

VARIA ANATOLICA XXI

PATABS I

PRODUCTION AND TRADE OF AMPHORAE IN THE BLACK SEA

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**NEW SERIES OF AMPHORAE
FROM SOUTHERN PONTIC *POLEIS*
4th – FIRST THIRD OF THE 3rd CENTURIES B.C.
[Pl. 12-13]**

The studies about amphorae in the last 100 years have brought to light substantial results in the subject of transport containers of the Black Sea Region. Among the particular results we can discuss localization of the transport amphorae from Tauric Chersonesos, Sinope, Heraclea Pontica, Amastris, and Dioscurias. The series of the so-called *amphores colchidiennes* are marked, but evidence still remains to be seen in terms of where the centre of manufacturing took place. Several generations of researchers have made contributions to the study of ceramic epigraphy of Pontic centres and amphora morphology as well. Published monographs contain results in various areas¹.

The main results of these studies can be summarized as follows. Not surprisingly, the whole amphora production in *poleis* of the southern Black Sea region in the late 5th century B.C. took place in Heraclea, when, as a result of the blocking of the straits, a favorable business environment for the intensification of inner Pontic trade was formed². Sinope began transport of amphorae a bit later than

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1) From last works about Chersonesian containers with detailed bibliography: Monachov 1989; Kats 1994.

The main works about amphorae of Sinope: Grakov 1929; Zeest 1960; V. I. Tsekhmistrenko, *Kleima kak istochnik dlya izucheniya keramicheskogo proizvodstva v Sinope v IV-II vv. do n.e.* [Stamps as the Source of studying Ceramic Production in Sinope in 4th-2nd cc. B.C.], Abstract of the dissertation for the Candidate of Historical Sciences, Moscow, 1963; Brashinskij 1963: 132-145. V.I. Kats, "Studies of the Ceramic Epigraphy in Sinope, I. Problems of Classification", *AMA* 9 (1993): 96-118; *id.*, "Present State of Chronology of the Sinopian Ceramic Stamps", in M.Yu. Vachtina, V.Yu. Zuev, S.V. Kashaev, O.Yu. Sokolova, and V.A. Chrsanovskij (eds.), *Bosporskij fenomen. Problemy khronologii i datirovki pamyatnikov* [The Phenomenon of Bosporean Kingdom. Problems of Chronology and Dating of Monuments], Saint-Petersburg, 2004: 32-39; Conovici 1998; N. Fedoseev, "Results and Perspectives of Studying the Sinopian Ceramic Production", in Kats, Monachov 1992 (eds): 147-162; *id.*, "Specified List of Magistrates Controlling Ceramic Production in Sinope", *VDI* 1993, 2: 85-104; *id.*, "Classification des timbres astynomiques de Sinope", in Garlan 1999 (ed.): 27-48; S. Monachov, "Dynamics of Forms and Standards of Sinopian Amphorae", in Kats, Monachov 1992 (eds): 163-204; *id.*, "Les amphores de Sinope", *AnatAnt* II (1993): 107-132; Monachov 2003: 145-162; Kassab Tezgör 1996: 335-354; D. Kassab Tezgör, "Types amphoriques fabriqués à Demirci près de Sinope", in Garlan 1999 (ed.): 117-124; F. Dereli, Y. Garlan, "Quelques nouvelles amphores timbrées de Sinope", *AnatAnt* V (1997): 199-209; Garlan 2004.

The main works about amphorae of Heraclea Pontica: B. N. Grakov, "Englyphic Stamps on the Necks of Some Hellenistic Amphorae with conical toes", *TrIM* I (1926): 165-206; B.A. Vasilenko, "Notes on Stamps of Heraclea" *SA* 1970, 3: 219-224; B.A. Vasilenko, "On the Character of Stamping of the Heracleian Amphorae in the 1st half of 4th c. B.C.", *NE* XIII (1974): 3-28; Brashinskij 1980; Brashinskij 1984 a: 3-22; V.I. Kats, "Collection of Amphorae Stamps of Heraclea Pontica from Chersonesos", in M. I. Zolotarev (ed), *Hersones v antichnom mire. Istoriko-arheologicheskij aspekt* [Chersonesos in the Ancient World, Historical and Archaeological Aspects], Sevastopol, 1997; *id.*, "Chronology of the Stamps from Heraclea Pontica (Situation and Perspective of Study)", in *Nikonij i antichnyi mir Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, [Nikonion and the ancient World of the North Black Sea Littoral], Odessa, 1997: 212-217; *id.*, "The Main Regularity of Distributing Amphorae Stamps of Heraclea Pontica in the North Black Sea Littoral", in B.A. Raev (ed.), *Antichaya civilizaciya i varvskij mir* [Ancient Civilization and the Barbarian World], Krasnodar, 1998: 6-10; *id.*, "A New Chronology for the Ceramic Stamps of Heracleia Pontica", in Bilde *et al.* (eds.) 2003: 261-278; N. Pavlichenko, "Les timbres amphoriques d'Héraclée du Pont: bilan et perspectives de recherche" in Garlan 1999 (ed.): 13-19; E. Abrosimov, "Standards of Capacity of Amphorae from Heraclea Pontica", *AMA* 10 (1999): 123-128.

The main works about amphorae of Amastris: A. Scheglov, "Les amphores timbrées d'Amastris", *BCH Suppl.* XIII (1986): 365-373; V. Kats, V. Pavlencov and A. Scheglov, "The Amastrian Stamped Pottery", *Archeologia* CL (1989): 15-26.

The main works about amphorae of Dioscurias: G. K. Shamba, "Amphorae Stamps from Dioscurias", *IAIJ* V (1976): 149-157; Yu. N. Voronov, "On the Study of Ceramic Production in Dioscurias", *SA* 1977, 2: 161-171.

The main works about Colchian amphorae: S. Vnukov, "On the Issue of the Place of producing brown Clay Amphorae of the North Black Sea Littoral", in Kats, Monachov 1992 (eds): 68-89; Vnukov 2003; Tsetskhladze 1992: 90-110. Kats 2001: 50-53.

2) Monachov 1999: 151, 154.

Heraclea – at the turn of 4th century. By the mid 4th century the manufacturing of “Colchian” amphorae appeared (in Trapezus?). At the end of the third quarter of the 4th century, similar manufacturing was established in Chersonesos, and at the turn of the 3rd century, in Amastris. In each centre the full-scale production could have taken different time periods. Sometimes it lasted one and a half to two decades (Amastris), and sometimes up to two and a half centuries (Sinope).

Today, the main traces of morphological development are clear for Sinope, Heraclea, Amastris and Chersonesos (types, variants, series of amphorae) together with detailed chronological and typological classifications of ceramic stamps, enabling identification within the accuracy of 15-20 years. Nowadays, there is no specialist who has any difficulty identifying the transport amphorae of these centres.

In spite of all the diversity of vessels morphology, the amphorae of southern Pontic production (Heraclea, Sinope, Amastris) possess one similarity – a very characteristic peculiarity of clay fabric. The clay usually has a rough structure, the surface is uneven, and the color range of the fabric is composed of mostly red and brown hues. The clay always contains, to a greater or lesser degree, clinopyroxene and orthopyroxene, sometimes limestone, chamotte and quartzite³. There is never mica, which is very characteristic of clay from some Mediterranean production centres. By all appearances, this temper added to fabric reflects the peculiarities of production techniques, which were characteristic to all southern Pontic region.

Along with the well known and already studied series of Heracleian, Sinopian and Amastris amphorae, more than a dozen vessels emerged with typical “southern Pontic” clay and englyphic stamps on their necks. However, they do not match the common typological schemes of Heracleian amphora production and stamping. The purpose of this article is to introduce into scientific research the series of amphorae which can be called “pseudo-Heracleian” at this stage of the study.

First of all, I would like to mention that the well known transport containers from Heracleia Pontica of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd c. B.C. are marked by the stable, and in general conservative morphology, all the changes of which were satisfactorily studied for the last 150 years⁴. The Heracleian stampings also can be called conservative⁵.

As all the described “pseudo-Heracleian” vessels have englyphic stamps but very different morphology, logically it would be possible to suggest two versions for explaining this phenomenon. According to the first one, these amphorae *could be produced in Heracleia Pontica*, but under unknown circumstances some of them were shaped into unusual forms. But the englyphic stamps do not match the Heracleian tradition, which repudiates this version. According to the second version, these specific amphorae were manufactured in another, yet unknown, southern Pontic centre which marked its containers according to the englyphic tradition under the influence of Heracleia⁶. As of today there are no serious reasons for subscribing these vessels to any particular centre, it is possible to call this series “pseudo-Heracleian” and give each series the name respectively to the place of finding or other criterion.

The first series can be called “group of Her(a)” on the basis that the two specimens are marked with englyphic stamps with the abbreviation HPA(–). The first amphora without a foot was found in

3) Scheglov, Selivanova 1992: 35, pl. 4.

4) Monachov 2003: 123.

5) See Kats 2003: 261 ff.

6) For the first time this idea without the arguments was pronounced by me in 1999, see Monachov 1999: 530. As analogy it is possible to indicate a case with Akanthos, which entering the sphere of influence of Thasos produced amphorae in accordance with Thasian morphological tradition, though marks on them were put not “Thasian” schemes. On the other hand, the *polis* Oisyme, also found on Thasian Peraea, amphorae marking (the shapes of which are still unknown) by stamps replicating synchronic Thasian. See Monachov 2003: 84-85, pl. 58.

Nikonion⁷ and possesses the pithoid forming of the body with the gentle connection from neck to shoulder and body which is more characteristic of Sinopian, not Heracleian, tradition. The rim is roller-like with a small downward one which is also not characteristic of the rims of the Heracleian amphorae. In the middle of the neck there is a traced groove (Pl. 12, 1). The second amphora is represented only by the upper part – only the neck with handles. It was found during the excavation of the settlement Novoselskoe in the Danube-Dniestr interfluvium area. The vessel's morphology is similar to the Nikonion amphora and the stamp is made by a similar die (Pl. 12, 2)⁸. It is impossible to overstate the point that the stamp HPA(–) is of a different die, and was also encountered on a typical Heracleian amphora dated by the beginning of the 3rd century B. C.⁹.

It is difficult to evaluate the chronology of the vessels with stamps HPA(–) as the finding's context is unknown. But with the help of those stamps with substantial name shortening in Heracleia, the process of stamping can be traced within the time period of the end of the 4th century to the first quarter of the 3rd century.

The second series of amphorae can be called the “Gorgias-Diocles group”. They are characterized by three marked and two unmarked vessels with a high neck gently connecting to flat shoulders. The brightest feature of the amphorae's morphology is the unusual position of the upper attachment of the handle, approximately in the middle of the neck. The first vessel with a Gorgias stamp was found in 1966 in the Nymphaion pit (Pl. 12, 3)¹⁰; the second one – from Gorgippian well in 1972 (Pl. 12, 4)¹¹. The stamps were made by different dies. The legend on a Nymphaion sample is read as ΓΟΡ/ΓΙΑ¹², on a Gorgippian finding – as ΓΟΡ/ΓΙΟΥ¹³. The neck with the same morphological characteristics is from Elizavetovskoe settlement and has the stamp ΔΙΟΚ/ΑΕΟC/Y (Pl. 12, 5)¹⁴. The name Diocles in other stamps is not documented, the meaning of the last letter (*upsilon*) in the legend is still unknown. From Elizavetovskoe came another neck of the similar amphora, which does not have a stamp (Pl. 13, 7)¹⁵.

The morphological features of all stated above specimens from Gorgias-Diocles group make it possible to match the entire unmarked amphora from Elizavetovskoe room 52 with this group (Pl. 13, 6). Some time ago I placed it into the special “isolated” type of Sinope production¹⁶, but then I worked out that it was from the conventional “southern Pontic” group¹⁷. The chronology of amphorae from “Gorgias-Diocles group” is well traced from the context of stated objects which were found in ceramic complexes of Nymphaion, Gorgippia and Elizavetovskoe. They are all dated back to within the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

7) OAM, inv. n° 85423, excavations of 1973. The reprint of this stamp on Elizavetovskoe settlement was found (P.o.E.Γ.-87/XX-51: Brashinskij 1980, n° 485), and also on some settlements in the West Pont: Gramatopol, Poenaru-Bordea 1969, n° 826; N. Conovici, M. Irimia, “Timbres amphoriques et autres inscriptions céramiques découvertes à Satu Nou (comm. d'Oltina, dep. de Constantza)”, *Dacia XXXV* (1991), fig. 1, n° 27, 28; A. Radulescu *et al.*, “Importuri amforice la Albesti (jud. Constanta): Heraclea Pontica”, *Pontica XIX* (1986), n° 90-92, pl. III, n° 86, 87, pl. IV, n° 13; M. Mirchev, G. Toncheva, and D. Dimitrov, “Bizone - Karvuna”, *Bull. Mus. Nat. Varna* 13 (1962), n° 13, 14, pl. II, n° 1, 2.

8) It is stored in the museum of Reni and is known to me only from the photo and figure kindly given by I. V. Bruyako. The context of the find is unknown to me. I have not the full reliance that this is the same stamp as the photo at my disposal contains no scale.

9) This amphora from the “tomb” year 1973 in Novorosijsk, see Monachov 1999: 458; Monachov 2003: 138 et n. 148.

10) Monachov 1999: 465, pl. 200, 6.

11) E. Alekseeva, “Ceramic Complex of the 1st half of 3rd c. BC from Gorgippia”, *KSIA* 145 (1976): 44 ff., fig. 1, 2; Monachov 1999: 462, pl. 199.

12) No more reprints of this stamp are known.

13) For analogy see Brashinskij, “Ceramic stamps of Heraclea Pontica”, *NE* 5 (1965): 14, pl. III, n° 7. There is the name of the magistrate Gorgios with the same case ending on a tile mark from Bosphorus (ΕΙΠ ΓΟΡΓΙΟΥ). See V. Gaidukevich, “Recent Data of Bosphorian Ergasteria of Tiles”, *SA XXVIII* (1958): 123ff., fig. 2-9.

14) P.o. ΕΓ-58/II-149, Museum of Rostov-on-Don, inv. n° 1864/1. See Brashinskij 1980: 157, n° 168 (without illustration).

15) P.o. ΕΓ-67/II-194, Museum of Rostov-on-Don, KII, n° 3234/9. See Brashinskij 1980: pl. XXII, n° 5.

16) S.Yu. Monachov, “Evolution of form and standard of Sinopian amphorae”, in Kats, Monachov (eds.) 1992: 179, pl. 12, n° 74; S.Yu. Monachov, “Les amphores de Sinope”, *AnatAnt* II (1993): 123, fig. 10, n° 83.

17) Monachov 1999: 494, pl. 210, 1.

“Melanopos group” is represented by the only finding of a very huge vessel with a pithoid body on a low and wide sharp-ribbed toe from Olbia reserve (Pl. 13, 3)¹⁸. The amphora’s rim is slightly detached and flattened. All morphological features and its capacity (28.5 liters) are not typical of Heracleian amphorae. On the neck there is a unique two-row englyphic stamp in a cartouche frame KOA ΕΠ/ΑΝΩΠ. The edge of the stamp is seen only on the left, upper and lower parts. The right is absent. The first row shows, beyond any doubt, the name of the fabricant Koas, after which comes the preposition with the name of the magistrate. The beginning is not printed in the first row but is continued in the second row. Probably the only variant of decoding will be the name of Melanopos, who is known by a few stamps. In our case, the most demonstrative is the stamp on an amphora’s neck from the Thracian settlement of Medgidia in Dobrudja with the legend ΘΥΟΣ ΕΠ[Ι ΜΕ/ΑΝΩΠΙΟΥ]¹⁹. Here you find the same composition of legend with the exception of the fabricants’ name – Thyos instead of Koas, and the first syllable of magistrate’s name Melanopos is also placed in the first row. In that way, the reconstruction of the stamp’s legend on our amphora from Olbia would be the following: KOA ΕΠ[Ι ΜΕ/ΑΝΩΠ[ΟΥ].

The magistrate Melanopos was identified by the finding of four stamps, with the preposition ΕΠΙ in all cases. Additionally, two stamps are known from the Odessa museum, where near his name you can see the name of a fabricant Amphistratos²⁰. V.I. Kats does not doubt the Heracleian origin of Melanopos stamps and takes into consideration the synchronization of Melanopos name with the above stated fabricants Thyos, Koas and Amphistratos, plus typological features. He refers this magistrate to the group of Heracleian stamps (the mid of the 50s-30s, the 4th century B.C.)²¹. Of course, it is possible to concur with this wide dating, but I think that the amphora is from Olbia as it has very peculiar morphology, and should be assigned to the production of the unknown southern Pontic centre of amphorae production.

The “Euxenias group” is also determined by one finding of a whole amphora from the kurgan N° 10 near the village N. Kamenka in Cherson region²² with typically “Heracleian” and readable englyphic stamp on the neck KERKINO/EΥΞΕΝΙΑ (Pl. 13, 4)²³. If it were not englyphic stamps, any archeologist will call that vessel Sinopian according to the form of the neck, body and toe²⁴. And though in Sinope ceramic epigraphy there is only one englyphic stamp²⁵ rate of the first group, in general this practice of marking is not characteristic of Sinope. This problem of dating is solved as in the previous case. Magistrate Euxenias is known by several stamps from Elizavetovskoe settlement²⁶ primarily in combination with the names of different fabricants. On the basis of these rare findings, I was able to date it to the beginning of the 40s of the 4th century. In the last work of V.I. Kats, Euxenias is included in the III magistrate group (370-350 B.C.)²⁷. The morphology of amphora, from my point of view, is identified as from the mid to the third quarter of the 4th century. Moreover, as in the described cases, this is from the production of the unknown southern Pontic centre.

To sum up the above, we can conclude that along with the well known centre of amphora production in the Black Sea Region, on the southern shore of the Pontus during the flourishing period of

18) Olbian Reserve, inv. n° 368. The context of this find is unknown.

19) Museum of Constantza, inv. n° 20.331. Letter of N. Conovichi dated of the 2.11.1991. See also M. Irimia, “Descoperiri noi privind populatia autohtona a Dobrogea si legaturile ei cu coloniile grecesti (sec V-I i.e.n.)”, *Pontica* VI (1973): 28, 59, pl. X-11, XX-9, XXIV-1.

20) *IOSPE*, III, 335; 1284.

21) Kats 2003: 276.

22) Excavations by A. I. Kubyshev in 1974. The amphora was stored on the expedition base in Kahovka, and later was given to a museum. I only know them from the photos of the amphora itself and the stamp and the not so qualitative anonymous figure kindly given by S. V. Polin. The profiling of a foot is not absolutely clear, the recess on a base surface is indicated in the figure, S. V. Polin informs that the base surface of the foot is smooth, as on Sinopian amphorae.

23) The stamp is unique, such reprints are no longer met.

24) See for example Sinopian amphorae II-C and II-E types: Monachov 2003: pl. 102.

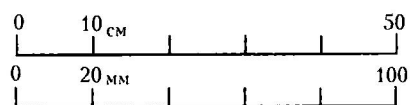
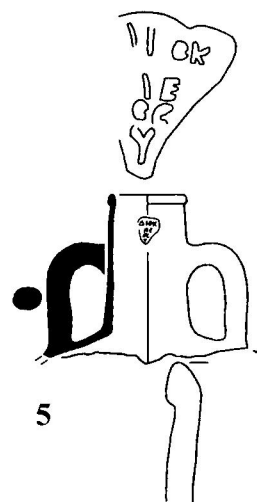
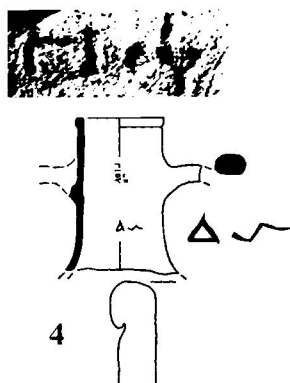
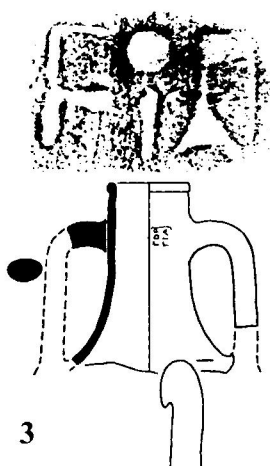
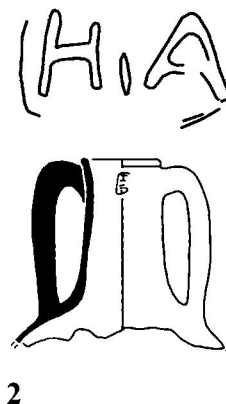
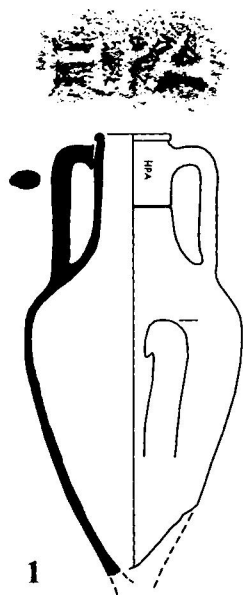
25) Grakov 1929, pl. 3-7; Monachov 2003: 157, n. 82.

26) Brashinskij 1980, n°s 308, 373.

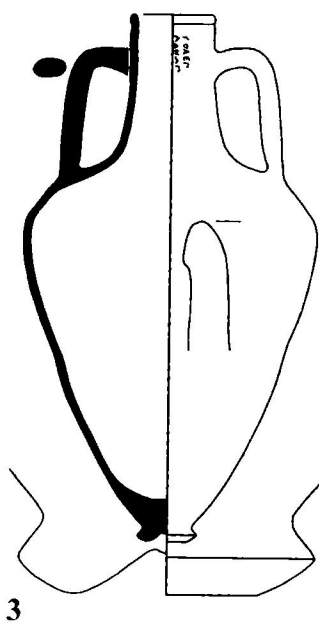
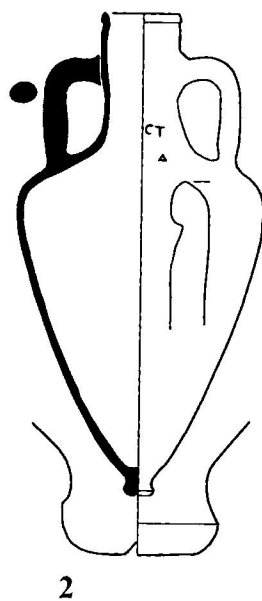
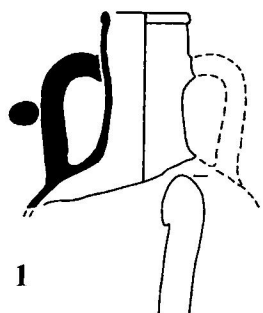
27) Monachov 1999: 634; Kats 2003: 276.

Pontic trade in the 4th-beginning of the 3rd centuries besides Heraclea, Sinope and Amastris, the production of amphorae was regulated in other *poleis*, and in some of them periodic fabricant and magistrate stampings were made. It is very possible that among today's known unmarked and marked series of amphorae from Heraclea Pontica and Sinope, there can be found examples from these centre. In particular, I cannot exclude the fact that the special 4th type (Dzhaferka) of Heracleian amphorae, pointed out by me based on the materials of the complex depository near the settlement Islam Dzhaferka²⁸, which has the specific number of morphological features, can be related to some, not yet determined centre of production.

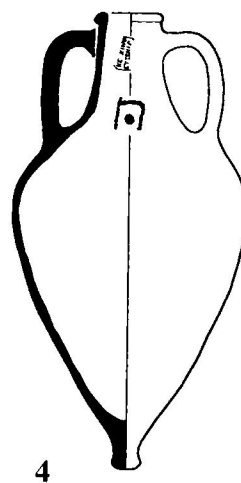
28) See Monachov 1999: 454, pl. 197; Monachov 2003: pl. 97.



1-2 : Ger(a) group ; 3-5 : Gorgias-Diocles group.



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1-2 : Gorgias-Diocles group ; 3 : Melanopos group ; 4 : Euxenias group.