Black Sea Region.

Based on the stories described by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, we can observe aggressive actions of the Bosporan Kingdom. These conflicts, by their nature, were raids by

²⁵ V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Bospora* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1986).

²⁶ R. A. Isanchurin y E. R. Isanchurin, *Monetnoe delo tsaria Radamsada*, *Numizmatika i epigrafika* Vol: 15 (1989): 90-92.

²⁷ V. M. Zubar y A. I. Khvorostianyi, *Ot iazychestva k khristianstvu* (Kiev: Institut archeologii NANU, 2000).

²⁸ V.K. Golenko. *K voprosu o vremeni sooruzheniia «tsitadeli» na gore Opuk* [On the Problem of the Period when the "Citadel" on Opuk Mountain Was Constructed]. *Khersonesskii sbornik* Vol: X (1999): 47.

²⁹ M. G. Abramzon y E. A. Molev, "Klad pozdnebosporiskikh staterov iz Kiteia (2012 g.)", *VDI* num 76/2 (2016); M. G. Abramzon y N. I. Sudarev, "Klad pozdnebosporiskikh staterov iz okrestnostei Germonassy (2016 g.)", *RA* num 1 (2018): 150-163 y

nomads against settled neighbors, which we spoke about earlier. Sources directly point to the Sarmatians and some Maeotian barbarians as part of the Bosporan army. To the latter, we can refer the Goths, Borany and Heruli, which dominated the Bosphorus in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD³⁰, as well as the Alans who dominated the Northern Black Sea Region at that time³¹.

The territorial framework of the campaigns can also speak in favor of the version about the nomadic nature of these campaigns. The directions of the invasions repeat the directions of the campaigns of many other nomads who attacked the empire before and after the events noted. Undoubtedly, these directions were chosen under the pressure of barbaric nomads, who knew well and repeatedly used these paths.

Probably, the campaigns noted above were initiated not so much by the Bosporan administration as by the nomadic Alans and Sarmatians nobility. Its influence on all spheres of life in the Bosporan Kingdom, including domestic and foreign policy in the specified time frames, as we said earlier, was enormous.

Conclusion

Barbaric nomads who massively migrated to the steppes of the Northern Black Sea Region and the Bosphorus during the period of late antiquity (mid-3rd – first quarter of 6th centuries) exert a huge influence primarily on the military affairs of the Bosporan Kingdom. Being professional military, nomads played a major role in the Bosporan army. Owing to their mentality, they did not rebuild their structure according to the Roman or Hellenistic model, but integrated into the Bosporan army and changed it for themselves. In particular, the Bosporan war strategy was undergoing massive changes, acquiring vivid nomadic features. In our opinion, this trend can be traced in the plots of the treatise of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio*, which tells of the Bosporan-Chersonesian wars.

Acknowledgements

The reported study was funded by RFBR, project number 19-39-90039.

References

Abramzon, M. G. y Molev, E. A. "Klad pozdneposporiskikh staterov iz Kiteia" (2012 g.). VDI num 76/2 (2016): 396.

Abramzon, M. G.; Novichikhin, A. M. y Saprykina, I. A. Klad pozdneposporiskikh staterov iz sela Gai-Kodzor (1986 g.). VDI num 79/3 (2019): 689-702.

Abramzon, M. G. y Sudarev, N. I. "Klad pozdneposporiskikh staterov iz okrestnostei Germonassy (2016 g.)." RA num 1 (2018): 150-163.

Aibabin, A. I. "Alany i germantsy v Bosporskom tsarstve vo vtoroi polovine III v. n.e." *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* Vol: 44 (2016): 10–23.

³⁰ A. I. Aibabin, "Alany i germantsy v Bosporskom tsarstve vo vtoroi polovine III v. n.e.", *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* Vol: 44 (2016): 10–23.

³¹ A. I. Aibabin, *Alany i germantsy v Bosporskom tsarstve...*

- Aibabin, A. I. Etnicheskaia istoriia rannevizantiiskogo Kryma. Simferopol: DAR. 1999.
- Ambroz, A. K. "Problemy rannesrednevekovoi khronologii Vostochnoi Evropy". SA num 2 (1971): 104.
- Anokhin, V. A. Monetnoe delo Bospora. Kiev: Naukova dumka. 1986.
- Bannikov, A. V. y Morozov, M. A. Vizantiiskaia armiia (IV – XII vv.). St. Petesburg: Evraziya. 2013.
- Budanova, V. P.; Gorskii, A. A. y Ermolova, I. E. Velikoe pereselenie narodov: Etnopoliticheskie i sotsialnye aspekty. St. Petersburg: Aleteya. 2011.
- D'Amato, R. Voin Rima: Evoliutsiia vooruzheniia i dospekhov 112 g. do n.e. – 192 g. n.e. Moscow: Eksmo. 2012.
- Enkhtuvshin, B. "Nomads and nomadism: traditions and modernity. Izvestiya Irkutskoy gosudarstvennoy ekono-micheskoy akademii". Izvestiya of Irkutsk State Economics Academy Vol: 25 num 4 (2015): 691-699.
- Gajdukevic, V. F. Das Bosporanische Reich. Amsterdam: Akademie-Verlag. 1971.
- Golenko, V.K. "K voprosu o vremeni sooruzheniia «tsitadeli» na gore". Khersonesskii sbornik Vol: X (1999).
- Iailenko, V. P. "Gunnskii imennik V v. n.e. s Tamani i ego chuvashskie sootvetstviia". Onomastika Povolzhia num 6 (1991): 126.
- Iarovoi, A. V. Ot kultury voiny k voine kultur: sotsiokulturnye proektsii agonalnosti v evropeiskoi i evraziiskoi kulturakh. Moscow. 2017.
- Iaskina, G. S. Anklavy kochevoi tsivilizatsii v otdelnykh stranakh: opyt Mongolii. Kochevaia tsivilizatsiia Velikoi stepi: sovremennyi kontekst i istoricheskaiia perspektiva: mat. mezhdunar. nauch. konf. i mezhdunar. nauch. foruma. Elista. 2002.
- Isanchurin, R. A. y Isanchurin, E. R. "Monetnoe delo tsaria Radamsada". Numizmatika i epigrafika Vol: 15 (1989): 90-92.
- Jordanes, O. Proiskhozhdenii i deianiiakh getov (Getica). St. Petersburg: Aleteya. 1997.
- Kazanskii, M. M. Goty na Bospore Kimmeriiskom. Sto let cherniakhovskoi culture. Kiev. 1999.
- Kharmatta, Ia. K istorii Khersonesa Tavricheskogo i Bospora. Moscow: Antichnoe obshchestvo. 1967.
- Khazanov, A. M. Ocherki voennogo dela sarmatov. Moscow: Nauka. 1971.
- Kruglikova, I. T. Bospor v pozdneantichnoe vremia: ocherki ekonomicheskoi istorii. Moscow: Nauka. 1966.

Luttwak, E. N. *Trategiia Vizantiiskoi imperii*. Moscow: Russian Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Science. 2010.

Maslennikov, A. A. *Naselenie Bosporskogo gosudarstva v pervykh vekakh n.e.* Moscow: Nauka. 1990.

Mielczarek, M. *The Army of the Bosporan kingdom*. Lodz: Studies in the History of the Ancient and Medieval Art of Warfare. 1999.

Minaeva, T. M. "Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki na r. Galich v verkhoviakh Kubani". *MIA* num 23 (1951): 295.

Riabtseva, M. L. *Bospor i germantsy v kontse IV – seredine VI v.: avtoreferat dissertatsii. kandidat istoricheskikh nauk*. Stavropol. 2009.

Robinson, H. R. *The armour of Imperial Rome*. London: Arms and Armour Press. 1975.

Rosliakov, A. A. "Voennoe iskusstvo narodov Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana v VI—XV vekakh". *Uchen. zap. Turkmenskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A. M. Gorkogo* num 21 (1962): 232.

Saprykin, S. *Pontiiskoe tsarstvo: Gosudarstvo grekov i varvarov v Prichernomore*. Moscow: Nauka. 1996.

Shelov, D. B. "Nekotorye voprosy etnicheskoi istorii Priazovia II-III vv.n.e. po dannym onomastiki". *VDI* num 1 (1947): 90-93.

Tsigler, M. V. "Osporskoe Tsarstvo I Varvarskaia Periferiia V I-IV N.E. Voennyi Aspekt Vzaimootnoshenii". *Nauchnye vedomosti Belgorodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*". *Seriia: Istoriiia. Politologiiia. Ekonomika. Informatika* num 7 (2015): 48-52.

Zhambalova, S.G. *Kochevoi obraz zhizni v sovremennom mire: problemy traditsionalizma i modernizatsii [Nomadism in the Contemporary World: Problems of Traditionalism and Modernization]*. *Scholarly Notes of Transbaikal State University. Series: Philology, History, Oriental studies* (2012): 152-149.

Zograf, A. N. *Antichnye monety*. Moscow: Iz-vo AN SSSR. 1951.

Zubar, V.M., Khvorostianyi, A.I. *Ot iazychestva k khristianstvu*. Kiev: Institut archeologii NANU. 2000.

CUADERNOS DE SOFÍA EDITORIAL

Las opiniones, análisis y conclusiones del autor son de su responsabilidad y no necesariamente reflejan el pensamiento de **Revista Inclusiones**.

La reproducción parcial y/o total de este artículo
Puede hacerse sin permiso de **Revista Inclusiones, citando la fuente**.