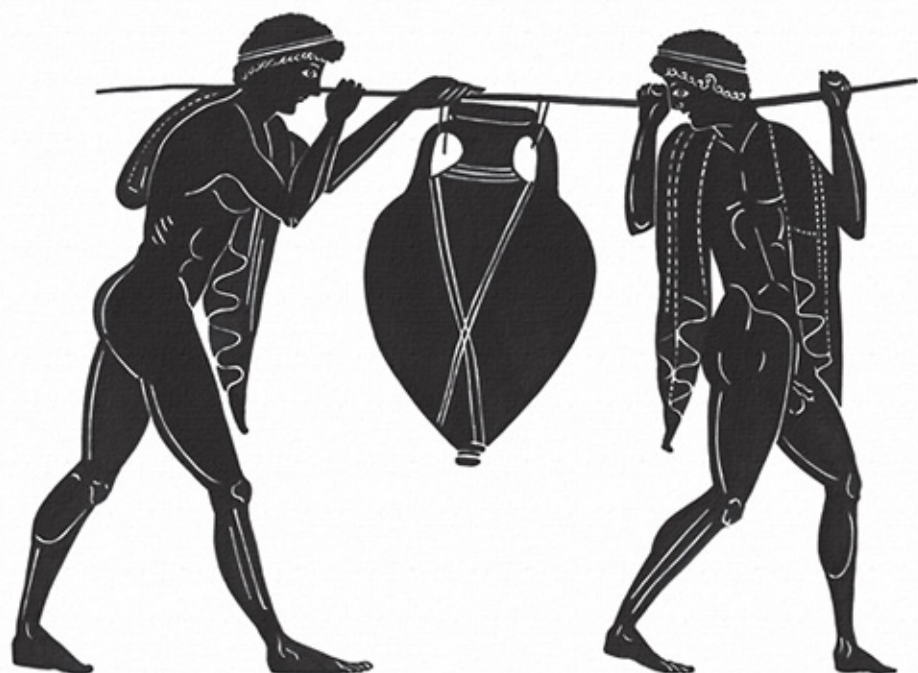




BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
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PATABS II

PRODUCTION AND TRADE OF AMPHORAE IN THE BLACK SEA

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On One Series of Amphorae from Unknown Dorian Centre of the Fourth Century BC (former “Bosporan” or “Early-Chersonesean”)

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Large transport containers with pithoid shape are frequently found among the amphora material from the Black Sea settlements and necropoleis of the 4th century BC, both Greek and local. The visual characteristics of their fabric are quite uniform – they are light brown or deep red, containing fine inclusions of limestone, and sometimes mica. Half a century ago these amphorae were assigned by I.B. Zeest to the production of Bosporus,¹ and later, by one of the authors of this paper – to the earliest Chersonesean series (variants I-A-1 and I-A-2).²

Zeest’s attribution is based on two considerations. First, the findspots of vessels known at the time: one of them was found in the area of Adzhimushkai on the Bosphorus, two more – in Karagadeyash barrow, i.e. in close proximity to the Bosphorus. Secondly, the observed similarity (in her opinion) between the fabric of these amphorae and that of the Bosporan tiles and “Bosporan” amphora stamps.

The so-called Bosporan amphora stamps have been singled out more than 60 years ago.³ However, as it became evident, this group of stamps was prematurely established on the basis of publications, and it has now turned out to be quite heterogeneous. Stamps of several unknown Mediterranean centres were included in it, but also Knidian (the “Zenon group”) and even Chersonesean monogram stamps. L.A. Elnitsky’s main argument in favour of the Bosporan origin of the stamps is the coincidence of names and their abbreviations with those attested on Bosporan tile stamps. The analysis, however, has shown that this set of onomastics is widespread in the ceramic epigraphy of different centres. L.A. Elnitsky’s assertion about the similarity between the fabrics of the handles bearing these stamps has also been disproved – as a recent check has shown, such a similarity is simply absent.

It is necessary to note that I.B. Zeest never championed her hypothesis, possibly even doubted its validity in light of series of amphorae from the North Bank necropolis of Chersonesos, identical with the amphorae from Karagadeyash and Adzhimushkai. Fol-

¹ Зеест 1960, 98.

² Монахов 1989.

³ Ельницкий 1940.

lowing R.B. Ahmerov, G.D. Belov and S.F. Strzheletsky, she attributed their production to Chersonesean workshops.⁴

Nevertheless, such a doubtful localization has met with a general approval by the early 1980s.⁵ Doubts were cast even on an early established view concerning the Chersonesean origin of the amphorae from the North Bank necropolis of Chersonesos.⁶

The inability to recognize the Bosporan origin of the given group of amphorae stems, first of all, from the historical and archaeological contexts, which provide no evidence for the development of wine-production in the region of Bosporus during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. It was established that the winemaking, whose needs the amphora production was meant to serve, developed on the Bosporus much later – hardly before the 3rd century BC.⁷ The attribution of these amphorae to Bosporus became doubtful,⁸ even more so since I.B. Zeest's theory did not stand up to scholarly scrutiny.

As is often the case, rising suspicion stimulated a radical revision of I.B. Zeest's hypothesis, which, as it now emerged, was leading to erroneous conclusions. S.Yu. Monachov noted the similarity between the morphological features of these amphorae and those of the containers whose Chersonesean origin was confirmed by their stamps. Since the practice of stamping ceramic containers in Chersonesos started in the last quarter of the 4th century BC,⁹ the series in question were dated to the third quarter of the century and qualified as an initial stage of the amphora production of the city. Not a small part in this attribution has been played by the "findspot" argument – of 18 known vessels so far, 12 originate from excavations of the ancient city and *chora* of Chersonesos.

At present, more than 70 amphorae of this kind are known – incomparably more than those available twenty years ago. Much more important, however, is the appearance of a considerable number of new complexes allowing to clarify the chronology of these series of containers. Together with the previously known, we have a total of 19 such deposits, where the amphorae in question are found together with other groups of well-dated pottery finds.

The earliest deposit, pit 5/1987 from Porthmeus,¹⁰ contained, alongside with "pseudo-Chersonesean" (fig. 1.1), eight Heracleean amphorae. Officials' names Λυ(-), Ἀθανόδωρος and Μολοσσός on the Heracleean stamps allows us to date the complex to the 390s-380s BC.¹¹

A similar vessel was found in grave no. 33 of the Prikubansky necropolis. It differs from the amphora from Porthmeus only by the absence of a red strip under the rim (fig. 1.2).¹²

⁴ Зеест 1960, 98. She followed in the footsteps of some Chersonese researchers: Ахмеров 1947; Белов & Стржелецкий 1953, 36; Белов 1977, 19.

⁵ Яковенко 1964; Гансова 1966, 76; Онайко 1970, 109; Смирнов 1984, 53, fig. 16.2.

⁶ Борисова 1974.

⁷ Шелов 1956; Кругликова 1975.

⁸ Брашинский 1980.

⁹ Кац 1979, 127 ff; Кац 2006.

¹⁰ Монахов 1999, 261-263, pl. 105, 106.

¹¹ The activity of the first official belongs already to the 90s, the latter – to the boundary of the 80-90s of the 4th century. The complex is dated to the end of the 80s by the stamp of the official Μολοσσός (three restored legends out of five belongs to it) Монахов 1999, 260-263, pl. 106; Кас 2003, 275.

¹² Amphorae found in the Prikubansky necropolis are only published in part. The authors express their sincere

A unique Sinopean amphora of the pithoid type¹³ was also found in the grave. The latter vessel apparently cannot be dated after the second quarter of 4th century BC (still more likely in the first quarter).

Another similar amphora was found in grave no. 398 of the Prikubansky necropolis, differing in terms of its larger metric characteristics (fig. 1.3). Based on the presence of a Mendean container of the Portichello variant, the entire complex can be roughly dated to the first half of the 4th century BC.

In grave no. 3043 of the eastern necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement, a “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora (fig. 1.4) was found together with a Thasian one of the Porthmian series. The latter has a date in the second quarter of 4th century BC based on several parallels.¹⁴

A few more interesting complexes, including similar “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphorae, were excavated at the Prikubansky necropolis, accompanied by unstamped Thasian amphorae of the biconical type, widely dated to the middle-third quarter of the 4th century BC. The “Pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora from grave no. 180 has on its shoulder a relief stamp in the form of *lambda* (fig. 4.1). Identical morphological features can be observed in a vessel from grave no. 93, which differs from the preceding by its grooved toe (fig. 1.5). The same groove is attested on the toe of another amphora, found in grave no. 75 (fig. 2.1).

The finds of grave no. 311 of the Prikubansky necropolis belong to the middle – the third quarter of 4th century. Here, a “pseudo-Chersonesean” container (fig. 4.2) was found together with a neck of a Mendean vessel of the Melitopol variant, dated to the middle of the 4th century BC.

Grave 56 of the Prikubansky necropolis is dated within the limits of the middle – third quarter of century as well. In it, a “pseudo-Chersonesean” vessel (fig. 2.2) was accompanied by an unstamped Heracleian amphora of the same period. Grave 196 from the necropolis has a similar chronology; inside, a “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora was found together with another one of Koan manufacture.

The materials from grave no. 427 of the Prikubansky necropolis date to the beginning of the third quarter of the 4th century BC. Here, a “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora (fig. 4.3) was found with Heracleian vessel, stamped with the name of Σπίνταρος. According V.I. Katz, the term of this official dates to the middle of the 340s BC.¹⁵

Another complex – grave no. 353 from the same necropolis included alongside with a “pseudo-Chersonesean” (fig. 4.4) a Knidian amphora with a mushroom rim from the third quarter of the 4th century.¹⁶

A number of complexes with such amphorae have already been published. For instance, in barrow no. 4 of Sladkovsky necropolis, together with a “pseudo-Chersonesean” (fig. 4.5),

gratitude to I.I. Marchenko and N.Y. Limberis for the opportunity to use the materials from the necropolis.

¹³ Монахов 1999, 149, pl. 101.5.

¹⁴ Монахов 2003, 64, pl. 39.1; Лимберис & Марченко 2005, 262, pl. 28.4-5.

¹⁵ Кас 2003, 276.

¹⁶ Монахов 2003, 103, pl. 72.

a fragmented Sinopean amphora of the early 340s was found.¹⁷ In a pit from Lesovitchi a “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora (fig. 4.6) was found together with two Samian (?) vessels, both belonging to the Ryzanovsky variant with a mushroom rim, dated to the middle – third quarter of 4th century.¹⁸ An identical “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora was discovered together with also the same Samian vessel of the Ryzanovsky variant in grave no. 86B of the east necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement.¹⁹

Dates within the third quarter of the 4th century BC are suitable for grave no. 77 of the Prikubansky necropolis, comprising a complete and one fragmented “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora (fig. 3.1-2), as well as for the remains of post-burial activities at grave no. 4 at Butory, including at least 36 complete and fragmentary amphorae of “pseudo-Chersonesean” (fig. 5.1), Chian, Sinopean and Thasian manufacture.²⁰

Two pairs of “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphorae with no reliably dated context, but, most likely, within the limits of the third quarter of the 4th century BC, were discovered in the corridor of barrow no. 1 of Kolbinsky I necropolis (fig. 5.2-3),²¹ and in the Karagadeyash barrow (fig. 5.4-5).²² In the latter case, however, we deal with a non-fractional and a fractional vessel.

It is possible to consider grave no. 39 from the eastern necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement as the latest complex, containing a vessel of “pseudo-Chersonesean” manufacture (fig. 7.6). Based on the Sinopean amphora of E-2 variant it can be dated no later than the 320s BC.²³

Thus, the complexes under study allow us to assert with a high degree of confidence that the manufacture of amphorae began to appear a little bit earlier. Apparently, the start of the series began in the 380s, and it proceeded during the second-third quarters of the 4th century BC. Assuming a longer manufacture of the amphorae from this series, based only on one complex, seems hasty.²⁴ We still lack deposits comprising earlier and later vessels of similar morphology.

In addition, based on the morphological features of vessels discussed above, as well as of 50 more single finds of similar amphorae, it is possible to single out at least two or three groups within the limits the whole series, which, most likely, is to be assigned to a single production centre.

Amphorae from the first group are large pithoids, having, as a rule, a fairly high neck. The rim is more often beak-shaped with a small trim from below. A distinctive feature of the group is the presence of a grooved toe. In addition to the complexes described above (a pit 5/1987 from Porthmeus, graves nos. 33, 56, 75, 93 of the Prikubansky necropolis, grave

¹⁷ Максименко 1983, fig. 17.6; Монахов 1999, 409, pl. 183; Монахов 2003, 148.

¹⁸ Яковенко 1964, 200, fig. 2; Монахов 1999, 413, pl. 185. Монахов 2003, 28-29, pl. 16.

¹⁹ The “pseudo-Chersonesean” amphora from the given complex is fragmentary – the upper part of the neck and handle are missing (Лимберис & Марченко 2005, 221, pl. 11).

²⁰ Монахов 1999, 407, pl. 182.

²¹ Савченко 2001, 82. The author mistakenly attributed these amphorae to the production of Peparethos.

²² Монахов 1999, 411, pl. 184.

²³ Лимберис & Марченко 2005, 222, pl. 21.

²⁴ Grave 39 of the eastern necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement.

no. 3043 of the eastern necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement), it is possible to include here the amphorae from graves nos. 91 and 415 of the Prikubansky necropolis (fig. 2.3-4), and from barrow no. 18 of Kolbinsky I necropolis (fig. 2.5).

Furthermore, some fractional vessels of this group are known. They have elongated proportions – a high neck with a rolled rim, smooth transition from the shoulders to a conical body. Toes are slender, but frequently differ markedly in terms of their profiles. Similar amphorae are known from excavations on the Prikubansky necropolis (graves nos. 77, 410 and barrow no. 3, grave no. 3 (fig. 3.1-3)). Based on the analysis of the grave deposits, it is possible to assert with confidence that vessels with a grooved toe were produced throughout the period of manufacture of the amphora series presented here.

The second morphological group unites considerably large pithoid vessels ending with a massive and short toe. The analysis of complexes containing amphorae of the group shows that the manufacture of these vessels began approximately in the middle of the 4th century BC. All amphorae from earlier complexes have a grooved toe and belong to the first group.

To the second group belong the vessels from: barrow no. 1 of Kolbinsky I necropolis (fig. 5.2-3);²⁵ graves nos. 92, 104 (fig. 6.1), 111, 134 (fig. 6.2), 193 (fig. 6.3), 301, 312 (fig. 6.4), 393 (fig. 6.5) and 414 of the Prikubansky necropolis; grave no. 5 of barrow no. 27 and from a barrow no. 24 of the Elizavetovskiy necropolis; a vessel from Adjimushkai; another one from grave no. 2 of barrow no. 42; amphorae from barrows nos. 38, 41, 42 and 48 of the necropolis of Panskoe I settlement (fig. 7.1-2,4),²⁶ and some vessels, which have been found in various years of excavation at Chersonesos (fig. 7.5);²⁷ an amphora kept in the Kuban State University (A.M. Zhdanovsky's excavation in 1987) (fig. 7.3); amphorae from a destroyed grave of the Ust-Labinsky necropolis (1955),²⁸ from grave no. 162 of the Voronezhskiy III necropolis,²⁹ from excavation in Kerkinitida,³⁰ and from grave no. 39 of the eastern necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement³¹ (fig. 7.6).

Establishing the place of production of this series of containers is a difficult matter. At present, it has become abundantly clear that the “findspot” argument is no longer valid. The review of the numerous complexes presented above clearly shows that the amphorae belonging to this group have a distribution pattern on the entire northern Black Sea coast. Their morphological features, among other things, demonstrate that it was a Dorian centre, as far as it is possible to judge based on the similar features with amphorae of Knidos, Rhodes and Chersonesos, as well. Currently, however, we possess extremely limited data from the excavations on various Dorian cities in the Mediterranean. Ceramic workshops containing amphorae of the kind discussed above, or at least fragments of ceramic refuse with such morphological features, have not been found yet. It is not necessary to rule out

²⁵ Савченко 2001, fig. 14, 19.13, 41.23.

²⁶ Монахов & Рогов 1990, 137, pl. 4.22-25.

²⁷ One originates from the grave no. 16, excavations of 1937 (see Монахов 1989, 107); another amphora comes from the grave no. 82, unpublished excavations of 1936.

²⁸ Улитин 2005, 277.

²⁹ The amphora is not published. Улитин 2006, 118, pls. 25.4, 26.3.

³⁰ Монахов 1989, cat. 118; Кутайсов 2004, 317, fig. 114.

³¹ Of all the amphorae relating to that series, this amphora has the largest height – 76 cm.

the possibility that the amphorae of the groups under study have been produced in several centres of manufacture.

Despite the complex and hypothetical identification of places of production and, in the absence of reliable criteria, it is, nevertheless, possible to suggest that the centre (centres) where such amphorae were made was (were) located somewhere in the northern Aegean, more likely in the Propontis region. Most plausible candidates can be the cities of Byzantion or Calchedon.

METRIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMPHORAE

* Estimated ** Preserved *** Measured with sand

Findspot / location	Dimensions (mm)					Volume (l)	Marks	Fig.
	H ₀	H ₁	H ₃	D	d			
GROUP I								
Gr. 398, Prikubansky necropolis	708	305	160	378	84			1.3
Gr. 56, Prikubansky necropolis	700	250	150	360*	86			2.2
Pit 5/1987, Porthmeus	691	278	170	363	80	27.09		1.1
Gr. 91, Prikubansky necropolis	680	290	150	388	92			2.3
Barrow 18, gr. 2 Kolbinsky I necropolis	665	265	145	344	74	24.2		2.5
Barrow 3, gr. 3, Prikubansky necropolis	663	265	150	308	86			3.3
Gr. 75, Prikubansky necropolis	653	265	142	340	90			2.1
Gr. 33, Prikubansky necropolis	650	285	150	360	90			1.2
Gr. 93, Prikubansky necropolis	648	290	130	374	90			1.5
Gr. 410, Prikubansky necropolis	632	250	150	322	94			3.2
Gr. 415, Prikubansky necropolis	632	230	115	374	90			2.4
Gr. 304z, eastern necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement	624	280	126	368	86			1.4
Gr. 77, Prikubansky necropolis	598**	240**	132**	320				3.1
GROUP II								
Gr. 312, Prikubansky necropolis	708?	276	160?	364	80			6.4
Gr. 427, Prikubansky necropolis	695	295	167	370	84		Englyphic stamp on the neck: circle divided into 3 sections	4.3
Barrow 24/1966, Elizavetovsky necropolis	680	300	172	355	86			
Gr. 104, Prikubansky necropolis	680	275	175	346	90			6.1
Barrow 27, gr. 5, Elizavetovsky necropolis	678	300	195	355	84			

Findspot / location	Dimensions (mm)					Volume (l)	Marks	Fig.
	H ₀	H ₁	H ₃	D	d			
Gr. 39 _B , eastern necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement	678	300	165	322	92			7.6
Deposit at gr. 4, Butory	675	291	170	330	80			5.1
Barrow 48/1986, necropolis of Panskoe I settlement	670	247	135	382	87	31.1***		
Gr. 353, Prikubansky necropolis	660	235	160	366	84			4.4
Gr. 180, Prikubansky necropolis	656	250	131	370	90		Englyphic stamp on the shoulders: Λ in circle	4.1
Barrow 38, 1972, a. 2, necropolis of Panskoe I settlement	665	248	140	370	87	27.26		7.1
Gr. 393, Prikubansky necropolis	658	240	130	368	86		Graffito on the neck: ΔII	6.5
Barrow 41, 1972, a. 1, necropolis of Panskoe I settlement	652	250	150	372	86	32.59		7.2
Barrow 41, 1972, amphora 2, necropolis of Panskoe I settlement	651	250	145	362	88	27.3		
Gr. 196, Prikubansky necropolis	650	280	170	348	90		Graffito on the shoulders: XΛ	
GE. X.1965.7	650	239	153	352	85	27.56		
Kuban St. Univ., Zhdanovsky's excavations, 1987.	650	285	148	374	87			7.3
Gr. 159, necropolis of Spornoe settlement	648	265	115	380	92			
Gr. 301, Prikubansky necropolis	640	255	170	312	90			
Gr. 193, Prikubansky necropolis	638	250	145	364	100			6.3
Gr. 311, Prikubansky necropolis	635	265	155	358	96			4.2
Barrow 1, Kolbinsky I necropolis, amphora 2	630	265	155	334	98			5.3
Pit, Lesovitchi	625	285	125	350	85			4.6
Gr. 82, necropolis of Chersonesos, p.o. 4809/36	622	255	152	340	88	23.50		
Barrow 4, Sladkovsky necropolis	618	297	150	366	104	27.04		4.5
Gelendjik, GKM 4057/32 Pashkovsky necropolis, looted graves	608	255	140	340	84			5.6
Karagadeyash barrow, amphora 1	600	265	150	355	90	23.32		5.4
Barrow 1, Kolbinsky I necropolis, amphora 2	600	255	150	322	86			5.2
Karagadeyash barrow, amphora 2	440	200	140	248	88	6.48		5.5

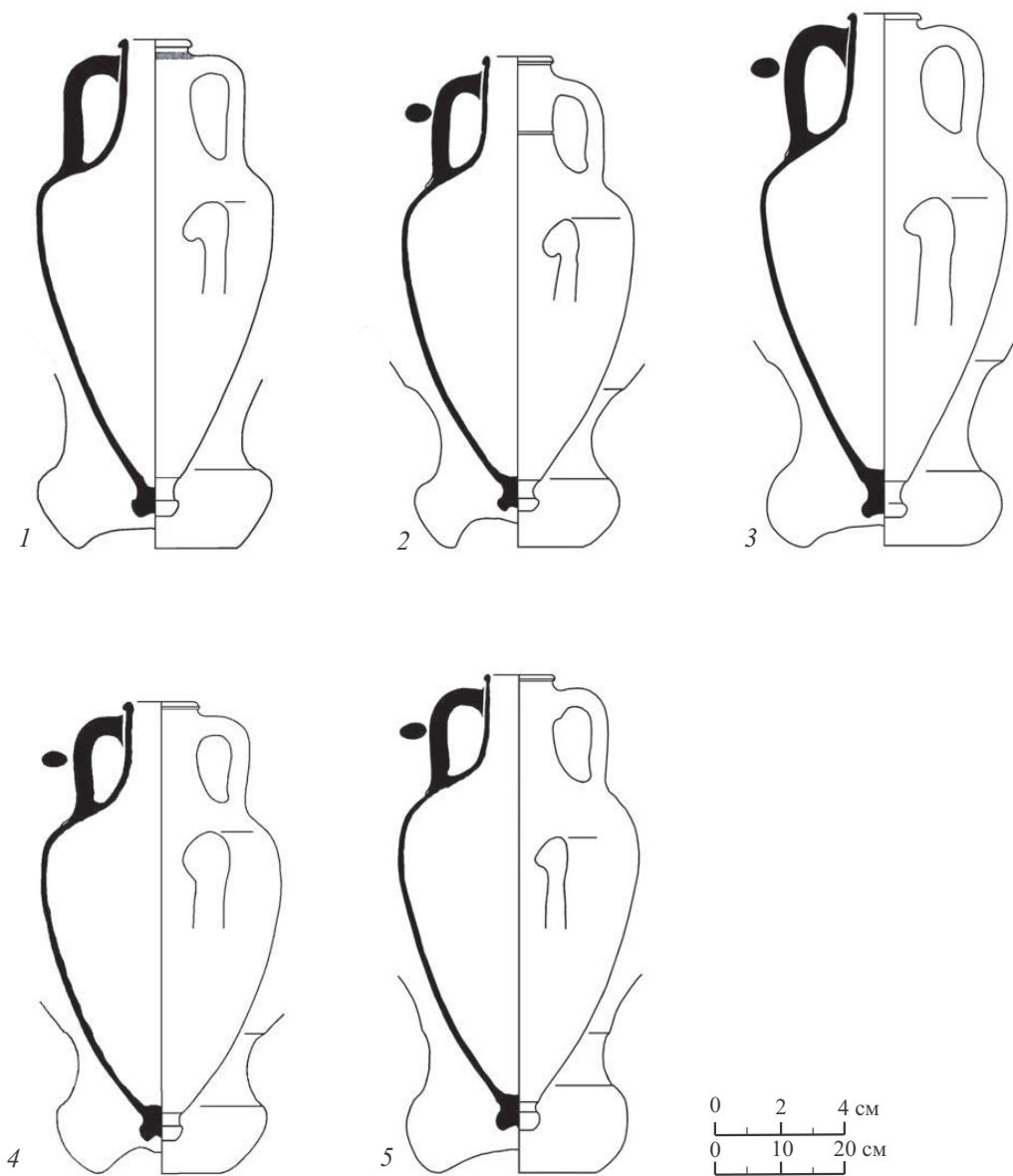


Fig. 1. Amphorae of Group I: 1) Pit 5/1987, Porthmeus; 2) Grave no. 33, Prikubansky necropolis; 3) Grave no. 398, Prikubansky necropolis; 4) Grave no. 304_s, necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement; 5) Grave no. 93, Prikubansky necropolis.

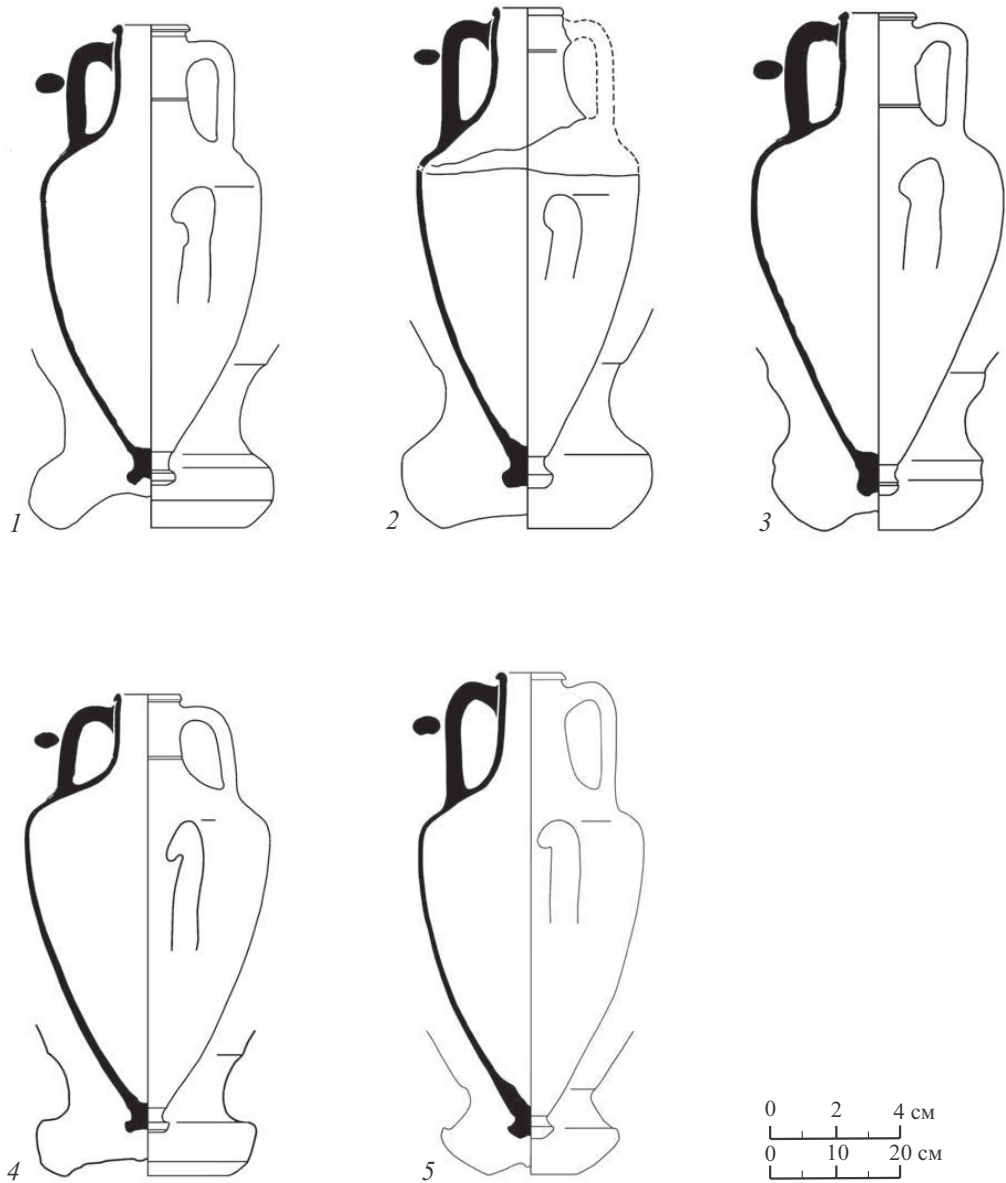


Fig. 2. Amphorae of Group I: 1) Grave no. 75, Prikubansky necropolis; 2) Grave no. 56, Prikubansky necropolis; 3) Grave no. 91, Prikubansky necropolis; 4) Grave no. 415, Prikubansky necropolis; 5) Grave no. 2, barrow no. 18, Kolbinsky I necropolis.

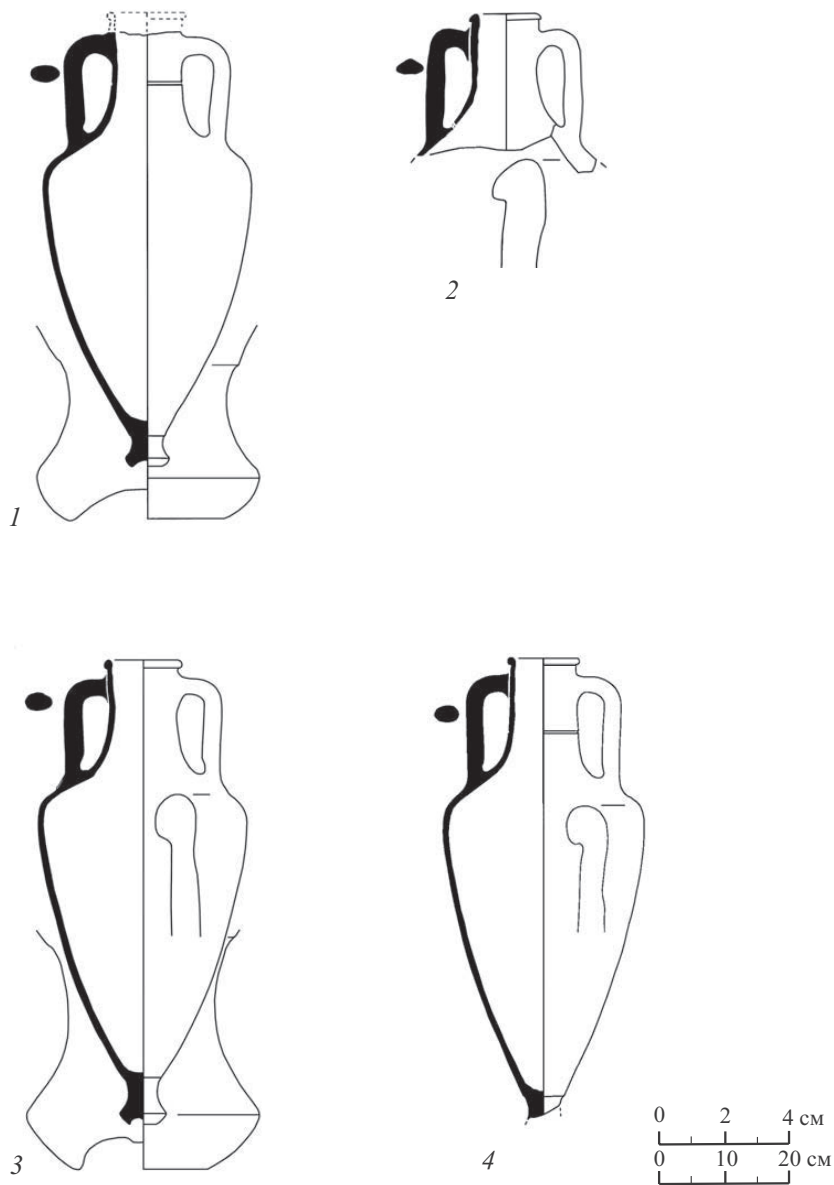


Fig. 3. Amphorae of Group I: 1-2) Grave no. 77, Prikubansky necropolis; 3) Grave no. 410, Prikubansky necropolis; 4) Grave no. 3, barrow no. 3, Prikubansky necropolis.

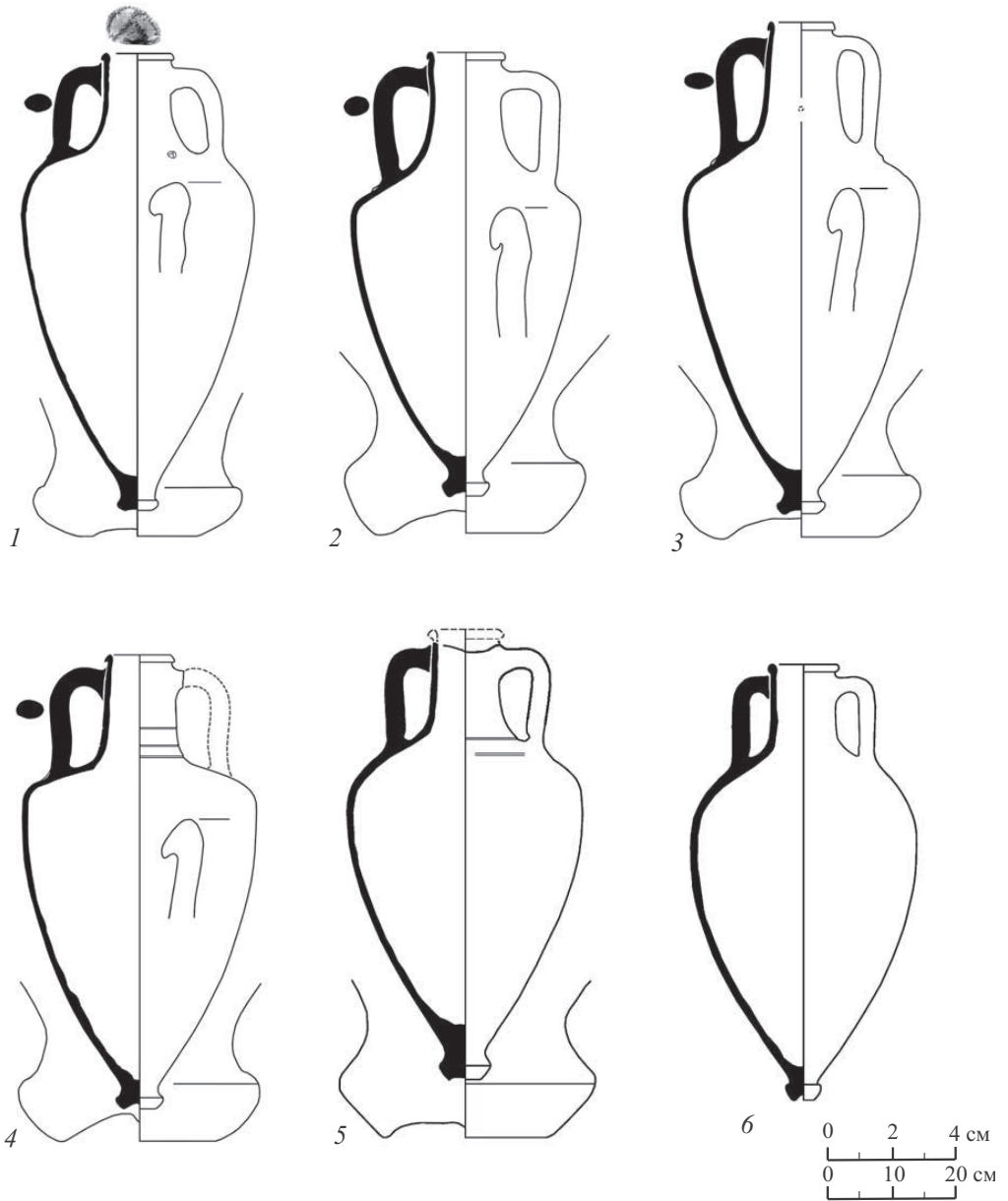


Fig. 4. Amphorae of Group II: 1) Grave no. 180, Prikubansky necropolis; 2) Grave no. 311, Prikubansky necropolis; 3) Grave no. 427, Prikubansky necropolis; 4) Grave no. 353, Prikubansky necropolis; 5) Barrow no. 4, Sladkovsky necropolis; 6) Pit, Lesovitchi.

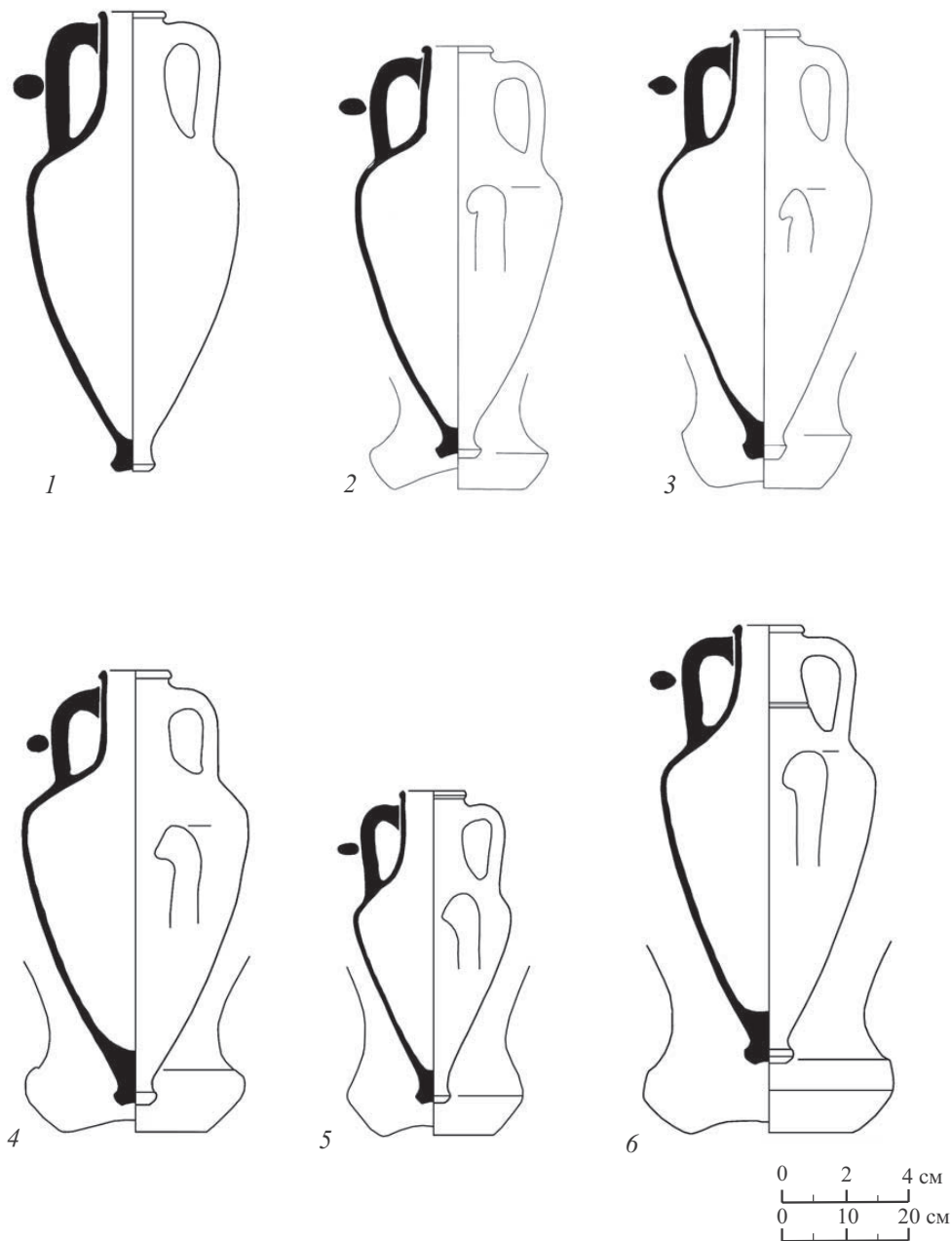


Fig. 5. Amphorae of Group II: 1) Deposit in grave no. 4, Butury; 2-3) Barrow no. 1, Kolbinsky I necropolis; 4-5) Karagadeyash barrow; 6) Pashkovsky necropolis.

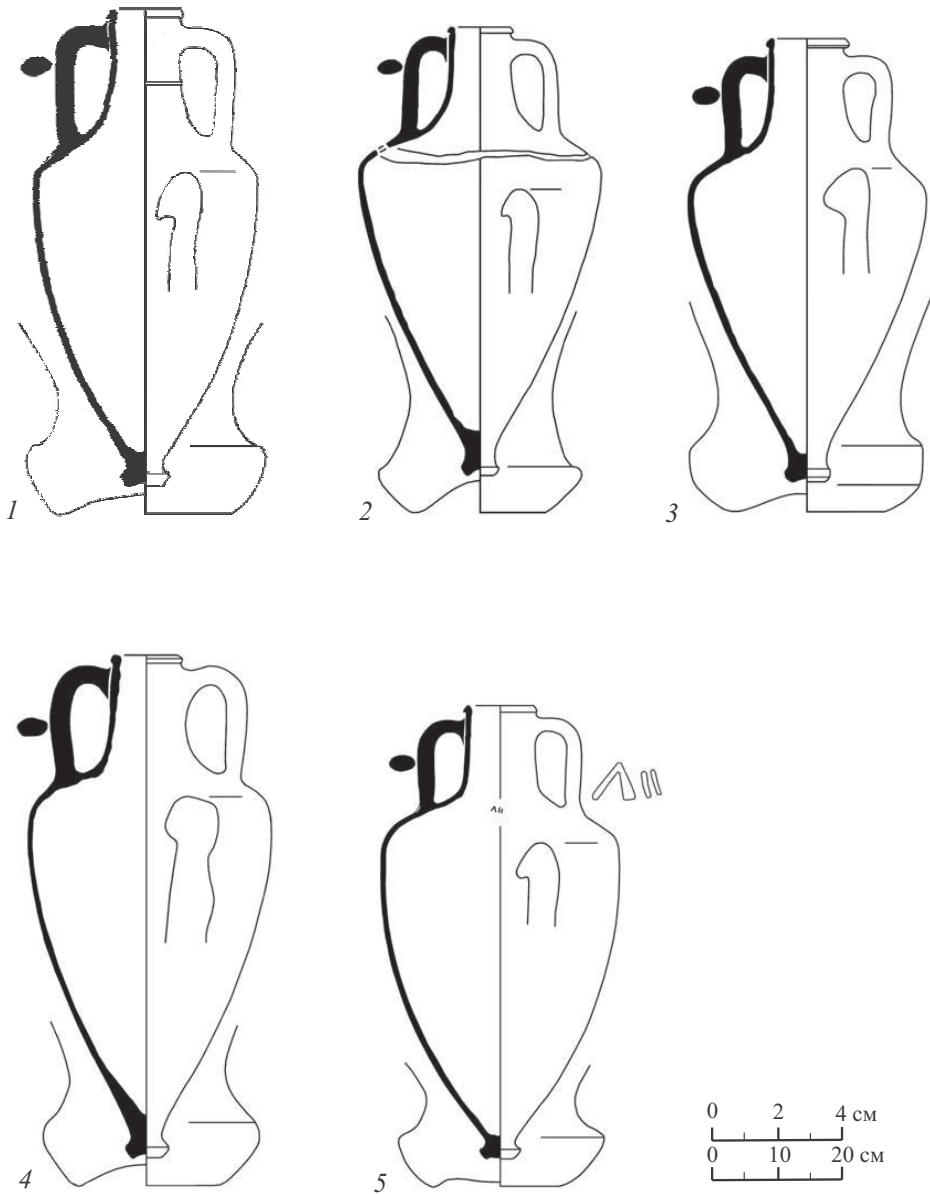


Fig. 6. Amphorae of Group II: 1) Grave no. 104, Prikubansky necropolis; 2) Grave no. 134, Prikubansky necropolis; 3) Grave no. 193, Prikubansky necropolis; 4) Grave no. 312, Prikubansky necropolis; 5) Grave no. 393, Prikubansky necropolis.

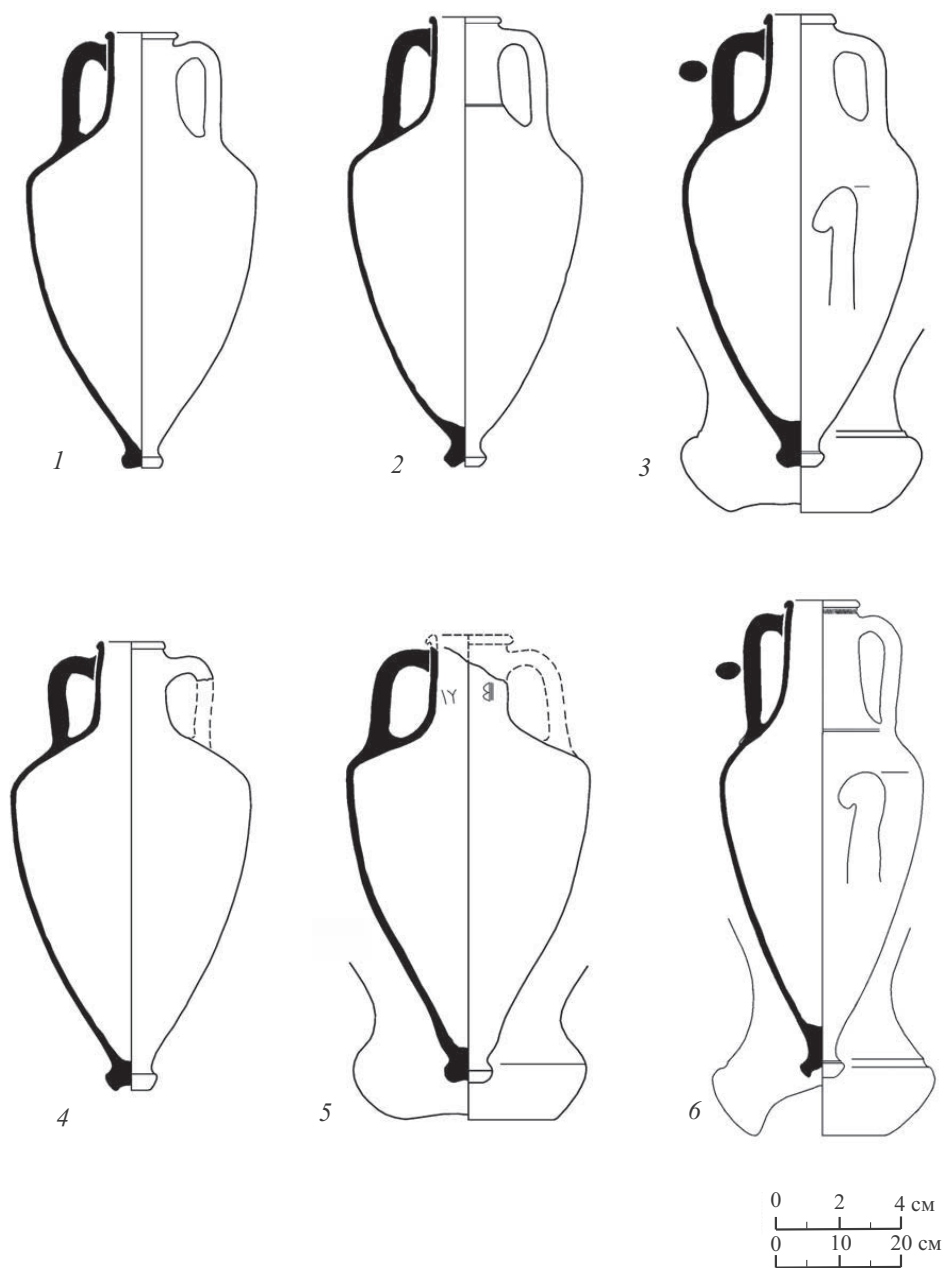


Fig. 7. Amphorae of Group II: 1) Barrow no. 38/1972, necropolis of Panskoe I settlement; 2) Barrow no. 41/1978, necropolis of Panskoe I settlement; 3) A.M. Zhdanovsky's excavations, 1987; 4) Barrow no. 48/1986, necropolis of Panskoe I settlement; 5) Grave no. 16/1939, necropolis of Chersonesos; 6) Grave no. 39, necropolis of Starokorsunsky II settlement.

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