

VRG_Folder — 0574

14.V.91

Chersonesian Groups from Katz 1985
 (Typological and Chronological Classification
 of Chersonesian Magistrate Stamps)

p. 112-113 (Summary in English)

- Group I: end of 4th to 1/4 of 3rd c. B.C. includes 38 astynomoi
 " II: 275-215 B.C. " 51 magistrates
 " III: end of 3rd to first third of 2nd c. B.C. 32 astynomoi

Each of the three groups was divided into 3 sub-groups

T.D. 1.01 3 of stamping in the time interval
 60's of the 2nd c. B.C.

From Pridit:

Chersonesian handles publ. by
 Machoff dans les Nouvelles
de la Commission Savante
de Tauride, no. 48, 1912

title taxvich? avec Monogram.

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Chersonesan handles publ by
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title ταχις? avec Monogram.

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ΕΤΟΣ 1990

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 Ανατ. Ηλίου: 7.19'
 Δύσις Ηλίου: 5.07'
 Σελήνη 11 ημερών

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NOVEMBER

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Each of the three groups was divided into 3 sub-groups
 Thus we get 9 successive ~~groups~~ ^{stages} of stamping in the time interval
 from the end of the 4th to the 60's of the 2nd c. B.C.

Dr P. M. W. Madsen
Toronto to VG

Rec'd by mail
in Athens 16.VII.90

[2.02]

Chapter II

The Typology and Chronology of Khersonesan Amphoras

In accordance with the principles of a formalised system for description and systematisation by a simple algorithm it became possible to classify 123 whole and archaeologically whole Khersonesan amphoras which have the full complement of features. The constructed graph of classification (see Fig. 1) showed the existence of 5 independent Types of vessels (I, II, III, IV, V), within some of which Variant types (A, B, B', and G) have been isolated already at this stage of classification. Four isolated amphoras with a unique complement of features, which it is more correct at present to connect with free-form design (nrs 108--111) are left outside the limits of the Types.

==== 1. Here and further we give the ordinal numbers of the amphoras under which they are indicated in the catalogue. [Catalogue numbers 2.01] The

it has been
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were included

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features inherent
its turn created
remaining
filed fragments,
variants. The
their affiliation
tributed
tion (Appendix

1, Tables 1--14).

TYPE I

Variant I-A --- 17/17 specimens (Tables 1--3)

Variant I-B --- 58/79 specimens (Table 4)

Variant I-B' --- 9/4 specimens (Table 5)

Variant I-G --- 2/0 specimens (Table 6)

TYPE II

Variant II-A --- 17/20 specimens (Table 7)

Variant II-B --- 2/0 specimens (Table 8)

Variant II-B' --- 4/1 specimens (Table 9)

TYPE III

Variant III-A --- 3/1 specimens (Table 10)

Variant III-B --- 4/2 specimens (Table 11)

TYPE IV --- 2/0 specimens (Table 12)

TYPE V --- 1/1 specimens (Table 13)

Monashon

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See also
K * PERSONESAN

for P.M. W. Matheson
Toronto to VG

rec'd by mail
in Athens 16.VII.90

[202]

Chapter II

The Typology and Chronology of Khersonesan Amphoras

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==== 1. Here and further we give the ordinal numbers of the amphoras under which they are indicated in the catalogue. [Catalogue in Appendix 5 pl46 gives a concordance of M's numbers with inventory/publication nrs---trs] The numeration given here is secondary since it has been systematised by the results of the classification. Exception was made for nrs 226-250, which were included into an already-made scheme.

The work which has been accomplished permitted us to isolate the series of type-forming and variant features inherent in each Type and Variant respectively. This in its turn created an objective basis for distributing the entire remaining collection of Khersonesan amphoras and large profiled fragments, [p41] amounting to 127 specimens, by Types and Variants. The amphoras were grouped into tables according to their affiliation to the Variants which have been isolated, and distributed themselves in the following quantitative correlation (Appendix 1, Tables 1--14).

TYPE I

Variant I-A --- 17/17 specimens<f2> (Tables 1--3)
Variant I-B --- 58/79 specimens (Table 4)
Variant I-B' --- 9/4 specimens (Table 5)
Variant I-G --- 2/0 specimens (Table 6)

TYPE II

Variant II-A --- 17/20 specimens (Table 7)
Variant II-B --- 2/0 specimens (Table 8)
Variant II-B' --- 4/1 specimens (Table 9)

TYPE III

Variant III-A --- 3/1 specimens (Table 10)
Variant III-B --- 4/2 specimens (Table 11)

TYPE IV --- 2/0 specimens (Table 12)

TYPE V --- 1/1 specimens (Table 13)

Isolated --- 4/2 specimens (Table 14)

Sum total 123/127 = 250 specimens

==== 2. The numerator indicates the number of amphoras of the basic collection classified by a simple algorithm, and the denominator indicates the number of amphoras from the additional collection distributed on the basis of the variant features which have been isolated.

Apart from the selection of 250 amphoras already mentioned, a series of whole and archeologically whole Khersonesian vessels, not available to me because of their loss or for other reasons, remained beyond the limits of classification. It is impossible to identify them with any Type [p42] due to the absence of parameters. Also 34 stamped necks and handles with their rims preserved, which so far cannot be correlated easily with one of the isolated variants (Appendix 3, Table 9), were not included in the total number.

==== 3. Thus for example 4 amphoras including 2 with stamps of Telamon and Nanon were found in 1952 by M.A. Nalivkina in the excavations of Kerkinitis. Their drawings and photographs have not been published; however the vessels themselves have frequently been mentioned in the literature (Nalivkina, M.A., "Trade Relations of Ancient Towns of the North-West Crimea [Torgovye svyazi antichnykh gorodov Severo-Zapadnogo Kryma]," *PISP* 1959 p188; Borisova, V.V., "Ceramic Stamps of Khersonesos and the Classification of Khersonesian Amphoras ...," p103 ff.) They were not found in the collection of the EKM. Three more amphoras come from the excavations in Khersonesos in 1908, 1936, 1947. The first of them was published twice (Repnikov, N.I., Leper, R.Kh., "Diary of the Excavations of the Khersonesian Necropolis in 1908--1910 [Dnevnik raskopok khersonesskogo nekropolia v 1908--1910 gg.]," *KhS* 1927 Nr II p179 Fig. 36; Belov, G.D., "Amphoras from the Necropolis of Khersonesos 5--4c BC [Amfory iz nekropolia Khersonesa V--IV vv. do n.e.]," *IKAM* p18 Fig. 2.5.) Two other amphoras were published by R.B. Akhmerov and G.D. Belov (Akhmerov, R.B., "Amphoras of Ancient Greek Khersonesos ...," p167 f; Belov, G.D., "Results of Excavations in Khersonesos for 1946--1950 [Itogi raskopok v Khersonese za 1946--1950 gg.]," *IADK* 1957 p239 Fig. 1.) Presently all of them are absent from the Khersonesian preserve. This work also does not include individual amphoras from the excavations of the ground burials in the Azov Sea area and from Scythian tumulus burials in the lower Dnieper area, information about which may be met with in *Archaeological Discoveries [Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia]* and other publications.

The First Type of Khersonesian Amphoras

This Type includes 86 vessels from the main collection and 100 from the additional collection. This represents more than

74% of the entire selection, which permits us to consider this Type of containers to be the most wide-spread.

Vessels of the first Type are characterized by two most important features, the correlations of the linear dimensions: $H_{\{1\}}/H_{\{0\}}$ ---ca 0.36--0.41 and $H_{\{3\}}/D_{\{1\}}$ ---ca 0.38--0.55. These amphoras differ from the other Types of Khersonesan containers in their relatively small height of neck ($H_{\{3\}}$) and of the entire upper part ($H_{\{1\}}$), and the smooth profile of the shoulders and body of the vessels which gives them a unique "pythoid" shape. The remaining features vary or characterize groups of vessels within Variants.

Variant I-A includes 31 amphoras (nrs 1--15, 226, 230, and nrs 114--128, 231, 232). These are very large vessels with a capacity of from 23--30 litres, distinguished by a large body diameter ($D_{\{1\}}$ fluctuates ca 34--35 cm) which comprises about half of the depth ($D_{\{1\}}/H_{\{0\}}$ 0.51--0.56). The average value of the depth is ca 65 cm, the height of the upper part ca 26 cm (Appendix 1, Tables 1--3).

There is no absolute unity within the Variant. There are fluctuations in dimensions ($D_{\{1\}}$, d) and in some qualitative features (presence or absence of slip and stamps). All this permits us to isolate 4 Groups of amphoras within Variant I-A the detailed characteristics of which it is necessary to introduce by a small digression into the field of their localisation.

The point is that out of the four Groups of containers within Variant I-A the first two (I-A-1 and I-A-2) are usually assigned to the Bosporos and only the odd stamped amphora of Group I-A-3 is considered undoubtedly Khersonesan. This hypothesis about Bosporan or Pantikapian amphoras was first put forward by I.B. Zeest as applicable to 2 vessels found in Adzhimushkai near Kerch and in [p43] the Karagadeuashkh tumulus. I.B. Zeest argued her supposition from the fact that the clay of these amphoras was similar to the clay of Bosporan roof-tiles and, most important, with the clay of the stamps isolated by L.A. El'nitskii into the Bosporan group. A certain significance was attached also to the location.

==== 4. Zeest, I.B., "Excavations at Kimmerik in 1947--1949 [Raskopki Kimmerika v 1947--1949 gg]," <i>VDI</i> 1949 nr 3 p100 Fig. 7; <i>eadem</i>, "On the Question of Bosporan Amphoras [K voprosu o bosporskikh amphorakh]," <i>AIB</i> 1952 1 p159 Fig. 1; <i>eadem</i>, <i>The Ceramic Containers of the Bosporos [Keramicheskaya tara Bospora]</i>, Moscow 1960 p26, 95 Table XVII, 36, b, g. The hypothesis was supported by V.D. Blavatskii (<i>Agriculture in Ancient States of the Northern Black Sea Area [Zemledelie v antichnykh gosudarstvakh Severnogo Prichernomor'ia]</i> Moscow 1953 p155 f., Fig. 78).

==== 5. El'nitskii, L.A. "On Bosporan Amphora Stamps [O bosporskikh amfornykh kleimakh]," <i>VDI</i> 1940 nr 3--4 p318 f.

At the same time I.B. Zeest never regarded her hypothesis as an absolute, perhaps she even doubted its soundness. It is characteristic that, in analysing a series of amphoras from the burial ground on the Northern Shore of Khersonesos which, as has now become clear, is identical to those from Karagadeuashkh and Adzhimushkai, she, following R.B. Akhmerov, G.D. Belov and S.F. Strzheletskii,<f6> ascribed them to the production of Khersonesian workshops.<f7>

- ==== 6. Akhmerov, R.B., "Amphoras of Ancient Greek Khersonesos ...," p160 f; Belov G.D., and Strzheletskii, S.F., "Blocks [sections of an excavation grid? tr.] XV and XVI (Excavations of 1937) [Kvartaly XV i XVI (Raskopki 1937 g.)," <i>MIA<i> 1953 nr 34 p36; Belov, G.D., "Amphoras from the Necropolis of Khersonesos ...," p19.
- ==== 7. Zeest, I.B. <i>Ceramic containers of the Bosporos<i> ..., p98.

However, as rather frequently happens, the hypothesis about "Bosporan" or "Pantikapaian" amphoras very soon began to be considered fully proved and not only by archaeologists who work on the Bosporos.<f8> Even the point of view established earlier on the Khersonesian origin of amphoras from the necropolis on the northern shore of the ancient town has come into doubt. In the latest summary of Khersonesian containers compiled by V.V. Borisova,<f9> they are not listed.

- ==== 8. See, for example, Iakovenko, E.V., "Ancient Amphoras Found in the Kiev Area [in Ukrainian]," <i>Archaeology<i> Kiev 1964 vol 16; Gansova, E.A., "Complexes of Ceramic Containers [Kompleksy keramicheskoi tary]," <i>MASP<i> 1966 nr 5 p76; Onaiko, N.A., "Ancient Imports in the Dnieper and Bug Areas in 4--2c BC [Antichnyi import v Pridneprov'e i Pobuzh'e v IV--II vv. do n.e.]," <i>SAI<i> 1970 nr D1--27 p109; Smirnov, K.F., <i>The Sarmatae and the Assertion of Their Political Rule in Scythia [Sarmaty i utverzhdenie ikh politicheskogo gospodstva v Skifii],<i> Moscow 1984 p53 Fig. 16.2.
- ==== 9. Borisova, V.V., "Ceramic Stamps of Khersonesos ...," p105 f.

However, doubts of the correctness of the Bosporan localisation of this group of amphoras grew gradually. First of all the entire acquired historical and archaeological material did not give grounds for speaking of the wide-spread diffusion of wine-making in late classical and early Hellenistic Bosporos. On the contrary, it is known that wine-making, the needs of which amphora production is called upon [p44] to meet, developed here much later, probably not earlier than 3c BC.<f10> The affiliation of these amphoras with the Bosporos began to be objected to,<f11> particularly since the argumentation of I.B. Zeest does not bear rigorous criticism.

- ==== 10. Shelov, D.B. <i>Coinage of the Bosporos in 6-2c BC [Monetnoe delo Bospora VI--II vv. do n.e.]<i> Moscow 1956 p32 f; Gaidukevich, V.F., "Wine-making in the Bosporos [Vinodelie na Bospore]," <i>MIA<i> 1958 nr 85 p363 f; Kruglikova, I.T., <i>Agriculture of the Bosporos [Sel'skoe

khoziaistvo Bospora] <i>, Moscow 1975 p191 f.

==== 11. Brashinskii, I.B., <i>Greek Ceramic Imports ...<i> p32 f.

Since I.B. Zeest based [her work] on the deductions of L.A. El'nitskii, it is necessary to analyse once again the collection he used. As it turned out, L.A. El'nitskii was familiar with most of the material only through publications. Actually, the unity, about which he writes, of the clay in the amphora stamps does not exist at all. The coincidences of the names and their abbreviations in the amphoras stamps with the names on Bosporan roof-tile stamps which L.A. El'nitskii uses as the basic argument are very rare, and, most important, these names are very common in the ceramic epigraphy of a number centres. The selection of L.A. El'nitskii turned out to be very heterogeneous, we can find there stamps of the "Zenon group" isolated by V. Grace, and of undetermined Mediterranean centres, and, particularly important, it contains up to 30% monogram stamps of Khersonesos.<f12> One conclusion begs to be drawn---the group of so-called "Bosporan" amphora stamps is clearly not homogeneous and in essence is not a single group. Consequently the localisation of the amphoras based on similarity of clay is faulty as well.

==== 12. These are the identifications of V.I. Kats, who sorted out this collection and kindly conveyed his conclusions.

As it turned out, the argument about the "find-spot" of the amphoras was also shaken. The overwhelming majority of the vessels, analogous to the majority of those from Karagadeuashkh and Adzhimushkai, was found in Khersonesos and in its <i>khora<i>: 6 amphoras were found in the necropolis in the Khersonesian ancient town,<f13> 6 in the tumulus burial-ground Panskoe-I in the North-[p45]West Crimea,<f14> and 2 amphoras in Kerkinitis.<f15> They were also found in the lower Dnieper area<f16> and at the Elizavetovskoe burial-ground.<f17> Thus at present we have not merely two but eighteen single-type amphoras which are characterized by a stable set of features.

==== 13. In the catalogue nrs 3, 4, 9, 115, 116, 119. Three of them were found in 1936 in burials nrs 16, 43, 82 (Belov, G.D., <i>Report on Excavations in Khersonesos for 1935--1936 [Otchet o raskopkakh v Khersonese za 1935--1936 gg.]<i> Simferopol' 1938 p187 Fig. 33; Akhmerov, R.B., "Amphoras of Ancient Greek Khersonesos ...," p160; Belov G.D., and Strzheletskii, S.F., "Blocks XV and XVI ...," p36; Zeest, I.B. <i>Ceramic Containers of the Bosporos<i> ... p98; Belov, G.D., "Amphoras from the Necropolis of Khersonesos ...," p18 f.), one was discovered in the same place in 1965 (Belov, G.D., "Amphoras from the Necropolis of Khersonesos ...," p19 Fig. 3.1). Amphoras nrs 116, 119 come from unknown burials of 1936.

==== 14. Amphoras nrs 1, 2, 5, 114, 117, 230 are from tumuli 34, 38, 41, 42, 48. Some of them have been published (Monakhov, S.Iu, "Once More on Standards of Capacity ...," catalogue nrs 38, 39 Fig. 1-7).

==== 15. Amphora nr 6 was found by M.A. Nalivkina in 1953 at the necropolis, amphora nr 118 was discovered by V.A.

Kutaisov at the ancient town.

- ==== 16. Iakovenko, E.V., "Ancient Amphoras ...," p200 Fig. 2;
Onaiko, N.A., "Ancient Imports ...," p109 nr 578 Table II.
==== 17. Brashinskii, I.B., <i>Greek Ceramic Imports ...<i>
pp29, 122 nr 141, 142 Table VI.

Comparison of these vessels with container specimens, synchronous or close in time, which are represented in the North Black Sea Area indicates that "Pantikapaian" amphoras find their closest analogy in one of the early groups of stamped Khersonesan container products (Group I-A-3 of this classification). Until recent times only one such amphora with a stamp of the astynome Kraton discovered by R.Kh. Leper in 1914<f18> was known. Now the collection has increased to 13 specimens: 7 vessels from the excavations of the settlement Panskoe-I,<f19> 5 from Kerkinitis and its surroundings,<f20> 1 from the Don Area,<f21> and one from Khersonesos. Seven amphoras have stamps of the astynomes Batillos, Kraton, Sokritos, Eukleitos, and Athanodoros Nikiou which reliably confirms the Khersonesan origin of this Group of containers. The typological closeness of the undoubtedly Khersonesan and of the so-called [p46] "Pantikapaian" amphoras is entirely certain. Amphoras of the first and the third Groups are particularly closely related, not only many parameters but also the capacity---about 30 litres---are very close. Moreover a stable combination of the shapes of the rim and toe is characteristic for all of them (Appendix 3 Table 1, 2).

- ==== 18. In catalogue nr 14. It was found in the necropolis beyond the West walls of the ancient town. See: Archive GKHz Case nr 97, nr 417; Akhmerov, R.B., "Amphoras of Ancient Greek Khersonesos ...," p161 Fig. 1; Zeest, I.B., <i>Ceramic Containers of the Bosporos<i> ... p98 Table XXI.38a; Borisova, V.V., "Ceramic Stamps of Khersonesos ...," p105 Fig. 3a, 4a, 5; Belov, G.D., "Amphoras from the Necropolis of Khersonesos ...," p18 Fig. 2, 4.
==== 19. In catalogue nrs 12, 13, 15, 121, 126, 226, 232. Some of them have been published (Kats, V.I., Monakhov, S.Iu., "Amphoras of Hellenistic Khersonesos ...," p95 Fig. 2.1-2; Monakhov, S.Iu., "Once More on Standards of Capacity ...," catalogue nrs 36--37, Fig. 1-8.)
==== 20. In catalogue nrs 122, 123, 124, 125, 127. On two of them see: Borisova, V.V., "Ceramic Stamps of Khersonesos ...," p106; Kutaisov, V.A., "House with Andron from the Excavations of Kerkinitis [Dom s andronom iz raskopok Kerkinitidy]," <i>SA<i> 1985 nr 3 p182 Fig. 5-1.
==== 21. In catalogue nr 128. It was found in a rich Sarmatan burial of tumulus nr 4 of the Sladkovskii burial-ground. See: Smirnov, K.F., "'Amazon' of 4c BC on the Don ['Amazonka' IV v do n.e. na Donu]," <i>SA<i> 1982 nr 1 p121 Fig. 5-2; <i>idem<i>, <i>The Sarmatae and the Assertion of Their Political Rule <i> ... p53 Fig. 16-2; Maksimenko, V.E., <i>Savromatae and Sarmatae on the Lower Don [Savromaty i sarmaty na Nizhnem Donu],<i> Rostov-on-the-Don 1983 p82 Fig. 17-6. K.F. Smirnov defines it as Pantikapaian and V.E. Maksimov as Khersonesan, quoting the opinion of I.B. Brashinskii.

They differ in features of secondary importance: amphoras of Groups I-A-3 and I-A-4, in contrast to the vessels of the first two Groups, are stamped and always have a slip.

All of the above permits us rather confidently to consider amphoras of the so-called "Bosporan type" as Khersonesian and join them with the stamped vessels into Variant I-A.<f22> As for the internal grouping of the Variant, it looks like this:

==== 22. The concentration of the finds of amphoras of this Variant in Khersonesos and in its <i>khora</i> is quite understandable because the internal market of the state was satisfied first of all with its own cheap wine. At the same time, finds of Khersonesian amphoras of this Variant in the North-East Black Sea Area are not surprising. According to the data of ceramic epigraphy, Khersonesian import to this region was quite abundant precisely for the end 4c--beg 3c BC. See: Kats, V.I., "External Trade in the Economy of Ancient Khersonesos (5c--2c BC) [Vneshniaia trgovlia v ekonomike antichnogo Khersonesa (V--II vv. do n.e.)], "<i>Abstracts of Dissertations ... Candidature of Historical Sciences [Avtoref. dis. ... kand. ist. nauk]</i>, Moscow 1967; Brashinskii, I.B., <i>Greek Ceramic Imports ...</i> p93 f.

Amphoras of Group I-A-1 are characterized by a very wide body (av. D_{1} = 34.7 cm), by a relatively small mouth (av. d = 8.9 cm), and also by such features as a complete absence of slip and stamps. The capacity of the vessels, judging by the series of [empirical] measurements, fluctuates around 30 litres, which corresponds to a probable standard measure of capacity of 24 choinikes, 6 hemihekts or 1/2 medimnus.<f23> 15 amphoras have been assigned to this Group, of which 7 are from the burial-ground and settlement Panskoe-I,<f24> 5 from the Khersonesian necropolis,<f25> 2 from Kerkinitis,<f26> and 1 from the Kiev region<f27> (Appendix 1, Table 1; Appendix 2, Table I).

==== 23. Monakhov, S.Iu, "Once More on Standards of Capacity of Amphoras ...," p164 Table III.

==== 24. In catalogue nrs 1, 2, 5, 114, 117, 230, 231.

==== 25. Nrs 3, 4, 115, 116, 119.

==== 26. Nrs 6, 118.

==== 27. Nr 120.

Amphoras of Group I-A-2 also were not stamped and not slipped. In comparison with the preceding Group, they have a somewhat smaller diameter of the body (av. D_{1} = 32.2 cm), but approximately the same depth and diameter of the mouth. The full capacity of the vessels is also smaller---ca 23 litres, which corresponds to a probable measure of 20 choinikes or 5 hemihekts.<f28> 5 amphoras have been assigned to this Group: from the tumulus [p47] Karagadeuashkh, from Adzhimushkai, from burial nr 82 in the Khersonesian necropolis, and from the Elizavetovskoe burial-ground<f29> (Appendix 1, Table 2; Appendix 2 Table II).

==== 28. Monakhov, S.Iu, "Once More on Standards of Capacity of

Amphoras ..., " p164 Table III Fig. 1-6.

==== 29. In catalogue nrs 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Amphoras of the Group I-A-3 differ from the vessels of the preceding two Groups in the presence of a slip, stamps on the handles, and a somewhat larger diameter of the mouth (av. d = 10.3 cm) at the maximum, as in the first Group, diameter of the body (av. $D_{\{1\}}$ = 35.3 cm). The full capacity, as in amphoras of I-A-1, is ca 30 litres which corresponds to a standard measure of 24 choinikes or 6 hemihekts.<f30> 13 amphoras have been assigned to this Group, of which 6 were found in the settlement Panskoe-I,<f31> 3 in Kerkinitis,<f32> and 1 each in Khersonesos,<f33> in the settlements "Chaika" and "Maiak" near Eupatoria,<f34> and in the Sladkovskii burial-ground<f35> (Appendix 1, Table 3; Appendix 2, Table III). Half of the vessels have stamps on the handles (Appendix 3, Table 2).

==== 30. Monakhov, S.Iu, "Once More on Standards of Capacity of Amphoras ..., " p164 Table III Fig. 1-8.

==== 31. In catalogue nrs 12, 13, 15, 121, 126, 226, 232.

==== 32. Nr 123 (excavations of L.A. Moiseev 1917) and nrs 125, 127 (excavations of V.A. Kutaisov).

==== 33. Nr 14

==== 34. Nrs 122, 124.

==== 35. Nr 128.

Group I-A-4 is isolated on the basis of a single find---amphora nr 226 from the Panskoe-I settlement. As on the containers of the preceding third Group, it has a slip, and its dimensions are similar except for the body diameter which is somewhat smaller ($D_{\{1\}}$ = 32.7 cm), which causes its smaller capacity. Calculation of the volume of the vessel according to a drawing gives a number of 23.6 litres, which corresponds to the standard measure of 5 hemihekts conjectured for the containers of Group I-A-2 (Appendix 1; Appendix 2 Table III).

In developing a chronology of the amphoras of Variant I-A we can rely on stratigraphical observations, on the chronology of the complexes from which they originate, and finally on the chronology of the stamps known on vessels of the third Group. We should probably begin with the last question.

R.B. Akhmerov and V.V. Borisova have already confidently dated an amphora with a stamp of Kraton to the end of 4c BC.<f36> According to the latest classification, astynomes Kraton, Batillos, Eukleides, and Sokritos are [p48] magistrates of the earliest group, dated to the end of 4c BC.<f37> The stamp of Athanodoros Nikiou found on the amphora from the "Maiak" settlement is put at the end of 3c BC according to this classification.<f38> However, this date contradicts the chronology of the settlement, which is limited by end 4c to 1/3 3c BC.<f39> To all appearances the astynome Athanodoros Nikiou performed the magistracy no later than the border of the 70s--60s of the 3c BC (Appendix 3, Table 2).<f40> Unstamped specimens of the amphoras of Group I-A-3 [sic] as well as the single vessel of the 4th Group are dated to approximately the same time according to the complex of the accompanying material. Thus the

majority of the amphoras of this Group, as has been noted, comes from the closed complexes U.6 and U.7 of the Panskoe-I settlement which do not go beyond the limits of the 3/3 4c and 1/3 3c BC.<f41>

- ==== 36. Akhmerov, R.B., "Amphoras of Ancient Greek Khersonesos ...," p161; Borisova, V.V., "Ceramic Stamps of Khersonesos ...," p106. In one of the latest works of G.D. Belov, this vessel is dated to the beginning of the 5c BC ("Amphoras from the Necropolis of Khersonesos ...," p22 n.10). This date is not substantiated by anything and contradicts the conclusions made earlier by the author himself. Most likely what we have here is an annoying typographical error.
- ==== 37. Kats, V.I., "The Typology and Chronological Classification of Khersonesian Magistrate Stamps [Tipologiya i khronologicheskaya klassifikatsiya khersonesskikh magistratskikh kleim]," <i>VDI<i> 1985 nr 1 Table II. With rare exception the chronological classification of V.I. Kats will be used from now on.
- ==== 38. <i>Ibid<i>.
- ==== 39. Kolesnikov, A.B., "Ancient Peasant Estates near the Eupatorian Lighthouse [Antichnye sel'skie usad'by u Evpatoriiskogo maiaka]," <i>Vestnik MGU<i> 1984 series 8 nr 4 p85; <i>idem<i>., "Greek Agricultural Estates in the Region of the City of Eupatoria [Grecheskie sel'skokhoziaistvennye usad'by v raione g. Evpatorii]," <i>Abstracts of Dissertations ... Candidature of Historical Sciences [Avtoref. dis. ... kand. ist. nauk]<i>, Moscow 1985 p11.
- ==== 40. V.I. Kats considers that it is possible to move this magistrate to the beginning of sub-group 2-b, having established for it a lower border of the 60s of the 3c BC. The opinion of A.B. Kolesnikov who assigned Athanodoros Nikiou to the end 4c--beg 3c BC (Kolesnikov, A.B., "Ceramic Stamps from Excavations near the Eupatorian Lighthouse [Keramicheskie kleima iz raskopok u Evpatoriiskogo maiaka]," <i>VDI<i> 1985 nr 2 p80 Table II) couldn't really be supported because stamps of this astynome do not correspond typologically to the earlier group.
- ==== 41. Shcheglov, A.N., <i>Polis and Khora [Polis i khora],<i> Simferopol' 1976 p134.

The matter of clarifying the chronology of the first two Groups of Variant I-A is somewhat more complex. R.B. Akhmerov, who considered the amphoras from the necropolis on the Northern Shore of Khersonesos to be the earliest output of Khersonesian containers, dated them to the mid 4c BC.<f42> I.B. Zeest assigned the Karagadeuashkh amphora to the beg 3c BC on the basis of the approximate date of the burial.<f43> Indeed the Karagadeuashkh period was determined from the end 4c to beg (1/3) 3c BC.<f44> Later, having in mind finds of [the same] single type of sword and gorytos [quiver],<f45> Karagadeuashkh was synchronised [p49] with Chertomlyk and the Melitopol' tumulus and dated to the 4/4 4c BC.<f46> The latest research seems to provide a basis for considering 340/330--275 BC as the most probable date for the construction of Karagadeuashkh with

the main emphasis on the lower border of the date.<f47>

- ==== 42. Akhmerov, R.B., "Amphoras of Ancient Greek Khersonesos," p160; Belov, G.D., "Results of Excavations in Khersonesos," p194.
- ==== 43. Zeest, I.B., <i>Ceramic Containers of the Bosporos<i> ... p95.
- ==== 44. Rostovtsev, M.I., "A Voronezh Silver Vessel [Voronezhskii serebrianyi sosud]," <i>MAP<i> St. Petersburg 1915 nr 34 p92 f.; <i>idem<i>., <i>Scythia and the Bosporos [Skifiia i Bospor],<i> Leningrad 1925 pp370, 456.
- ==== 45. Grakov, B.N., <i>Scythians [Skify]<i> Moscow 1971 p118.
- ==== 46. I.B. Brashinskii, "New Materials for Dating Tumuli of the Scythian Tribal Aristocracy of the North Black Sea Area [Novye materialy k datirovke kurganov skifskoi plemennoi znati Severnogo Prichernomor'ia]," <i>Eirene<i> 1965 nr 4 p101; Il'inskaia, V.A., Terenozhkin, A.I., <i>Scythia 7c--4c BC [Skifiia VII--IV vv. do n.e.]<i> Kiev 1983 p136.
- ==== 47. Alekseev, A.Iu., "On the Place of the Chertomlyk Tumulus in the Chronological System of Burials of the Scythian Aristocracy in 4c--3c BC [O meste Chertomlykского kurgana v khronologicheskoi sisteme pogrebenii skifskoi znati IV--III vv. do n.e.]," <i>AS GE<i> 1984 nr 25 pp72, 74; <i>idem<i>., "Notes on the Chronology of Scythian Steppe Antiquities of the 4c BC [Zametki po khronologii skifskikh stepnykh drevnostei IV v. do n.e.]," <i>SA<i> 1987 nr 3 p36.

New finds make the chronology of amphoras of 1 and 2 Groups of Variant I-A more precise. If I.B. Brashinskii has succeeded in dating the Elizavetovskoe vessels only within a wide range---within the limits of the entire 4c BC,<f48> then amphora nr 118 from Kerkinitis may be assigned to 3/4 4c BC according to the accompanying material.<f49>

- ==== 48. Brashinskii, I.B., "Greek Ceramic Imports," p206 catalogue nrs 141, 142.
- ==== 49. Information from V.A. Kutaisov.

Materials of the Panskoe-I settlement and burial-ground are particularly important. From among the settlement finds of the end 4c to 1/3 3c BC, these vessels are totally absent. This may serve as an indirect basis for determining the upper border of the output of these vessels. At the same time amphoras of Group I-A-1 were found in children's burials of tumuli nrs 34, 38, 41, 42, and 48 of this burial ground, in combination with Thasian biconical, Heraklean, Chian (?) "dunce-capped", and of Solokha-II type vessels which are dated by analogies with the Elizavetovskoe settlement within the limits of the first three quarters of the 4c BC.<f50> Analysis of stratigraphical data and black-glaze pottery permits us to determine a more narrow date for these burial complexes---2/4-3/4 4c BC.<f51> Considering the fact that black-glaze pottery, in contrast to the containers, is accumulated for a longer period of time, it will be more reliable to assign amphoras of Group I-A-1 from the Panskoe-I burial-ground to the 3/4 4c BC. The chronology of the second Group is determined as belonging to the same time.

- ==== 50. Brashinskii, I.B., "Greek Ceramic Imports ...," catalogue nrs 20-24, 80-113, 135-139, Tables II, IV, VI.
- ==== 51. The ceramic complexes of the burial-ground have been worked on and prepared for publication by the author together with E.Ia. Rogov and I.V. Tunkina.

Apart from morphological, epigraphical, and other methods of dating, the chronology presented of the amphoras of Variant I-A is reliably [p50] confirmed by the analysis of several ceramic complexes of the 4c BC from excavations at Khersonesos.

In the well-dated fill of the well-fountain at the foundation of the oldest defensive wall, which was erected, judging by the stamps of Heraklea and Thasos, in the 70s-60s of the 4c BC, there is not a single fragment of Khersonesian amphoras.<f52> One may conjecture that they were not produced in this period.

- ==== 52. The complex was discovered at the end of the 50s by S.F. Strzheletskii. It was worked on by V.I. Kats. See Kats, V.I., "Mass Material of the End of 5c--4c BC as a Source for the History of Khersonesian Trade in the Late Classical Period [Massovyi material kontsa V--VI vv. do n.e. kak istochnik po istorii trgovli Khersonesa v pozdneklassicheskuu epokhu]," <i>Abstracts of Conference Papers [Tez. dokl. konferentsii]<i>. Borisoglebsk 1966 p11 f.

In another complex of ceramics from Well B under Kiln 9, studied by V.V. Borisova and V.N. Danilenko in 1957, and dated to the 70s-40s of the 4c BC, several inexpressive fragments of amphora walls may conjecturally be assigned to Khersonesian production.<f53>

- ==== 53. GKHz, collection 9, inventory number 35582. The collection was worked on by V.I. Kats, materials not published. See: Borisova, V.V., "Report on the Excavations of Pottery Workshops in Tavridian Khersonesos in 1957 [Otchet o raskopkakh goncharnykh masterskikh v Khersonese Tavricheskom v 1957 g.]," Archive GKHz Case nr 733 sheet 6 f.

And only in the fill under the ancient theatre, which was built no later than the 20s of the 4c BC,<f54> was there inventoried a certain number of characteristic sharp-edged massive toes of amphoras, basically peculiar to the vessels of the first and second groups of Variant I-A of this classification.<f55>

- ==== 54. Zedgenidze, A.A., "Investigation of the North-West Section of the Ancient Theatre in Khersonesos [Issledovanie severo-zapadnogo uchastka antichnogo teatra v Khersonese]," <i>KSIA<i> 1976 nr 145 p33.
- ==== 55. The materials have not been published. O.E. Dombrovskii and A.A. Zedgenidze kindly gave me an opportunity to become acquainted with them.

Thus all of the material under investigation in its entirety allows us to assign the beginning of amphora production in Khersonesos to the beginning of the 2/2 4c BC. The very first issue of the containers was amphoras of Group 1 of Variant I-A, the standard measure of capacity of which was equal to 24 choinikes or 6 hemihekts. Containers of the following 2nd Group of this Variant were actually a modification of Group 1. Due to the decrease in the body diameter these vessels have a smaller standard measure of capacity of 20 choinikes or 5 hemihekts. Having appeared apparently simultaneously with, or a little later than, amphoras of Group 1, they co-existed with it.

Amphoras of Groups 3 and 4 of Variant I-A signify a new stage of production connected with the appearance of the practice of stamping and slipping the vessels which was then retained for the duration of almost the entire Hellenistic period. They repeat the same measures of capacity of 6 and 5 hemihekts. However we may suppose that [p51] standard dimensions of the prototypes of the amphoras of these Groups were specified not in the Ionic, as in the first and second Groups, but in the Attic system of linear measures.<f56> They have an increased mouth diameter, a somewhat decreased general height, and a certain noticeable evolution in the general shaping of the profile of the vessel, and in the profile of the toe.

==== 56. Monakhov, S.Iu., "Once Again on the Standards of Amphora Capacities ...," p166.

58 whole and archaeologically whole amphoras (Appendix 2, Tables IV-XI) are assigned to Variant I-B according to the graph of classification by a simple algorithm (see Fig. 1). Four variant features are isolated: $D_{\{1\}}$, $H_{\{1\}}$, $H_{\{3\}}/D_{\{1\}}$, $D_{\{1\}}/H_{\{0\}}$. These vessels, first of all, differ from Variant I-A by the smaller body diameter (av. $D_{\{1\}} = 28.3$ cm) and by several other correlations of linear dimensions (Appendix 1, Table 4). It is natural that the standard measure of capacity for amphoras of this Variant was also smaller and most likely comprised 16 choinikes or 4 hemihekts.<f57>

==== 57. <i>Ibid.<i> Table III.

Another 79 basically fragmented vessels from the additional collection are assigned to this Variant on the basis of isolated variant features (Appendix 1).

Amphoras of Variant I-B, like all other kinds of Khersonesian containers, in accordance with the established tradition, were stamped in a certain proportion and all without exception have a slipped surface.

This Variant of amphora containers is the most representative and in our selection it comprises more than half of the entire number of vessels. The linear dimensions of these amphoras fluctuate quite considerably, in comparison with Variant I-A, around average values. Particular doubts in the

unity of this Variant may be caused by the fluctuations in the values of the features: $H_{\{0\}} = 57.0-70.7$ cm, $D_{\{1\}} = 26.4-31.8$ cm, $H_{\{1\}} = 20.0-28.0$ cm, and some others.

In order to test the consistency of uniting these vessels into one variant, we calculated the sizes of the standard deviations for all features with "doubtful" fluctuations in values. The testing showed that at $\langle g \rangle s \langle s \rangle H_{\{0\}} = 2.33$ cm practically all values of $H_{\{0\}}$ from the basic collection of 58 amphoras of Variant I-B (av. $H_{\{0\}} \pm 3 \langle g \rangle s \langle g \rangle = 51.7-71.1$ cm) fit into the permissible limits $\pm 3 \langle g \rangle s \langle g \rangle$. The values of the body diameter in the same selection fit, with 3 exceptions, even within the limits $\pm 2 \langle g \rangle s \langle g \rangle$ (av. $D_{\{1\}} \pm 2 \langle g \rangle s \langle g \rangle = 25.8-31.8$ cm). The same results are obtained for linear dimensions $H_{\{1\}}$, $H_{\{2\}}$, $H_{\{3\}}$, and H . In other words there is no doubt that all the values of the variables ($H_{\{0\}}$, $D_{\{1\}}$, and others) are located within the limits of the permissible range $\text{av. } x \pm 2 \langle g \rangle s \langle g \rangle$ or $\text{av. } x \pm 3 \langle g \rangle s \langle g \rangle$, and the existing scatter [p52] of the results does not contradict the law of normal distribution (Appendix 1, Table 4). Anticipating a little, I will note that the body diameters of the amphoras of the following Variant of Type I (I-B') do not fit into the range of values permissible for Variant I-B and neither do the values of $D_{\{1\}}$ of the preceding Variant I-A.

Apparently we can come to the conclusion that this selection of 85 vessels of the basic collection and 79 vessels of the additional collection contain a homogeneous mass of vessels which it is permissible to isolate into a separate Variant I-B of our classification.

At the same time the very fact of the presence of such a range of values of features requires some explanation. Most likely the basic reason lies in the bulk nature of the production of this type of containers which were produced, as will be shown later, from the end of 4c BC to at least the end of 3c BC. The wide circle of ceramic master-potters engaged in this production and the difference, natural in this connection, in their professional training, undoubtedly should have caused some deviations from the established model standard both in the linear dimensions and in the profiled parts. It is also indicative that precisely on the containers of the Variant under observation we most frequently come across the traces of haste in production: bad kneading of the clay, which sometimes led to layering and swelling in the walls of a vessel, low quality slip, asymmetry etc.

The date of the issue of the amphoras of this Variant is well-established on the basis of the stamps on the handles and on the necks of the vessels, and of the chronology of the complexes in which they were found.

The largest selection of amphoras of Variant I-B comes from the excavations of buildings nrs 6 and 7 of the Panskoe-I settlement and of the burial of the same name (65 specimens). <f58> An overwhelming number of vessels are not stamped but there are 9 amphoras with stamps of the astynomes

Batillos, Sokritos, Herodotos, Apollonios, Eukleitos, Sopolis, Alexander, and with a the monogram <g>AE<g> lig, (<g>E<g> retr) (Appendix 3, Table 3). Moreover over 100 stamped amphora handles were inventoried in the same place which permitted us to make the chronology of some Khersonesan magistrates more precise. On the whole, the amphoras from this monument [site] can be dated by the complex of material [p53] to the end of 4c-1/3 3c BC, including, naturally, the stamped vessels as well.<f59>

==== 58. Amphoras nrs 16-27, 39, 41, 44, 46, 53-56, 58-61, 65, 137-139, 144, 150, 152, 153, 166-171, 173-176, 182, 183, 187-197, 199, 200, 231-240.

==== 59. Shcheglov, A.N., <i>Polis and Khora ...<i> p132; Kats, V.I., Monakhov, S.Iu., "Amphoras of Hellenistic Khersonesos," p90; Kats, V.I., "The Typology and Chronological Classification ..." p101 Table II.

In the the pottery workshops investigated by V.V. Borisova in the 50s in Khersonesos, 2 amphoras with full profile and 8 fragmented amphoras of Variant I-B were found (Appendix 2, Table VI).<f60> The director of the excavations dates the entire industrial complex to the end of 3c-1/2 2c BC.<f61> In her opinion the ergasterias perished during the first skirmishes between Khersonesos with the Scythians, which she assigns to the beg 2c BC. As an additional argument the date of the first burials in the necropolis, which overlapped [spanned] the workshops, is cited---mid 2c BC.

==== 60. In catalogue nrs 28, 29, 154-159, 165, 172.

==== 61. Borisova, V.V., "Pottery Workshops of Khersonesos [Goncharye masterskie Khersonesa]," <i>SA<i> 1958 nr 4 p144 f; <i>eadem<i>, "Ceramic Production of Ancient Khersonesos (on the Materials of the Excavations of Ergasterias at the End 4c--2c BC) [Keramicheskoe proizvodstvo antichnogo Khersonesa (po materialam raskopok ergasteriev kontsa IV--II vv do n.e.)," <i>Abstracts of Dissertations ... Candidature of Historical Sciences [Avtoref. dis. ... kand. ist. nauk]<i>, Leningrad 1966 p16.

Serious objections against such a dating of the workshops have already been expressed in the literature.<f62> The necropolis in this place appeared for sure not earlier than several decades after the destruction of the industrial complex. It is hard to imagine organising a cemetery on the recently charred ruins.<f63> Moreover at present it has been firmly established that the first Scythian-Khersonesan conflicts begin not at the beg 2c BC and not even at end 3c BC, but at the beg 3c BC. This fact has been established by investigations of recent years in the settlements of the Khersonesan khora in the North-West Crimea.<f64> The topography of buried hoards of the 1/2 3c BC testifies to the alarming conditions around the city itself.<f65> Of course, this does not mean that the workshops perished at the very beginning of the conflict; theoretically it could have happened later. Now we have opportunities for making the date of the destruction of the production [p54] complex more


precise. Although, as is known, stamped amphoras were not found in the actual kilns, 2 necks of amphoras of Variant I-B with stamps Nanon and Heroxenos on the handles (catalogue nrs 155, 157) were found in location A of the first workshop. According to a whole series of new complexes these astynomes are confidently dated to the end of 4c-very beg 3c BC. It is true, we should take into account the fact that the stamps belong to the period of the functioning and not of the destruction of the workshops; however, judging by the reports, we may suppose that they are not much older than the amphoras from the kilns. On the whole, one gets the impression that the ceramic workshops of the excavations of 1955-1957 perished in the 1/2 3c BC, and most likely closer to the middle of this century. General historical considerations in principle do not contradict, but on the contrary, confirm this date. It is well known that, in the case of military conflict, the city surroundings, including such fire hazardous productions as ceramic, metallurgical, and others, which were built beyond the city walls, suffer first.

- ==== 62. Shcheglov, A.N., "Review [Retsenziia]," *Transactions of the Khersones Museum [Soobshcheniia Khersonesskogo muzeia]* nr IV ... p175; Kats, V.I., Monakhov, S.Iu., "History and Prospects ...," p84.
- ==== 63. Mikhlin, B.Iu., "On Studying Khersones Ceramic Stamps [K izucheniiu khersonesskikh keramicheskikh kleim]," *VDI* 1979 nr 2 p146.
- ==== 64. Shcheglov, A.N., *North-Western Krimea in the Ancient Epoch [Severo-Zapadnyi Krym v antichnuiu epokhu]*, Leningrad 1978 p128.
- ==== 65. Gilevich, A.M., "Chronology and Topography of Buried Hoards of Khersones Coins of 4c-2c BC and Some Problems of Scythian-Khersones Relations [Khronologiya i topografiia kladov khersonesskikh monet IV-II vv. do n.e. i nekotorye voprosy skifo-khersonesskikh vzaimootnoshenii]," *Brief Abstracts of Papers given at the Scientific Conference "Ancient Cities of the Northern Black Sea Area and the Barbarian World [Kratkie tezisy dokladov k nauchnoi konferentsii "Antichnye goroda Severnogo Prichernomor'ia i varvarskii mir]*, Leningrad 1973 p11.
- ==== 66. Kats, V.I. "The Typology and Chronological Classification ...," Table II.
- ==== 67. Borisova, V.V. "Reports on the Excavations of Pottery Workshops in Tavridian Khersonesos for 1955-1957 [Otchety o raskopkakh goncharykh masterskikh v Khersonese Tavricheskom za 1955-1957 gg.]," *Archive GKKhZ Cases nr 710, 730, 733; eadem*, "Pottery Workshops of Khersonesos ...," p144 f.
- ==== 68. Monakhov, S.Iu., "Production of Amphoras in Hellenistic Khersonesos [Proizvodstvo amfor v ellinisticheskom Khersonese]," *VDI* 1984 nr 1 p122.

The third large of complex of containers of the Variant I-B

[To be continued]

On Chersonesus

See now correspondence and long articles
 filed under BLACK SEA AREA: USSR: MONARHOV.
 With this material, also an article by V. I. KATZ 
 on the same class. All this is only v. partially in
 translation. One article is full of mathematics (about
 capacities).

There are a series of drawings of shapes, ^{in one of the articles} but
 not good or clear. See our shapes file, with
 numerous stamped jars from Zest 1960, also
 (1) ^{with stamp} from ⁽¹⁾ Istanbul and (2) in N. Museum. The
 one in Istanbul looks remarkably like some
 Thracian, the one in the N. Museum also looks
 rather Thracian, of a later period (too different).

2.IV.91



KATZ texts being put in separate folds:
 USSR: KATZ

See also bibling notes on
a page dated 30.V.58
in this
folder.

Chersonese stamps

In the course of giving info to Nancy White
on stamped tiles, yesterday, Sunday Jan. 12,
I came on the note Em sent me in July 1948
on an article by Akhmerov in Vestnik 1948,
pp. 163-169, on "Stamped Tiles of Ancient
Greek Chersonese". Em copies for me from
the catalogue in this article 14 items of stamps
on tiles that also appear on jar handles. (In
the whole little catalogue, altogether 20 items.)
Some of the readings are accompanied by
secondary stamps (?) and she does not say
(author does not say?) whether these also
accompany the main stamps on the jars.
Of a few, she says there is a "dim photo"
in the article.

Note on this - Em's - are at back of TILES
folder, as dated in 1948.

9. VII. 76
begin 5

Chersonesian - various notes

On 6. VII. 76, Chr. Böcher gave me reference to
2 articles on ~~the~~ Chersonesian SAH which have
→ come out in Numismatika i Epigrafiika XI, 1974. One is
by Vasilenko, the other by Barisova. Is this latter
Pezinba's student? of whom I have not kept the
name.

Further notes on
CHERSONESIAN class

~~providing~~ provided (omitted for 1952 BCA)
Reading of Delos exp. ~~corrected~~, and recent ref. s. given,

in BCH Delos cent. article, note 9.
(Suppl. 1, 1973, p. 191)

CHERSONESIAN

See letter of 25.11.73⁷² from Brashinsky, filed under USSR -
information and/or comments on the following subjects - not all a
into our files:

SAMIAN

CHIAN

capacities taken

CHERSONESIAN

Early RHODIAN (foundation of Tanais, early 3rd)

PONTIC (capacities)

LESSBIAN "

On distribution and dating
of Chersonese stamps - jars

See Brashinsky's article now being transcribed.
The one by R. Burgi, "New data on Greek imports
to the Lower Dan (Elizabetovsk bronze - candles), in
Brief Commun., ~~no~~ 124, 1970, pp. 12-18. On pp.
13-14, discussion of what unusually ^{of Chus.} lots were
found in the Bl. T. - c. c., together with very
few having been found in Tauris. Tauris
was founded in the 1/4 of 2nd cent. A.D. etc.
So the Chersonese dated to largely earlier than
that.

22.I.72

See also letter to Brashinsky of today's date.

I will send off prints after you tell me you have received this letter, because I am not sure the address is correct.

8.01

Address
Blouha 19
Prague 1
St. Miska

March 31, 1970

Dear Dr. Pečírka,

Let me say once more how grateful we were to you, my sister and brother-in-law and I, for your kindness to us during our visit to Prague, for meeting us and helping us to find a taxi, and for showing us the wonderful Prague castle. My special thanks and greetings also to Madame Pecirka for the delicious dinner and pleasant evening at your apartment.

On the proposed studies of your student, whom I met that evening: I have looked up the records we have of stamps of the Chersonesam class found during our investigations of stamped handles in the eastern Mediterranean area. Those I have identified as from Chersonesos are few, and are remarkably concentrated as to finding-place:

Byzantium, 1: Istanbul Museum no. 6677. See Asperia Suppl. VIII, pl.19, 4, pl.20, 12, and see text, pp.185, 188. This is a whole stamped jar.

Delos, 2: for TD 4603 (bis), see B.C.H. 1952, pl.XXVI and text p. 539, no.39;
for TD 7044, see the Delos final volume 27 (now being printed), p.284,
note 1.

Palestine (Caesaria), 1: see Revue biblique 1963, pp.556-558, no. 16 (reading to be corrected)

Rhodes, 1: unnumbered and undeciphered - we have only a rubbing of the stamp.

Athens, from excavations, 6: of which 5 are from the Agora.

One of the N.Museum items is an amphora with (undeciphered)
Athens ? in the National museum, 7. (Not all handles in the Athens National stamp Museum are from Athens, but in this case, given the rest of our figures, it seems likely

(Alexandria: in the huge collections there (^{over}some 90,000), we have identified no examples of this class.)

V. 91
 (X) Q 10:1 now dated early 3rd before
 Hellenistic (280-275?)

The 18 listed above are in fact all I find on file with us, except for a couple entered from Russian publications because there were photographs given.

Our evidence on dating: 3 out of the 5 Agora handles come from the same ~~deposit~~ of filling (one not easy to describe, to which I may just give you its name for identification purposes, Q 10 : 1). This filling has been dated tentatively in the last quarter of the 4th century. (X) The Chersonesan (SS 11485, 11497 and 11498) may all be attributable to Akhmerov's Group I, which he dates 320-250 B.C., according to my investigations which are all via Canarache. That is, I have not read any of Akhmerov's articles, but Canarache lists the Chersonesan names given by Akhmerov, with A.'s dates, and I have looked up our stamps in Canarache's lists.

Anybody who wants to work seriously on Chersonesan stamps would want to read all Akhmerov's articles, which I note in Vestnik 1947 (pp. 160 ff.), 1949 (pp.99 ff.), 1951 (pp.325 ff.). Pridik's Hermitage catalogue (1918), p. 103, describes the incuse stamps that are usually characteristic (perhaps these are only the earlier ones?). Cf. Rostovtzev, Social and Economic History of the "Hellenistic" World, p.1331, note 43, for some references. It is possible that we have here filed as Sinopean some of the non-incuse (later?) Chersonesan stamps. One of these is included in the five mentioned from the Agora: SS 9171, which seems to belong to Akh.'s Group IV.

Note that Zeest's 1960 volume on amphoras from Bosphoros includes (pp.97-99) not only a discussion of amphora shapes but also some further references to earlier studies of the stamps, which seem to have been isolated as a group as early as the '80s of the past century. She has some comments on Akhmerov's work.

386.13-15
 I seem to remember that you were interested in oil-presses, so I enclose three photos which I took in Anavysos in 1956, on an excursion with E. Vanderpool and others.

You know that Professor and Mrs. Meritt are here this year, and they were very glad to have news of you, and wished to send you their greetings.

Under separate cover I am going to send you some offprints of articles of mine which you or your students may find it convenient to have.

Once more with many many thanks for your kindness,
 Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

Not section of Zeeb Bosporus book;

pp. 97-100 (8 line tunnels) She calls my 3 started jar
an imitation of the shape of Hardheim Portico.

[8.03]

To write to Mrs. Peculiar

on Chironomus on file

Tally of stamps not ^{known only} from ^{major} publs (i.e. include
those pub. by us)

From (alphabetical) file:

Istanbul Mus. 6674

B. B. B.

(Suppl. VII)

jar

EM 4

A?

? are the 2?

EM 5 (sam. left, Ham 103,848) A?

SS 8929

A

" 11485

A

see 8 6 sam. left

Ruin Birligi

← Palat - Casaria

SS 11497

A

EM 6

A?

TD 4603

D. C. S.

(BCH 1952)

SS 9171

A

EM 1

A?

unrecd

Adm., 8. of Adm. A

Photo, m. b. LB

Pluribus

SS 11498

A

EM 2

} left

A?

EM 3

A?

EM 7

, whole jar, with unrecd jar A?

[TD 7044, not decipit]

D. C. S.

about 18

A = Adm., from excavation (Alexandria: O)
A? " " N. Mus.

See also
under class of
Herkleia Pontica,
incus stamps
thought by some
to be from
Chersonese.

SEHW p. 1331, no. 43 - ref.

30.V.58

9.01

& other by Rosta

Notes on Chersonesean class

Hasp. Suppl. VIII (1949), pl. 19, 4, and pl. 20, 12, of
pp. 185, 188. Publ. of a Chersonesean stamped jar. No
reference to a description of the type.

BCH 1952, pl. XXVI, no. 39, and p. 539.
Publ. of a handle, the only one from Delos.
The reading got left out. Ref. to A. Khmerov
(misspelled), 1951 article.

(Hasp. Suppl. X, p. 165, correction of spelling of Akhmerov.)

Priddy, Homotags catalogue, introductory text, p. 103, ^{on stamps of Chersonese}
describes the incus stamps, and is probably the source
of my 1949 identification.

w. name
this,
get found,
copy of plate
of jar

R. B. Akhmerov, "An influence of ancient Chersonese"
"very good article" on this type of jar,
Vestnik, 1947, pp. 160-176. See letter from Minus
of 19.VII.48

This no.
is missing from
our set of
V.D.I.

R. B. Akhmerov, "Les timbres de potiers dans la
Chersonese hellénistique," in Vestnik Drevnei Istorii 1951, 3,
pp. 77-84.

W. name
this, but
it is not on
the Chersonese
class, but on C.R. Byz. type.

A. L. Jacobson " ?
Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, XV, 1951, pp. 325-344
"with quite a lot of photos and drawings of shapes and stamps"
See letter of 13.V.58 from ELW (file in ROMAN folder).

And a "Bosporan" jar, p. 100. Bufford?

R. B. Akmerov, "Aetolian stamps of Hellenistic Chersonesos," V. D. I. (Vestnik, etc.), 1949, no. 4, pp. 99-125. Cited p. 205 by V. Canarache (Imported Amphorae)

q. also no. 3, pp. 86-92, by B. V. Boyerov?

Mention in Staerman, "Pottery Stamps found in Tigras," p. 34. "It seems we can say these are of the 3rd century."

V. Canarache, Imported Amphorae Stampilete la Istria, Bucharest, 1957, pp. 205-214.

On pp. 422-3, he reproduces the lists of Akmerov from V. D. I. 1949, with dates of the groups:

| | |
|---------|--------------|
| Group I | 320 - 250 BC |
| II | 250 - 200 |
| III | 200 - 180 |
| IV | 180 - 100 |

Aetolian, 5 handles at the Agora:

SS 8929 - for $\Delta \Delta$ underground drain of W end of section - early 3rd? (= SS 11485)
 9171 - Great Drain, same file (group IV) "gr"
 11485 }
 11497 } - fill in trenches for outer wall of Sqn. Bldg.
 11498 } May all be from Group I above.

Transl. B. Wells (IV - II c. BC) (Plate XXI, 38, 39, 40, 41).
VII.68

Wells Transl. - 7 -

The sealings of Khersonesos amphoras ~~amphorae~~ were classified as a separate group as long ago as the eighties of the past century, by ~~Dr~~ V. N. Yurevich (207), and they were collected and subjected to special study by I. Makhov. (208).

Sealed Khersonesos containers were put out from the ~~beginning~~ end of the IVth ~~to the beginning of the~~ or beginning of the ~~IIIrd~~ IIIrd to the end of the IInd century BC. (209). R. B. Akhmerov, who was the first to attempt their classification, undertook the study of the shapes of Khersonesos amphoras. (210).

Of late years, in connection with new discoveries of potters' workshops in the Khersonesos, our knowledge of Khersonesos ceramic containers has been considerably broadened. (211).

R. B. Akhmerov carried out a major and useful task in assigning credentials to and in dating the amphoras preserved in the stores of the Khersonesos museum, but the classification which he proposed has not been entirely felicitous because it does not adhere consistently either to a chronological or to a typological principle. We permit ourselves to re-group to a slight extent the material which he has worked over, retaining basically the chronology proposed by this author.

One must assign to the earliest level two types of ~~amphora~~ amphora found in the ~~Keroneos~~ Khersonesos cemetery of the end of the Vth century or the first half of the IVth century BC. (212). To this same period belong the amphoras manufactured as imitations of those of ~~Herakleion~~ Herakleion, or Herakleia. Among later types, of the end of the IIIrd and of the IIInd century BC, there belong amphoras with the sealing of Istron [perhaps Istria?], similar to those found in 1900, and others from kilns excavated in 1956-57.

The clay of these ceramic manufactures is not of a single sort. The color of the body is red, sometimes with a yellowish tinge. In the fractures of a majority of the sealed handles, side by side with white opaque lime elements, there are discernable black inclusions of some size (pyroxene). While the second sort are not always encountered, the first are inevitably present every time. Apparently the raw material for the manufacture was taken from various clay deposits near Khersonesos. [At this point, since I come to a new major subdivision on page 98 which you have not expressly pointed out to me as included in the translations you want, I have stopped so as not perhaps to do ~~me~~ too much; but the subject matter from here on appears to be part of what has gone immediately before and I should think you would want it, too. If so, let me know and I shall be glad to go on.]

/ After talking to you on the phone Monday I go on from the central heading in the first column of page 98_ /

Khersonesos amphoras

m (IV - II c. BC.) (Plate XXI, 38 - 41).

First type of Khersonesos amphoras (IVth c. BC)

An amphora was found in 1914 during the excavations at the western outer wall of the Khersonesos necropolis (catalog No. 417) ~~xx~~ (213) (Plate XXI, 38 a). It has a very broad body, the diameter at the shoulder being 38 cm. with an overall height of 68 cm. The neck is short, straight, and ends in a roller-shaped rim, overhanging slightly at the sides. Prior to firing a shallow furrow was made on the neck with a sharp instrument. The handles are oval in cross-section. Their length is 14.5 cm. At the point where they curve out is the sealing / Krat_ / onos / A_ / stynomou.

stamp

The foot is small cylindrical, with a recess ^{stamp} beneath.

An amphora of analogous shape, but without sealing, comes from burial No. 43 (214) of the Khersonesos necropolis for 1936 (catalog No. ~~xx~~ 4777). It was found in the uppermost stratum and is assigned to the middle of the IVth c. BC. An amphora closely related as regards shape comes from the Elizavetovo mound necropolis (XXI, 38 b).

Second type of Khersonesos amphoras

(IVth c. BC).

In the Khersonesos necropolis there has been brought to light still a further type of local amphoras which may be dated not later than the middle of the IVth c. BC by reason of the circumstances of the find.

(p. 98 2nd col.)
In burial No. 82 (of the 1936 excavations) (215) there was found an unstamped amphora (~~xxx~~ XXI, 39 a). It has a short neck with a roller-shaped rim, just like that on the above described type, but the body is less broad and approaches the egg-like shape. The height of the vessel is ~~xx~~ 71 cm.; the diameter at the shoulders is 35 cm. The foot is cylindrical, broadening in its lower part, and more massive than in the amphoras of the first type; its breadth comes to 7.2 cm. The bottom of the foot is flat, but in other amphoras of this type there is ordinarily a shallow but broad recess under the foot. In its shape the foot reminds one of that on the Bosphorus examples of the IVth to III rd c. BC.

An analogous unstamped amphora was brought to light in

burial No. 16 ~~(1936 excavations)~~ (1937 excavations) (216) and from the date of the necropolis it should be assigned to the IVth c. BC. The height of the vessel is about 72 cm., the diameter 36 cm.

To the same group of products of the IVth c. BC there should be assigned the amphoras having a longer straight neck and a better-proportioned conical body. One unstamped amphora was found in burial No. 12 (excavations of 1937) (217). Its height (without foot) was 68 cm., its diameter at the shoulder was 32 cm., and the length of the neck was 23 cm. The constant furrow on the latter and the contouring of the rim give it a similarity with amphoras of the above-described type. There exist ~~examples~~ examples preserved altogether intact, in which the foot confirms their belonging to the second group. One of the vessels is in the Khersonesos museum (218) (XXI, 39 b). * It is unsealed and it has no precise credentials. The neck is straight, rather long (23 cm.), and decorated with a furrow as usual. The rim is small, of rounded shape, and has been accentuated beneath by means of a sharp instrument. The foot is cylindrical, broadened at its end, and it has a small recess underneath. The ~~overall~~ overall height of the vessel is 72 cm., and the diameter is 32 cm.

P. 99
The third type of Khersonesos amphoras
(III - IInd c. BC).

A later type of of Hellenistic Khersonesos amphoras was known prior to the most recent excavations at Khersonesos, thanks to the finding in 1928 of 28 amphoras in the complex of a firing kiln of the IInd c. BC. (219).

The upper part of one of these amphoras with the stamp of the astinomos of Istron / Istria / or, the stamp of the astinomos whose name was Istron / is preserved in the Khersonesos museum. (220). The neck is short, it broadens downward, and it has a furrow scratched on before firing. Its diameter (8-9 cm.) is less than in the early types. The greatest diameter of the body is at the shoulders - 29 cm.

The upper part of another amphora (221) with a stamp of Kherogeit was found near a kiln in 1900; it repeats the proportions of the foregoing vessel - they have sloping shoulders, the diameter of the neck is less, and the rim is flatter, than in the early types.

R. V. Akhmerov offers a reconstruction of this type of stamped amphoras with the assistance of another fragment from the Khersonesos museum. A body with the foot and the lower part of the neck has been preserved there. The credentials have been lost (222). The trunk is elongated and egg-shaped.

The neck is broader in its lower part and it runs smoothly into the sloping shoulders, the breadth of which comes to 29 cm. and corresponds to the breadth of the stamped amphoras referred to above. The foot ends in a ring-shaped roll, and there is a ~~broad~~ broad recess beneath the base.

(p. 99) An unstamped amphora of just the same sort and of full shape ~~xxxx~~ is in the ~~Ker~~ Khersonesos museum; it comes from the Elizavetino necropolis 2 (XXI, 40) (223).

The height of the vessel comes to 73 cm., the diameter to 29 cm., and the length of the handle to 15 cm. The rim is a little flattened. The foot has a ring-shaped broadening at the bottom, and a broad recess beneath. Various variants of similar feet exist in great numbers among the excavation materials of the Khersonesos and Kerkinitida. They are also found in the Bosphorus. Their diameter is from 6.2 to 6.5 cm. The shape of the depression under the base ~~is~~ varies from flatter ones to narrower and deeper ones.

A number of analogous examples have been preserved in kilns of the end of the IIIrd or of the IInd c. BC, brought to light by excavations (224) in 1955-1957. Amphoras of just this sort were found, as V.V. Borisova reports, in "farm" No. 25 (225).

Fourth type of Khersonesos amphoras (IIIrd - IInd c. BC)

A second variant of the amphora of the III - II c. BC is distinguished by the conical shape of the trunk, the sharp break of the shoulders, upon which there is placed a long, straight neck which bells slightly in its upper part. The foot is small, and has the shape of a half-roller, sliced off beneath as it were, with a recess underneath. In the center of the recess there is ordinarily a small step.

These vessels are always of small dimensions. One example is in the Yalta museum. The ~~height~~ height of the amphora is 53 cm., the diameter is 22 cm. ~~maximum~~ On the handle there is a stamp which makes it possible to date it to the end of the IIIrd c. or to the IInd c. BC (226). The foot has been lost.

Another amphora in the same museum is unstamped; it has a body and neck of ~~an~~ analogous shape. Its height is 48 cm, and its diameter is 18 cm. The small foot has a roller-like broadening in its lower part, and a broad recess beneath.

An unstamped amphora of the same type is preserved in the Khersonesos museum (227) (XXI, 41). Its foot, similar to that of the Yalta one, has the shape of half a roller, with a broad recess beneath, in the center of which there is a step. This second type of "ellenistic amphoras is reliably attested and dated by finds of late years at Khersonesos and in its neighborhood. (228).

Fifth type of Khersonesos amphoras
(Imitation of the containers of other centers)

p.100) The ~~imitation~~ counterfeiting of amphoras in imitation of the shape of the ceramic containers of other centers was a phenomenon which was widespread among the Greek towns, and is attested by amphoras of Thasos, Herakleia, Sinope, and other production centers.

During the IVth - IIIrd c. BC period there were episodically prepared in Khersonesos amphoras imitating the type of ~~Herakleia~~ Herakleia Pontica. Two of these are reproduced by R. B. # Akhmerov (229). Another was published by V. Grace. The vessel was found in 1922 on the site of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium, and it is in the Istanbul museum. (230).

Among the amphoras of imitative type there is a curious example preserved in the Eupatoria museum. What is involved here is a neck of clay characteristic for Khersonesos manufactures, but corresponding in its shape to Solokha patterns of the IVth c. BC. Presumably the vessel was ~~heavy beyond reason~~, and the potter was obliged to add to it a third handle.

At the end of the IIIrd and in the IInd c. BC there were put out a t Khersonesos small amphoras the handles of which, in the manner of those of Rhodes, are raised high and bent sharply outward.

Excavations of recent years at Khersonesos and in its neighborhood have revealed new and extensive material, the further study of which will enrich our knowledge regarding the local ceramic containers.

disproportionately heavy

B. Lifshitz: "Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Césarée de Palestine" in Revue Biblique, 1963, 556-558

At Fr. Sch. 1: 25 129

(at ASCS, etc. in 1953)

Nos. 1-13

Nos. 14-23

"publie 13 timbres du musée régional de Césarée" et 10 du "Musée municipal à Haifa, trouvés sans doute à Césarée". Il faudrait des descriptions des mesures et des dessins ou photographies. L'attribution et l'identification ne sont pas indiquées ou n'apparaissent pas assez clairement; on reconnaît seulement sept timbres rhodiens et l'un, avec ageranome du Pont (est-il vraiment "de la côte Nord"?).

From Bulletin épigraphique pp 131-132, 26 par L. Robert in Revue des Etudes Grecques, LXXVII, 1964.

17. XI. 65

⊗ No. 16 ἡρακλῆς τοῦ
ἀστυνομοῦ (τος)

I did not copy
a.) Latin
b.) "reband"
(prob. pelous)

many items are not from amphoras probably, but pelous
No. 1 Διοφάντου (Διού) says it is a handle, but I

would say "reband": 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 23

anybody working on pelous should use this article.

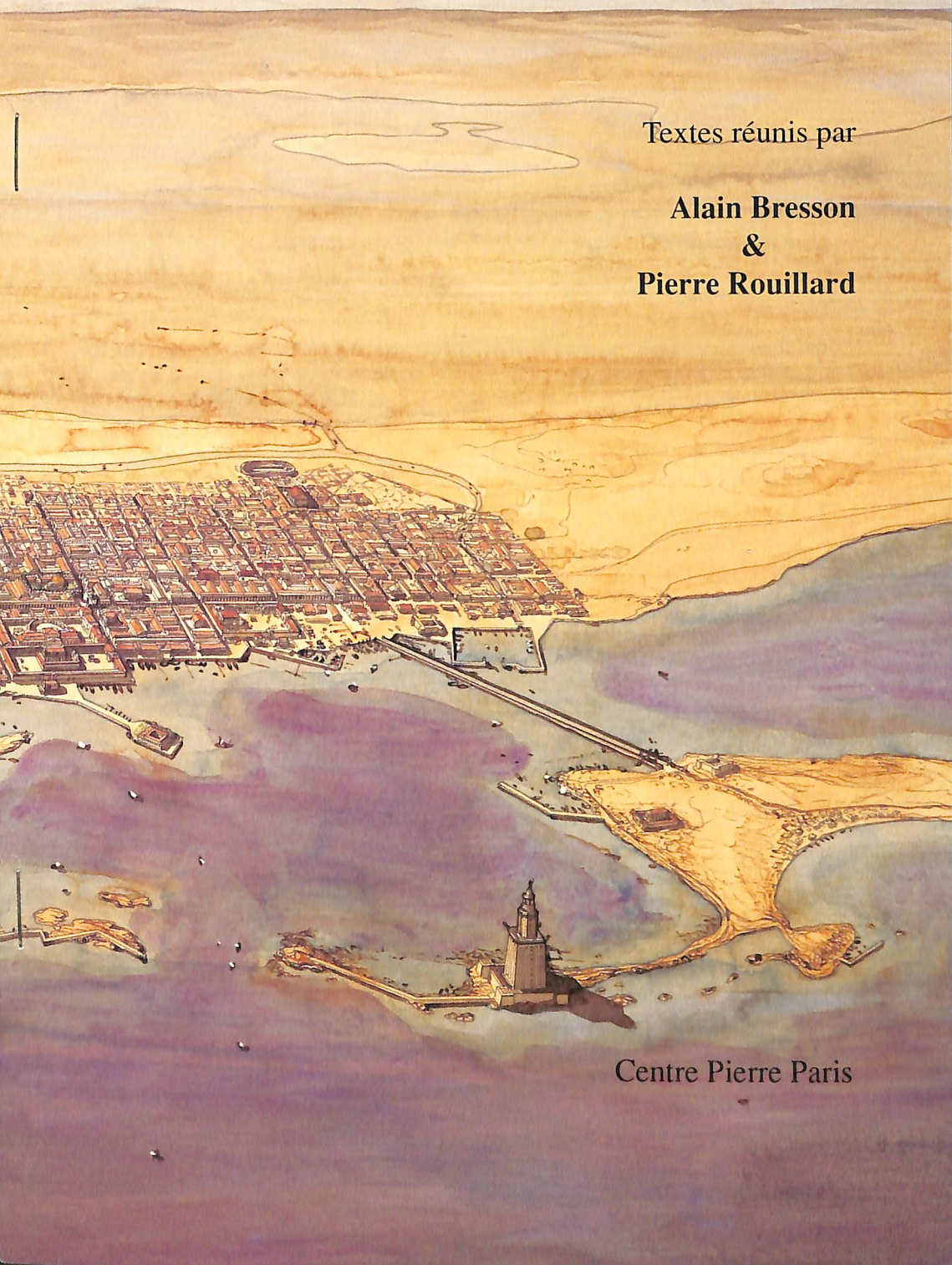
No. 6 Σωφίας (no count)
No. 8 ἑρμῆς (no count) {Krit.} KT 2001

OVER

L'EMPORION

Textes réunis par

**Alain Bresson
&
Pierre Rouillard**



Centre Pierre Paris

V 5
received 13, VIII, 93
for Gorkh

Εἰς ἐμπόριον DANS LE TIMBRAGE AMPHORIQUE DE CHERSONÈSE*

Yvon Garlan — Université de Rennes II

Cette notice n'a pas d'autre ambition que d'introduire dans l'étude d'ensemble du sujet un document original et d'accès difficile : la légende Ἀθαναίου / εἰς ἐμπόριον (à *sigma* angulaire ou lunaire) qui figure, répartie en deux lignes superposées, sur deux matrices ou cachets amphoriques de Chersonèse taurique¹. Les timbres sur anses qui en sont issus ont une forme caractéristique "en gouttière"², qui a été adoptée, à Chersonèse et nulle part ailleurs, surtout au début de la période de timbrage, dans les deux tiers des 370 matrices enregistrées et, de façon plus ou moins exclusive et marquée, par 54 % des 121 magistrats connus³.

Cette légende se distingue de celle que l'on rencontre normalement à Chersonèse (avec 93 % des magistrats⁴), par l'absence de toute titulature

* Toute la bibliographie mentionnée dans cette notice est en langue russe, sauf celle de la n. 18. Je remercie vivement M. V. I. Kac, éminent spécialiste des timbres amphoriques de Chersonèse, de l'aide qu'il m'a apportée.

1. Voir la photographie publiée par V. V. BORISOVA, Les timbres céramiques de Chersonèse et la classification des amphores chersonésiennes, dans *NE*, 11, 1974, pl. XV, 9. La bibliographie générale du sujet a été présentée et critiquée par V. I. KAC et S. Ju. MONACHOV, Histoire et perspectives d'étude des amphores commerciales de Chersonèse, dans *Recueil historiographique*, Éd. Univ. Saratov, 1983, p. 75-90.

2. Ces timbres ont visiblement été imprimés à l'aide de cachets gravés sur la partie convexe d'une anse d'amphore : voir S. Ju. MONACHOV, Sur les cachets destinés au timbrage des amphores chersonésiennes, dans *SA*, 1981, 2, p. 270.

3. V. I. KAC, Typologie et classification chronologique des timbres chersonésiens de magistrats, dans *VDI*, 1985, 1, p. 89-90.

4. V. I. KAC, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

Noname?
h
v
m
info: eloy

(astynome ou, beaucoup plus rarement, agoranome⁵). On ne peut dès lors se prononcer avec certitude sur la signification du nom propre Ἀθαναίου. Le plus vraisemblable, par analogie avec le reste du matériel chersonésien, est assurément de le considérer comme celui d'un magistrat⁶— bien que d'aucuns aient voulu y voir un de ces "fabricants"⁷ qui figurent parfois dans ce timbrage (chez 12 % des magistrats) sous une forme abrégée, ou bien même y retrouver le nom d'un sanctuaire d'Athènes responsable de la fabrication des amphores, d'où pourraient également provenir des timbres portant les termes Ἱερὸν⁸...

L'indication εἰς ἐμπόριον est unique dans le timbrage amphorique grec, et je n'en connais pas d'autre qui y apparaisse avec cette préposition. Il est certes tentant, faute de tout autre parallèle, de la comparer au qualificatif de Ταυρικόν qui est adjoint, en seconde ligne, au même nom Ἀθαναίου sur d'autres timbres de Chersonèse. Mais ce qualificatif est de signification au moins aussi obscure que l'indication précédente, même si on le rapproche des termes de Σκυθικόν ou de Δαμόσιον qui figurent isolément sur d'autres types chersonésiens⁹.

Ceux qui ont considéré que tous ces timbres dépourvus de titulature formaient un ensemble cohérent les ont datés soit de la fin III^e-début II^e siècle¹⁰, soit du milieu du III^e¹¹. Mais s'il est vrai que notre Athanaïos est un magistrat s'identifiant à un astynome connu par ailleurs par des matrices de composition normale, on peut alors avancer, d'après la dernière étude chronologique des timbres chersonésiens, une date différente et un peu plus précise : il se rangerait dans un groupe de 38 astynomes présentant en première ligne le nom du magistrat sans patronyme et, en seconde, sa

5. Ces éponymes amphoriques étaient en réalité de pseudo-éponymes, qui ne servaient pas à dater les actes publics de la cité de Chersonèse. Voir, par ex. B. JU. MICHLIN, Sur l'étude des timbres céramiques de Chersonèse, dans *VDI*, 1979, 2, p. 139-140.

6. R. B. ACHMEROV, Sur les timbres d'astynomes de la Chersonèse hellénistique, dans *VDI*, 1949, 4, p. 103 ; V. I. KAC, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

7. V. V. BORISOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

8. B. JU. MICHLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

9. B. N. GRAKOV, Le terme Σκύθαι et ses dérivés dans les inscriptions du nord de la mer Noire, dans *KSIMK*, 16, 1947, p. 80-83, y a vu des qualificatifs d'ateliers publics ; cf. V. V. BORISOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 104-105 et 109 ; B. JU. MICHLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

10. R. B. ACHMEROV, *op. cit.*, p. 103, 112 ; V. V. BORISOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 104 et 122.

11. B. JU. MICHLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

titulature et même, de façon encore plus précise, dans un sous-groupe final I C de 9 astynomes qui se distinguent par la diffusion des cachets plats, la présence de monogrammes et la fréquence des titulatures abrégées¹². S'il est vrai d'autre part que le timbrage amphorique de Chersonèse a commencé vers 310¹³, le magistrat Athanaïos daterait donc environ de 284-275.

Il n'y a rien là, en tout cas, qui permette de comprendre pourquoi, dans le timbrage amphorique de Chersonèse, figure une fois la mention εἰς ἐμπόριον. Aussi bien aucune des diverses explications avancées par les spécialistes n'est-elle vraiment convaincante. S'il s'agit d'amphores destinées à l'exportation¹⁴, on ne comprend pas qu'elles soient si peu représentées dans le matériel chersonésien trouvé en dehors de Chersonèse¹⁵... Pour envisager que le sanctuaire d'Athènes désignait ainsi la partie de sa production amphorique qui était destinée à la vente¹⁶, il faudrait au moins admettre, contre toute vraisemblance, que tel est bien le sens du terme Ἀθαναίου... Supposera-t-on alors qu'on ait voulu de la sorte préciser la sphère d'activité du magistrat Athanaïos, sa spécialisation dans la surveillance des activités portuaires¹⁷ ?

La solution est, me semble-t-il, d'autant plus difficile à trouver que la signification générale du timbrage amphorique à Chersonèse aussi bien que dans les autres centres reste problématique. Les seules (quasi-) certitudes auxquelles nous puissions pour le moment aboutir dans les centres les mieux

12. V. I. KAC, *op. cit.*, p. 92 et 103.

13. V. I. KAC, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101 et 103. B. JU. MICHLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 141, le faisait remonter aux environs de 330 et A. B. KOLESNIKOV, Les timbres céramiques provenant des fouilles des propriétés situées près du phare d'Eupatoria (Majak), dans *VDI*, 1985, 2, p. 74, se prononce pour les années 320.

14. V. V. BORISOVA, Les anses d'amphores à noms d'astynomes de la Chersonèse ancienne, dans *VDI*, 1949, 3, p. 92 ; R. B. ACHMEROV, *op. cit.*, p. 103-104 ; A. A. NEJCHARDT, Les timbres chersonésiens comme source d'étude des relations commerciales de Chersonèse et du Bosphore à l'époque hellénistique, dans *Les problèmes de l'histoire socio-économique du monde antique*, Moscou-Léninegrad, 1963, p. 315 ; L. A. EL'NICKII, Sur des inscriptions grecques, peu étudiées ou perdues, du nord de la mer Noire, dans *VDI*, 1964, 1, p. 115.

15. V. A. LATYŠEVA, Les timbres céramiques provenant des fouilles de l'établissement de Masliny dans le nord-ouest de la Crimée, Erevan, 1979, p. 337. R. B. ACHMEROV, *op. cit.*, p. 103, signale 30 timbres de ce type au musée de Chersonèse et V. V. BORISOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 122, en signale d'autres à Kerkinitis, Olbia, Istria, Myrmékion.

16. B. JU. MICHLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

17. V. A. LATYŠEVA, *op. cit.*, p. 337-338.

connus (Thasos, Sinope, Rhodes, Cnide) sont : 1) qu'il émanait d'un magistrat et avait donc un caractère public ; 2) qu'il s'adressait à des contrôleurs spécialisés dans leur fonction et non à la masse des consommateurs¹⁸. Ce cadre est trop vaste pour nous permettre, à lui seul, de résoudre l'énigme posée.

18. Dans l'attente de la publication du premier tome du corpus des timbres amphoriques thasiens, voir Y. GARLAN, Quelques nouveaux ateliers amphoriques à Thasos, dans *BCH*, Suppl. XIII, 1986, p. 271-273.



