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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH  
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Manufacturers and Markets

The Contributions of Hellenistic Pottery to  
Economies Large and Small

*Edited by Laura Rembart and Alice Waldner*

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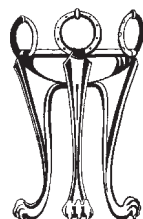
## MANUFACTURERS AND MARKETS

The Contributions of Hellenistic Pottery to Economies Large and Small

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# Trade Connections of the Northern Black Sea Region in the Hellenistic Period (After Materials of Museum Collections)\*

Elena V. Kuznetsova – Sergey Y. Monakhov

## Abstract

Since the time of their foundation, the Greek colonies of the northern Black Sea region maintained close trade connections with the Mediterranean region. Certain information on economic relations is found in written sources. However, much wider possibilities for studying this aspect of the Greek life, open archaeological resources, and, above all, amphorae fragments. The article is devoted to the trade relations of the Chersonesean state, European Bosphorus and Kuban river region in the Hellenistic period. Amphorae stored in various museums are used for analysis. In the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. serious changes in trade were happened. They were induced by political and economic perturbations in the Mediterranean after the Macedonian conquests. Throughout the Hellenistic period, the number of active imports at the Black Sea market decreased with only single ones remaining. At the same time, the share of amphorae from unidentified centres in the late 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. became, in the general balance of trade, higher than in the previous period. By studying the amphorae collections, we can speak about differences observed for trade connections between the Kuban river region, on the one hand, and European Bosphorus and Chersonesean state, on the other. Of the two latter territories, the predominance of the importation from Pontic centres was characteristic, while, in the Kuban region, the buyers obviously preferred products from Rhodes, Knidos and Kos. The trade relations of the Chersonesean state have analogies with the Olbian market.

Since the time of their foundation, the Greek colonies of the northern Black Sea region maintained close trade connections with the Mediterranean region. In exchange for different raw material resources they acquired building materials, objects of luxury and some categories of food products unobtainable in the local conditions. Certain information on the economic relations is found in written sources, however its quantity and quality are extremely limited.

Archaeological materials open much wider possibilities for studying this aspect of the Greek life. The excavations on the northern coasts of the Black Sea have been conducted already over 150 years considerably supplementing annually the source base. During this period, a huge mass of data has been accumulated stored in dozens of museum collections. Owing to them, the researchers are able to consider the trade connections of this region throughout a long period from the turn of the 7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. In the end of the Hellenistic epoch, radical changes took place in the structure of the Black Sea trade while the traditional manufacturing centres were replaced by new ones integrated into the completely differing Roman world. Since this time boundary, the morphology of ceramic containers changed fundamentally and the tradition of systematic stamping gradually disappearing. Henceforth, the unification of container jars according to Roman examples became generally accepted.

In comparison with other categories of archaeological sources, amphora finds possess quite a series of advantages for characterization of trade relations. Firstly, it is their recognisability and typicality, i.e. a set of distinctive morphological features that enable us not only to identify the region of the manufacture of a vessel but also to date the latter. Secondly, it is the availability of chronological schemes developed for the evolution of amphorae from particular centres. Thirdly,

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it is the presence of these archaeological sources at all ancient sites without exception<sup>1</sup>. As the main means for transportation of liquid (and not only) cargos, amphorae were distributed over long distances. In addition to amphorae from the Black Sea region, single finds of them are reported from Bashkiria, the middle Don River and the Middle Volga<sup>2</sup>. These narrowly dated vessels are the main, and sometimes the only, diagnostic objects.

Owing to the efforts of several generations of researchers, we have notions about containers from about 50–60 manufacturing centres from the Archaic epoch to the Roman period<sup>3</sup>. At the same time, the evolution of the ceramic containers is traceable only through the example of complete vessels. It is exactly the accumulation of knowledge on the complete forms that will enable us in future to gain also the very necessary indicators for the separate profile parts (rims and toes) of these vessels.

Excavations at northern Black Sea sites have yielded a great number of complete vessels dated from the Archaic epoch to the Roman period. Without an exaggeration, it may be stated that many of these finds are unique examples having no analogues. Their considerable number is scattered throughout collections of dozens of museums. It is of note that, in terms of their preservation, the container vessels were so far not as lucky as other categories of finds. Over many decades of archaeological investigations, the researchers paid little attention to the amphora materials (even to the complete examples, saying nothing about the fragmentary ones). No care of their preservation was taken, and only rare finds entered the museum collections. Unfortunately, a considerable number of such objects from excavations of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century are forever lost for science. To a lesser extent, this fact also impacted the highly artistic objects but mostly this was true as far as the mass materials (including amphorae) were concerned. Besides, the problem of publication of the finds is as acute in archaeology now as it was before. This circumstance concerns not only ceramic containers. In different museums, enormous numbers of objects are accumulated which have been waiting for their researcher over several decades. Meanwhile, the introduction of new archaeological sources into the scientific circulation, along with publications of epigraphic documents, archive materials etc., is the basis of the historic science<sup>4</sup>.

The efforts of the present scientific collective were focused exactly on expansion of our notions of complete container vessels. This project received a grant support<sup>5</sup>. First, the amphora collections from museums of Kerch, Sevastopol, Simferopol, Feodosiya, Yevpatoriya, Yalta, etc., were studied. As a result, two catalogues were published for the collections of the Kerch and Chersonesean museums<sup>6</sup>. These catalogues became the first publications of amphora collections of particular museums both in Russia and abroad. As far as the other Crimean museums are concerned, their holdings also were examined, but so far, we have not succeeded in carrying out their publication; this work is under way but not so speedily as is desirable.

In 2018, already with support of RSF, the collection of the State Hermitage, the oldest museum in Russia, was examined. Its holdings comprise over 300 complete and fragmented container amphorae dated to a broad chronological range – from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. They were published in 2019<sup>7</sup>. Now<sup>8</sup>, the work is completed on the catalogue of the amphora collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow (SMFA). Simultaneously, stu-

<sup>1</sup> BRASHINSKIY 1984; MONAKHOV – KUZNETSOVA 2017.

<sup>2</sup> MONAKHOV 2006; BALAKHVANTZEV 2016.

<sup>3</sup> GRAKOV 1935; ZEEST 1960; GRACE 1946; GRACE 1949; GRACE 1963; GRACE 1965; GRACE 1971; GRACE 1979; BRASHINSKIY 1975; BRASHINSKIY 1980; BRASHINSKIY 1984; MONAKHOV 1999; MONAKHOV 2003; GARLAN 2000.

<sup>4</sup> KUZNETSOVA ET AL. 2020, 484–486.

<sup>5</sup> Initially, in 2015–2017, a support from the Russian Foundation of Humanity Science (RFHS) and Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR), was obtained (grant no. 15-31-10128). In 2018, this project was ap-

proved by the Russian Science Foundation (RSF grant no. 18-18-00096). The staff of the scientific collective varies depending on the current tasks. In different years, the participants of the works included S. G. Koltukhov, E. S. Lesnaya, N. Yu. Limberis, I. I. Marchenko, N. F. Fedoseyev, D. E. Chistov, V. P. Tolstikov and others. The main executors were not changed: N. B. Churekova, E. V. Kuznetsova, and S. Yu. Monakhov (Head).

<sup>6</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017.

<sup>7</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019.

<sup>8</sup> By the moment when this article sees light, the catalogue will be published.

dies of the collection of Krasnodar Felitsyn State Historical and Archaeological Museum-Reserve were conducted. The number of container amphorae kept in this museum is very large<sup>9</sup>; therefore, its publication will be divided into several volumes.

After five years since the start of this project we are able to summarize some of its results. Complete graphic and photographic recording of 870 amphorae in different states of preservation has been carried out over the past years (in the Kerch and Chersonesean museums, in the State Hermitage and SMFA). More than one third of them are published for the first time<sup>10</sup>.

The importance of the museum materials is seen, inter alia, in the fact that they often come from narrowly dated complexes enabling us to establish a relatively exact chronology for a particular type of vessels<sup>11</sup>. In addition, the studies of the composition of the complexes allow the researchers to reveal the general character of the trade connections of a region at their different stages<sup>12</sup>. When considering the complexes of the Hellenistic epoch, three most important moments are noteworthy.

- 1) These complexes are considerably fewer than those of the Archaic and Classical epochs<sup>13</sup>. To some extent, this is due to the fact that in the barbarian milieu of the Black Sea region in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., the tradition of building tumuli was vanishing. The rare complexes of this period come from necropolises of Greek centres or from barbarian necropolises in the Kuban river region. Among them, the settlement complexes predominate provenient due to ordinary redevelopment or some catastrophic events.
- 2) The Hellenistic complexes presently known are dated mostly to the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> – first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. and come from settlements that perished or were abandoned under the pressure of barbarians.
- 3) Analysis of the composition of the ceramic complexes suggests serious changes in trade induced by political and economic perturbations in the Mediterranean after the Macedonian conquests. The changes in the trade balance became noticeable not at once but some time afterwards – roughly beginning in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C.

**In the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> – first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C.**, the number of traditional providers of goods to the Black Sea coasts were lost, namely *Samos*, *Lesbos*, *Peparethos*, *Ikos*, and *Mende*. From the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C., the volumes of wine delivered from *Rhodes*, *Knidos* and *Erythrai* were steadily increasing. Imports from *Kos* also became more numerous<sup>14</sup>.

*Sinopean* and *Knidian* products occupied the leading positions at the market. In small volumes, also *Corinthos*, *Kolophon*, *Paros*, and *Amastris* took part in the trade. Possibly, amphora production with stamping started in some *west Pontic* centres. *Chian* wine had been imported to the Black Sea region in small volumes until the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. By the end of the first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., *Thasian* imports had markedly decreased although stamping of the amphorae was continued until the middle of the 210s B. C. Also delivery of products from some *Thracian* centres has been recorded.

**The 270s – first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.** given the extreme scarceness of the dataset. Yes concerned with this period, only some general tendencies can be noted. The undoubted leaders in this time are represented by *Rhodes* and *Kos*. The participants in the trade included *Sinope*,

<sup>9</sup> At the present time, we have recorded about 700 vessels. This number includes complete or archaeologically complete examples kept in the head museum not counting its branches. The total number possibly is about 1,000.

<sup>10</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2020. At the same time, only at the head Krasnodar museum (not counting its branches) 632 vessels are registered at present and

the studying of this collection is being continued.

<sup>11</sup> MONAKHOV 1997, 202–211.

<sup>12</sup> MONAKHOV 1999.

<sup>13</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, 29–31. 157–159.

<sup>14</sup> For more details on the analysis of ceramic complexes of this period see: MONAKHOV – KUZNETSOVA 2017, 76–78.

*Knidos, Erythrai, Chersonesos* and *Paros*. A number of goods continued to be delivered from unidentified centres manufacturing the so-called ›*Colchian*‹ amphorae and vessels of the ›*Kuban type*‹. After 270 B. C., production of *Heraclea Pontica* disappeared; by the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. this was also true as far as *Thasian* imports are concerned, while, from the second quarter of the next century, the same occurred with the production of *Chersonesos*.

Throughout the Hellenistic period, the number of active importers at the Black Sea market decreased with only single ones remaining. At the same time, the share of amphorae from unidentified centres in the late 4<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. became, in the general balance of the trade, higher than in the previous period.

Ceramic complexes cannot be taken as an exact cast from the real picture of the trade exchange. In the predominant majority of cases, they include amphorae of the best-known manufacturers and reflect only part of the diverse trade connections. At the same time, many real counteragents disappeared from the field of vision, especially those who had participated only for a short time in the exchange.

The described above composition of ceramic complexes from different sites of the northern Black Sea region reflects only general tendencies in the trade of the region with the Pontic and Mediterranean centres. However, each region of the Black Sea coast had its peculiarities in the distribution and intensity of economic connections. Based on the analysis of complete amphorae and their profile fragments found during excavations, the general features of the dynamics of trade relations was traced for particular regions: the Kuban river region<sup>15</sup>; European Bosphorus<sup>16</sup>; Asiatic Bosphorus<sup>17</sup>, and Berezan<sup>18</sup>. At the same time, the regional specifics are sometimes traceable through analysis of museum amphora collections.

The period of Hellenism is traditionally much more poorly represented. Nevertheless, some general ideas can be gained about the trade exchange for different importing centres. The composition of the examined museum collection allows us to characterize the import in the *Chersonesean state*, *European Bosphoros* and the region of the *Kuban River*. It is possible to estimate quite reliably the initial period: the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup>–first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. The later materials are known to a smaller extent. Besides, taking in consideration the peculiarities of our sample, it is impossible to estimate even approximate volumes of the delivered products so that we are able only to establish the composition of the import and to reveal the general and distinctive features in the trade relations of the compared regions.

The general tendencies characteristic of the entire northern Black Sea region and revealed through analysis of ceramic complexes are traceable also through examination of museum collections. However, there are certain peculiarities pertaining to the territories under consideration as compared with other regions. In the first hand, noteworthy is the almost complete absence of *Chian* amphorae of the Hellenistic period in museum collections. This fact once again confirms the above conclusion about the sharp decrease of the Chian export to the Black Sea region beginning since the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. This is demonstrated both by analysis of ceramic complexes<sup>19</sup> and examination of amphora profile fragments<sup>20</sup>. It is impossible, however, to assert that the Chian deliveries ceased completely in the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, the majority of the late Chian amphorae available to us come from the north-western Black Sea coast<sup>21</sup>. The single complete vessel from the Asiatic Bosphorus was found in the funeral trisna of kurgan no. 2 on Mt 'Kruglaya'. Another vessel, although fragmentary, was uncovered in the basement of 1988 at the site of Yelizavetovskoye<sup>22</sup>.

15 ULITIN 2007.

16 LOMTADZE 2015.

17 KUZNETSOVA 2013.

18 CHISTOV 2018.

19 MONAKHOV – KUZNETSOVA 2017, 75.

20 KUZNETSOVA 2013, 20; LOMTADZE 2015, 36 tab. 4.

21 In recent years, a few other similar vessels were retrieved from the necropolis of Olbia.

22 MONAKHOV 2003, 243 tab. 13.

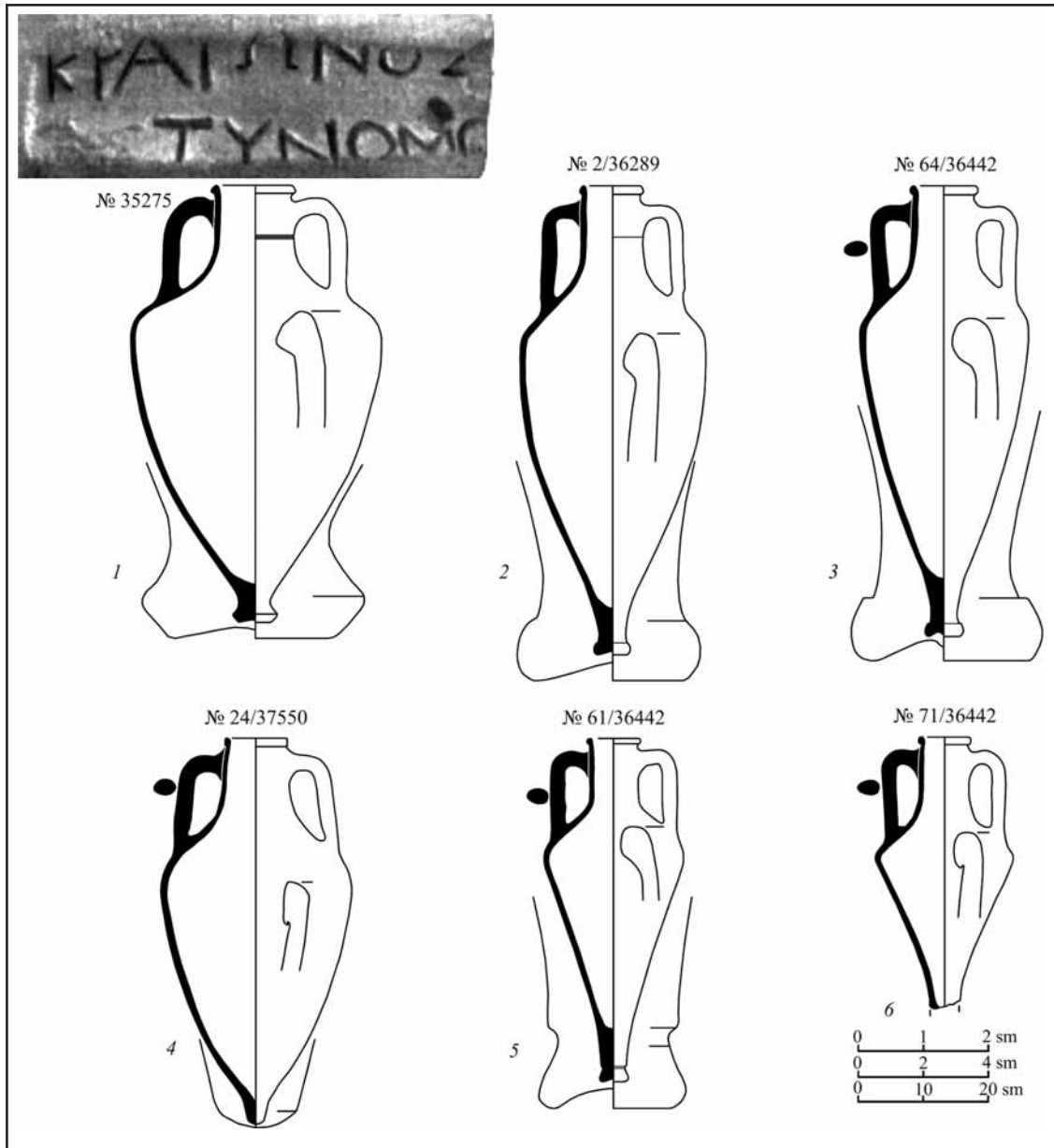


Fig. 1: Chersonesean amphorae from the collection of the State Museum-Preserve 'Tauric Chersonese' (MONAKHOV 1989).

*Thasian* products widely distributed in the Classical epoch, also almost completely disappeared during the Hellenistic period. At the State Hermitage, only two vessels of the late 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. are available; one of them comes from the Yelizavetovskiyi necropolis while the provenience of the other is unknown<sup>23</sup>. Another pair of examples from this period is stored in the Krasnodar museum. Similarly, to the situation with Chios, complete examples of later Hellenistic Thasian amphorae are known from excavations at the Yelizavetovskoye fortified settlement and from north-western Black Sea area<sup>24</sup>, although analysis of ceramic stamps suggests the continuation of a small-scale importation to Asiatic Bosphorus, including Gorgippia, right until the middle of the 230s B. C.<sup>25</sup>.

23 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019, 136–137 Th. 30–31. 2,5.

24 MONAKHOV 2003, 279 tab. 49-3,6; 50-1,3–5; 51- 25 KATZ 2015, 26–27.

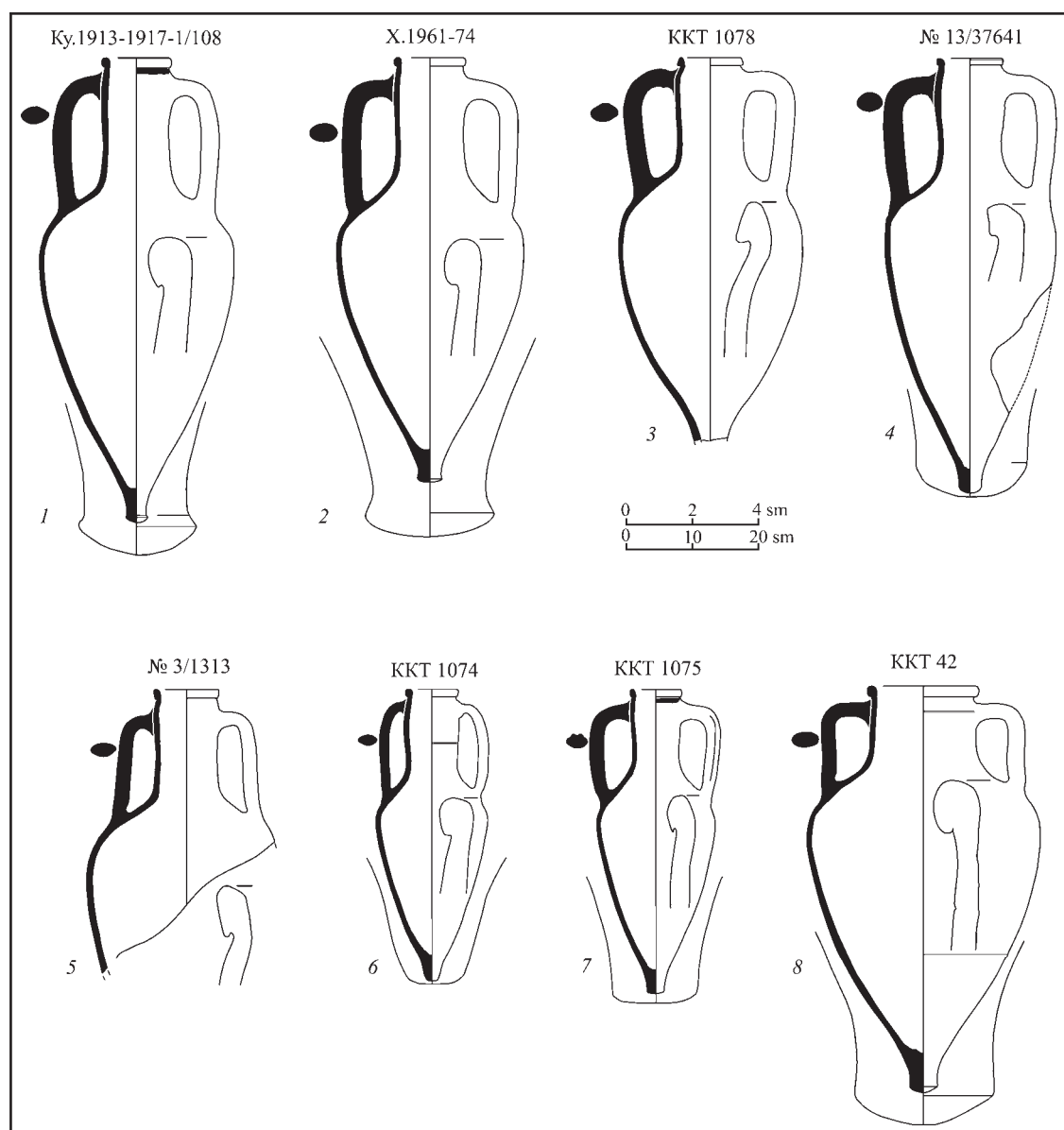


Fig. 2: Sinopian amphorae from the Northern Black Sea Region: 1–2: The State Hermitage (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019); 3. 6–8: the Kerch Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016); 4–5: the Chersonesean Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019).

Another feature characteristic of the territories under consideration is the leading role of the Sinopian production at the first stage and its retaining of a fairly large niche at the market afterwards. At the same time, the trade relations of each of the regions possessed certain peculiarities uncharacteristic of the other ones.

#### The Chersonesean state

The character of the trade relations of Chersonesos is traced not only through amphorae from the published collection of the museum-preserve 'Tauric Chersonesos' but also through examples stored in museums of Yevpatoriya and the township of Chernomorskoye. Their collections include amphorae from excavations of Kerkinitis and settlements at the Chersonesean chora: 'Chayka', eastate Panskoye, Bolshoy Kastel, etc.

The main distinctive feature in the trade of the Chersonesean state is the appearance, in the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C., of its own amphora production continuing throughout al-



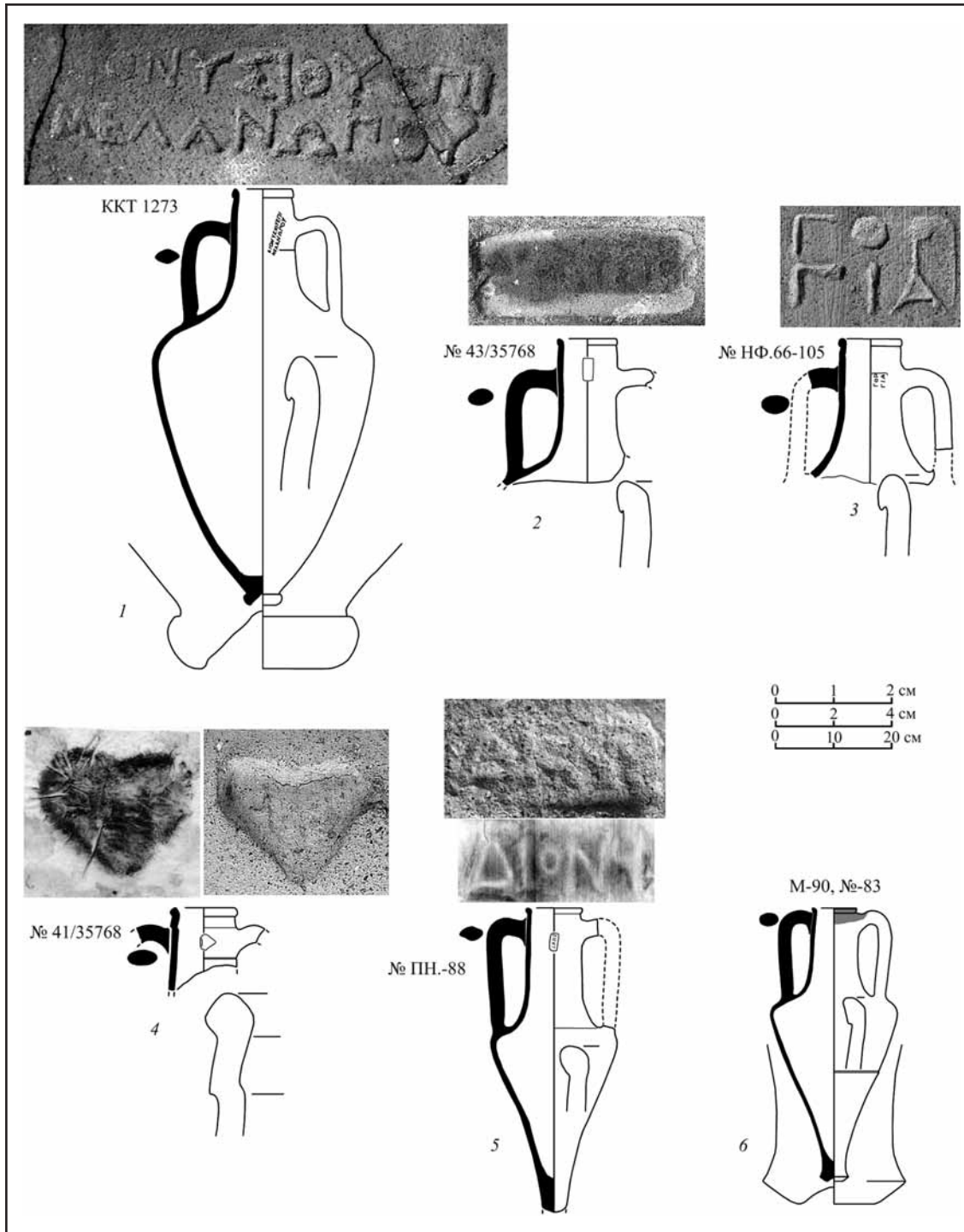


Fig. 3: Amphorae of west Pontic unidentified centres from the northern Black Sea Region: 1: the Kerch Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016); 3, 5: The State Hermitage (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019); 2, 4: the Chersonesean Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017); 6: the Pushkin Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2020).

most the entire Hellenistic period. Its heyday falls on the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>– first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. when Chersonesean containers comprise the upmost number of types and standards (fig. 1)<sup>26</sup>. It is therefore no surprise that, among the archaeological materials of this period, fragments of local containers are predominant. This is equally true concerning both the capital and

<sup>26</sup> MONAKHOV 1989.

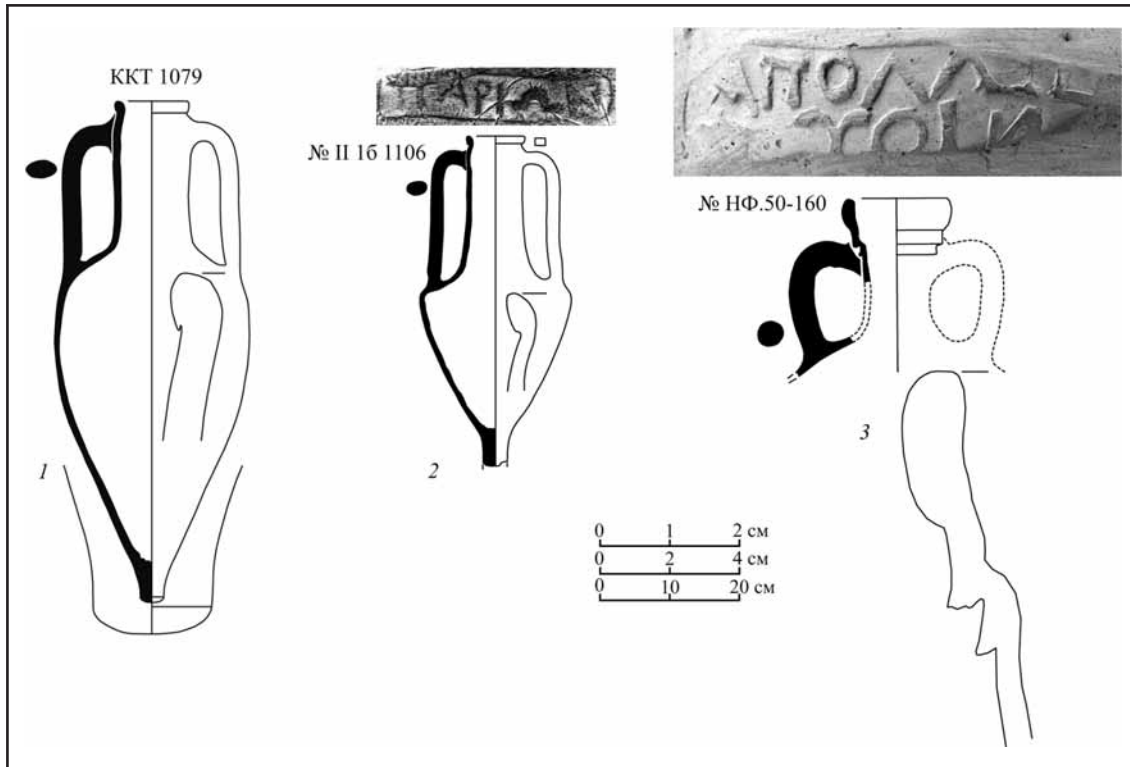


Fig. 4: Rare amphorae from the northern Black Sea Region: 1: “Colchian”, the Kerch Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016); 2: Paros, the Pushkin Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2020); 3: Aegio, The State Hermitage (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019).

the near and far chorai<sup>27</sup>. Chersonesean containers are found also in other regions but their numbers are rather smaller there<sup>28</sup>. For instance, at the Kerch museum only a single such amphora (raised from the sea bottom) is represented<sup>29</sup>, while in the Krasnodar museum there are three complete jars. They all are dated to the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C.

Among the imports, products of Pontic manufacturers predominated in Tauric Chersonesos and its chora. Especially distinctive, this fact was demonstrated at the first stage: the late 4<sup>th</sup>–first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. During this period, great volumes of Sinopean products were imported (fig. 2, 2. 4–5)<sup>30</sup>. In addition, at Chersonesean sites, pottery was found which had previously been considered products of Herakleia but now is probably attributed to the manufacture of west Pontic centres<sup>31</sup>. These amphorae bore englyphic or relief stamps (fig. 3, 2. 4).

Among the imports of Mediterranean centres, the Koan containers predominate<sup>32</sup>. At the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., there appear amphorae of Rhodes. Single examples include very rare containers from Erythrai, Kolophon and Amastris<sup>33</sup>. It is noteworthy that analysis of the mass material from excavations of estate U7 at the settlement of Panskoye I generally demonstrates the same tendencies as complete vessels from museum collections. However, through the amphora fragments, a very high percentage of containers of west Pontic manufacturers is traceable, as well as of those from unidentified production centres<sup>34</sup>.

27 MONAKHOV 2016, 195–222; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, 152–172; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019, 228–230 ChT.1. ChT.5–14. 16–19.

28 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016, ChT.1; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019, ChT.2, 15.

29 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016, ChT.1.

30 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, Sn.8–11; MONAKHOV ET

AL. 2019, Sn.3–7.

31 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, WP.1–3.

32 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, Ks.1–5.

33 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, Er.5–7; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019, Kph.1.

34 MONAKHOV 2016, 195–222.

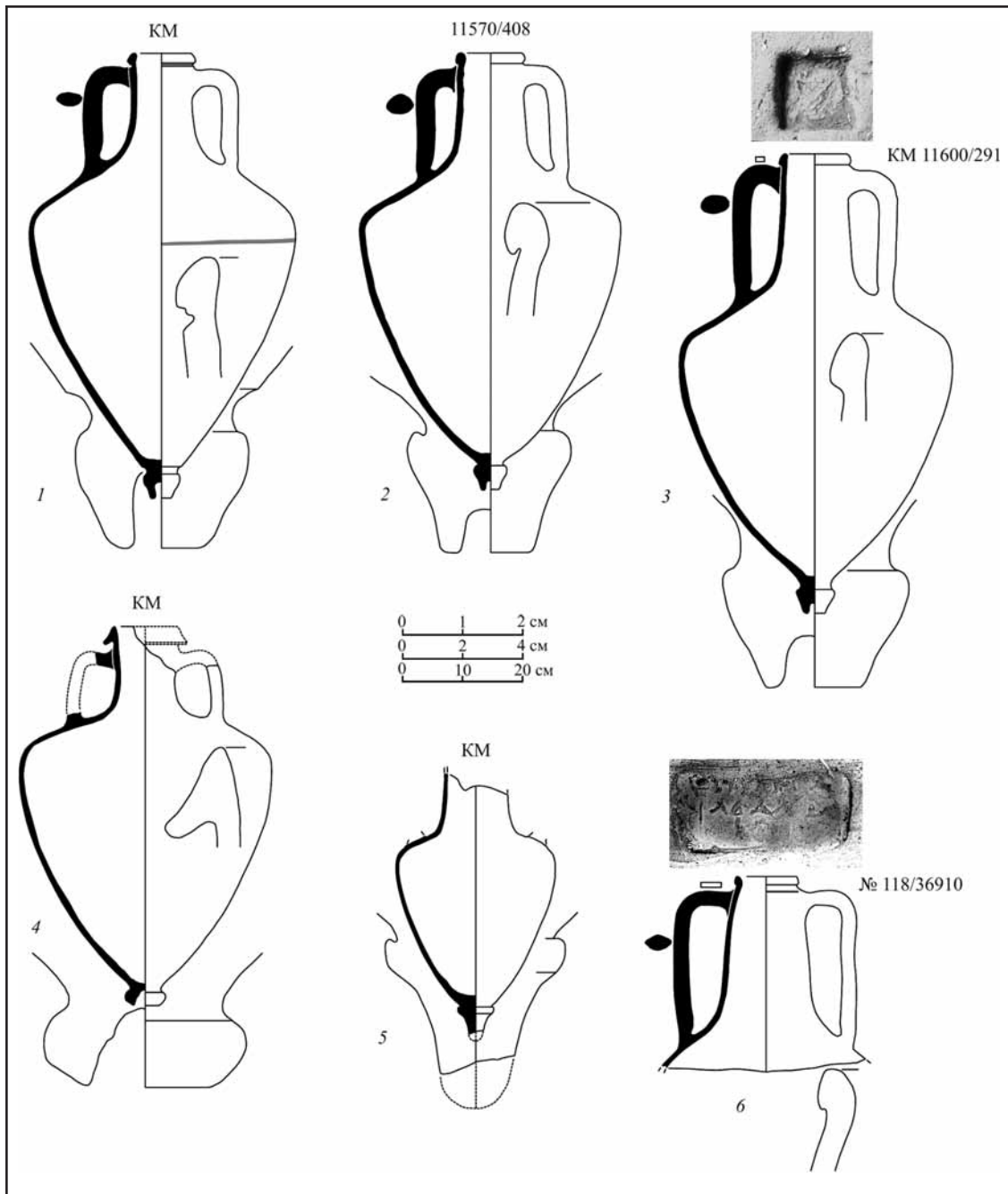


Fig. 5: Knidian amphorae from the northern Black Sea Region: 1–5: the Krasnodar Museum; 6: the Chersonesean Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017)

Beginning in the 270s B. C., the leading positions belong to containers from Mediterranean centres (Rhodes, Knidos and Kos) with the retention of a fairly high proportion of Sinopean goods were imported throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries (fig. 5,6)<sup>35</sup>. It is noteworthy that among amphora collections from other regions, containers from Knidos dated to the period later than the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. are not recorded. Meanwhile, analysis of the distribution of Knidian stamps shows that the products from this centre continued throughout practically the entire peri-

35 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, Sn.12–27.

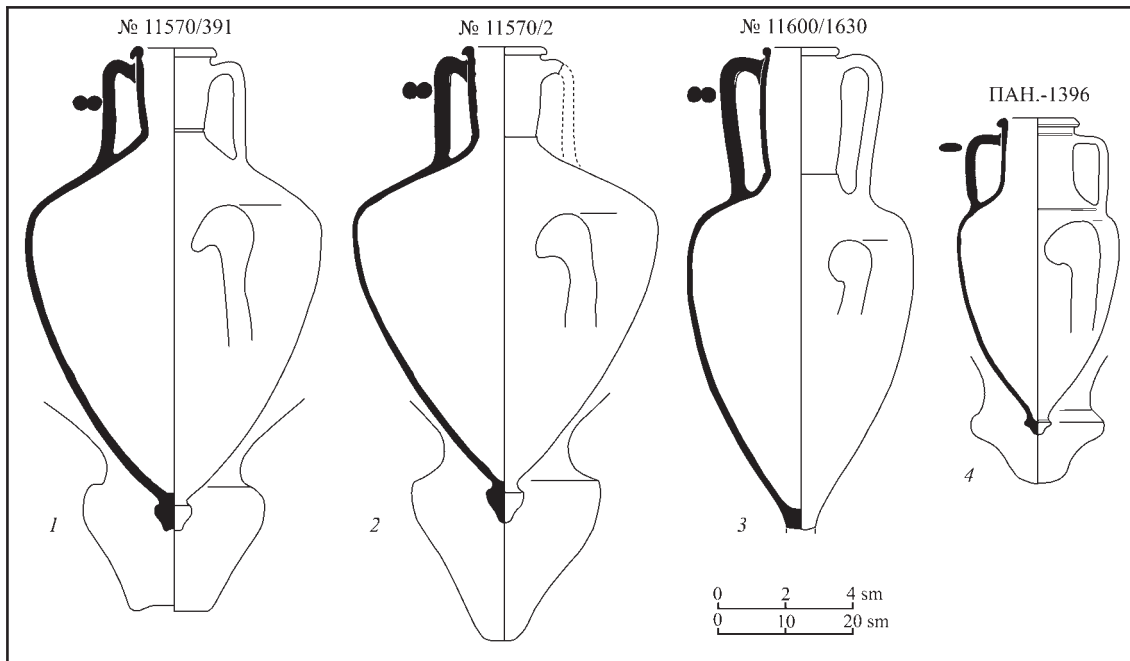


Fig. 6: Koan amphorae from the northern Black Sea Region: 1–3: the Krasnodar Museum (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017); 4: The State Hermitage (MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019).

od of stamping<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, Nikolay W. Jefremov highlights that, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., there occurred a re-orientation of the Knidian trade from the Bosporan market to the north-western Black Sea region. The sharp increase in the volume of importation from this centre is documented from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.<sup>37</sup>

Before the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., products of Erythrai came on a limited scale to the market of the Chersonesean state<sup>38</sup>. In general terms, the composition of exporters was fairly uniform throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B. C. Only periodically are products of Paros, Colchis and unidentified centres recordable.

### European Bosphorus

Materials from excavations of sites of the Classical period in European Bosphorus are stored in a number of museums: the Kerch museum, the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts and the State Hermitage. The sample concerned with the Hellenistic period contains very few items – only 43, of which the majority dates from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup>–first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. At this stage, the composition of exporters is the most diverse. The absolute majority belongs to Pontic centres, particularly Sinope<sup>39</sup>. The volume of arrivals from Herakleia was twice as small. Moreover, it must be taken in consideration that their main quantity falls on the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>40</sup>. Fairly soon, Chersonesos became involved in trade with products occupying solid, although not very high, positions in the Bosporan market<sup>41</sup>. In addition, importation from west Pontic centres, including Mesembria(?), is recorded. Of special note are two amphorae. One comes from excavations of Myrmekion in 2010. This vessel has a rounded flattened rim with horizontal undercutting underneath, a tall slightly down-flaring neck, a pithoid body, and a rounded toe with a deep conical hollow (fig. 3,1). The clay is red-brown with numerous inclusions of

<sup>36</sup> EFREMOV 1992, 262–263 tab. 5; KATZ 2015, 31–34.

<sup>37</sup> EFREMOV 1992, 262.

<sup>38</sup> MONAKHOV 2013, 28–47; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, Et.7.

<sup>39</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016, Sn.6, 9–17; MONAKHOV

ET AL. 2019, Sn.3–7.

<sup>40</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016, 61–63, HP.58–59; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019, HP.84–85.

<sup>41</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016, ChT.1; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2019, ChT.2–3. 15.

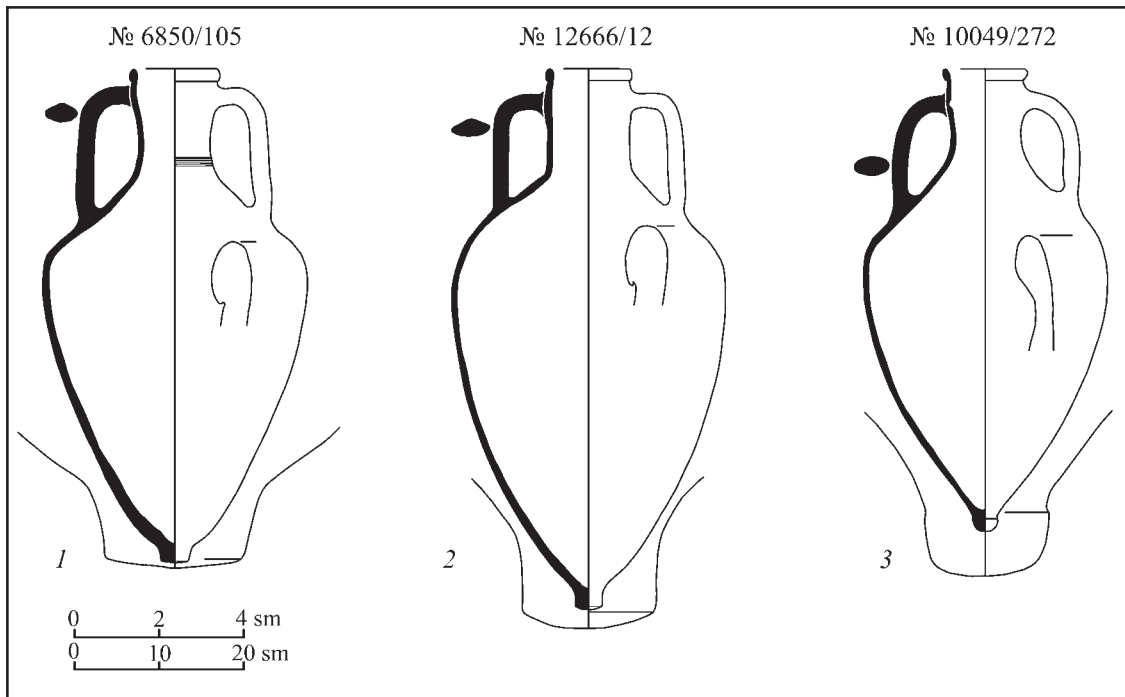


Fig. 7: Amphorae of the "Kuban" type from the Kuban River Region (E. Kuznetsova – S. Yu. Monakhov)

fine pyroxene like that of Herakleian amphorae. On the neck, an engraphic stamp »Διονυσίου ἐπὶ | Μελανώπου« is imprinted having no analogues. The morphological features of this vase make its Herakleian provenance doubtful notwithstanding the similar character of the clay.

Another interesting amphora was found in Pantikapaeum and is stored in the Pushkin Museum. This small unstamped vessel (H = 472 mm, D = 216 mm) has a tall neck slightly flaring towards the shoulders; a conical body and a sharply ridged toe (fig. 3,6). The amphora repeats the basic proportions of Thasian ceramic containers of the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup>–first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. The clay is light brown with plenty of brown and black bits, rare mica and whitish slip suggesting its manufacture in a workshop of some Pontic centre<sup>42</sup>.

During the period from the 270s B. C. to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., the predominance of Sinopean import is noted simultaneously with a high proportion of Rhodian products. The fill of cistern No. 245 in Pantikapaeum, excavated in 2001, yielded rare examples of Sinopean containers of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.<sup>43</sup>. These vessels have a high neck bulging in its middle part, an egg-shaped, almost conical body, and a conical toe with a flat base. The handles of fractional amphorae are profiled with two grooves (fig. 2,3. 6–7). Vessels of the same type were found quite recently at the estate of 'Maslyanaya Gora' in the near chora of Chersonesos<sup>44</sup>. Through these two complexes, we are able to gain a notion of late Hellenistic amphorae of Sinope (fig. 2).

Throughout the entire Hellenistic period, the pottery from the Mediterranean was represented in European Bosphoros by rather small numbers of containers from Knidos and Rhodes. At the same time, periodic importation of goods from Colchis, Paros (fig. 4,1–2) and unidentified production centres is recorded. The products from the Peloponnesian centre of Aegio are represented by a single example (fig. 4,3); its containers have been localized only quite recently. Noteworthy is a find of an amphora from Nymphaion, the single one in European Bosphoros of the 'Kuban' type so widespread in the Kuban river region.

42 MONAKHOV 2019, 191–195.

43 MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016, 58–59 fig. 16.

44 FILIPPENKO – TURIN 2015, fig. 2; MONAKHOV ET AL. 2017, Sn.20–25.

Analysis of the mass material conducted by Georgiy A. Lomtadze for Pantikapaeum and its *chora* also demonstrates the universal predominance of Sinopean products at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>–first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C.<sup>45</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not have data available for the later period. It is of note, however, that among the sample of complete and archaeologically complete amphorae, containers from Kos are totally absent whereas in the mass materials their share constitutes at least 15 %<sup>46</sup>. Generally, however, the analysis of profile fragments demonstrates approximately the same tendencies as are shown by museum collections of complete amphorae.

### Kuban river region

Most amphorae kept in the collection of the Krasnodar museum have been yielded by excavations of Maeotian burial grounds. Analysis of these materials suggests that the trade connections of this region had their specificity as early as the late Classical period. For instance, throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C., Chian and Peparethian wine was not popular here<sup>47</sup>. There are only single finds of Chian amphorae while the Peparethian ones are totally absent among the materials from the necropolises.

A distinctive feature of this museum collection is the presence of a large quantity of pottery from Knidos and Kos. This fact has to be considered in more detail. None of the other regions of the Greek world has yielded such a number of complete examples. Mostly they come from burials devoid of other imports, a fact which complicates their dating. However, there is quite a series of reliably datable complexes. On their basis, it may be asserted with confidence that the arrival of Knidian and Koan products to the Kuban river region started as early as the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C.<sup>48</sup>.

The representative sample of complete Knidian vessels (43 items) from the Krasnodar museum covers the chronological range from the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. Owing to the availability of narrowly dated complexes containing Knidian amphorae, it was possible to establish that in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C., the volume of imported Knidian products decreased by more than half compared with the previous period. At the same time, the main mass of Knidian imports falls on the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> – the very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C.<sup>49</sup>. Moreover, all the jars available in the collection are large pithoids with a rounded rim and a spinning top shaped toe (fig. 5, 1–3). Amphorae with a mushroom-shaped rim of the same date are practically absent in the collection. There is only one example which presumably is datable to this period (fig. 5, 4). Moreover, Knidian amphorae with a mushroom-shaped rim of the late 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. are almost unknown in other regions of the northern Black Sea coast although their manufacture is confirmed in the Mediterranean by finds of neck fragments with attached handles bearing a stamp<sup>50</sup>. The reason for their near total absence among the Black Sea materials remains, so far, a riddle.

It is noteworthy that also containers from Knidos of a later period are absent in the collection of the Krasnodar museum. The ›latest‹ amphora in this sample is dated to the first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. (fig. 5, 5). This fact is not explainable only by the political and socio-economical changes which occurred in this region in the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. At the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., re-orientation of the Knidian external trade took place: henceforth the main mass of the products was brought to Mediterranean markets while only sporadic deliveries were carried out to the northern Black Sea area<sup>51</sup>.

A similar tendency of the distribution of imports over time is observable in the example of Koan amphorae. Their first arrival in the Kuban region is recorded as beginning in the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. (fig. 6). They were slightly expanded in the next quarter of the

45 LOMTADZE 2015, 38.

46 LOMTADZE 2015, tab. 4, 5.

47 ULITIN 2007, 17.

48 MONAKHOV 2003, 102; MONAKHOV 2014, 205;

ULITIN 2007, 17.

49 KUZNETSOVA 2020.

50 CANKARDEŞ-ŞENOL 2015, 174 fig. 7c.

51 REGER 2019, 266–267 tab. 1, 2.

same century<sup>52</sup>. However the most of the amphorae from the Krasnodar museum collection are dated to the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. At a later date, Koan products continued to come to local markets but in a lesser volume. From the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. Rhodes also actively participated in trade<sup>53</sup> and, to some extent, displaced Kos and Knidos.

In addition, Maeotian burial grounds in the Kuban region contained a significant quantity of complete amphorae from Erythrai of the late 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. The majority of them belong to types III ('with a collar-shaped rim') and IV<sup>54</sup>.

As with the other regions, Sinopean imports are fairly numerous in the Kuban region. They continued to arrive until the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., but their volume is insignificant compared to that of amphorae from Knidos and Kos. At the same time, the sample available to us is completely devoid of Herakleian containers of later types that begin at the end of the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

An important peculiarity of the trade connections of the Kuban region is an entire series of amphorae of the so-called 'Kuban' type which received its name from the area of their utmost concentration. In other regions they are almost unknown. Only Bosporus is an exception where one such vessel was found in both the European<sup>55</sup> and Asiatic parts<sup>56</sup>. Amphorae of this group were produced throughout the entire 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. and distributed in three types. Type I was attributed to an amphora from burial no. 237 at the necropolis of Tanais. The main mass of the known examples belongs to type II. Of them, a very fine and dense structure of the clay is characteristic with the colour varying from pink to light brown and rare inclusions of gold or silvery mica and, occasionally, sand and limestone tempers<sup>57</sup>. These vessels are distinguished by a rather small height, a flattened rim, a comparatively tall neck occasionally bulging in its middle part, an ovoid body and a conical toe with a smooth base (fig. 7). Two other known vessels of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. (with a flattened rim on a short funnel-shaped neck, a pithoid body and an indistinct toe with a smooth base) were attributed to separate type III<sup>58</sup>.

Summing up, a manifest difference is observed for trade connections between the Kuban river region, on the one hand, and the European Bosporus and Chersonesean state, on the other. Of the two latter territories, the predominance of the importation from Pontic centres was characteristic, while, in the Kuban region, the buyers obviously preferred products from Rhodes, Knidos and Kos. The trade relations of the Chersonesean state have analogies with the Olbian market which we do not discuss here.

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<sup>52</sup> MONAKHOV 2014.

<sup>53</sup> LIMBERIS – MARCHENKO 2019.

<sup>54</sup> MONAKHOV 2013, 42–45 tab. VI; VII.

<sup>55</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2016, 186, Un.5.

<sup>56</sup> MONAKHOV ET AL. 2020, Un.6.

<sup>57</sup> LIMBERIS ET AL. 2011, 265–283.

<sup>58</sup> LIMBERIS ET AL. 2011, 271–272 tab. 7.

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## Trade Connections of the Northern Black Sea Region

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