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DEATH OF SAINT CLEMENT. NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING TRADITION OF THE SAINT'S MARTYRDOM

Summary

According to the tradition of late antiquity, the emperor Trajan banished Pope Clement to Crimea to work in a quarry at Tauric Chersonesos. These legends maintain that the Pope suffered a martyr's death at the place of his exile, thrown into the sea with an anchor tied to his neck. The credibility of that testimony has often been questioned. The authors of this paper argue that some elements of the above-mentioned tradition might contain a core of truth. Stone remains collected at the Roman temple of Balaklava-Kadykovka and walls of Tauric Chersonesos may serve as evidence that the limestone quarry was in operation at Inkerman under the supervision of the Roman army. However, its earliest activity can be dated to the times of Antoninus Pius. Yet, the analysis of stone samples obtained from fortifications of Tauric Chersonesos suggests that some other quarry was in use near the city walls during the reign of Trajan, perhaps due to the Roman army's presence. It seems that the local tradition about the Roman stone quarry at Inkerman was later mingled with earlier legends about Pope Clement's martyrdom.

Keywords: Saint Clement, Roman quarries, Inkerman, Roman army, Roman fortifications, Tauric Chersonesos

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Śmierć świętego Klemensa. Nowe dowody dotyczące tradycji męczeństwa Świętego Streszczenie

Zgodnie z późnoantyczną tradycją cesarz Trajan zesłał papieża Klemensa na Krym, aby pracował w kamieniołomie położonym w pobliżu Chersonezu Taurydzkiego. Według legendy Papież poniósł męczeńską śmierć w miejscu wygnania, wrzucony do morza z kotwicą u szyi. Wiarygodność tego świadectwa była często kwestionowana. Autorzy niniejszego artykułu starają się argumentować, że niektóre elementy wyżej wspomnianej tradycji mogły zawierać rdzeń prawdy. Badania zabytków kamiennych znalezionych w rzymskiej świątyni położonej nieopodal fortu w Bałakławie-Kadykowce i próbek z fortyfikacji Chersonezu Taurydzkiego wskazują, że w Inkermanie pod nadzorem rzymskiej armii pracował kamieniołom wapienia. Niestety, najwcześniejszą działalność tego typu można datować dopiero na czasy Antoninusa Piusa. Jednak analiza próbek kamienia uzyskanych z fortyfikacji Chersonezu Taurydzkiego sugeruje, że za panowania Trajana w pobliżu murów miejskich pod nadzorem armii rzymskiej działał inny kamieniołom. Wydaje się, że miejscowa tradycja dotycząca obecności rzymskiego kamieniołomu w Inkermanie została później wymieszana z wcześniejszymi legendami o męczeństwie papieża Klemensa.

Słowa kluczowe: Święty Klemens, rzymskie kamieniołomy, Inkerman, armia rzymska, fortyfikacje rzymskie, Chersonez Taurydzki

According to Christian tradition, Pope Clement who lived at the turn of the first century ACE, disciple of the apostles and the third successor of Saint Peter, is somehow connected with the city of Tauric Chersonesos (today's Sevastopol in Crimea). The tradition, coming from the fourth century CE, maintains that the emperor Trajan had sentenced the fourth Bishop of Rome to exile and banished him to Crimea. After his arrival to the place of exile Pope Clement suffered a martyr's death in the waves of the Black Sea – he was thrown into the water with an anchor tied to his neck. The local legends point at various places in connection with St. Clement's martyrdom, and a much later tradition connects these events with the chambers of the monastery of Inkerman.³

Indeed, the oldest part of the Inkerman monastery of St. Clement contains chambers carved in the rock. Some unreliable legends say that Pope Clement was buried in one of them. The veracity of that kind of source is a subject of hot debate. Opinions and hypotheses regarding these issues vary considerably and sometimes the presented views could be quite contradictory. Therefore, we may find well-documented critical views⁴ as well as a position unambiguously confirming the relationship between St. Clement and Inkerman, though unsupported by significant arguments.⁵ Research conducted by the authors of the present paper suggests that some elements of the above-mentioned tradition might contain a core of truth, though an unexpected one.

³ See E. Jastrzębowska, *The cult of St. Clement at Tauric Chersonesos in the light of archaeological researches*, in: *St Clement's Papers Materials of the Sixth International Conference "Church Archaeology: Chersonesos – the city of St Clement"*, ed. T. Aševa, Sevastopol 2013, p. 431.

⁴ E. Jastrzębowska, op. cit., passim.

⁵ E. Klenina, *Chersonesus Taurica in the Principate. Some Aspects of Economic History According to Archaeological Data*, Poznań 2018, p. 288.

According to Christian tradition, Pope Clement was the third successor of St. Peter. A passage in St. Irenaeus – who was chosen bishop of Lugdunum at the turn of the second century CE – testifies that St. Clement was a disciple of apostles.⁶ According to Eusebius of Caesarea, St. Clement died during the third year of Trajan’s reign. However, Eusebius does not mention his martyrdom.⁷ An old Christian tradition collected and edited by the seventeenth century French Patristic scholar Jean-Baptiste Cotelier gives some details about the exile and martyrdom of St. Clement.⁸ The tradition in question comes from the fourth century CE⁹ and contains obvious anachronisms. For example, it mentions the name and post of an official who started persecution of Christians. It was “*comes sacrum officiorum Publius Tarquitianus* – ὁ κόμης θείων ὀφφικίων Πούβλιος Ταρκιτιανὸς”¹⁰ – there was no such office in the times of Trajan. According to the same tradition, St. Clement was exiled to Pontus, to the town of Tauric Chersonesos: “*ultra mare Pontum & in desertum Chersoni oppidum adjacens relegari* – ἡ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοῦ Πόντου ἐν ἐρήμῳ περακειμένη τῆ Χερσῶνι πόλει ἐξορισθῆναι”¹¹ – where he worked in a quarry: “*ubi autem pervenerunt ad exilii locum, in opere caedendi marmoris* – Ἦνίκα δὲ κατέλαβον τὸν τοπὸν ὑπερορίας, ἐν τῇ ἐργατία τῶν τῆς μαρμάρων λατομίας.”¹² Our source also describes the martyrdom of Saint Clement. He was taken to the middle of the sea, an anchor was tied to his neck and he was thrown into the depths, so Christians could not worship him: “*abducatur in medium maris et ligatur ad collum eius ancoram et in profundum dejinciatur; ne possint Christiani eum pro Deo colere* – Λέγει τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαχθῆτω δὴ εἰς μέσον τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ δετμήσατε πρὸς τὸν ἀχθένα αὐτοῦ ἄγκυραν καὶ κατωκείσθω, ὅπως μὴ δυνεθεῖεν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἀντι θεοῦ αὐτὸν σέβασθαι.”¹³

The later apocryphal pseudo-Clementine writings (the so-called Clementine Homilies written in Greek), later partially translated to Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia – a Christian author of the fourth century AD (the so-called *Recognitiones*) – contain fictional biography of Pope Clement, but give no detail about his martyrdom.¹⁴ However, Rufinus calls him a martyr in another work.¹⁵ The earliest written testimony about the presence of St. Clement’s

⁶ *Adv. Haer.* 3.3.3.

⁷ *Euseb. Hist. eccl.* 3.21.

⁸ J-B. Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt, Barnabae, Clementis, Hermæ, Ignatii, Polycarpi opera edita et non edita, vera et supposita, græce et latine, cum notis*, vol. 2, Paris 1672, pp. 808-836.

⁹ For detailed discussion of the subject, see Д.С. Спиридоновъ, *Къ вопросу о мучении св. Клементя, папы римскаго въ Крыму*, in: *Извѣстія Таврической Ученой Архивной Комисіи № 43. Под редакціей Предсѣдателя Комисіи А.И. Маркевича*, Симфероль 1909: Паровая типогр. Таврич. Губерн. Земства, pp. 117-118.

¹⁰ J-B. Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus...*, op. cit., p. 811.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 812; see also А.И. Маркевичъ, *Островокъ въ Казачьей бухтѣ какъ предполагаемое мѣсто кончины св. Клементя, папы римскаго*, in: *Извѣстія Таврической Ученой Архивной Комисіи № 43. Под редакціей Предсѣдателя Комисіи А.И. Маркевича*, Симфероль 1909: Паровая типогр. Таврич. Губерн. Земства, pp. 106-107 for discussion about the place of St. Clement’s exile. The story about the exile to *Chersonesos* should have been written in the fourth century CE.

¹² J-B. Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus...*, op. cit., p. 812; А.И. Маркевичъ, op. cit., p. 106; F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Prague 1933, pp. 190-192.

¹³ J-B. Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus...*, op. cit., p. 813; For another edition of martyrdom, see *idem, Patres aevi apostolici*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1724, pp. 808-814; see also А.И. Маркевичъ, op. cit., p. 106.

¹⁴ *Homilies* 12; *Recognitiones* 7. 24-38.

¹⁵ *De Adulteratione Librorum Origenis* 2. 18: “Clemens, apostolorum dicipulus, qui Romae ecclesiae post apostolos, et apostolus et martyr, praefuit” – cited after: N. Lardner, *The Works of Nathaniel Lardner. With a life of*

cult at Tauric Chersonesos dates from about 530 AD. Around that time, a Christian pilgrim on his way to the Holy Land, Theodosius, described the Feast of Saint Clement. He writes that inhabitants of Chersonesos practise going by boat to the place where the relics of the St. Clement lay, covered by the sea, and that they do it every year on the anniversary of his martyrdom. They stop at a distance of six miles from the shore, in a place where sea waters part to expose the martyr's sarcophagus. For eight days a Holy Mass is celebrated there and by God's will many miracles happen...¹⁶ That particular passage is an indication of the existence of some oral tradition concerning the martyrdom of St. Clement, passed on from one to another at the place, though one may doubt whether it was based on real events, due to its fabulous character.

The archaeological evidence for the early existence of St. Clement's cult at Tauric Chersonesos is inconclusive. The earliest traces of Christianity come in the form of rock-cut tombs with a painted representation of Chrysimon. These belong to the times before the second half of the fourth century.¹⁷ It is worth adding that the earliest hagiographic tradition concerning Tauric Chersonesos dates back to the fourth century AD. It describes the fate of St. Capito, the first bishop of Chersonesos sent to the city by emperor Constantine, who found a martyr's death in a lime kiln.¹⁸ Later he was worshipped at a *martyrion* erected in the form of *tetraconchos*, located in the south-western part of the city, but the building in question was erected during the first half of the sixth century.¹⁹ As we can see, there is no cult place from ancient times that can be securely connected with the martyrdom of Saint Clement.²⁰

Dr. Kippis. In Ten Volumes, vol. 2, London 1838, p. 366 note m; see also J. McClintock, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, Harper 1874, p. 376 and Д.С. Спиридоновъ, *op. cit.*, p. 116. We should also add that a later, alternative, version of St. Clement's martyrdom mentions the Galatian Ancyra as the place of his death – where St. Clement could have been bricked up in a wall. From that particular place the remains of St. Clement were miraculously transported to Chersonesos by angels. We should stress the fact that it is a secondary tradition, only loosely based on earlier accounts and mixed with the legends about St. Clement of Ancyra, see Д.С. Спиридоновъ, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-121. Moreover, Д.С. Спиридоновъ (*op. cit.*, p. 121) tries to argue that the legends concerning martyrdom of St. Clement – the Roman bishop – thrown to the sea with an anchor tied to the neck (gr. *αὐχένα αὐτοῦ ἄγκυραν*) – were made up with the use of the tradition of St. Clement of Ancyra (gr. *Ἀγκύρας*) and he puts forward a hypothesis that the true Pope Clement died at Rome. However, by doing so he confused the Christian tradition about Pope Clement with that concerning *Titus Flavius Clemens*, consul of the year 95 CE and a member of *gens Flavia*, who was put to death by emperor Domitian on a charge of atheism or conversion to Judaism (Suet. *Dom.* 15.1; Dio Cass. 17.14; see also Д.С. Спиридоновъ, *op. cit.*, p. 116). But that is a common mistake in Christian tradition.

¹⁶ “Civitas Chersona, quae est ad mare Pontum; ibi domnus Clemens martyrizatus est. In mari memoriam eius cum corpus missus est. Cui domno Clementi anchora ad collum ligata est et modo in natale eius omnes in barcas ascendunt populus et sacerdotes, et dum ibi venerint, maris desiccatur milia sex, et ubi ipsa arca est, tenduntur super se papiliones et ponitur altaris et per octo dies ibi missas celebrantur et multa mirabilia ibi Domnus facit” – cited after E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 429 note 1; see also F. Dvornik, *Les légendes...*, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

¹⁷ М.И. Ростовцевъ, *Античная декоративная живопись на югѣ Россіи. Атласъ иллюстрацій*, Санкт-Петербургъ 1913: Издание Императорской Археологической Комиссіи, pp. 454-458, pl 109/2; E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

¹⁸ В.В. Латышевъ, *Житія св. епископовъ Херсонскихъ. Изслѣдованіе и тексты. Записки Императорской Академіи Наукъ по историко-филологическому отдѣленію - т. VIII, №3*, Санкт-Петербургъ 1906, p. 2; E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

¹⁹ В. Кутайсов, *Четырехапсидный храм Херсонеса*, „Советская Археология”, 1982, № 1, pp. 155-168; E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

²⁰ E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 429-430.

However, some kind of oral tradition could have existed there, passed on from one generation to the other.²¹ As we remember, it was not until the ninth century that later Saints Cyril and Methodius had “discovered” the “remains” of St. Clement at Tauric Chersonesos and brought them to Constantinople and, finally, to Rome.²² Therefore, the existence of such an oral tradition gets some justification. Certainly, Cyril and Methodius used some local gossips or spoken legends during their search.

There is one more issue which should be discussed in connection with that particular tradition. The monastery of St. Clement – located at Inkerman near the ancient city of Chersonesos – is somehow connected with the cult of the fourth bishop of Rome. However, the connection with the cult of St. Clement is quite new; the Inkerman monastery received dedication to St. Clement in the course of the nineteenth century – the earlier *patrocinium* of St. George was changed at that time.²³ Only legends can connect the place with the fourth bishop of Rome: the oldest crypts carved in limestone rock are located just above the waters of the Inkerman bay at a distance of a few kilometres from Chersonesos – giving a perfect stage for a legend. As we can see, it is a history full of question marks.

We should stress the fact that this particular monastery should not be mistaken with another medieval cult place, possibly related to St. Clement (?). In AD 1253 Guillaume de Rubrouck, while travelling by sea near Chersonesos – the city sanctified by St. Clement’s martyrdom, was shown an old church located on an island.²⁴ According to his “Journey to Tartaria”, the locals maintained that the church was built there by angels!²⁵

At the end of the nineteenth century, Alexandr Bert’e Delagard²⁶ identified the place where St. Clement’s relics could have been kept – and the supposed church from Rubrouck’s report as well – with the remains of a small cult place discovered in 1845 at Maâčnyj peninsula near Cossack bay (Kazačâ Buhta).²⁶ Earlier, during the nineteenth century – i.e. during the years: 1845 and 1890 – excavations were carried out on the island in question.²⁷ Most probably, the choice of that particular research site was made under the influence of Rubrouck’s testimony.²⁸ However, it should be emphasized that there are no remains of the church and

²¹ F. Dvornik, *Les légendes...*, op. cit., p. 193.

²² Ibidem, pp. 190, 197; According to a letter written by Anastasius, a Vatican *librarianus*, to Gauderic, bishop of Velletri, the *translatio* of St. Clements body to Rome happened in AD 861, See also А.И. Маркевич, op. cit., p. 108 and E. Jastrzębowska, op. cit., p. 430.

²³ E. Jastrzębowska, op. cit., p. 430.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ “Ad occidentem habens civitatem, quae dicitur Kersoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus. Et navigantes cora ea vidimus insulam in qua est templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus praeparatum” – *Itinerarium fratris Wilhelmi de Rubrucis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli anno gratiae 1253 ad partes orientales*, in: R. Hakluyt, *The principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or overland, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres*, vol. 1, London 1599, p. 72 (104).

²⁶ In Russian: Маячный полуостров and Козачья бухта. About the site in question, see А.Л. Бертье-Делагардь, *Древности Южной России: Раскопки Херсонеса. Материалу по Археологии России № 12*, Санкт-Петербург 1893: Типография И.Н. Скороходова, Надеждинская: 43, pp. 59-64; E. Jastrzębowska, op. cit., p. 430.

²⁷ К.К. Косцюшко-Валюжинич, *Важное археологическое открытие в Крыму*, in: *Извѣстія Таврической Ученой Архивной Комиссии 13. Под редакціей члена Комиссии Арсенія Маркевича*, pp. 55-61. Симфероль 1891: Типография газеты Крымъ, pp. 57-61; А.Л. Бертье-Делагардь, op. cit., p. 58; А.И. Маркевич, op. cit., p. 111.

²⁸ Interestingly, one author of the research mentions existing written evidence, but gives no further details about it, see А.И. Маркевич, op. cit., p. 105. However, he mentions Rubrouck’s account in connection with the island in question while discussing existing sources, see А.И. Маркевич, op. cit., p. 110.

monastery visible on the site of the nineteenth-century excavations. Moreover, nothing is known about the tradition connecting the island in question with St. Clement. A Greek monastery, probably in ruins, was marked at the place on Russian cartographic materials of 1772.²⁹ Nevertheless, some architectural relics discovered there during the excavations were considered the remains of a monastery, church and grave chapel.³⁰ The connection with the legends describing Saint Clement's martyrdom of that very place (and not the Inkerman monastery) was later repeatedly emphasized in scientific literature.³¹ We should also bear in mind that the Maâčnyj peninsula was once an island, later artificially connected with the mainland.³² As we remember, there was a consensus among pre-revolution Russian scholars that the site in question should be connected with the cult of St. Clement.³³ But the lack of any inscription mentioning St. Clement makes such an identification doubtful. Moreover, the Majačnyj site is invisible from the south of the Heracleian peninsula, i.e. from the side on which Guillaume de Rubrouck passed it. Therefore, some scholars maintain that the theory connecting the remains on the island in question with the cult place of St. Clement should be treated as unjustified or conjectural at best.³⁴

It is worth adding that the death of St. Clement was reflected in European visual arts; a well-known miniature from Menologion of Basil II serves as an example.³⁵ Moreover, the old Christian legend maintains that only half of the martyr's body was transported to Constantinople and Rome, the rest remained at Chersonesos until the baptism of Vladimir the Great. According to the legend, prince Vladimir took the remains of St. Clement to Kiev. There is a theory that the well-known sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise from the church of St. Sophia in Kiev is, in fact, a re-used original reliquary, in which the head of St. Clement was brought from Chersonesos to Kiev.³⁶ Putting apart the disputable character of the aforementioned theory, we should stress the fact that there is no clue where the supposed body of St. Clement was kept at Chersonesos.

We should once more emphasize that there is no firm evidence that may connect the tradition of St. Clement's martyrdom with any particular place at Tauric Chersonesos. Thus, a question arises whether modern science can add anything to these legends. It seems that archaeological sources supported by a geological analysis can open new possibilities in this area. The research conducted at Chersonesos and Balaklava by a team led by the authors of this paper included a geological analysis of raw materials used to build the city fortifications.³⁷

²⁹ А.И. Маркевич, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

³⁰ К.К. Косцюшко-Валюжинич, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; А.Л. Бертье-Делагардь, *op. cit.*, p. 63; А.И. Маркевич, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³¹ К.К. Косцюшко-Валюжинич, *op. cit.*, p. 60; А.Л. Бертье-Делагардь, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 60-61, 63.

³² E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

³³ Д.С. Спиридоновъ, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-124; А.И. Маркевич, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-111.

³⁴ See E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 431. But please note that Guillaume de Rubrouck is very enigmatic in that matter (see above note 23 for details). As a result, such an interpretation could be challenged at any time.

³⁵ Codex. Vat. gr. 1613; E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

³⁶ About the *translatio* of the relics, see F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, New Brunswick, New Jersey 1970: Rutgers University Press, p. 135; for the *sarcophagus*, see В. Пуцко, *Мраморный саркофаг Ярослава Мудрого*, „Byzantino-bulgarica”, 8/1986, pp. 301-302; see also E. Jastrzębowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-432 for the general discussion of the subject.

³⁷ R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *The Roman Army and the Walls of Chersonesos*, „Światowit”, 11(52/A)/2014(2013), pp. 87-112.

As we know, the remains of towers and wall curtains are not homogeneous; they have been created over many centuries and diverse raw materials were used for their construction. Some parts of the preserved city defences can be associated with the building activity of the Roman garrison stationed at the citadel of Chersonesos.³⁸ The internal buildings of the fort at Balaklava-Kadykovka³⁹ and the neighbouring temple of Jupiter Dolichenus⁴⁰ were also constructed by the Roman army.

The rock building material diversity together with an indication of places from which the individual lithotypes were obtained have already been discussed in detail in another publication.⁴¹ For the present considerations one observation seems to be relevant: as the centuries passed and the city was subjected to the process of constant development, the higher quality of building blocks became more important for the constructors.⁴² The best quality stone available in the area – the Inkerman limestone – was used in the walls of Chersonesos during the first centuries of our era. According to the geological analysis, that particular type of building material should be divided into three lithotypes,⁴³ positioned deeper and deeper under the earth surface.

As a result, the lithotypes positioned deeper were used for construction sites at Chersonesos later, i.e. during the Byzantine period. It is difficult to say when the Inkerman stone started to be used at Chersonesos for the first time. However, the remains of the fort at Balaklava-Kadykovka and its nearby buildings can provide a clue in that matter. It appears that many architectural details, altars, statues, and other stone elements discovered at the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus – located near the fort at Balaklava-Kadykovka – were made of Inkerman stone.⁴⁴ The construction date of the temple can be set in the reign of Antoninus Pius and the process is clearly associated with the Roman garrison stationed nearby.

Inkerman limestone was used on a mas scale due to its characteristics. This limestone was soft – and that particular feature facilitated quarrying and its subsequent processing. Only

³⁸ Ibidem, pp. 88-89, 91-102; idem, *Forty i posterunki rzymskie w Scytili i Taurydzie w okresie pryncypatu*, Warszawa 2015, „Światowit Supplement Series A: Antiquity”, vol. 15, pp. 42-55.

³⁹ R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, O.Á. Savelä, *In the Heart of a Roman Fort in Crimea. Excavations in Balaklava (Sevastopol, Ukraine). Season 2009-2010*, „Światowit”, 8(49/A)/2011(2009-2010), pp. 173-175; idem, *Excavations in Balaklava (Sevastopol, Ukraine) – Season 2011. Discovery of Fortifications of a Roman Fort in Balaklava*, „Światowit”, 9(50/A)/2012(2011), pp. 173-182; idem, *Balaklava (Sevastopol, Ukraine) – Season 2012. Some remarks on the chronology and spatial layout of the Roman fort*, „Światowit”, 10(51/A)/2013(2012), pp. 123-138; idem, *Excavations in Balaklava (Sevastopol, Ukraine) – Season 2013. Discovery of Praetorium*, „Światowit”, 11(52/A)/2014(2013), pp. 162-172; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, O. Ja. Savelja, R.A. Gawroński, *The Remains of the Roman Fort at Kadykovka (Balaklava) in the Crimean Peninsula*, in: *Limes XXII. Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012*, ed. L. Vagalinski and N. Shrankov = „Bulletin of the National Archaeological Institute”, 42, Sofia 2015, pp. 285-290; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Forty i posterunki rzymskie...*, op. cit., pp. 56-82; idem, *The Roman Fort in Balaklava and Its Surroundings*, „Światowit”, 12(53/A)/2015(2014), pp. 53-79.

⁴⁰ T. Sarnowski, O. Ja. Savelja, *Balaklava. Römische Militärstation und Heiligtum des Jupiter Dolichenus*, Warschau 2000, passim.

⁴¹ R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *The Roman Army and the Walls...*, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

⁴² А.Л. Бертье-Делагардь, *Остатки древних сооружений въ окрестностях Севастополя и пещерные города Крыма, Записки Императорскаго Одесскаго Общества Истории и Древностей 14*, Одесса 1886: тип. А. Шульце, Ланжероновская улица, домъ Карузо № 36, p. 172; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *The Roman Army and the Walls...*, op. cit., p. 97.

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 95-97.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 97.

after mining the stone will gradually harden gaining the parameters desired for construction use⁴⁵. The accessibility of the limestone deposit was also an important factor. It is noteworthy that the Black River – just before ending its course in the Sevastopol Bay – flows near the Inkerman quarry. The river is still navigable in its lower reaches and was used for stone transport in modern times.⁴⁶ For logistical reasons the same raw material was used at the temple of Balaklava, as only a small part of the route had to be covered by land: the cargo was probably transported by ship to the Balaklava Bay port, then it was necessary to carry it by land for about 2 km, using the road leading to the fort. The use of a land transport route going straight from the quarry of Inkerman was definitely less likely: in that case a much longer distance should have been covered by a heavy loaded cart. Moreover, the above-mentioned Black River formed an obstacle, as there was no bridge at the place and the number of fords in the Inkerman Valley did not exceed four.⁴⁷ Therefore, we can be sure that the Roman army had easy access to the raw material in question.

The chronology of the Roman military presence in south-western Crimea is now well understood and described.⁴⁸ Thanks to this research work we can say that the earliest presence of the Roman legions at Chersonesos can be dated to the reign of Trajan. Traces of such early Roman army's presence were also discovered inside the forts located at Balaklava-Kadykovka and at Cape Aj-Todor.⁴⁹ The earlier deployment of Roman units in these areas is still discussed and raises doubts.⁵⁰

Going back to the pattern of the Inkerman stone distribution, we can definitely say that it was used in buildings constructed on the initiative and with the participation of the Roman army – the units active in the process were stationed at Chersonesos and on the border of its rural territory. Therefore, there is a strong probability that the Inkerman quarry began to be used under the Roman supervision, fulfilling the needs of military construction sites.⁵¹ That process happened not later than during the reign of Antoninus Pius. It should be emphasized, however, that there are no confirmed examples of the Inkerman stone use at older city buildings of Chersonesos.

Nevertheless, the architectural analysis and geological research carried out on the defensive walls of Tauric Chersonesos reveal traces of increased construction activity – it happened some time after the beginning of our era.⁵² At least some traces of renovation attempts visible on some sections of the fortifications can be associated with the Roman

⁴⁵ A.Л. Бертье-Делагардъ, *Остатки древнихъ сооруженийъ...* op. cit., p. 172.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 171.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ T. Sarnowski, *Römische Militärziegel von der südwestlichen Krim. Probleme der Produktionstätigkeit und Produktionsorte*, „Archeologia(Warsaw)”, 56/2005, pp. 91-101; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Forty i posterunki...*, op. cit., pp. 176-181.

⁴⁹ R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *The Roman Fort in Balaklava...*, op. cit., pp. 56-57; idem, *Forty i posterunki...*, op. cit., pp. 23-24, 60-61, 106-107.

⁵⁰ T. Sarnowski, *The Phantom Squadron of the Ravennate Fleet on the Black Sea in the 1st Century AD*, „Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik”, 157/2006, pp. 256-260; idem, *Ti. Plautius Silvanus, Chersonesus Taurica and classis Moesica*, „Dacia”, 50/2006, pp. 85-92; idem, *Плавтий Силван и ескадра-призрак на Чёрном море в I в. н. э.*, „Вестник Древней Истории”, 225/2006, № 1, pp. 117-131; idem, *Römische Militärziegel...*, op. cit., pp. 91-101; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Forty i posterunki...*, op. cit., pp. 106-108.

⁵¹ Idem, *The Roman Army...*, op. cit., p. 97; idem, *Forty i posterunki...*, op. cit., p. 47.

⁵² Idem, *The Roman Army...*, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

army's presence. We should bear in mind that during the reign of Trajan a *vexillatio* of the fifth Macedonian legion made a short stay at Chersonesos.⁵³ Current research shows that the above-mentioned *vexillatio* of the fifth Macedonian legion almost certainly carried out construction works on the city walls.⁵⁴ It is quite possible that the necessity of undertaking renovation and modernization works on city defences was the reason for the short-term stay of the *vexillatio* drawn from the fifth Macedonian legion.

The above-mentioned traces of renovation attempts are best visible on the remains of curtain no. 17. The geological analysis shows that some blocks used during that particular activity came from the fortifications demolished earlier. However, new stone was also delivered to the construction site: the raw material was obtained from two different deposits located outside the city.⁵⁵ The building material was available at a short distance from the defensive walls, it came from some unidentified deposits located at the Heracleian Peninsula. Again, we should stress the fact that there are no traces of the Inkerman stone use at the same time. It is also worth adding that the reconstruction work was probably carried out in a hurry. It can be guessed that earlier walls were damaged suddenly, e.g. as a result of an earthquake, and required repair as soon as possible.

One can imagine that the planned tasks could have caused technical problems for the local Greek community, hence the need for the Roman army's presence.⁵⁶ If that was the case, the prisoners and convicts who were sent to work in the new quarry could have travelled with the army.

Putting the available evidence together, one may hypothesize that Pope Clement (if at all at Chersonesos) might have worked in the stone quarry under the supervision of the Roman army. The prisoner could have worked in a pit located near the city, from which the raw material needed to renovate the fortifications of Chersonesos was obtained. However, it is highly unlikely that such a thing happened at the Inkerman quarry. Roman garrisons from the forts of Chersonesos and Balaklava began to use the local limestone only decades later, during the reign of Antoninus Pius. However, Pope Clement might have had found martyr's death in the waves of the Black Sea⁵⁷ and the tales about that event became the stuff of a legend. So, it is quite possible that the tradition of his laborious participation in stone processing was mingled with the local memories of the quarry which later was in use at Inkerman under the supervision of the Roman army. During the fourth century AD – when the story was written down – the two traditions became inseparable, hence the words: “*in opere caedendi marmoris*” implied working in a marble (or at best limestone) quarry. In such a shape the tradition was passed on through the ages...

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 88; idem, *Forty i posterunki...*, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁴ Idem, *The Roman Army...*, op. cit., p. 93; idem, *Forty i posterunki...*, op. cit., p. 54-55.

⁵⁵ Idem, *The Roman Army...*, op. cit., p. 91.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 54; idem, *Forty i posterunki...*, op. cit., pp. 54-55. For the analogical situation in Olbia see: P. Карасевич-Щыпёрски, *В стороне от проторенных путей? Несколько слов о значении и месте Ольвии на периферии римского мира*, in: *The Crimea and the Northern Coasts of the Black Sea in Archaeological Research 1956-2013 (Крым и Северное Причерноморье в археологических исследованиях 1956-2013 гг.)*, eds. M. Matera and R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Warszawa 2017, pp. 92-93, 98-99.

⁵⁷ We should stress the fact that the Roman ships from the period in question used lead anchors, so the work in stone quarry has nothing in common with the way in which the martyr's execution was carried out. The stone anchors were used in earlier times.

As we can see, the data obtained through archaeological, architectural, and geological research in combination with the information coming from legends of St. Clement's exile and death show that the Christian tradition contains a core of truth... at least about the stone mining industry in operation at Tauric Chersonesos.

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