

Attic Fine Pottery of the Archaic to Hellenistic Periods in Phanagoria

Phanagoria Studies Volume 1



written by Catherine Morgan
edited by G.R. Tsetskhladze

BRILL

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VOLUME 10

ATTIC FINE POTTERY OF THE ARCHAIC
TO HELLENISTIC PERIODS IN PHANAGORIA

PHANAGORIA STUDIES, VOLUME 1

COLLOQUIA PONTICA

Series on the Archaeology and Ancient History of the Black Sea Area

Monograph Supplement of *Ancient West & East*

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BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2004

All correspondence for the Colloquia Pontica series should be addressed to:

Aquisitions Editor/Classical Studies or
Brill Academic Publishers
Plantijnstraat 2
P.O. Box 9000
2300 PA Leiden
The Netherlands
Fax: +31 (0)71 5317532
E-Mail: awe@brill.nl

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze
Centre for Classics and Archaeology
The University of Melbourne
Victoria 3010
Australia
Tel: +61 3 83445565
Fax: +61 3 83444161
E-Mail: gtsetskhladze@unimelb.edu.au

Illustration on the cover: Athenian vessel, end of the 5th-beg. of the 4th cent. BC. Tomb, not far from Phanagoria (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg).

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Morgan, Catherine, 1961-

Attic fine pottery of the archaic to Hellenistic periods in Phanagoria / by Catherine Morgan ; edited by G.R. Tsetskhladze.

p. cm. — (Phanagoria studies ; v. 1) (Colloquia Pontica, ISSN 1389-8477 ; v. 10)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 90-04-13888-9 (alk. paper)

1. Pottery, Greek—Russia (Federation)—Phanagoria (Extinct city)—Catalogs.
 2. Excavations (Archaeology)—Russia (Federation)—Phanagoria (Extinct city).
 3. Phanagoria (Extinct city) I. Tsetskhladze, Gocha R. II. Title. III. Series.
- IV. Colloquia Pontica (Series) ; v. 10.

DK651.P52M67 2004

939'.5—dc22

2004049320

ISSN 1389-8477

ISBN 90 04 13888 9

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Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill Academic Publishers,
Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

This current volume is our tenth, a cause for some celebration. Since the collapse of the Communist bloc, several publication series on the Black Sea have appeared in the west. For various reasons most have fallen by the wayside. It has been difficult for us as well, as one of the pioneers of a region hitherto little known in the west. The idea for this series arose ten years ago in conversation with a newly-established, small but dedicated publishing team in Bradford, Loid Publishing. What was really the first volume appeared from them in 1994, entitled *Colloquenda Pontica*, publishing papers from a workshop on the Black Sea held at the 95th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Washington DC, in December 1993.

After that issue, publication of the series was taken over by Oxbow (Oxford), with the current title, and after three issues we changed our publisher to Brill, thanks to its former Classics Acquisitions Editor, Job Lisman, where we are happy to remain with a highly qualified team producing beautiful volumes. The Editorial and Advisory Boards and I are so grateful to Michiel Klein Swormink (the current Classics Senior Acquisitions Editor at Brill) and Ms Gera van Bedaf (our desk editor at Brill) for their hard work and dedication. Ms van Bedaf nurtures each volume with genuine love.

I am so grateful to the Editorial and Advisory Boards, as well as to the individual authors, for their invaluable help and support, but especially to three people, Prof. Sir John Boardman, Dr John Hind and Dr James Hargrave, without whose help, encyclopaedic knowledge and enthusiasm the series would never have come to light, nor have enjoyed a successful life and future.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze
Series Editor
London/Melbourne

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PREFACE

The Phanagoria Project, which was based at Royal Holloway University of London, was a joint excavation and publication project with the Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, with me as Director on the British side and Dr V.D. Kuznetsov as my co-director on the Russian side, to investigate the ancient Tean colony of Phanagoria on the Taman peninsula, opposite the eastern tip of the Crimea, in southern Russia.¹ It began in 1995 with a preliminary visit to the peninsula by Dr C. Morgan, Dr K. Arafat and myself. A full field season (seven weeks) took place in July–August 1996, but financial difficulties prevented the British team from undertaking field work in 1997, and in summer 1998 permitted only a visit by a small team for a short study season and an underwater survey of Phanagoria conducted jointly with the Nautical Archaeology Society and colleagues from Krasnodar.²

These financial reverses, the mountain of unpublished material from many previous seasons of excavation, and the current stress of western scholarship on publication and analysis over new excavation, led to the reorientation of the project towards publication of the fruits of previous excavations as well as the details of our own activities in 1996 and 1998. The current volume is the first of three to appear in *Colloquia Pontica* under the general title ‘Phanagoria

¹ For recent general publications on the site, see G.R. Tsatskheladze, ‘Phanagoria: Metropolis of the Asiatic Bosphorus’. In *Greek Archaeology without Frontiers*, Athens, 2002, 129–150; V.D. Kuznetsov, ‘Phanagoreia. Eine griechische Kolonie am asiatischen Teil des Bosphorischen Reiches’. In J. Fornasier and B. Böttger (eds.), *Das Bosphorische Reich: der Nordosten des Schwarzen Meeres in der Antike*, Mainz am Rhein, 2002, 59–68; V.D. Kuznetsov, ‘Kepoi-Phanagoria-Taganrog’. In D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*, Thessaloniki, 2003, 897–921. General articles on Phanagoria, the Taman peninsula and the Bosphoran kingdom will be included in volume 2 of the publication of the Project (see below).

² For results of the underwater survey, see C. Brandon and G.R. Tsatskheladze, ‘Notes on the Survey of the Submerged Remains of Phanagoria in the Taman Peninsula’. *Ancient West and East* 1.1 (2002), 178–187. For the work of the Russian underwater team, see V.D. Kuznetsov, V.N. Latartsev, E.E. Latartseva and A.O. Amelkin, ‘Podvodnye issledovaniya v Phanagorii v 1999–2002 g.’. *Drevnosti Bospora* 6 (2003), 152–177.

Studies'. They will be dedicated not just to our excavation there³ but to the whole of the Taman peninsula and the Asiatic Bosphorus, and will include publications of material discovered previously in Phanagoria, the geoarchaeology of the peninsula, patterns of rural settlement, other Greek cities and settlements of the Taman peninsula, the local peoples of the Kuban region, etc., as well as general articles on Archaic Miletus etc. These articles are written by Russian, British, German, French and other colleagues.

The preliminary contents of the future two volumes of Phanagoria Publication are as follows:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| – Introduction. Taman Peninsula: Historical-Archaeological Essay | G.R. Tsetskhladze |
| – Archaic Miletus (on Miletus as the metropolis of most Pontic Greek colonies) | R. Senff |
| – History of the investigation of Phanagoria | V.D. Kuznetsov |
| – Information on Phanagoria from Graeco-Roman authors | J. Hind |
| – Archaic Phanagoria | V.D. Kuznetsov |
| – East Greek pottery from Phanagoria | G.R. Tsetskhladze and V.D. Kuznetsov |
| – Essays on the study of amphorae from Phanagoria | A.A. Zavoikin |
| – Archaic amphorae from Phanagoria | P. Dupont |
| – An Archaic workshop for the production of terracotta figurines in Phanagoria | S.I. Finagenova |
| – Arrowheads from Phanagoria | A.A. Zavoikin |
| – Periodisation of trade links and some questions of the early history of Phanagoria | A.A. Zavoikin |
| – Red-glaze pottery of the 4th–6th cc AD from Phanagoria | A.G. Atavin |
| – Mediaeval pottery of Phanagoria | A.G. Atavin |
| – Roman coinage | S.I. Boldyrev |
| – The excavated history of the necropoleis of Phanagoria | G.R. Tsetskhladze |

³ For preliminary information, see G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Predvaritel'noe soobshchenie o raskopkakh Londonskogo Universiteta v Phanagorii v 1996 godu'. In C. Morgan, *Catalogue of Attic Pottery in the Collection of the Taman Museum (Taman Antiquity 2; issue editor: G.R. Tsetskhladze)*, St Petersburg, 1999, 95–99. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr S. Solovyov of the Hermitage Museum for publishing this catalogue in his series *Taman Antiquity* and to the staff of the Taman Museum complex.

– Excavation of the western necropolis of Phanagoria in 1991–96	T.G. Shavyrina
– Amulets from the necropolis	T.G. Shavyrina
– The University of London excavation in Phanagoria	G.R. Tsetskhladze, <i>et al.</i>
– Black-glaze pottery from Phanagoria	J.-P. Morel
– A kylix with an inscription from Phanagoria	†Y.G. Vinogradov
– Kepoi	J. Hind
– A gem from Kepoi	M.Y. Treister and V.D. Kuznetsov
– Rural settlements on the Taman Peninsula	S.L. Solovyov
– An Archaic complex and a Hellenistic pit at Volna 1	S.L. Solovyov and A.M. Butyagin
– Patraeum: changes in sea levels and the topography of the colony	A.P. Abramov
– A fragment of a casting mould from Phanagoria	M.Y. Treister and V.D. Kuznetsov
– The local population of the Kuban region (Maeotians)	A.A. Malyshev

Although the present volume is the first lengthy publication of the project, many articles and shorter works have already appeared.⁴

I should like to thank those who have supported the various facets of the project. On the financial front this was principally the British Academy, plus the University of London Central Research Fund, the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, Royal Holloway University of London, the Craven Committee, University of Oxford, the Nautical Archaeology Society (Mr Chris

⁴ For a list of these publications, see G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Preface'. In C. Morgan, *Catalogue of Attic Pottery*, 7–8 (in Russian and English). Several are forthcoming. See also V.D. Kuznetsov, 'Archaeological Investigations in the Taman Peninsula' (pp. 319–344); G.R. Tsetskhladze and A.V. Kondrashov, 'Notes on the Rescue Excavation of the Tuzla Necropolis (1995–1997)' (pp. 345–264); C. Morgan and K. Arafat, 'Imported Fine Pottery of the Archaic-Early Hellenistic Periods in the Collection of the Temryuk Museum (Taman Peninsula)' (pp. 365–398) — all in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *North Pontic Archaeology. Recent Discoveries and Studies (Colloquia Pontica 6)*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2001; V.D. Kuznetsov, 'Phanagoria and its Metropolis' (pp. 67–78); Y.G. Vinogradov, 'The Visit of an Euboean to Phanagoria' (pp. 79–80) — both in G.R. Tsetskhladze and J.G. de Boer (eds.), *The Black Sea Region in the Greek, Roman and Byzantine Periods (Talanta XXXII–XXXIII [2000–2001])*, Amsterdam, 2002.

Brandon) and various private donors and foundations, including the Friends of Phanagoria. Prof. Sir John Boardman, Prof. F. Millar, Prof. A. Snodgrass, Prof. C. Carey, Dr J. Hind, Dr J. Coulton, Dr J. Hargrave and many others have given their time and their advice, as well as their support, from the first days of the Project. We would have achieved little without the help and support of our Russian colleagues, foremost among them Prof. R.M. Munchaev, Prof. G.A. Koshelenko, Dr V.D. Kuznetsov, Dr E. Alekseeva, Ms T. Shavirina, Mr S. Boldyrev, Dr V. Gaibov and Dr S. Solovyov, but many others too — not least our charming hosts in Sennoi village.

Nothing would have been possible without the dedication of the staff of the Project, Dr C. Morgan, Dr K. Arafat, Mr R. Ashton and N. Gueorguieva, as well as undergraduate and graduate students from the Universities of London, Oxford, Cambridge, St Andrews, Newcastle, Dublin, Copenhagen, Amsterdam and Chicago. I am so grateful to all of them.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze
Director, University of London Phanagoria Project
London/Melbourne

*In Memory of
Robert Cook*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work was undertaken at the instigation of the Directors of the Phanagoria Project, Vladimir Kuznetsov and Gocha Tsetskhladze. I am grateful to them for their unfailing administrative and practical assistance at every stage. Karim Arafat collaborated on the project during the first field season in 1996, and has offered helpful comment thereafter. The Director of the Taman Museum, Mrs Alexandra I. Afanaseva, and the curator of antiquities Elena Ustaeva both offered every possible help and personal kindness, and I also warmly thank the Director of the Temyruk Museum, Mrs L.A. Ilinnikh, and Drs S. Solovyov, S.P. Boriskovskaya and E. Vlasova of the State Hermitage, St Petersburg, for facilitating my study of comparative material.

Many friends and colleagues have been generous with information and ideas. In particular, I thank Yasar Ersoy, Bilge Hürmüzlü, Alan Johnston, Norbert Kunisch, Ian MacPhee, Thomas Mannack, Katia Mannino, Grazia Semeraro, Brian Sparkes, and Michalis Tiverios. I thank Donna Kurtz and Thomas Mannack for facilitating work in the Beazley Archive, and Susan Rotroff for lively discussion and help at the Athenian Agora. John Boardman and Yasemin Tuna-Nörling kindly read earlier drafts of the manuscript, and their comments have saved me from many errors. Drawings are the work of Nevena Gueorguieva assisted by Matthew Harpster and the present author. Photographs are by Karim Arafat and Sergei Pokrovskii. I am grateful to Dr Robin Kilpatrick of King's College London for assistance with digitising images.

Financial support for the 1996 excavation and study season was provided by the Arts and Humanities Research Board, the Central Research Fund of the University of London, Royal Holloway University of London, and private donors. My subsequent work was funded by the Department of Classics, King's College London (1998) and the Central Research Fund of the University of London (1999). The text was substantially completed during my tenure of the Visiting Fellowship at the British School at Athens from January to April 2000. It is hard to see how this could have been achieved without the unique research resources of the School, and I am most grateful to the Council for the award of the Fellowship and to the former Director, David Blackman, the staff (especially the ever-tolerant librarians, Penny Wilson-Zarganis and Sandra Pepelasis), and my fellow students for creating such a lively academic atmosphere.

Last but not least, I owe personal debts to Tolik and Lluba in Sennoi and

Natalia Kolonetz, Sergei Solovyov and Natasha Solovyova in St Petersburg, whose overwhelming hospitality made study trips so pleasurable, and to Natasha Bershadskaya of the King's College Language Centre for her expert language tuition. Above all, I thank Chris Hayward for supporting my absences as well as my somewhat preoccupied presences.

The text was submitted in June 2000, and it has only occasionally proved possible to take account of work published thereafter. Late in 2001, Prof. Jean-Paul Morel and I learned that we had independently worked on separate parts of the Phanagoria assemblage. I am grateful to Prof. Morel for indicating to me the nature of his material (primarily black-glaze with some late red-figure), and I have endeavoured to indicate where it is likely to alter the picture presented here. Clearly some revisions will be necessary, but this study remains in essence free-standing.

Shortly after this manuscript was completed, I learned of the death of my old friend and mentor, Robert Cook. Robert disapproved of dedications and other forms of public fuss, but, throughout his life, championed ceramic studies and the work of the British School at Athens (of which he was for several years Chairman). Since this book focuses on the former and has gained so much from the latter, I hope that he forgives me a posthumous tribute.

C. Morgan

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study presents imported Attic fine pottery from the settlement and cemetery of Phanagoria discovered during excavations conducted between 1971 and 1996 by the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, joined in 1996 by a team from the University of London.¹ This material is held in the collection of the Institute and in the Taman Museum.

Phanagoria was founded, probably by Teans, late in the 540s,² a date which accords with much of the earliest Attic pottery in this catalogue, namely the mid-third quarter of the sixth century. The Taman peninsula held a number of colonial settlements (Fig. 1), notably Hermonassa founded (probably by Miletus in collaboration with Mytilene) *ca.* 580–570,³ and Kepoi founded by Miletus at around the same time,⁴ and also the dependent or daughter settlements of Patraeum and Tyramba.⁵ The cemetery around the Capes of Tuzla and Panagia, in use from the late seventh century BC to the fourth century AD,

¹ Preliminary notices of some items have appeared in *Taman Museum*; Arafat and Morgan 2000; Morgan and Arafat forthcoming. These are superseded by the present publication, and a number of errors here corrected. For a review of the Institute's work in recent years, see Kuznetsov 1998. All dates are BC unless otherwise noted.

² Contemporary with Abdera: Graham 1992, esp. 48 (see also Veligianni Terzi 1997 on the colonisation of Abdera and issues of chronology). As Graham notes (73, note 191), in the absence of provable contacts between Teos and Phanagoria, Tean colonisation rests on an argument *e silentio*. However, archaeological support for the likely date is now considerably stronger than that available to Graham (49, note 39). Ps. Skymnos 885–888; Diller 1952, 171; Eustathius 549 (Müller 1861, 324–325); *cf.* Hekataios, *FrGHist* 1 F212. Kocybala 1978, 345; Koshelenko and Kuznetsov 1992, 16–25, *ca.* 542.

³ For early settlement contexts, see Zeest 1961; Sidorova 1987; Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, 81–82; Korovina 1992, for summaries with bibliography; Kuznetsov 2001, 342.

⁴ Kuznetsov 1991a estimates *ca.* 570 on the basis of Ionian pottery of the second quarter of the sixth century found in the earliest domestic pits; for summaries, see Kuznetsov 2001, 331–342; Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, 84–85.

⁵ Kuznetsov 2001, 342–344; Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, 86, 87. Tsatskheladze 1994, 119–120 for a review of what he terms 'second stage' Ionian colonisation; Phanagoria falls within his third stage (121).

must have belonged to a further Greek city often conjectured to be Korokondamis⁶ (noting also the large number of Archaic-Hellenistic graves found at intervals along the line of the modern Taman-Tuzla road).⁷ This city was destroyed by the long-term changes in the coastline which have affected all of the major city-sites to a greater or lesser extent (see below).⁸ On present evidence, therefore, Phanagoria was not the earliest colonial foundation on the peninsula, but was established at a time when evidence from Hermonassa and Kepoi,⁹ for example, suggests that Attic pottery, while significantly less popular than Ionian,¹⁰ was already in local circulation.

Systematic excavation at the site of Phanagoria began in 1853, and since the inception of a large scale research programme in the city in 1936 has continued

⁶ Cemetery: Sorokina 1957 (see 48–54 on connection with Korokondamis and other local settlements). Settlement: Shilik 1991; for a preliminary account of continuing underwater reconnaissance of settlement remains off Cape Panagia, see Kondrashov 1995; Tsetskhladze and Kondrashev 2001.

⁷ See e.g. *CR* 1868, xi; *CR* 1874, xv–xvi; *Otchet* 1885, lxxxv–lxxxvi; *Otchet* 1886, ciii–cv.

⁸ Recognition of the extent of loss of coastal territory through a combination of seismic and eustatic factors is of great importance in reconstructing the Classical topography of much of the peninsula, although there is little consensus on the exact pace of change or balance of processes involved. Müller *et al.* 1998 and 1999 offer a useful summary of work to date on key topographical issues and a preliminary presentation of a new survey project. Shilik 1997 reviews the contribution of archaeological stratigraphy to our understanding of transgression/regression cycles over the past 6,000 years (see especially 120–121, 123). Nikonov 1998, looking at underwater sites and coastal geomorphology, assesses the overall rise in sea level over the past 1,500–2,500 years as not more than 4m, with the Kerch and Black Sea maritime zones more severely affected (2.5–4.0m at an average of 0.01–0.016m per year) than the Crimean Azov (1.5–2.0m on average at a rate of 0.001–0.0016m per year). On seismic activity, see Vinukov and Nikonov 1998 (assessing evidence from forts in the north-west of the Bosporan kingdom). Furthermore, once one restores the Classical coastline, the question of interconnections with the Kerch peninsula becomes even more complex since, as Fedoseev argues (1997, see especially fig. 7), in winter there must have been several viable crossing points across the straits.

⁹ Hermonassa: Sidorova 1987, 111, fig. 7b. Kepoi: Kuznetsov 1992, 35, 38, pls. 4, 5; 2001, 331–342, figs. 20–23. While Archaic levels at Kepoi were destroyed in antiquity, sixth century pits dug into subsoil contained Attic pottery (along with Corinthian and East Greek), mainly Little Master cups, but also a Tyrrhenian amphora, a lekane lid by the Polos Painter, and Komast and Siana cups.

¹⁰ See Kuznetsov 1991b for a review of early Ionian pottery from these and other Bosporan sites in relation to foundation dates. The predominance of Ionian wares at Kepoi has long been noted, see e.g. Sokolskii 1962, 83. See also Sidorova 1987, 111 on Hermonassa; *cf.* Sidorova 1992c on Panticapaeum.

more or less uninterrupted to the present day.¹¹ The earliest excavations conducted by the Imperial Archaeological Commission formed part of a wider examination of the archaeological, and chiefly burial, record of the Taman peninsula and thus focused on the city cemeteries.¹² The Commission, represented by Zabelin, did open trenches in the acropolis area in 1869, 1870 and 1872, but the location and exploration of settlement levels was frustrated by the great depth of overlying fill, and when finds proved sparse the effort was abandoned.¹³ A small quantity of Archaic and Classical Attic pottery (22 sherds, mostly bearing graffiti) was retained from these settlement trenches and, along with the more plentiful cemetery finds, is now in the Taman collection of the State Hermitage.¹⁴ A programme of survey and mapping of the site was undertaken by the Pushkin State Museum between 1927 and 1928,¹⁵ and large scale campaigns, especially in the cemeteries and the north and south city areas (see below), resumed in 1936 under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences and the Pushkin State Museum. It is to the decades of research that followed that we owe most of our knowledge of the layout and chronological development of the city-site. A small proportion of the late sixth and fifth century Attic pottery (including black-glaze and black-figure) from the campaigns of 1936–1937 is held in the State Historical Museum in Moscow,¹⁶ but the greatest part is in the collection of the Pushkin State Museum. Published excavation reports from these years make explicit reference to a number of Attic vessels, and certain of the finer examples have received detailed

¹¹ For the history of the excavations, see Kuznetsov 2001, 321–331 for an English language review (and Tsetskhladze 2002, 130–131 for a convenient summary); Kobylina 1956, 5–18; 1989, ch. 1.

¹² *CR* 1866, xii–xiii; *CR* 1869, iii–vii; *CR* 1870, xv–xvi; *CR* 1871, viii–ix; *CR* 1874, xvi–xx; *CR* 1875, xiv–xvii; *CR* 1879, xli–xliv; *CR* 1880, xii–xiii; Farmakovskii 1921. For a review of this phase of research, see Korovina 1992, 7–12.

¹³ *CR* 1870, iii–vii; *CR* 1871, iii–viii.

¹⁴ I am grateful to the Keeper of the Taman Collection, Elena Vlasova, for permission to examine and cite this material, and to Dr S. Solovyov for practical assistance. Material, including pottery, in the collection of the State Historical Museum Moscow (inv. 19789 ff.) was donated by Zabelin, although it is uncertain whether it comes from his excavations in the city-site and cemetery or was acquired through trade: Sorokina and Zhuravlyov 1997, 172.

¹⁵ Kharko 1930. For a survey of this and later activity at Phanagoria by the Pushkin Museum, see Marchenko 1968, 3–10.

¹⁶ Inventory 78410, 19530: Sorokina and Zhuravlyov 1997, 183–194.

publication in their own right. Appendix 1 contains as full a list of references to specific pieces as it has proved possible to compile from the literature available to me, and the settlement finds on this list have been included in the statistics cited in this introduction and in Chapter 3. It is, however, clear that much more material remains unpublished, given the large number of references in preliminary reports either to Attic pottery without details of quantity or shape, or to 'black-glaze' without note of origin.¹⁷ Account is taken of these references only where they help to highlight or redress evident biases in the present sample. Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to examine material held in the Pushkin State Museum. This will, it is hoped, be the subject of a separate study, and observations about the sample of material included in this present study may therefore require revision in the light of any future publication.

Of the 421 vessels included in this catalogue,¹⁸ all but five come from the upper and south parts of the settlement (and those five come from burials). It should, however, be emphasised that Archaic burials in particular are few, and the *ca.* ten graves discovered in 1985–1988 during a rescue excavation for the laying of a pipeline on the south edge of the city contained very little pottery.¹⁹ The contexts of the settlement finds are listed in Appendix 2. Detailed accounts of site topography and urban development as revealed, albeit often controversially, by some seventy years of research in the settlement are published elsewhere.²⁰ Here I offer such brief comment on the location and nature

¹⁷ Thus, for example, Kobylina 1950, 91–93, in discussing early material from the site of a later amphora complex on Hill G in the north-east part of the upper city, and Korovina 1982, section I (cemetery in area of Taman Station), refer to amphorae plus Ionian finewares and Attic black-glaze of the sixth–fifth century without specifying quantity or shape. Kobylina 1963, 100, 103, mentions black-glaze kylikes and cups among sixth–fourth century finds, but does not specify what proportion is Attic. Both Kobylina 1967 (Kerameikos area, south-east city) and Kobylina 1983 ('agora' area, south city) contain references to unspecified Attic pottery.

¹⁸ Additional Attic imports are also included within Jean-Paul Morel's continuing study of black-glazed wares from Phanagoria, which includes an overall total of *ca.* 1200 further pieces of all fabrics, mostly of the Late Classical-Hellenistic periods.

¹⁹ Kuznetsov 1999a, 555 (see note 46 for correction of the figures reported by Treister and Vinogradov 1993, 557); Kuznetsov reports 10 graves, to which should be added a further 2 (G. Tsetskhladze pers. comm.). As shown by the sixth century grave illustrated by Treister and Vinogradov 1993, fig. 24, early burials contained very little pottery.

²⁰ For summaries with bibliography, see Kuznetsov 2001, 321–331; Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, 77–79, 80–81. For the layout and extent of the early settlement, see now Dolgorukov 1990, noting corrections to the fundamental synthesis of Kobylina 1956, 13–65 (see

of early evidence and the chronology of settlement expansion as is necessary to outline the social and physical context of the Attic pottery presented, and the likely scale of demand for imports (see also Chapter 3).

The early, sixth century, settlement may be divided into two parts, the upper (southern) and the lower (northern, i.e. coastal) areas. (Fig. 2). Although the topographical trend of the site is a south-north slope running from Mt Pervomaiskaya down to the sea, the landscape is broken by a series of hills, notably the twin acropoleis separated by a deep valley, and the hills surrounding them on which were located the principal city cemeteries. The slope defining this upper city is considerably steeper towards the sea than on the south side. As Dolgurokov suggests, the southern boundary of the early city is likely to have followed the dictates of this topography and to have run along the southern edge of the acropolis hills. The northern, lower, city has been substantially lost to the sea, with the northern boundary shown to lie some 185m beyond the modern coastline: pottery produced from underwater campaigns conducted in 1958–1959 dates from the sixth century onwards, with cultural levels from the fifth.²¹ According to Kobylina, the eastern border lay between the ‘north coastal’ excavations of 1938–1939 and the ‘east coastal’ of 1947, noting an abundance of Archaic finds in a number of later levels on Hill G and in the south-east sector of the city. Following these general indicators, it seems that the early city was extensive, occupying a rectangular area of some 400/450 500m. However, relatively few structures have been uncovered, not least due to the great depth of overlying deposits (some six to seven metres in places) reflecting the continuous occupation of the site into Mediaeval times. In the central area on the upper plateau, for example, close to the later ‘agora’, some seven small mud-brick houses belonging to the first phase of colonisation have been unearthed, with finds including Ionian and Attic pottery. Subsequently, a temple of Aphrodite was built in this area during the fifth century, perhaps, as

also Kobylina 1983); Kuznetsov 1998. The following account is based on these sources. Convenient English summaries are provided by: Treister and Vinogradov 1993, 556–558 (citing Dolgurokov and Zavoykin); Tsetskhladze 1997, 51–55 and 2002, both citing recent bibliography.

²¹ Blavatskii 1961, see especially 279 on pottery (Attic black-glaze is noted, but publication of pottery from this area is awaited). The 1998 University of London campaign in this area focused on the remains of a late sixth–early fifth century public building: Brandon and Tsetskhladze 2002.

Kobylyna hypothesises, on the site of a late sixth century predecessor probably dedicated to the Kabiroi. Graves of the second half of the sixth or early fifth century have been found in the south city, on Hill G and in the south-east area. The appearance of settlement remains in these areas, overlying earlier burials, reflects a marked expansion which began early in the fifth century and gathered pace rapidly thereafter. Fifth century levels have been found not only in the south and south-east city,²² but, for example, in the City A excavations of 1936–1939, the ‘north coastal’ excavation of 1939, and also south of the acropolis, in ‘south city’ contexts beyond the line of the modern railway, from which a significant part of our present material is derived. By the end of the century, the city may have almost doubled in area, covering the intervening space between the earlier upper and coastal areas and extending further east and south, with monumental public construction as well as fortification. A destruction horizon and the loss of the fortification walls, perhaps due to military action in the first half of the fourth century, marks a temporary decline in the city’s fortunes which lasted until Hellenistic times.

As the findspots listed in Appendix 2 show, there is no evidence to suggest that the pottery presented in this study was concentrated in any particular part of the site or type of context. Analysis of material from earlier campaigns may eventually alter this picture, but published preliminary reports seem rather to confirm it. The only published study to date in which pottery finds have been discussed and documented in context concerns a somewhat problematic group of structures. Architectural analysis of a fifth century building complex on the southern margins of the city by Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov (1993) included close documentation of the nature and findspots of associated pottery phase by phase. On this basis, it is possible to see how Attic finewares, and especially the drinking vessels so prominent among our material, were distributed throughout the principal rooms of each building and functioned within assemblages which contained a variety of local and imported amphorae, local coarse and table wares (especially larger storage and pouring vessels), and fineware imports from Ionia in particular. The function of the complex is less clear, however. While Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov characterised it as a group of Greek houses, albeit with some evidence of craft production, Kuznetsov has made a stronger case for their identification as workshops which were proba-

²² Kuznetsov 2001, figs. 5 and 6 illustrate sixth century buildings. Fifth century levels include some structures as e.g. Kobylyna 1969.

bly non-residential (given the close proximity of more conventional mud-brick houses).²³ Whatever the truth in this case, very little of our material comes from such closely defined primary contexts,²⁴ and while the overall balance of shapes in the assemblage broadly fits the conclusions which can be drawn from the work of Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov, these cannot properly be tested with the evidence currently available. Indeed, many items come from artificial excavation levels dated by associated artefacts, with the nature of activity represented imprecisely defined. Most seriously, however, the long duration of occupation of the site resulted in widespread destruction or damage to early levels, with much pottery being redispersed into later contexts.²⁵ 79 catalogued pieces, some 19% of the total, come from the 1996 University of London trenches (trenches 32–36, upper city) which reached only Roman levels (mainly third–fifth century AD). If one also takes into account that the context of a further 63 catalogued items (15%) is unknown, around a third of the material presented here cannot, for whatever reason, be placed in anything like contemporary context. Under these circumstances, and noting also the limited proportion of the site that has been excavated and the loss of a large part to the sea, close contextual analysis in the one or two cases where this is possible would neither add greatly to our existing knowledge nor permit generalisation about the site as a whole. The only safe conclusion is that our material represents domestic pottery in fairly general use, and it will therefore be treated for the purposes of the present analysis as a unified assemblage.²⁶

²³ Kuznetsov 1999a, 555–558; 2001, 326–331.

²⁴ A notable exception is that from the 1978 excavations of an Archaic house structure in the upper city: Kuznetsov 1999a, 543, 550–553.

²⁵ See the salutary remarks of Kuznetsov 1999a, 545–549 on the generally poor and fragmentary preservation of early levels in the northern Black Sea area, noting an example from Phanagoria (548). To give but one example of the extent of displacement at Phanagoria, in third–fifth century AD levels in one 5–5m trench (Upper City, 1996: Trench 35), *ca.* 7.5% of the diagnostic fineware (80 of 1056 sherds) was Attic.

²⁶ In this respect my focus differs from that of published quantified analyses of two important comparative assemblages. At Daskyleion, Görkay's (1999) discussion of Attic black-figure from the excavations of 1954–1959 takes as its base unit of analysis the trench, even though the location of some trenches is unknown and the only statistics recorded at the time of excavation were numbers of imported sherds, not those of local pottery or total pottery in relation to soil volume. At Clazomenai, the fuller record permits much closer contextual analysis, and the statistics of Attic vessel types and techniques presented by Tuna-Nörling (*Clazomenai*) may be related to the discussion of individual contexts presented by Ersoy 1993 (Archaic period: Ersoy's full

As is clear from the published references to Attic pottery from Phanagoria cited in Appendix 1, with the recent exception of the CVA volumes from the Pushkin State Museum, relatively few pieces have been mentioned in western literature. Those that have usually come from the Imperial Commission campaigns of the nineteenth century, since both Beazley and Schefold took full account of material published in the *CR/Otchet*, and had access to the collections of the State Hermitage where these finds were lodged. More recent studies of particular categories of vessel (such as McPhee and Trendall's 1987 monograph on fishplates) also take account of this material and add later references. To a great extent, the nature of the material cited (and especially the focus on well preserved vessels from tombs) reflects the primarily art historical interests of the scholars concerned. The small role played by pottery from Phanagoria in these discussions is more or less typical of the Taman as a whole, and contrasts markedly with the attention paid to finds from the European Bosphorus and especially Panticapaeum. The roots of this neglect clearly lie in the very different levels of success achieved by the Imperial Commission expeditions to the two sides of the straits — and although success was then perceived primarily in terms of the discovery of tumuli with rich metalwork and other luxuries, extremely important ceramic material was also recovered from these same tomb contexts. The discovery of the Bolshaya Bliznitsa tumulus proved scant consolation for the early excavators as tomb after tomb elsewhere in the Taman was found to have been robbed.²⁷ Campaigns in the area become shorter as manpower and money were diverted to Kerch and the Kuban, and were temporarily abandoned in 1896, with a brief campaign further north in the Temryuk district in 1900,²⁸ until Shkorpil returned to the area, initially to Malaya Bliznitsa, from 1907.²⁹

Subsequent Russian scholarship on Attic pottery from the major city-site expeditions in the Taman, Phanagoria included, has received relatively little

publication of the Archaic and fourth century settlement is forthcoming). On problems and prospects in the contextual analysis of pottery use, see Rotroff 1996.

²⁷ Note, for example, the typical comment in *CR* 1874, xx–xxi, in connection with excavation in the Kepoi area, that everything that looked significant had already been robbed, and that in most cases this must have been done very soon after burial. Similar remarks appear in the report of the 1869 campaign in the Phanagoria cemetery: *CR* 1869, iii–iv.

²⁸ *Otchet* 1900, 46–47, 103–109 (kurgan [tumulus] near Akhtanizovskii station).

²⁹ *Otchet* 1907, 84–85.

attention in the west.³⁰ It is, however, true to say that similar scholarly concerns have guided both Russian and western studies, and this is evident in the few but important works on Attic material from Phanagoria, which focus either on individual pieces or groups of particular art historical interest, through type or attribution, or on graffiti. Farmakovskii's 1921 study of the tomb of the polychrome vases with its moulded lekythoi is a case in point, as are Loseva's 1948 study of a red-figure kylix by a painter of the circle of Aison or Aristophon, Onaiko's 1955 article on a slightly later red-figure krater with a Dionysiac scene, and the fundamental work on graffiti by Tolstoi (1953) which includes material from Phanagoria. The collection of pottery in this present study does include attributable pieces of some art historical interest which are noted in Chapter 3 below, but such pieces are relatively few and are not the most promising focus of analysis for the collection as a whole. Indeed, if iconography in its widest sense seems to play a disappointingly small role in this study, this merely reflects the extremely fragmentary state of the evidence, since it is rarely possible to reconstruct scenes and many figured vases have merely accessory patterns preserved. There are certainly important questions to be raised concerning the nature and role of imagery on Attic pottery at Phanagoria, and especially that on shapes, such as the krater, which are likely to have played a role as much symbolic as practical (see Chapter 3). Discussion of this problem must, however, await the discovery or publication of better preserved evidence.³¹

Following these iconographical studies, a more wide-ranging and substantial review of Attic pottery at Phanagoria appeared with Loseva's 1968 study of later fifth and fourth century red-figure from excavations conducted in the cemeteries and settlement (especially along the coast and in the Kerameikos) between 1938 and 1962. While she singled out for discussion a relatively small number of well-preserved pieces, her study is valuable for the detail of

³⁰ Nor in certain eastern European works, notably Bouzek 1989, 249–253 and 1990, ch. 3, which rely largely on Beazley for provenance statistics and base observations on the distribution of known hands and workshops. Although the chart in Bouzek 1990, 46, fig. 11 is claimed to take account of more recent excavation data, no quantities or individual site details are given, and the chapter as a whole is lightly referenced and imprecise with regard to the nature and quantity of imports in the Taman as elsewhere.

³¹ I agree, however, with the observation of Lissarrague 1987 that the primary factor underlying trade patterns is the vase shape rather than the image.

reference to local comparanda,³² and for the way in which she attempted to convey the scope and quantity of the Attic imports in the excavation areas studied. Loseva's work remains fundamental, but it is limited both chronologically and in terms of decorative technique, and it is clear that at Phanagoria, as elsewhere in the Taman, full publication of a large body of Attic imports spanning all styles and periods, and offering scope for comparison between settlement and cemetery finds, is badly needed.³³ Indeed, only when a series of such studies covers the northern Pontic region (comparable, for example, to those from sites in Ionia and Aeolis),³⁴ will it be possible to ensure the proper integration of local data into broader studies of type and shape distribution³⁵ and of Attic production and export.

With these concerns in mind, and emphasising also the limitations of the available data and the necessity of basing arguments on the structure of the assemblage rather than detailed contextual analysis, the principal objective of this present study will be to show the nature and likely role of Attic imports in the Phanagoria settlement over time.³⁶ For this reason, all the diagnostic material available to me has been included in a catalogue ordered primarily by vessel shape rather than decorative technique. Under each shape heading, sherds of black-glaze are presented first (whether or not they represent wholly black-glazed originals, which is often impossible to determine), since this is the longest-lived technique and forms the backbone of our understanding of shape evolution.³⁷ These are followed by black-figure or black pattern and then red-figure pieces. Within these categories, ordering of individual items is as far as possible chronological. Profile illustrations are reproduced at 47% unless otherwise noted, but the scale of photographs varies in order to show the maximum detail practical in each case. In cases where alternative shape identifications are possible, sherds are either listed under the most likely option and

³² Indeed, she notes (Loseva 1968, 85), the pots she selected for publication are typical in shape and decoration of the north Black Sea coast.

³³ The state of our knowledge is well summarised by Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, 229–230, although without quantification or distinction between periods.

³⁴ Tuna-Nörling 1993; 1995; *Clazomenai*; *Daskyleion* I; Gökay 1999; *Ephesos* XII/1.

³⁵ Notably work on black-glaze shapes, such as Shefton 1996 on Castulo cups, noting the inclusion of two published examples from Hermonassa, plus one on display in the State Historical Museum from the Taman peninsula (175).

³⁶ For a comparable perspective, see Villard 1991.

³⁷ See, however, *Agora* XII, 14 on shape variation between black and figured wares.

the possibilities assessed, or grouped under an appropriate subheading where no preference can be shown. It must always be borne in mind that, to quote Talcott and Sparkes,³⁸ ‘fragments are dangerous allies, and extra care must be taken in finding the whole shape to which they belong.’ I have therefore tended to be cautious in making firm identifications of shapes and classes, and have preferred to note the widest chronological spans for artists or groups rather than attempting to place individual pieces more closely within them on purely stylistic grounds.³⁹ While some may find the results unduly vague, the value of assigning over-precise dates to material at such a distance from the centre of production is questionable. The length of the delay involved between production and deposition will be considered in Chapter 3; here I merely note that less precise but securer dates are likely to provide a more reliable foundation for assessing the real composition of the Phanagorian assemblage in any particular period. Finally, it should be noted that no description of fabric or assessment of workmanship is noted unless the latter is pertinent to dating or attribution. The Attic origin of these pieces seems secure; they fit comfortably within the stylistic and technological parameters established on the basis of assemblages from Athens itself, and contrast markedly with the East Greek (and especially Pergamene) imports that are common in the Pontic region. While workshops on Thasos and in the Chalkidike produced close imitations of Attic black-glaze, black- and red-figure from the Archaic period onwards (and these areas were in trading contact with the Taman from the sixth century, see Chapter 3 below), there are no clear grounds for assigning any of our pieces to them.⁴⁰ Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, the properties of local clays are quite different (they cannot, for example, make good black-glaze) and local imitations of Attic shapes, while increasingly common, frequently show idiosyncrasies of shape and decoration.⁴¹

³⁸ *Agora* XII, 2.

³⁹ For fourth and third century material, I have followed the chronology proposed in *Agora* XXIX where it differs from that used in *Agora* XII.

⁴⁰ Tiverios 1988b, 300–301. For red-figure, see McPhee 1981.

⁴¹ Having examined the Phanagorian squat lekythoi published by Limberis and Marchenko 1997, fig. 1.5 from grave 13 in Chernomorskii kurgan no. 2, held in the Taman Museum, I note that the fabric is clearly different. It is possible that the finished product could be passed off to a purchaser as bad Attic, but the poor quality of the glaze in so far as it is preserved (and the piece is badly worn) would suggest that this could only work for shapes where quality was not crucial (drinking cups, for example, would be readily detectable).

Shapes are grouped as listed below to reflect their common functions, moving from larger closed shapes which, when used practically rather than for display, could serve for the storage and pouring of liquids, to smaller oil containers and toilet vessels, followed by drinking vessels, multi-purpose open forms, and serving dishes of various kinds. This follows closely the scheme adopted in *Agora* XXIX (see 5–7 for analysis), since Rotroff's focus on the use of pottery in its social context is very close to my own, and while it departs from *Agora* XII in certain respects (noted below), it does not conflict with Talcott and Sparkes' assessments of individual shape functions (nor with those of Richter and Milne 1935).

1. STORAGE⁴²

amphora, hydria, pelike

2. POURING⁴³

olpe, oinochoe, chous

3. OIL CONTAINERS⁴⁴

askos, amphoriskos, lekythos, squat lekythos, guttus, perfume pot

⁴² The term pelike is a modern convention for what in antiquity was regarded as a form of amphora: *Agora* XII, 49. On the hydria/kalpis: Amyx 1958, 200–201.

⁴³ *Agora* XII, 76, with bibliography, for the use of the term olpe in more senses than that of the wine jug meant here. See also 58–63 on the functional overlap between the oinochoe and chous (chous is here retained for the shape 3 oinochoe, especially the specific red-figure class of vases with child-imagery, see pp. 184–185 below).

⁴⁴ These shapes have in common their design (evidenced especially in the shape of the mouth) to dispense oil or other precious or viscous liquids in small quantities: *Agora* XII, 150–151; *Agora* XXIX, 6. They are not designed for the storage of large amounts of fluid, nor are they likely to be table vessels pure and simple. Amphoriskoi, lekythoi, and especially squat lekythoi are highly likely to have been used for perfumed oil and may therefore have served as toilet vessels. Sparkes 1977, 24 suggests that perfume pots (Talcott Class) held athletes' oil supplies. The askos/guttus, which could dispense oil, perfume or foodstuffs such as honey in drops, could have been a table or a toilet vessel: *Agora* XII, 157. Such vessels could have been used by men or women in a range of contexts, from the table to the bedroom, the palaistra, grave or temple. There is therefore considerable overlap with the categories of toilet and serving vessel, but in view of the diversity of their likely use and their shared morphological traits, these shapes have been separated as a distinct group.

4. TOILET VESSELS⁴⁵

Pyxis

5. DRINKING⁴⁶

mug, skyphos, bolsal, cup-skyphos, cup, kantharos, cup-kantharos

6. SMALL OPEN⁴⁷

one-handler, bowl, phiale, saltcellar, echinus bowl, exaleiptron

⁴⁵ Included in this category are shapes (in the case of the Phanagoria assemblage, solely the pyxis) which undoubtedly served as women's toilet vessels (*Agora* XII, 173–174; although the pyxis could also have served as a general container or display vessel). Shapes classified as oil containers (see note 44 above) and serving dishes (notably lekanides) could well have done so, but could equally have served other functions.

⁴⁶ Included here are shapes used solely or primarily for drinking and closely related in ancient terminology. See e.g. Amyx 1958, 206–208, for the use of the term 'poterion' to describe almost any kind of drinking vessel, including what we would otherwise call kylikes, skyphoi and phialai (on the last see note 47 below). Richter and Milne 1935, 27–28 likewise discuss 'kotyle' as a generic name for drinking cups. Following *Agora* XII, 81, I term skyphoi shapes called kotylai elsewhere in modern scholarship. The name bolsal is a modern coinage, although the shape's morphological links are clear (*Agora* XII, 107–108); an example from Haleis (*ADelt* 31 [1976], 309 fig. 6, pl. 75) bears the graffito SK, probably for skyphos (although see pp. 224–225 for a problematic use of this term in the Taman). In the case of the mug, however, I depart from *Agora* XII, 70, where Talcott and Sparkes follow Beazley (*ARV*, ix, cf. *ARV*², 1, oinochoe shape 8) in placing it after the oinochoe. Clearly, as they note, the mug could serve as a measure or dipper, but that it was primarily a drinking vessel is emphasized in its probable ancient names, kotyliskion or kothon.

⁴⁷ Vessels in this category are likely to have been multi-functional. The phiale, while sometimes described as a poterion in antiquity (see note 46 above), could also serve as a libation or offering bowl (*Agora* XII, 105–106; Richter and Milne 1935, 29–30). The single instance of a calyx cup among our material, the third century West Slope vessel **304**, has been classified as a drinking vessel, although in their discussion of earlier forms of this shape, Talcott and Sparkes (*Agora* XII, 121–122) note links with the phiale. The one-handler (perhaps known in antiquity as kanastron or tryblion, the latter a kind of porringer) may be a predecessor of the later handleless bowl with which it is here grouped: *Agora* XII, 124, 127, 128 (connecting the early rim shape with solid rather than liquid contents). Small bowls, saltcellars and echinus bowls are likely to have overlapped in function, perhaps holding salt or sauces or acting as measures (*Agora* XII, 132–133).

7. SERVING⁴⁸

plate, stemmed dish, lekanis, krater

8. LAMPS

9. UNKNOWN

The morphological, and in many cases epigraphical, basis of these shape groupings is clear and well founded.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, as any abstract scheme, these divisions impose a degree of consistency, both in our own approaches to vessel types and in our assumptions about ancient usage, which is not always justified. Some of these difficulties have been outlined in the annotations to individual group headings above. In the case of modern judgments, for example, the separation of oil containers from toilet vessels is particularly problematic. A lesser difficulty arises from different approaches to the same shape decorated in different techniques. Black-figure vessels which are, in the terms adopted for black-glaze and red-figure, clearly cup-skyphoi rather than skyphoi,⁵⁰ are here classified as such rather than as Attic type skyphoi as they appear in the presentation of black-figure in *Agora* XXIII.⁵¹ In view of the imprecision of ancient terminology for drinking vessels, with overarching descriptions covering categories which we now subdivide,⁵² it seems clear that this is a problem of modern making which should not detain us. More serious are judgments

⁴⁸ See Amyx 1958, 198–199 (krater), 202–205 (lekos/lekanis). There is likely to have been some overlap with the multi-purpose small bowls in the previous category, where, for example, vessels such as saltcellars were used for the serving of food rather than its consumption or as a measure. The stemmed dish is included here rather than with the small bowls as only the large size is securely identified in this collection (see *Agora* XII, 138), a shape characterised by Beazley (1931–1932, 21) as a dish for ‘olives, comfits or the like’. 342, which may be related in its lip form to a small stemmed dish, is included with the small open shapes.

⁴⁹ Richter and Milne 1935 remains a fundamental source for the shape names applied to Greek vessels: *Agora* XII offers a convenient summary of bibliography on individual shapes, and Amyx 1958 further epigraphical evidence from the Attic Stelai.

⁵⁰ *Agora* XII, 109–112; *Agora* XXX, 66; Ure 1946.

⁵¹ As *Agora* XXIII, 59–61.

⁵² *Agora* XII, 109, see also note 46 above. For post-firing inscription of the term *kylix* on both skyphoi and cup-skyphoi, see *Agora* XII, 5–6; that there is unlikely to be geographical significance in the choice of term is suggested by its use on a sixth century cup-skyphos and a black-figure cup, plus a fifth century black-glaze cup from Nymphaeum, there listed.

about the nature and consistency of ancient ceramic usage.⁵³ It must be admitted that the terminology used here is crude: for example, the sense in which a small amphora or a hydria ‘stored’ liquid (presumably on the table) very likely differed from the kind of storage of liquids or solids in a larger vessel. In some cases, the evidence of iconography may suggest a shift in use or the development of parallel functions. In the case of the *lekanis*, for example, ancient sources show that the term was applied to a variety of broad open vessel forms used for different purposes, and while *lekanides* seem to have been used mainly as serving dishes for food, they are known on occasion to have held almost anything from cosmetics and jewellery to boot-black or water to bathe the feet.⁵⁴ Sparkes and Talcott suggest that there may be a distinction between the black and decorated examples, which are more likely to have served toilet functions, and the plainer household versions used for food, although they accept that this division was not absolute.⁵⁵ Whether it could be extended to the community at Phanagoria, outside the sway of Attic consumptive values and where much fine tableware clearly was Attic, is an unanswerable question. More pertinent in the case of Phanagoria is the question of iconography, since while plainer black-glaze examples are current during the early fifth century (382–386), when the shape reappears late in the century (387–388 plus published examples listed in Appendix 1) the dominant iconography, of *erotes* and women, better suits a feminine, toilet use. In short, this scheme of shape analysis is inevitably a simplification of a complex picture, but applied with caution and recognition of areas of difficulty, it forms a useful, and most importantly, an explicit basis for diachronic inter- and intra-site comparison.

The focus of this study is Phanagoria. Parallels will be drawn, in so far as is possible, with material from other sites in the Taman peninsula, both that which I have studied personally in the collections of the Taman and Temryuk museums and the State Hermitage, and that published elsewhere. This is not a comprehensive account of Attic imports into the peninsula, since quite apart from the problem of retrieving data from submerged sites and those which lie beneath major modern settlements (as e.g. Hermonassa beneath Taman town), others scholars are responsible for the publication of finds from the major city-sites, and their conclusions may radically alter the picture presented by the

⁵³ *Agora* XXIX, 6–7.

⁵⁴ *Amyx* 1958, 203, 205.

⁵⁵ *Agora* XII, 164.

data currently available. It is, nonetheless, a systematic attempt to draw to scholarly attention the range and quantity of material from this area. In addition to Attic pottery from the major cities and their cemeteries (including those at Tuzla and Tyramba),⁵⁶ that from the settlement site of Volna 1 (in the territory of Hermonassa) dates from the last quarter of the sixth century,⁵⁷ that from the first settlement level beneath the Taman Tholos dates to the end of the fifth century at the earliest,⁵⁸ and the peninsula has produced a number of fourth century burial tumuli,⁵⁹ including Bolshaya Bliznitsa⁶⁰ and its 'twin' Malaya Bliznitsa,⁶¹ Zellsenskaya (Lysaya Gora),⁶² Starotitarovskaya,⁶³ Belii Khutor,⁶⁴ and Chernomorskii (kurgan 2),⁶⁵ as well as smaller-scale activity at sites such as Novotamanskii,⁶⁶ Taman terminal⁶⁷ and Yantar.⁶⁸ The ethnic identity of the occupants of these tumuli has been much debated and the arguments raised are mostly beyond the scope of this present study (see Chapter 3).⁶⁹ It is, how-

⁵⁶ Kuznetsov 1999b offers a valuable synthesis of data on the rural development of the Taman, arguing for major change in the *chora* with extensive rural settlement only from the fourth century onwards (although see now Müller *et al.* 1999, 595–598).

⁵⁷ Solovyov and Butyagin 2002, figs. 10–14; see also Solovyov 2002 for a report of a survey of the *chora* of Hermonassa, mentioning sixth and fifth century remains and noting the presence of Attic imports, but with no further details.

⁵⁸ Sokolskii 1976, 7, fig. 4.

⁵⁹ Koshelenko, Koshelkova and Dolgorukov 1984, 95–98 (Dolgurokov) for a review.

⁶⁰ CR 1860, x–xi; CR 1861, ix–xii; CR 1864, iv–x; CR 1865, iii–v; CR 1866, 5–36, 79–127, pl. 3 (Stephani); CR 1868, v–ix; CR 1869, 6–12 (Stephani); *Otchet* 1882–1888, xxxviii–xlii. Recent accounts with bibliography: Peredolskaya 1964; Pruglo 1974; Schwarzmaier 1996.

⁶¹ CR 1864, x–xi; CR 1881, xvi–xviii; *Otchet* 1882–1888, xvi–xviii; *Otchet* 1907, 84–85, figs. 86–88; *Otchet* 1915, 146–148.

⁶² *Otchet* 1912, 48–49; Farmakovskii 1913.

⁶³ *Otchet* 1885, lxxxi–lxxxiv; Bogoslovskii 1983.

⁶⁴ *Taman Museum*, 45–49.

⁶⁵ Limberis and Marchenko 1997, 46.

⁶⁶ *Taman Museum*, 44.

⁶⁷ Unpublished; *Taman Museum*, 44, squat lekythoi.

⁶⁸ *Taman Museum*, 36–37.

⁶⁹ See also Kocybala 1978, 356–358 for reports, with bibliography, of rural settlement and burials especially in the southern part of the peninsula. As she notes, while many of these sites seem to be Greek in their material culture, the ethnic identity of their inhabitants is not certain. I have not seen the Attic pottery from investigations of these settlements, nor is it published in the preliminary reports: Blavatskii 1952; 1953; 1955; 1957 and 1959. Renewed systematic survey (Müller *et al.* 1999, 595–598), focused on the neglected 'mesogaia', promises to further our knowledge of rural settlement. Initial reports (p. 597) note an increase in surface finds (including Greek imports) from the second half of the sixth century, coinciding with Greek colonisa-

ever, worth stressing that Attic pottery has been recovered mainly from the dining areas associated with burials rather than from the burial chambers themselves, and so as will be seen, the range of shapes represented closely echoes those found in the Phanagoria settlement.

Beyond the Taman peninsula,⁷⁰ I will focus on evidence from Athens, and especially the Agora, not merely because this site has produced the best type sequence for black-glaze wares in particular, but to facilitate comparison with domestic consumption in the producer region. Comparison with evidence from Ionia, eastern Macedonia and Aegean Thrace⁷¹ bears also on issues of trade, since these are the most likely intermediate points of supply, and the pottery available in these areas, as well as the nature of that produced locally in the Taman, are likely to be key factors in the choice of import shapes and iconography made by the community at Phanagoria. In the case of Ionia, the close links which one might expect to find with the mother cities of the Taman colonies are very clear from the variety of Ionian and Aeolian cultural traits present here and in the European Bosphorus, ranging from a probably Milesian *kouros* at Kepoi, to script, Ionian architectural traits and an Aeolian-influenced terracotta relief from Phanagoria (Hill G).⁷² It is, however, unfortunate that almost nothing is known of the settlement at Teos,⁷³ and neither here, nor at Phanagoria's sister colony, Abdera,⁷⁴ can detailed comparison be made with

tion, and a second peak in activity in the fourth and third centuries BC. On the chora of Hermonassa, see Solovyov 2002.

⁷⁰ Material from neighbouring Sindos Limen/Gorgippia (modern Anapa) shows many points of similarity with that presented here. It is being studied by members of the Anapa Archaeological Expedition and preliminary reports include: Tsvetaeva 1980; Alekseeva 1991, pls. 5, 8–9, 11–13, 19, 27, 30, 65, 67–69; Demchenko 1991 (illustrating a range of material closely similar to that presented here). I am most grateful to Dr E. Alekseeva and her colleagues for their hospitality in Anapa and for helpful discussion of the archaeology of the area.

⁷¹ The related question of the distribution and use of Attic pottery in Bulgarian Thrace is a separate problem and will not be considered here: for syntheses and an overview of material, see e.g. Reho-Bumbalova 1982; Reho 1990; Lazarov 1990.

⁷² *Kouros*: Sokolski 1962b. Script, see e.g. Johnston 1989–1990, 312–313. Architecture: Arzamanov 1989 (Hermonassa); Pichikyan 1975 (Panticapaeum); Kobylina 1983 (Phanagoria). Relief: Kobylina 1961.

⁷³ Tuna forthcoming.

⁷⁴ At Abdera, excavation has revealed the line of the city wall and buildings along its inner face, giving an idea of the extent of the initial Clazomenian and subsequent Tean cities. Comparatively little pre-fourth century domestic architecture has been excavated, however, and published work on the extensive Archaic and Early Classical cemeteries has so far focused on the earlier, Clazomenian

imports at politically, and perhaps culturally, related settlements. While I have attempted to use as much of the available data from these regions as possible, it should be noted that whereas much material from sites in Asia Minor is already published with full quantitative analyses, many key sites in the northern Aegean are still being excavated and/or studied, and we have not yet reached the point where quantitative analyses can be made.

These comparisons raise broader questions of the role of fineware imports in the reconstruction of Athenian and Black Sea trade. It has often been assumed that imported Attic fine pottery in some way reflects the existence and importance of direct links between the Bosporan kingdoms and Athens.⁷⁵ This is in large part a consequence of the prominent role accorded by modern scholars to the grain trade at least from the fifth century onwards. The often quoted view of Michell (1957, 297) that ‘we can well imagine how, when in search of a cargo of grain, the shipmaster would pack up a few choice specimens in order to tempt the wheat merchants of South Russia’ now seems grossly simplistic, but the route(s) by which our pottery arrived, the rationale for its import and its relationship to trade in other commodities remain real issues. As noted earlier in this chapter, Phanagoria was founded as a Tean colony at the same time as Abdera in Thrace, but from *ca.* 480 onwards it united in a *symmachy* with the other cities of the Taman and the European Bosphorus to form the Bosporan kingdom with its capital at Panticapaeum.⁷⁶ The first, Archeanactid, ruling dynasty (probably Milesian or Mytilenean in origin) reigned for forty-two years (Diodorus Siculus 12.31.1), and was succeeded in 438/7 by the Thracian Spartacids who ruled until 109 BC. The fifth century was, as noted, a period of major physical expansion of the city of Phanagoria, followed by reverses at least during the first half of the fourth. Politically, however, relations between the Bosporan kingdom and Athens were at their closest under the Spartacid King Leucon I (389/8–349/8). Demosthenes (*Against Leptines* 30–33) describes Leucon as an Athenian citizen by adoption who, among other services, gave exemption from dues to merchants carrying

city. For an overview, see Lazaridis 1971, adding reviews of recent research with bibliography in Skarlatidou 1990 and 1992; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988; 1994 and 1997.

⁷⁵ Bouzek 1990, 42–52 (see also Bouzek 1994 where, despite emphasising similarities with other Mediterranean distributions, he assumes carriage of Attic pottery by Athenian ships); Brashinskii 1963, chs. 1–5; Gajdukevic 1971, 57, 102; MacDonald 1979, 49–50, 54–55.

⁷⁶ For reviews of the political and cultural history of the kingdom, see e.g. Gajdukevic 1971, chs. 2–4; Hind 1994.

corn to Athens. Later in the fourth century, the Bosporan kingdom itself expanded to its greatest extent with the incorporation under its control of local populations (including, from the first quarter of the century onwards, the indigenous Sindii of the Taman) and it enhanced its trading activities in many other directions accordingly.⁷⁷

While there can be little doubt about the continuing diversity and complexity of Bosporan trade, nor indeed about its pre-fourth century origins, arguments against a simple connection between political and economic ties with Athens and the import of Attic pottery operate on a number of levels.⁷⁸ Assuming, with Garnsey,⁷⁹ that ‘a serious disequilibrium between Athens’ food needs and its capacity to meet them from Attica and nearby dependencies did not develop until well into the post-Persian war period in consequence of population growth, and that there was no food *problem* . . . until 431 BC’, then chronology becomes crucial. The fact that the highest proportion of the pottery presented here dates before 480 (see Fig. 3) suggests that if the Athenian grain trade is to be seen as *the* explanation for the presence of Attic pottery in the Bosporan kingdom, Phanagoria included, then it can at best account for only a relatively small and late part of the evidence. And if one accepts either

⁷⁷ The much-debated issues of the volume of Bosporan corn sent to Athens and the closeness of relations with the Spartacids at various points during the fourth century are beyond the scope of this study. For reviews with bibliography, see Kuznetsov forthcoming; Burstein 1978; 1993.

⁷⁸ That earlier Pontic trade extended across Greece is not in doubt. This may have included grain, although the earliest mention of grain shipments (*ca.* 480) is Herodotus’ reference (7.147) to Xerxes, when at Abydos, seeing grain ships sailing from Pontus through the Hellespont destined for the Peloponnese and Aigina. The origin of the ships is not stated, however, merely that they are enemy ships, nor, as Noonan (1973, 233) rightly points out, is the precise origin of this grain, and there is no reason automatically to assume that the Bosporan colonies were involved. At issue is the invocation of a direct connection with Athens as the sole or primary explanation for the supply of Attic pottery, and here it seems incumbent upon those who advance this view to explain why Attic pottery must differ from the earlier presence of, for example, Corinthian wares. Christien-Tregaro 1996, 143–145 reveals something of this dilemma when she argues that Corinthian ware must have arrived indirectly, notably via Athens, Aigina and Megara (the latter two sources based on misquotation of Herodotus 7.147). A more sophisticated approach is taken by Kreuzer 1994, who uses comparison of findspots of Lakonian and Attic finewares to highlight the Samians’ own role in organising the import of Attic pottery found at the Heraion.

⁷⁹ Most recently, Garnsey 1998, 183–200 (summarising his own earlier arguments with a review of scholarly responses to them); the quotation comes from 194–195. From a Pontic point of view, a similar case had earlier been made by Noonan 1973.

Garnsey's further but more controversial argument that the volume of trade was comparatively small in the fifth century by contrast with the fourth,⁸⁰ or the case that Bosporan kingdoms were less prominent in this trade during the fifth, then the problem becomes more acute.⁸¹ The argument of numbers has also been advanced, suggesting that there is simply too little Attic pottery in the Pontic region for it to have been a significant commodity in as large a scale an exchange process as the grain trade.⁸² This is somewhat dangerous, however, since quite apart from our ignorance of the real value of such pots to the various communities which used them (i.e. of their true standing in any chain of consumption), and also the difficulty of obtaining accurate figures given the state of publication of most sites,⁸³ it is essential to take account of different practices of excavation, sorting and retention of finds in making comparisons, and this information is rarely made explicit. Absolute figures are in themselves rarely meaningful — what constitutes 'a little' or 'a lot' depends entirely on the context (of production, transport or consumption) in which it is assessed. Perhaps the most powerful objection is the fallacy of equating the origins of products with the identity of traders who carried them.⁸⁴ This is clearly illustrated by the *syngraphe* quoted by Demosthenes 35.10–13 (*Against Lakritos*) which describes fourth century Athenians engaged in a triangular trade involving the Bosphorus and the northern Aegean, purchasing Macedonian and Thracian products for sale in the Bosphorus in return for grain.⁸⁵ That Ionians, Macedonian, Thracian and Pontic Greeks were active along one or

⁸⁰ See also Mattingley 1996, arguing that corn aside, Athens had little interest in the Black Sea at this time. For a counter argument from a primarily Athenian perspective, see Whitby 1998, with previous bibliography.

⁸¹ See e.g. Tsatskheladze 1998a with previous bibliography. The case has most recently been restated by Kuznetsov 2000 and forthcoming (although his conclusion that cheap pottery was mainly imported for dedication does not seem to be supported by the evidence presented here).

⁸² Tsatskheladze 1998a, 59–63.

⁸³ Tsatskheladze 1998b, 55–64.

⁸⁴ See e.g. Alexandrescu in Dimitriu and Alexandrescu 1973, 36–37, who also points out that if pre-480 Attic pottery is to be seen as part of a hypothetical early grain trade, it is paradoxical that the majority of Attic fineware exports at this time went west to Etruria.

⁸⁵ The text of this *syngraphe*, quoted verbatim by Demosthenes, describes a loan for a voyage from Athens to Mende or Skione to purchase wine or other commodities for sale for grain in the Bosphorus, returning 'if they wish along the left hand coast as far as Borysthenes and then back to Athens'. See Davies 1993, 223–224 for text and discussion.

more legs of this and related routes, including those linking in Ionia, probably from as early as the sixth century, seems beyond doubt (as argued in Chapter 3). How these routes developed and were exploited through time is a major issue in its own right. Here I merely stress the sheer complexity of possible permutations of routes, peoples and commodities of different origin.

A sample of pottery from one site cannot in itself provide many answers. Nonetheless, it is inevitable that the results of a study such as this will enter into discussion of Pontic trade and international relations. Indeed, as argued, the richness of Pontic connections with Macedonia, Thrace and Ionia make it essential to consider our pottery not merely as an Athenian export, but as a commodity which circulated within a variety of exchange networks and was then chosen out of a range of possible purchases by Phanagorian consumers.⁸⁶ The long-term aim must be to build up a detailed picture of patterns of similarity and difference in Attic imports using as large a sample as possible from as many communities as possible across a broad geographical area, to give some basis with which to address the question of how and why Attic pottery moved as it did in the Pontic region.⁸⁷ And, bearing in mind the way in which fine pottery is often used by ancient historians as an index of the movement of other commodities or of the nature of trading structures,⁸⁸ it is important to emphasise that my focus is on fine pottery as a commodity in its own right, and on the rationale for its selection and use. This demands consideration of all the available material, however fragmentary.⁸⁹ In recent years, much has been done to reconstruct local patterns of shape preference, the distribution of

⁸⁶ My approach here echoes that of Bats 1987.

⁸⁷ Note the analogous methodological discussion of Semeraro 1997a, 31–34, with regard to analysis of Archaic Greek imports in the Salento region of Italy. A companion work on Classical imports is in preparation by Dr Katia Mannino (Lecce University); for preliminary accounts, see Mannino 1997; Mannino and Roubis 2000 (I am grateful to Drs Mannino and Roubis for discussion and access to the latter paper in advance of publication).

⁸⁸ Most recently, e.g. Osborne 1996. See also Kreuzer 1994, 103–108 for a valuable critique of recent approaches. I concur with the distinction drawn by Morel 1982 (with primary reference to western Mediterranean data) between an economic history of pottery, which is both practical and desirable (see also Van der Leeuw 1999 on approaches to this problem), and the fallacy of trying to write economic history from or by fine pottery. Amphorae are another matter, as emphasised by Lawall 1995 and 1998, Whitbread 1995, ch. 2, and papers in Garlan 1999.

⁸⁹ See the analogous reflections of Elsbeth Dusenbery on imports at Samothrace; *Samothrace* 11, 511–512.

the products of particular workshop and routes of exchange based on Beazley's lists of painters and workshops.⁹⁰ But whatever one's views on the use of Beazley's work for such purposes (bearing in mind that his lists were not compiled with any such aims in mind, and take no account of such factors as biases in, or circumstances of, excavation),⁹¹ this approach is simply not feasible for the Taman, nor indeed for many other areas, since so little of our material is attributable. If the Phanagoria material is to be integrated into any broader picture, we have to take the methodologically sounder approach of considering the whole record, attributable or not, according to shape, function, decorative technique, and iconography. This in turn demands that if Attic imports at Phanagoria are to be useful as a building block in any broader survey and properly compared with material from other sites, careful and explicit consideration must be given to the manner of their presentation, and especially to the choice of methods used to convey the size, nature and function of the sample.⁹² Issues surround-

⁹⁰ See e.g. Hannestad 1991 for a review with previous bibliography, also Campernon 1987 (noting criticisms levelled by Bats in the ensuing discussion, p. 193); Scheffer 1988; Osborne 1995. Although Osborne's focus is on markets and not pottery *per se*, I am broadly sympathetic to the way in which his conclusions reintroduced complexity to an area of discussion that had been oversimplified by advocates of World Systems approaches (which tended to ignore or decontextualise and misrepresent data — Arafat and Morgan 1994). I have, however, reservations about his reliance on Beazley, since there is a risk in using a limited but strictly defined data set pertaining to production to answer questions on carriage and consumption. I would thus dispute the extent to which market knowledge should be seen as the preserve of potters rather than agents or traders (indeed, given the nature of the data obtained from Beazley, this may be a circular argument). Likewise, since the workshops and groups which form the focus of Scheffer's study are almost all well represented at Phanagoria (as noted in Chapter 3), this should in theory be a useful starting point for assessment of the place of the Phanagoria material in wider trading patterns. However, the large body of material excavated and/or published, especially from the northern Aegean and Ionia, since Beazley's lists were last updated in print, and certainly since the 1987 Copenhagen conference, requires that many of her statistics and conclusions be revised, and for this reason, I shall not draw on this study.

⁹¹ For an instructive comparison between distributions in the Salento derived from Beazley alone and from all available excavation data, see Mannino 1997, especially 393.

⁹² In this respect, advances made by the Archaeology Department of the University of Lecce in establishing common frameworks for data recording and thus analysis of imports at sites in the Salento and neighbouring areas are of considerable interest, since they rest on explicit consideration of many of the methodological concerns raised here: Semeraro 1997b. I am grateful to Katia Mannino for discussion of her comparable approach to the study of Attic red-figure imports in the Salento (see note 87 above). Useful reviews of key issues are provided by Arcelin 1996; Rouillard 1996.

ing the choice of exploratory statistical methods for the description of the Phanagoria data will be discussed as they arise in Chapter 3, with particular reference to the methods employed in an important group of quantified studies of closely comparable Attic imports from Ionian sites.⁹³ The nature of the sample constituted by the pottery presented here is a more fundamental issue, however, and one which must be addressed before we proceed to further description of individual assemblage traits.

As is the case with material from the vast majority of Classical sites in the Pontic region and beyond, and certainly with material from all but the most recent excavations, this collection of Attic pottery from Phanagoria constitutes an uncontrolled sample in the sense that, with the exception of the 1996 campaign, there is no explicit record of the parent population from which it was selected nor of the criteria adopted for retention or discard of material (a practical necessity on such a ceramic-rich site).⁹⁴ It is clear from an initial, purely visual review of the material catalogued here that there is a strong bias towards decorated pieces and feature sherds (rims, bases, handles and body sherds with a distinctive profile) however fragmentary, but no real evidence of selection for quality or size. It seems likely that the basic procedure adopted was the widely practised, if subjective, one of keeping anything that seemed diagnostic, and on this basis one might argue that it is unlikely that anything of significance, in terms of shape or decoration, was discarded. The sample could thus be seen as a reasonably reliable, if subjective, qualitative indication of what was discovered, and since only a limited area of the site has been dug and much already destroyed, it might seem unrealistic to pursue the matter further. But is this necessarily the case? One further test is to consider the proportion of black-glaze to figured wares, since at the majority of settlements

⁹³ *Clazomenai*; Tuna-Nöröling 1995; *Daskyleion I*; Gökay 1999.

⁹⁴ The discrepancy between the circumstances standard in much Classical archaeology (in the broadest sense) and the nature of the samples required for the kind of assemblage reconstruction and quantification discussed by e.g. Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, ch. 13, is a problem which requires much fuller discussion than it has yet received. Until publications of imports such as those from Phanagoria routinely include statements of the parameters governing them (especially excavation methods and strategies, given differences in field traditions), plus assessment of the exploratory statistical methods used including potential biases and distorting factors, it will be hard to assess the validity and strength of comparison with data from other sites, and thus to integrate a widespread and important type of data set into broader analyses.

where Attic pottery was used, the former greatly outnumbered the latter.⁹⁵ At Phanagoria, the overall ratio is reversed at *ca.* 1:1.9 (142:269 pieces based only on material catalogued in Chapter 2, although the inclusion of settlement material from Appendix 1 produces the same proportions). This picture will almost certainly prove to be more ‘normal’ once Jean-Paul Morel’s work on black-glaze can be taken fully into account (although we cannot yet predict how ‘normal’ the final results will be), and the likelihood of a large element of chance must also be acknowledged. Indeed, if the exercise is repeated using only the catalogued material from the University of London trenches excavated in 1996, the overall ratio returns to 4:1 (61:15) in favour of black-glaze. But even allowing for these factors, the exercise is worthwhile as a means of highlighting the existence of a pattern requiring explanation, and it is also worth considering whether such a diachronic perspective conceals significant variations perhaps related to preferences for particular shapes in different periods (especially given the generally late date of the black-glaze excluded from this study).⁹⁶ The issue of technique in relation to shape is explored more fully in Chapter 3. Here I simply note that if we subdivide the assemblage into the three major periods of Archaic (including material up to 475/470, i.e. the late black-figure of the Haimon Group and related workshops), Early Classical (*ca.* 475/70–420) and Late Classical (*ca.* 420 onwards),⁹⁷ and consider settlement material from Chapter 2 and Appendix 1 together, as presented in Figs. 6–8, it becomes clear that the greatest bias to figured techniques occurs during the Archaic period, where it can be explained at least in part by the fact that dur-

⁹⁵ For obvious reasons, precise ratios are rarely given although the imbalance is widely noted; see e.g. Shear 1993, 388–393 (late Archaic Athenian Agora); DeVries 1997, 450, 453 (Gordion); Blondé 1988, 56 (Thasos). At Pistiros (*Pistiros* I, 77), Archibald estimates 4:1 or 5:1 from certain excavation contexts (although this is not a precise calculation necessarily valid for the entire site). DeVries 1997, 450 notes *ca.* 7:1 for the fifth century Agora public dining room deposit published by Rotroff and Oakley 1992. At Clazomenai, only the figured wares have been published and the black-glaze is currently the subject of PhD research; I am grateful to Bilge Hürmüzli for confirming that black-glaze outnumbers figured wares to an extent similar to that noted above in both the sixth and fourth century settlements.

⁹⁶ See note 19 above.

⁹⁷ The choice of such long phases for analysis, rather than, for example, the 25-year periods used at Daskyleion (*Daskyleion* I, *passim*; Görkay 1999, 15 table 8), reflects the precision with which much of the Phanagoria pottery can be dated (thus avoiding artificial distinctions in grouping material into shorter phase brackets), and also the gradual process of change within the assemblage.

ing the period of the greatest Attic import at Phanagoria, the most popular shapes are fundamentally black-figure rather than black-glaze types, i.e. certain cup and cup-skyphos types (see Fig. 6, category 5) and amphorae plus olpai (included in categories 1 and 2).⁹⁸ In the Late Classical period (Fig. 8), the ratio of approximately 1.5:1 will certainly require revision in the light of Morel's work, but it is interesting to note how the current figures again relate to shape, since they principally reflect a balance between black-glaze kantharoi and stemless cups, and red-figure cup-skyphoi and kraters (categories 5 and 6). A further question for future research relevant to this period in particular, is the relationship of Attic imports to the much broader range of black-glaze now available from sources as far afield as Campania. Only during the Early Classical period, when the sample is notably smaller, is there anything approaching a 'normal' ratio, and as shown in Fig. 7, this rests largely on drinking vessels (mugs and cups). The details of these distributions will be explored more fully in Chapter 3, but it is clear from this simple breakdown that the nature of the skew in each period varies and its extent is very hard to estimate.

It is tempting to speculate that cultural factors may have biased preservation since, as noted, these excavations only reached Roman layers. Indeed, it is important to stress that our material is not homogeneous in the sense of having anything like a consistent or uniform post-depositional history. The possibility that certain shapes may have been reused — stems recut as stoppers, for example, body sherds reshaped as gaming pieces or counters, or shapes like bowls or stemmed dishes used as lids⁹⁹ — was actively investigated in 1996 during the processing of finds, as well as in the study of material from previous campaigns. But no signs of recutting or distinctive patterns of wear were found, and it therefore seems that what is represented in these late layers reflects both the construction and breakage patterns of particular shapes (and thus the likelihood of survival and recognition of diagnostic sherds), and the chances associated with the movement of soil and construction disturbing earlier deposits. The criteria adopted for the inventory of material and inclusion in this catalogue were close to those outlined earlier, i.e. anything seen as potentially diagnostic but with a systematic attempt to represent shapes and

⁹⁸ It should, however, be noted that while a similar preference for figured shapes can be detected at Clazomenai (see *Clazomenai*), these are still outnumbered by black-glaze: B. Hürmüzli pers. comm.

⁹⁹ See e.g. Ramage 1997, 72–73 for such evidence at Sardis.

techniques in proportion to their occurrence overall. During the 1996 season, sherds were logged by excavation basket and recorded quantitatively according to ware and technique before selection for discard. As has already been noted, many late levels included a high proportion of black-glaze sherds mostly from open shapes, but these were almost all extremely fragmentary slivers from which it was impossible to obtain an accurate profile, nor can one be certain that such small sherds belonged to wholly black-glazed vessels, rather than the glazed areas of figured pieces. 84 restorable profiles were included among these fragments, mostly of open vessels, either small foot sherds or bodies. While these are not precisely datable, they are clearly spread across the chronological range defined by the catalogued assemblage. Considering together these data and observations about the structure of the inventoried material made above, two points should be noted. First, black-glaze shapes are under-represented to some extent in our assemblage. While probably true of all periods, this is certainly the case from the latter part of the fifth century, and must constantly be borne in mind when reading the analysis of the assemblage offered in Chapter 3. Secondly, the nature of the uncatalogued Attic material logged in 1996 raises different and difficult issues concerning the relationship between sherd numbers and whole vessels. Data so far have been presented in terms of catalogue entry counts which already incorporate secure joins, and potential joins between catalogue entries are so few as to be statistically insignificant.¹⁰⁰ The assumption that one entry equals one vessel seems reasonably secure. The 1996 contextual data, however, by its fragmentary nature demands a further stage of inference in assessing the minimum number of individuals represented, itself a controversial matter.¹⁰¹ In short, while one might reasonably wish for a consistent level of information throughout, the perceived advantage to be gained by incorporating the kind of information available from the 1996 analyses is dependent on one's assessment of the balance between information gained (notably on black-glaze) against the loss of analytical precision via the addition of a further layer of inference. Such an assessment lies behind my decision to exclude these data from the present catalogue and commentary.

¹⁰⁰ Potentially *ca.* three problematic instances: **23+24**, perhaps **162–165** (one or two vessels), and at least two vessels (perhaps more) represented by **403–407**.

¹⁰¹ Orton 1993; Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, ch. 13. See Archibald's observations on the Pistiros data set: *Pistiros* I, 78.

Finally, some comment is required about the nature and extent of fieldwork, since this is a significant factor in determining the comparability of this sample with material from other sites. Clearly, a long narrative description of field methods used over the many decades of research at Phanagoria would run the risk of introducing complex variables that may in the end prove to be redundant or of minimal significance to the sample, and it is therefore important to focus on a few fundamental questions. Taking as a model the framework proposed by Grazia Semeraro in her study of sixth and fifth century Greek imports in the Salento region of Italy,¹⁰² basic concerns are the type(s) of context from which the material derives, the geographical extent of research in relation to the overall area of the site, the nature of that research (excavation, systematic surface survey etc.), the quality of stratigraphical or contextual information pertinent to the material, and a brief note of any retrieval practices (such as sieving or on-site sorting and discard of artefacts) that might affect the kind of specimens included. At Phanagoria, the site is a settlement with an overall area of 400/450–500m during the Archaic period, perhaps doubling through the fifth century, but with an unknown building density. The area excavated may be as little as 1% of the likely maximum settlement area (i.e. that reached by the fourth century), although this is hard to estimate precisely.¹⁰³ Research was via systematic excavation, with just over 24% of our material assignable to good contexts (specific pits or other structures), almost 53% to medium quality contexts (cultural levels of whatever date) and 23% lacking meaningful contextual information. Sieving of soil was not practiced in 1996, nor to the best of my knowledge in any previous season, and retrieval seems to have relied on the common combination of observational skills of individual excavators followed by assessment of the diagnostic potential of the item in question (see above).

With these parameters in mind, the pottery catalogue will be presented in Chapter 2, and further analyses of chronology, shape and function in Chapter 3.

¹⁰² Semeraro 1997a, 311–325.

¹⁰³ Kuznetsov 1998, 7.

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CHAPTER 2

CATALOGUE

1. STORAGE VESSELS

Amphora

Black-Figure

1 Pls. 1, 32

Amphora (or hydria?) Mid-body sherd of a large closed vessel (hydria or amphora). Upper to lower legs of a four-horse chariot team to right.

Ht. 0031, w. 0.051, th. 0.005–6.

Ca. 550–530. The form of the legs and the pattern of incision are closely paralleled on the amphora State Hermitage B162 (Gorbunova 1983, cat. 14), attributed to Exekias by Gorbunova but to the Princeton Painter by Beazley (*Paralipomena*, 130, cat. 1bis), an attribution preferred here, noting also the conclusions of Moore 1968 on the anatomy of Exekian horses. The parallel is not exact, however, and **1** is fragmentary, so no attribution is offered. Less close is the Zurich Painter's hydria, State Hermitage B1512 (Gorbunova 1983, cat. 5).

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

2 Pls. 1, 32

Shoulder sherd of a (probably neck-) amphora. Most of a kantharos in profile, held by the handle by a right hand. Part of the lower arm preserved, with drapery at left break. Framed by ivy branch. Lip and lower body of the kantharos defined by incisions.

Ht. 0.019, w. 0.04, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.005.

Ca. 540–510. The figure shown is Dionysos, who holds the kantharos from the 540s rather than the earlier drinking horn (Carpenter 1986, 117). He may be standing (as on the neck-amphora CVA Moscow 1 [Russia 1], pl. 10.1), or seated (e.g. one-piece amphora CVA Boston 1 [USA 14], pl. 12.3). The kantharos is usually held by the stem when shown in profile (as e.g. Gorbunova 1983, cat. 74) rarely by the handle as here; the Boston amphora (close to Exekias) is another exception, as is the Nikoxenos Painter's pelike in Bologna (CVA Bologna 2 [Italy 7], pl. 25.2, 3, Palagi collection 1431 = PU 199, *ABV*, 393.14), where Dionysos holds the handle on the far side of the kantharos, concealed from the viewer. See also the seated Dionysos on the shoulder of the neck-amphora Munich 9244 (CVA Munich 9 [Germany 48], pl. 51.3)

from the circle of the Antimenes Painter, and the oinochoe Olbia O.1912.357 (Skudnova 1988, cat. 192; *ABV*, 439) of the Class of Vatican G50, where the kantharos is held low down the handle.

Upper City, 1975: Pit D.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

3 Pls. 1, 32

Lower neck and shoulder sherd of a closed vessel, probably an amphora (or hydria). Part of motif at upper break, two bands, upper dilute. At left, front of horse head to right, with red forelock; upper part of head of (female?) kitharode to right, with added white face and two red fillets (or part of sakkos binding) round hair. Behind, upper part of kithara with added white frame and incised strings. Ivy tendril above. At right break, edge of glaze probably marks edge of field.

Ht. 0.032, w. 0.082.

Ca. 530–500. Processions with music, including those depicting divinities, most commonly have the lyre player situated behind the horses (as e.g. *Agora* XXIII, cat. 600, pl. 56), not in front as here. Apollo leads the procession in an apotheosis of Herakles on the column krater *CVA* Providence 1 (USA 2), pl. 11.1a (29.140). On **3**, the added white face might imply (unusually) a female kitharode and thus perhaps a Dionysiac procession.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

4 Pls. 1, 32

Small neck amphora. Two joining sherds of rim and neck; lip base undercut. Rim glazed; top of lotus and palmette chain on neck. Interior glazed with top of rim edge reserved.

Ht. 0.034, e. d. rim 0.15, th. lower break 0.005.

Ca. 530–500. Neck decoration as e.g. *Samos* XXII, cat. 48, pl. 10 and Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cat. 174 (both late sixth century neck amphorae).

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, room 2 (layer 6?).

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

5 Pls. 1, 32

Neck-amphora with palmette lotus chain. Mid-lower body sherd. Part of palmette with outer border line; on reserved field, edge of unidentified motif (modern scratch).

Ht. 0.030, w. 0.036, th. 0.005–6.

Ca. 540/530 onwards. As e.g. *CVA* J. Paul Getty Museum 1 (USA 23), pl. 25, plus border.

Upper City, 1975: room 1, upper level.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

6 Pls. 1, 32

Probably a neck amphora. Sherd from base of wall over foot. Base rays with a row of ivy leaf between bands above.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.052, th. 0.005, bottom 0.010.

Ca. 540/530 onwards.

Upper City, 1975: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

7 Pls. 1, 32

Mid-body sherd of closed vessel; perhaps neck amphora. Lower edge of panel with foot of standing female figure to right; foot in added white, two incisions mark hem of robe. End of ivy tendril touches top of foot. Added red band across top of glazed lower body beneath.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.026, th. 0.003.

510–475. Red Line Painter or an associate (*ABV*, 600–607; Holmberg 1990). Although **7** is too fragmentary securely to assign to shape, this workshop shows a strong preference for neck amphorae over oinochoai (in view of the relatively straight profile, the other likely candidate here, as e.g. Holmberg 1990, fig. 54). If so, **7** would belong with the slender neck amphorae of the first quarter of the fifth century (Holmberg 1990, 60), as Louvre F383 (Holmberg 1990, fig. 28) or Rome, American Academy 547 (Holmberg 1990, fig. 42). The scale of **7** also accords with this painter's preference for small amphorae (0.20–0.26m high).

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 15, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Hydria or Amphora*Black-Figure***8** Pls. 1, 32

Lower body sherd of amphora or hydria over junction with foot (profile thickens but none of joint preserved). Base rays on a ground line. Two added red bands on edge of glaze field above.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.029, th. 0.005.

Ca. 540/530 onwards.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 17, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

9 Pls. 1, 32

Mid-body sherd of a large diameter closed vessel, perhaps an amphora or hydria? At left, vertical folds of hanging drapery; at right, left side of figure (paint lost at lower right break). Light brown wash over reserved field.

Flat ht. 0.018, w. 0.021, th. 0.0025.

Ca. 530 onwards. It is possible that the two incised areas form part of the same draped figure, along the lines of e.g. *Samothrace* 11, 517, 520, cat. XS-1 (one-piece amphora, 530–520, no comparison for costume reported), but there are no good parallels for this, and it is thus more likely that the columnar drapery belongs to a standing figure within a larger group.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, substructure, level 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Amphora or Oinochoe**10** Pls. 2, 32

Shoulder sherd of an amphora or oinochoe. The junction with the neck is marked by a groove: thickening section at the lower break marks the edge of the handle attachment. Irregular glazing probably reflects the proximity of the handle rather than any deliberate design.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.021, th. top 0.002, at handle 0.005.

Early Hellenistic. Shape as e.g. *Agora* XXIX, figs. 24–34.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Black-Figure***11** Pls. 2, 32

Shoulder sherd. Row of tongues radiating from junction with neck. Brown wash.

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.036, th. lower break 0.005.

Ca. 530 onwards.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Pelike*Red-Figure***12** Pls. 2, 32

Neck pelike. Neck sherd, just below rim. Fillet below outturn to rim: probably round-section handle scar at bottom right. Palmette frieze with border line; relief line around

palmette. Burnt consistently through section, also affecting surface appearance (perhaps kiln damage). Glaze on interior.

Ht. 0.048, w. 0.038, th. 0.005–6.

Ca. 510–500? The form of the handle scar suggests a pelike rather than a Type A amphora (as e.g. McPhee 1997, cat. 2, pl. 13), although the latter remains a possibility. If **12** is a Type A amphora, then the presence of red-figure palmettes on the neck should, as McPhee notes, indicate an early Classical date (second quarter fifth century). But if, as suggested, it is a pelike, the depth and elaboration of the band would indicate that **12** is likely to be early and perhaps a Pioneer piece as e.g. Peredolskaya 1967, cat. 16, pl. 1 (St Petersburg 615, Euphronios, *ca.* 510), noting the contrast with the shallower palmette and lotus band which occasionally appears from the mid-fifth century onwards (as e.g. *Agora XXX*, cat. 40, pl. 12).

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

13 Pls. 2, 32

Sherd from transition between neck and body. Ovulo and dot frieze; below, upper edge of figure group preserving top of female head (cap) and two griffin horns (added white). Interior glazed. Surface and section burnt.

Ht. 0.044, w. 0.035, th. 0.005–6.

Fourth century, second quarter or later. A protome group either of Amazon, griffin and horse, as e.g. *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 6 from Bolshaya Bliznitza (see also cat. 7, figures in reverse order) and State Hermitage T1869.18 (Phanagoria cemetery), or just Amazon and griffin as Schefold 1934, cat. 569, pl. 25. The scheme alludes to the Grypomachy: Kobylina 1951a, 136–137; Metzger 1951, 331–332. Various permutations in such groups are well attested in the Taman, as in the entire Bosporan area: see e.g. CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pls. 22.103, and 29.1, both from Phanagoria); Kobylina 1951a, fig. 2.2 (State Historical Museum, Moscow 15299); Bouzek 1990, pl. 7.4 (Pilsen 8314 from the Kerch area).

South City, 1982: Trench 34, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

14 Pls. 2, 32

Neck and upper body sherd. Ovulo frieze over top of figure scene: at left, head of horse to right (behind, part of human? head); at right, griffin head to left in added white with dilute glaze detail. Interior glazed.

Ht. 0.061, w. 0.056, th. 0.005 (top; slightly thicker at lower break).

Fourth century, second (-third) quarter. Group G (Griffin Painter); Schefold 1934, 159; ARV², 1462–1468. The overlap between the griffin and horse heads suggests a combat group, as Kobylina 1951a, fig. 2.3 (State Historical Museum, Moscow 54710)

where complete figures are represented (for heads only in such a composition, see her fig. 2.1, State Historical Museum, Moscow 11279).

Upper City, 1977: Area 4, layer 22.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

15 Pls. 2, 32

Sherd from transition between neck and body. Ovulo and dot frieze with oblique edge at left by handle. Interior glazed.

Ht. 0.048, w. 0.036, average th. 0.007.

Fourth century. Form as **13**, **14**, iconography lost.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, Pit 110.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

2. POURING VESSELS

Olpe

Black-Figure

16 Pls. 2, 32

Olpe or small pelike. Mid-lower body sherd. Lower drapery and right lower leg and foot of female striding to left, with framing band of panel at left. White for foot applied directly to clay; on drapery, one incision, and a red vertical stroke. Below, monochrome with one red horizontal line.

Ht. 0.035, w. 0.026, th. 0.002–3 (top to bottom).

Ca. 550–530. Probably from a Dionysiac composition with maenads moving out towards the edges of the panel, heads turned back, as e.g. CVA British Museum 4 (Great Britain 5), pl. 55.3a. A Nereid in a similar pose flees the abduction of Thetis by Peleus on the pelike CVA Copenhagen 3 (Denmark 3), pl. 121.1a

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 7, under floor.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

17 Pls. 2, 32

Round mouth. Two joining rim and neck sherds preserving *ca.* one third diameter. On lip, four rows of irregular chequerboard; beneath, line meander to right with two framing bands above and one over break below. Interior glazed for almost full depth preserved, added red band at top of rim.

Ht. 0.044, e. d. rim. 0.09, th. lower break 0.003.

Ca. 530–500. Type, see *Agora XXIII*, 40–41. Scheme as e.g. *Agora XXIII*, cat. 687;

CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pl. 29.1, 2, pl. 30.1 (the last from Panticapaeum). Old Smyrna (chequerboard lip): Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 179. At Phanagoria, a sherd of a similar lip comes from drain or ditch on the south wall of the court of house 5, fifth century settlement, south city (Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.3).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, paved area 13.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

18 Pls. 3, 32

Round mouth. Two joining rim sherds. At right break, edge of glaze surrounding panel. On lip, four rows of irregular chequerboard; below band then upper edge of unknown neck pattern. Interior glazed, added red band on top surface of rim.

Ht. 0.023, e. d. rim 0.10, th. lower break 0.006–3.

Ca. 530–500. See 17 above.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, paved area 13. Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 1.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

19 Pls. 3, 32

Rim sherd. Lip band of ivy. Interior glazed with added red band on lip.

Ht. 0.018, e. d. rim 0.100.

Ca. 530–500. Parallels for this relatively common rim design include *Samothrace* 11, 571, cat. X5–32: *Spina* I.2, pl. 76 from tomb 475 (dotted ivy).

Upper City, 1980: Cutting 21.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

20 Pls. 3, 33

Two joining sherds from the lower neck and upper body. At top, net pattern with further reserved band to break above. At right, vertical band of dots, cut by edge of petasos. In main panel, at right to left, Hermes wearing a petasos (added white over black), ghost of added colour on brow, edge of incised eye and hair curl(?) at lower break. Ivy tendril extends to left at head level.

Ht. 0.039, w. 0.04, th. 0.003.

Ca. 530 onwards. Hermes as e.g. CVA Laôn 1 (France 20), cat. 37975, pl. 11.5.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, paved area 13.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

21 Pls. 3, 33

Sherd from lower part of neck. Glazed ground at left, at right, edge of panel with lower edge of linear meander separated from top edge of net pattern by two bands. On interior, edge of glaze at top.

Ht. 0.034, w. 0.02, th. 0.003.

Ca. 530–500. See decoration of comparanda listed under **17** above.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

22 Pls. 3, 33

Neck sherd. Ivy band with connecting stems. On interior, upper half glazed.

Ht. 0.034, w. 0.026, th. 0.005.

Ca. 530–500.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

23 Pls. 3, 33

Shoulder sherd. Upper edge of panel with added red band at base of neck glaze. At right, unidentified motif (top of head? with single incision); to left, edge of framing pattern (dots or ivy).

Ht. 0.031, w. 0.033, th. 0.003.

Ca. 530–500. Thin-walled and lightly built vessel, more likely an olpe than a small pelike though the latter is possible.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, paved area 13.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

24 Pls. 3, 33

Neck/upper body sherd. Glazed ground at right; at left vertical framing band of main panel with lower edge of net pattern above. Glaze washy on decoration, thick and glossy on ground.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.029, th. top 0.005, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 530–500. Closely similar to **23** although does not join.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

25 Pls. 3, 33

Sherd from top of neck just below rim; dividing groove preserved at top. Two bands with upper row of ivy below. Interior glazed. Lightly burnt all over (probably damage in kiln).

Ht. 0.026, w. 0.029, th. 0.006.

Ca. 530–500. As *Agora* XXIII, cat. 686 with parallels.

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, layer 18 (after cleaning).

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

26 Pls. 3, 33

Two joining sherds from the base of the neck and the upper body. At top break, bottom half of pattern band of ivy/dots. In main zone, satyr to left, preserved from head to waist, missing right arm and shoulder, left arm bent at the elbow. Incisions for eye, hairline to jawline, ears (long, but do not come to a point), contour line at upper arm and across body. Vertical framing band of panel at right with edge of glaze field.

Ht. 0.063, w. 0.041, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.003.

Ca. 520–510. Dot Ivy Group (*ABV*, 447–448); probably from a composition as *CVA* Leiden 1 (Netherlands 3), PC9, PC12, pl. 25.1, 3–4; Louvre N3380 (Fournier-Christol 1990, cat. 103, pl. 58).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 1, layer 17. One further fragment from Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 17, lower, with the same pattern band is highly likely to be from this vessel, although the join would be at best tangential and so this cannot be shown conclusively.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

27 Pls. 3, 33

Olpe or small pelike. Neck sherd. Lower right part of palmette at left, with dot in bottom right corner of field. Below, framing band; at right, handle zone glaze. Upper half of interior glazed. Unevenly fired red; burnt all over.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.029, th. top 0.0025, bottom 0.004.

Late sixth or early fifth century. Although the motif is more characteristic of a neck amphora, the profile and extent of neck glaze rather suggest an olpe or small pelike. See *Clazomenai*, cat. 146, pl. 17 (pelike or neck amphora), although **27** lacks framing arcs; Semeraro 1997a, 255, cat. 952, fig. 212 (from Roccaveccia), although **27** lacks framing tendrils.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 16, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Olpe or Amphora*Black-Figure***28** Pls. 3, 33

Neck sherd. Glazed with edge of vertical framing pattern at right break (reserved band then edge of row of dots or ivy).

Ht. 0.037, w. 0.062, th. 0.005.

Ca. 530 onwards. Large, thick-walled vessel, but the lack of evidence for a handle attachment suggests an olpe or hydria rather than an amphora.

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Olpe/Oinochoe

Black-Glaze

29 Pls. 3, 33

Foot sherd from outer edge to close to junction with body. Flaring profile, exterior profile concave (interior correspondingly convex), outer edge slopes obliquely. Upper surface glazed, outside edge and underside reserved.

Ht. 0.012, e. d. base 0.13, th. 0.005–6.

Sixth century, first half. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 236 (olpe) or cats. 95, 96 (oinochoe); the latter may be preferred on grounds of size.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 32, layer 5.

Taman Museum, cat. 121.

Black-Figure

30 Pls. 3, 33

Shoulder sherd of slim closed vessel (diameter *ca.* 0.09–0.10); the rounded profile suggests a shape such as a small oinochoe. Head of helmeted warrior to left; incised eye and beard. The line of the shoulder suggests that the left arm is stretched back, perhaps brandishing a weapon (incision back across shoulder).

Ht. 0.012, w. 0.029, th. 0.003.

End of the sixth century. Drawing as on the Leagros Group hydria Geneva Musée d'art 15007 (CVA Geneva 2 [Switzerland 3]), pl. 60.5, *ca.* 510.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 30.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Oinochoe

Red-Figure

31 Pls. 4, 33

Shape 2? Shoulder sherd. At left, head and outstretched arm of youth (spot on cheek) to right, reaching towards a partially preserved object.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.030, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, first-second quarter. Fat Boy Group. Composition perhaps as *Agora* XXIII, cat. 609, pls. 65–66; CVA Leiden 4 (Netherlands 7), pl. 188.1–2 (RO III 76). The profile of **31** is consistent with a Shape 2 oinochoe, the closed shape favoured by FB painters: ARV², 1484–1490.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 1, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

32 Pls. 4, 33

Shape 2. Complete base and lower body. Feet and bare calves of figure to right. Reserved band below. Lower body glazed, foot edge reserved. Glaze unevenly applied and fired, with red streaks.

Ht. 0.062, d. base 0.053, th. 0.004–5.

Fourth century? While very little of the decoration of **32** survives, the simple ground line and lack of internal anatomical detail are consistent with the crude drawing on late pieces such as **31**. **32** is perhaps also of the Fat Boy Group.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*West Slope***33** Pls. 4, 33

Shoulder sherd of a closed vessel, probably a West Slope oinochoe. Thickening to handle joint at left break. Diagonal olive garland in added white.

Ht. 0.016, w. 0.025, min. th. 0.003.

Third century, *ca.* third quarter. Simple garlands of this type occur on Type 3 oinochoai (or choes) of various dates (*Agora* XXIX, 127). This shape would fit the profile of **33**, but garlands are normally on oinochoe necks: the exception, *Agora* XXIX, cat. 491, with an ivy garland dates to the second century, but there is no reason to date **33** so late. The West Slope oinochoe *Agora* XXIX, cat. 464 has an olive garland in what is probably a slightly lower position than **33**, just below the handle attachment. West Slope oinochoai are comparatively rare (*Agora* XXIX, 124–125), although a few are known outside Athens and Macedon and a silver version with gilded decoration comes from Kerch (Quarantine Road graves: Reinach 1892, 90, pl. XXXVIII.3). A black-glaze example of this shape, Hermitage T1886.11, comes from a tomb on the road from Taman to Tuzla, in association with a West Slope amphora (T1886.10) of the last quarter of the third century (or later), and a large rolled-rim plate of similar date (T1886.12). The garland motif suggest a date before the last quarter of the third century, when chequerboard decoration became standard on this shape (*Agora* XXIX, 64, 125, S. Rotroff pers. comm.).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, layer 4.

Taman Museum, cat. 123.

Chous (Oinochoe Type 3)*Black-Glaze***34** Pl. 4

Lower body sherd on inturn to foot. Upper half has deep, narrow vertical ribs rising from a groove, with a low ridge and probable traces of an added white line below.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.029, th. *ca.* 0.006.

Ca. 325–300 (or slightly later, into the first quarter of the third century). As *Agora* XII, cat. 130 (325–310); *Agora* XXIX, cat. 473 (small, *ca.* 325–300). **34** is too fragmentary to assess its size or capacity.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 5.

Taman Museum, cat. 122.

*Red-Figure***35** Pls. 4, 33

Lower body sherd. Ovulo frieze with dot infill and two framing bands above; main field motif unreconstructable (a large reserved area with no interior features — perhaps an area of drapery).

Ht. 0.029, w. 0.056, th. 0.004.

Fifth century, second half or later. **35** is more likely to be a chous on grounds of size (as examples illustrated in *Agora* XXX, pls. 80–81), although it could also belong to any closed shape with a similarly rounded profile (even a small pelike, or at least one with a narrow pattern band).

Upper City, 1977: Area 4, layer 21.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Miscellaneous*Black-Glaze***36** Pl. 33

Upper part of vertical handle, probably from a medium-large oinochoe or similar. Outer surface concave, sides vertical (squared), underside flat to gently convex. Exterior and sides glazed, underside reserved.

Ht. 0.04, w. 0.026, th. edges 0.008 and 0.009.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, Pit 48.

Taman Museum, cat. 127.

37 Pl. 33

Neck sherd of large vessel; preserving at top, edge of junction with rim, curving out at bottom. Glazed in and out; severely burnt.

Ht. 0.028, w. 0.039, th. 0.003.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 128.

*Black-Figure***38** Pls. 4, 34

Mid-upper body sherd. Most of head to right, missing top of head and lower front of face. Added red on face; eye and hair black. Incised eye, ear, fringe on hairline and neck; brown face. Probably a sphinx in view of the use of colour on the face but not the eye, and the line of the hair (pushed back, with the black edge just visible at the left break, along with what is probably the top of the defining incision, and a single lock below the ear).

Ht. 0.010, w. 0.025, th. 0.003.

Sixth century, first half. The scale of the figure (probably *ca.* 0.06–0.07 high, if a sphinx with the head in proportion to the body) in relation to the relatively flat vessel profile (which lacks the curvature typical of a lekythos) suggests that **38** is likely to come from a relatively large shape with a multiple panel composition. This would make a relatively early date likely (perhaps contemporary with the Polos Painter in the first quarter of the century), but since there are no close parallels for the drawing of this figure, which is much less precise than most work of this period, it is impossible to date **38** with any degree of precision. It is, however, likely to be among the earliest vessels represented in this collection.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

39 Pls. 4, 34

Mid-body sherd of finely made, thin-walled closed vessel (perhaps a large olpe or small amphora). Thighs of male figure (probably human, possibly satyr) to right, with incision down forward (right) thigh and around genitalia.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.029, th. 0.003.

Ca. 540 onwards.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

40 Pl. 4

Body sherd of large closed vessel. At left, female to right, preserving torso from neckline (double incised) to belt (added red); contour incision round bust and below belt. At right, part of male to right, preserving arm from shoulder to wrist, most of back, and two parallel lines probably representing a spear held diagonally; completely surrounded by contour incision, inner detail incised on upper arm and elbow. Edge of outcurve of buttock visible at lower break. Light brown wash over reserved field (*cf.* **11**).

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.03.

Ca. 530 onwards. Probably an arming or departure scene with many generic parallels, as e.g. the oinochoe *Agora* XXIII, cat. 683, pl. 66, *ca.* 530–520 (although our female does not wear a mantle).

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, substructure, level 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

41 Pls. 4, 34

Lower body sherd. Upper half reserved, lower glazed, one reserved band over glazed area (line marred by inclusion pit).

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.034, th. 0.002.

Late Archaic.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

42 Pl. 34

Shoulder sherd of closed vessel (perhaps an oinochoe). Edge of black-figure(?) decoration: three dots along top edge, curved edge of glaze below to break.

Flat ht. 0.015, w. 0.022.

Archaic.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***43** Pls. 4, 34

Lower body sherd with section of pattern band.

Ht. 0.012, w. 0.017, th. 0.004.

Classical.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, substructure.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

3. OIL CONTAINERS ETC.

Askos**44** Pls. 4, 34

Seven joining sherds from obliquely set neck, forming section from lower part of flaring mouth to bottom of neck with stump of high arching handle. Glazed inside and out; reserved band of irregular width at bottom of neck.

Max w. incl. handle 0.054, flat ht. 0.063.

Ca. 430–400. *Agora* XII, 158–159 (either the late form of deep askos as cat. 1172, or more probably, the shallow form as e.g. cat. 1174). The chronological bracket suggested spans the most popular period for this shape; a date immediately on either side cannot be precluded.

Upper City, 1996 excavations: Trench 33, near Pit 57.

Taman Museum, cat. 124.

45 Pl. 34

Almost complete mouth. Broad, outflaring rim; on outside groove beneath rim edge, sharply angled to concave neck. Glazed inside and out.

Ht. 0.017, diam. 0.038.

Probably *ca.* 430–375. Flaring rim as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 1177 (*ca.* 400–375).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology

*Red-Figure***46** Pls. 4, 34

Complete outflaring spout with stump of handle (oval section as preserved although fragmentary) and small section of body. One reserved band marking junction of top and lower body. Small section of red-figure laurel band above.

Total preserved ht. 0.037, ht. body 0.024, d. spout end 0.037, pres. length spout 0.049.

Ca. 430–400. The shallow profile (with the handle attached to the spout) suggests an early date: see e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 1174 (and *cf.* **44** above): Massei 1978, xxxiii–xxxv, cat. 1, pl. lxxxix (*ca.* 430).

Upper City, 1983: Trench 18, layer 15, Pit 18.7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Lekythos

Black-Figure

47 Pls. 4, 34

Shoulder lekythos. Sherd from base of neck, at junction with shoulder. Two rows of ivy leaves with wavy line between. Ends of tongues on shoulder. On interior, lower edge of glaze preserved at upper break.

Ht. 0.034, w. 0.037, th. top 0.003.

Sixth century, third quarter (*ca.* 540). For the type, see *ABL*, 7–23 (noting pl. 3.1, discussed 11–12, as the closest parallel among the vases discussed by Haspels). The closest parallel for 47 is Semeraro 1997a, cat. 555, fig. 169 where the ivy is separated by dots.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, paved area 13.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

48 Pls. 5, 34

Mid-lower body sherd. Draped figure to left; incised front and lower edge of dress, and line of shin to ankle. At left, lower part of hanging cloak or himation (?). Added red on upper edge of glaze: one reserved band below.

Ht. 0.028, w. 0.020, th. 0.003–4.

Ca. 510–490 or earlier? The comparatively straight profile of 48, and especially the reserved band and red line beneath the main field, suggest a late, broad lekythos of Phanyllis shape (*ABL*, 63–68; Guidice 1983) rather than an earlier shoulder lekythos. The drawing is poor by the standards of this class, although not unparalleled (see e.g. Guidice 1983, pls. XLII.6, 7 or XLV.1), but the pattern of incision differs from the usual pair of lines at the hem of the robe and the composition of the scene is rather characteristic of earlier lekythoi. The drawing is closely paralleled by that of the mantle figures on e.g. *Agora* XXIII, cats. 806, 813, pl. 75 (Group of Vatican G52; *ABV*, 460–462); Sidorova 1984, M69, fig. 8b (Group of Vatican G52, from Panticapaeum); Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1976, Grave 2, 41–42, pl. 8.1.2–4 (Fat-Runner Group, *ABV*, 459–460). An earlier date in the third quarter of the sixth century cannot therefore be precluded.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, loose soil.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

49 Pls. 5, 34

Sherd from shoulder and upper body. On shoulder, rays and tongues, line at outer edge of shoulder. On body, most of head of female to left, added white face, red eye; behind, ivy tendril; at lower break, edge of paint relating to this or further figure; near left break, top of head of further figure(?).

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.049, th. lower edge 0.004.

Early fifth century. Class of Athens 581, ii (*ABV*, 498–503). *Cf.* e.g. *Agora XXIII*, cat. 948.

Upper City, 1975: Pit D.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

50 Pls. 5, 34

Shoulder sherd. Rays and tongues; faint band round top of body.

Ht. 0.009, w. 0.023, th. lower edge 0.003.

Early fifth century. As **49** (from the same context, but does not join): possibly of the same class, but too fragmentary to be independently attributable.

Upper City, 1975: Pit D.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

51 Pls. 5, 34

Shoulder sherd. Tongues radiating from narrow band encircling neck; at outer break, edge of tendril and dot belonging to linked ivy.

Ht. 0.004, w. 0.017, th. 0.004.

Ca. 500–470. *ABL*, 94–95, pls. 32, 33 (Sappho Painter, see also Diosphos Painter).

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, substructure.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

52 Pl. 5

Lekythos, complete. Three palmettes over dotted circle chain. On shoulder, two tiers of petals. One reserved band beneath, then lower edge of shoulder glazed. Neck, rim and handle glazed.

Ca. 490–470. As e.g. *Kerameikos* IX, pl. 19, 1:11 (Gr 20, related to Marathon Painter lekythoi); *Corinth* XIII, 163, group 1; Shear 1993, 394–395; Alekseeva 1991, pl. 8.1 (Anapa).

Cemetery, 1993: context unknown.

Taman Museum, cat. 89 (museum display: not available for study).

53 Pl. 5

Lekythos, complete. Decoration very worn and casually executed (washy grey-brown glaze): three unincised palmettes over dotted circle chain. Glaze extends over rounded foot edge.

Ca. 490–470. Similar profile and decorative scheme to **52**, although decoration simplified and poorly executed.

Cemetery, 1993: context unknown.

Taman Museum, cat. 87 (museum display: not available for study).

54 Pl. 5

Black-bodied lekythos, complete (restored from sherd). Reserved foot edge and neck with black petals.

Fifth century, probably second quarter. As *Agora* XXII, cat. 1117 (*ca.* 470, see 153 for chronology).

Cemetery, 1993: context unknown.

Taman Museum, cat. 88 (museum display: not available for study).

55 Pls. 5, 34

Two joining mid-lower body sherds. At right, leg of frontal kneeling warrior in a short tunic; knee bent sharply with the calf foreshortened behind and drapery or the edge of a shield in front. An added white stroke cuts across the bent leg. One reserved band below.

Ht. 0.056, w. 0.046, th. top 0.003.

Fifth century, second quarter? Probably a human figure, although a somewhat eccentric bird cannot be precluded (there are no close parallels). Such a pose lacks parallels other than in depictions of Kaineus (see Laufer 1985; *LIMC*, s.v. Kaineus for reviews). Kaineus is usually depicted between two centaurs, as for example on the Beldam Painter's lekythoi, Athens 610 (*ABL*, pl. 53.3) and Zurich University 2493 (*ABL*, 268, cat. 44; *CVA* Zurich 1 [Switzerland 2], pl. 19.22–25), but he can appear to one side as on the oinochoe Frankfurt VF b 307 from the workshop of the Athena Painter (*CVA* Frankfurt 1 [Germany 25], pl. 39.4, see also Laufer 1985, 15, fig. 25). However, the extent of the under-handle gap on **55** leaves little space to accommodate a centaur, who would have to be locked closely with the figure of Kaineus.

Upper City, 1975: Pit D.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

56 Pls. 5, 34

Shoulder sherd. Tongues.

Ht. 0.011, w. 0.032, th. outer break 0.007.

Fifth century.

Upper City, 1976: BN 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***57** Pls. 5, 34

Secondary shape. Shoulder and upper body sherd; near vertical/slightly concave profile with flat shoulder. On shoulder, rays; band round junction with body. On body, reserved band, line meander with framing bands, top of female head (hair and brow) with fillet.

Ht. 0.019, w. 0.020, th. lower edge 0.003.

Fifth century, second or third quarter. The neck and shoulder decoration and the sharply angled profile are consistent with the style of the Beldam Painter, but **57** is insufficiently preserved to attribute.

Upper City: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

58 Pls. 5, 34

Lower body sherd of closed vessel, probably a lekythos. Female head: back of head-dress with repeat pattern of dot triangles, edge of neck and cascade of hair. Black tips of what may be horns suggest that this is a protome group with a griffin head overlapping. Lower edge chipped.

Ht. 0.032, w. 0.035, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, second-third quarter. A popular scheme; see e.g. *Olynthos* XIII, pl. 58.43, 44. Hair curl as on Thessaloniki 1350, Zafiropoulou 1970, 426–427, cat. 25, fig. 63; base of snood and earring as CVA Warsaw 3 (Poland 6), pl. 43.2.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Squat lekythos

59 Pls. 5, 34

Base and mid-body sherd. Palmette (lower half). Surface much worn; execution neat.

Ht. 0.029, d. base 0.034, th. top break 0.003.

Fourth century, second quarter onwards. For type see, *Olynthos* XIII, 146–150 (type 2 palmette, with central petal piercing surrounding band); Lazaridis 1953, 413–414 with bibliography. **59** is insufficiently preserved to assign to *Olynthos* type (other than to note that it cannot belong to the early group). Robinson dates the mass appearance of squat palmette lekythoi to the second quarter of the fourth century, although as Ure 1913, 50 note 2 demonstrates, they must continue for some while after the destruction of *Olynthos* in 348 (and later deposition is attested in the *Kerameikos*, for example, see e.g. *Kerameikos* XIV, Grabbezirk VIII.37 cat. 17, context dated to the third quarter of the fourth century (discussed further in Chapter 3 here below). Palmette lekythoi are widely distributed in the Taman peninsula as throughout the Pontic area, Ionia, Aeolis and the northern Aegean. For local finds, see: *Taman Museum*, cats. 42 (provenance unknown, Taman peninsula), 101 (early type), 97, 99, 100, 103 from Taman Terminal and tumuli at Novotamanskii and Starotitarovskaya, cats. 109–114 from Belii Khutor tumulus *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 9 (early type), 10–13 (as **59**), provenance unknown (perhaps Tyramba).

South City, 1982: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

60 Pls. 5, 34

Sherd comprising half base to mid-body. Palmette (lower right with flanking triangle).
Ht. 0.032, d. base 0.032.

Fourth century, second quarter onwards. See **59**. Insufficiently preserved to assign to Olynthos type (although not the early group, palmette type 1).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

61 Pls. 6, 35

Sherd comprising half base and lower body. Palmette (lower right edge with flanking triangle). Glaze misfired, washy on pattern.

Ht. 0.03, d. base 0.043, th. wall 0.002.

Fourth century, second quarter onwards. See **59**. The reserved border round the palmette curves and may be scalloped, as *Olynthus* XIII, 147, type 1.

South City, 1982: Trench 35, layer 8.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

62 Pls. 6, 35

Sherd from lower body to top of footring. Central dot at right break with inner edge of petals to left.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.024, th. top 0.003.

Fourth century, second quarter onwards. See **59**.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 12.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

63 Pl. 35

Two joining sherds from the rim and upper neck. Flat, slightly insloping rim, conical-concave sides.

Ht. 0.016, d. top 0.027, d. bottom 0.013.

Fourth century, second quarter onwards. See **59**.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, layer 4.

Taman Museum, cat. 126.

Guttus (Classical Type)*Black-Glaze***64** Pls. 6, 35

Base and lower body; bulbous body, low ring foot with deep depression above, fragment of inset base. Exterior and preserved sections of foot and base glazed.

Ht. 0.036, e. d. base 0.08.

Late fourth/early third century. Type as *Agora* XXIX, 172–173 (as cat. 1141 = *Agora* XII, cat. 1196): *Olynthus* V, cat. 819, pl. 172.

Upper City, 1996 excavations: Trench 33, Pit 65.

Taman Museum, cat. 125.

4. TOILET VESSELS

Pyxis

65 Pls. 6, 35

Type C. Lid sherd. Exterior, convex profile; outer edge glazed, inner half reserved with narrow band around outer edge with traces of central circle in dilute glaze. No evidence of knob; central area, which would conventionally be pierced for a ring handle, lost. On the outer edge of the underside, shallow ridge and shallow groove, then flat to break; surface glazed. Glaze brown, streaky on exterior, glossy on interior.

Ht. 0.016, max w. 0.05.

Second half fifth–first half fourth century (probably *ca.* 430–390). For type, see *Agora* XII, cat. 1301 (176 on chronology; see also Roberts 1978, 144). The decorative technique of 65 cannot be restored, but Type C pyxides are more usually figured than black. However, since the lid is one of the main decorative zones, the plain appearance of 65 may indicate a generally plain vessel. State Hermitage T1817.3, from Hermonassa Grave 2 (Imperial Commission excavations) is a close parallel.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

5. DRINKING VESSELS

Mug

Black-Glaze

66 Pl. 35

Rim sherd of Pheidias shape.

Ht. 0.02, w. 0.033, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, second half. *Agora* XII, 72–73 (profile as cat. 201).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, Pit 51.

Taman Museum, cat. 129.

67 Pls. 6, 35

Pheidias shape. Sherd of base and lower body; body wall plain as preserved; low torus foot, flat base. Lower edge of foot glazed; resting surface and base reserved with mil-tos wash.

Ht. 0.019, e. d. base 0.075.

Fifth century, second half. As *Agora* XII, cats. 202 and especially 203 (though lacking grooves around the base of the wall). The form of the foot suggests a relatively early date.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 4.

Taman Museum, cat. 130.

68 Pls. 6, 35

Pheidias shape. Lower body sherd with stump of footring. Petal ribbing with groove on wall beneath, over footring.

Ht. 0.016, w. 0.037.

Fifth century, second half. Petal ribbing is more characteristic of the squat variant of the Pheidias shape; *Agora* XII, 73, as cat. 215, *ca.* 450–425. On ribbing, Miller 1993, 133–134; Gill 1986a, 72–74 (noting that petal ribbed mugs are not commonly exported). Cf. *Otchet* 1902, 9, fig. 9 from Olbia.

Upper city, 1996: Pit 65.

Taman Museum, cat. 131.

69 Pl. 35

Body sherd, probably from a mug, with broad vertical ribs. Shallow reverse impression of ribbing on interior.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.02, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, second half? See *Agora* XII, 21 for technique.

Upper City, 1996 excavations: Trench 33, Pit 65.

Taman Museum, cat. 132.

Skyphos**Corinthian***Black-Glaze***70** Pl. 35

Lower body sherd. Pencil rays; glazed beneath to break (top edge of which is unevenly fired orange).

Flat ht. 0.02, w. 0.027, th. bottom 0.003–4.

Probably Late Archaic-Early Classical but not precisely datable.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology

71 Pls. 6, 35

Half of foot and base. Flaring ring foot. Exterior glazed. Reserved base (red ground) with two circles (very centre lost).

E. d. base 0.07, ht. 0.018.

Ca. 450. As *Agora* XII, cat. 316; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 146.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, Pit 51.

Taman Museum, cat. 151.

72 Pls. 6, 35

Complete foot ring, base and section of lower body. Underside reserved with central circle and dot. On exterior: band at junction of footring and body, lower edge of cross-hatching. On interior, central reserved circle.

Ht. 0.013, d. base 0.030, th. 0.002.

Ca. 430–350. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 316, pl. 15. **72** is relatively small, similar in scale to *Olynthos* XIII, pl. 194.2–4.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Black-Figure

73 Pls. 6, 35

Mid-body sherd. Unidentified black motifs are probably two confronted figures; on the better preserved right figure, three ghost spots of added red(?). In field between, spot (as degenerate Corinthianising filling ornament). One ancient(?) incision extending from right figure onto field. Glaze rough with metallic sheen.

Ca. 550. Probably Corinthian type skyphos with two confronted figures, as e.g. the sphinxes on *Agora* XXIII, cat. 1464, pl. 69.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.029, th. 0.004

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Red-Figure

74 Pls. 6, 35

Mid-body sherd. Palmette and lotus (probably from handle zone).

Flat ht. 0.039, flat w. 0.045, th. 0.005.

Fifth century, probably second-third quarter. See Oakley 1988 for a review of shape and decoration.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 12.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Type A (Attic)

Black-Glaze

75 Pls. 6, 35

Sherd of foot and lower body with fragment of base. Ring foot with lip in upper half. Reserved foot exterior (miltos), resting surface, preserved edge of base (miltos).

Ht. 0.028, e. d. base 0.11, th. body wall 0.005.

Late Archaic. Shape development, *Agora* XII, 84–85. As *Agora* XII, cat. 338 (ca. 500–480); Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 17, cat. 155.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 150.

76 Pl. 7

Complete handle. Horizontal, thick round section, rising slightly above rim (as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 359, fig. 4), a small fragment of which is preserved).

Ht. 0.02, w. 0.05, th. 0.01 (top to bottom)

Fifth century, mid to second half. Dated on the basis of the horseshoe shape, *Agora* XII, 85, cf. 82.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

77 Pls. 7, 35

Rim sherd, preserving profile from outturned rim to incurve to concave lower body, with roots of a horizontal roll handle (oval section, exterior flattened). Dull glaze fired orange on interior and patchily on exterior; poorly finished around handle joints.

Ht. 0.039, e. d. rim 0.10, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, ca. last quarter. As *Agora* XII, cat. 353 (ca. 320). Chronological indicators include the shallow depth of the upper body before the incurve and the triangular setting of the handle roots: *Agora* XII, 85.

Upper City, 1977: Area 4, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

78 Pls. 7, 35

Rim sherd preserving outturned profile from rim to incurve to base, with attachment scar of left side of a horizontal, slightly rising roll handle.

Ht. 0.039, e. d. rim 0.12, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, *ca.* last quarter. As *Agora* XII, cat. 352 (*cf.* *Agora* XXIX, cat. 151), *ca.* 325. Chronological indicators include the markedly outturned rim (and hence relatively low handle), and the triangular setting of the handle roots: *Agora* XII, 85.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Red-Figure

79 Pls. 7, 35

Corinthian or Type A. Lower body sherd over foot. Standing figure with one foot forward and the other either forward or outturned. Lower leg and left foot with edge of drapery; foot shown in three quarter view, ankle marked on interior and exterior, toes delineated. Edge of right leg preserved at left break. Reserved ground line.

Ht. 0.025, w. 0.023, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.006.

Fifth century, second-third quarter. As e.g. Smith 1939, pl. 35c (Lewis Painter); **79** is not, however, attributed.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, Pit N.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

80 Pls. 7, 35

Mid-body sherd. Base of under-handle palmette (slight thickening of profile at top reflects position in relation to handle joint).

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.034, th. 0.004.

Late fifth century? Neater execution than the fourth century examples catalogued below; closer to e.g. *Agora* XXX, cat. 1253 (*ca.* 440) or cats. 1273, 1278 (late fifth century).

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

81 Pls. 7, 35

Mid-body sherd. Section of drapery of youth to left from just below chest to just below knee. Thickened curving line may mark the edge of a palmette or be a crude drapery feature (as e.g. *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 121G).

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.029, th. 0.002–3.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. The putative restored height of the figure in relation to the profile suggests that **81** is more likely to be a skyphos than a cup-skyphos.

South City, 1983: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

82 Pls. 7, 36

Thirteen joining sherds from base to upper body. On each face, two draped youths to left; palmettes beneath the handles. Underside reserved (miltos) with a circle and dot at centre.

Ht. 0.073, e. d. base 0.074, th. top 0.003.

Fourth century, first-early second quarter. Manner of the Painter of Naples 146681 (I. McPhee); ARV², 1495.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4. Two further small sherds, labelled 1969 and 1968, may possibly, but not provably, belong to this vessel, and see also **83** below.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

83 Pls. 7, 36

Four joining rim and body sherds. At right, draped youth to left, head and shoulders preserved (spot on cheek). At left, shoulder of similarly draped youth to left. Drawing cursory.

Ht. 0.042, e. d. rim 0.120, w. 0.65, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, first-early second quarter. Possibly, but not provably, part of **82** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4?

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

84 Pls. 7, 36

Upper body sherd. Most of head of male youth to right

Ht. 0.013, w. 0.038, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, late first-second quarter. Fat Boy Group (ARV², 1490–1492, 1696); as e.g. *Spina* I.2, tomb 971, inv. 2515, pl. 134b.2.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

85 Pls. 7, 36

Mid-body sherd. Two confronted youths. At left, shoulder and body of draped figure. At right, outstretched right arm holding strigil (on break below, further fragment of this figure). Between, tympanon or aryballos.

Ht. 0.029, w. 0.034, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, late first-second quarter. Fat Boy Group. Fragmentary, but the straight profile suggests a skyphos rather than a cup-skyphos. Compare *Daskyleion* I, no. 643, pl. 43, where the object is described as an aryballos, although it bears football-like markings absent on **85**.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

86 Pls. 8, 36

Mid-lower body sherd, at transition from convex to concave profile. Right side of palmette with edge of further palmette(?) at right. Body slightly burnt at top edge.

Ht. 0.044, w. 0.05, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, first half. As e.g. **82** above.

Upper City, 1983: Trench 18, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

87 Pls. 8, 36

Lower body sherd. Reserved centre of palmette.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.033, th. 0.004–5.

Late fifth-first half fourth century

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Type B*Red-Figure***88** Pls. 8, 36

Glaux. Mid-lower body sherd. Part of three large olive leaves. Glaze fired red-black.

Ht. 0.026, w. 0.033, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, second-third quarter. On the type, see *Agora* XXX, 64; *ARV*², 982–984; Johnston 1953; 1955.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, substructure.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Unknown*Black-Glaze***89** Pls. 7, 37

Almost complete handle; high swung, rising above rim (a small section of which is preserved). Oval section, flattened on exterior.

Ht. 0.034, w. 0.047, sn. handle 0.006 (top to bottom).

Fourth century, *ca.* last quarter? Akin to *Agora* XII, cat. 353.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***90** Pls. 8, 37

Mid-body sherd. Lower body of draped male to left.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.018, th. 0.004.

Fifth century, second half.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 15, inside room.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

91 Pls. 8, 37

Sherd over foot; groove at top edge cut by decoration. Edge of palmette. Interior glazed.

Ht. 0.01, w. 0.023, th. 0.004.

Late Classical

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 155.

Bolsal*Black-Glaze***92** Pl. 37

Bolsal? Sherd of low foot sharply angled with body; continuous curve from outer edge of foot to inner junction with body. Centre base lost. Fragment of sharply outcurving body wall preserved. Entirely glazed as preserved.

E. d. base 0.08, ht. 0.01.

Late fifth/early fourth century. Profile between *Agora* XII, cats. 539 and 541.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 182.

Cup-Skyphos*Black-Glaze***93** Pls. 8, 37

Lower body sherd with most of convex base and *ca.* quarter spreading ring foot (concave on outer face and on inset lip below). Reserved outer face of foot, resting surface and underside which has irregular washy glaze circle near outer edge and an irregular thick circle and dot at centre.

Ht. 0.019, w. 0.054, e. d. foot 0.090.

Late Archaic (*ca.* 500–480). For profile, see *Agora* XII, 109, as cat. 573 (*ca.* 490–480).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 159.

94 Pls. 8, 37

Heavy walled. Rim sherd; thickened concave lip; slight vertical impression by lower break may be top of ribbed decoration.

Ht. 0.028, e. d. rim 0.14, th. body wall 0.003.

Ca. 420–380. As *Agora* XII, cats. 612 (*ca.* 420, ribbed), 617 (*ca.* 410, plain).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, layer 3.

Taman Museum, cat. 161.

95 Pl. 37

Heavy walled. Rim sherd; thickened concave lip.

Ht. 0.029, e. d. rim 0.22, th. wall 0.002–3.

Ca. 420–380. As *Agora* XII, cat. 617 (*ca.* 410, plain).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

96 Pls. 8, 37

Heavy walled. 3 joining sherds preserving profile from rim to start of incurve to stem. Rim exterior thickened markedly, with clear concavity beneath and quite deep profile; slight offset inside.

Ht. 0.073, e. d. rim 0.16, th. body wall 0.003.

Ca. 420–380. Profile between *Agora* XII, cat. 617 (*ca.* 410) and cat. 621 (early fourth century).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 162.

97 Pls. 8, 37

Rim sherd with concave lip. Rim edge thickened, concavity beneath, then shallowly defined junction with convex, slightly incurving body.

Ht. 0.028, e. d. rim 0.16, th. wall 0.003.

Ca. 420–380. As **96**.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, Pit 51.

Taman Museum, cat. 163.

98 Pls. 8, 37

Light walled. Plain rim sherd with outturned profile. Glazed inside and out; curve of glaze marking the upper edge of the handle attachment preserved at lower break (i.e. above the level of the interior offset).

Ht. 0.017, e. d. rim 0.14, th. 0.003.

Ca. 440–375. The angle of the rim may indicate a date within the fifth century, as e.g. *Agora XII*, cat. 593 (*ca.* 410).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 160.

*Black-Figure***99** Pls. 8, 37

Two joining mid-body sherds. At left, handle zone pattern of lotus with tendril and dots at base. At right, draped male leaning forward to right, most of body preserved. Booted foot of running figure to right cuts across his lower body and is defined by incision. Incision on standing figure for shoulder drapery (added red) and hem; on running figure for contour of lower leg and foot and to define added red strip at top of 'boot'. Narrow reserved band below. Exterior glaze mostly fired orange, interior dull black.

Ht. 0.047, w. 0.048, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.005.

Ca. 540–510 (probably early within this bracket). Ure's class A1 or A2 with FP decoration (lacking palmettes): Ure 1927, 58–59; *Paralipomena*, 83–86, 91; *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), 26–30, pls. 14–17 for discussion of the class with bibliography. The composition of **99** is close to CC811, *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), pl. 15 (Camel Painter; youths running watched by trainers or spectators), but the booted foot of the runner here precludes a conventional athletic scene.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 1.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

100 Pls. 8, 37

Mid-body sherd. Right side of palmette with top leaf curled back.

Ht. 0.020, w. 0.031, th. 0.003.

Ca. 530–500. The spiral-top form is widely paralleled on skyphoi of Ure's classes A1 and A2: see e.g. *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), pls. 20–26.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, loose soil.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

101 Pls. 9, 37

Mid-body sherd. Top of palmette with top leaf curled back. Edge of glaze above.

Ht. 0.018, w. 0.023, th. 0.004.

Ca. 530–500. See **100** above.

Upper City, 1975: Pit G.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

102 Pls. 9, 37

Rim sherd; gently outflaring rim slightly offset from body. Rim glazed. Beneath, left edge of silhouette palmette with top leaf curled back; at bottom left break, edge of handle glaze and smoothing marks of handle attachment. On interior, reserved band at rim.

Ht. 0.042, e. d. rim 0.175, th. 0.004.

Ca. 530–500. Ure's class A2; see *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), 35, pls. 24–26.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

103 Pls. 9, 38

Lower body sherd over foot, with fragment of base. Black tongues on a groundline immediately over foot, glaze at upper break; footring lost; underside reserved as preserved.

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.037, th. top 0.003–4, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 530–490. Profile close to that of Ure's Class A (Ure 1927, 58), and the comparatively light build of **103** would also fit this type (as e.g. *CVA Athens 4* [Greece 4], pl. 24) in preference to the more heavily built Classes B or C.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

104 Pls. 9, 38

Rim sherd. Lower edge of rim with junction of body wall. On rim, two rows of dots. Below, top of head, perhaps Dionysos wearing ivy wreath? Incised detail, added red fillet and added white.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.022, th. base 0.004, top 0.006.

Late sixth/early fifth century. Dionysos(?) as *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), pl. 39 (Sub-Krokotos Group).

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

105 Pls. 9, 38

Two joining sherds, plus one further non-joining, from body wall immediately over foot. Slightly raised fillet (added red) on top of foot. Two narrow bands above, then tongues alternating black and white; three bands above to break. Centre base reserved. Slight burning on all surfaces.

Max. ht. 0.036, w. 0.097 (joined sherds), 0.088 (single sherd).

Ca. 530–490. Ure's Class B or C (Ure 1927, 59–62).

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layers 11 and 12.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

106 Pls. 9, 38

Sherd from body wall immediately over foot. Raised fillet (added red) on top of foot; above, tongues alternating black and applied red on a groundline.

Ht. 0.025, w. 0.075.

Ca. 530–490. Ure's Class B or C (Ure 1927, 59–62). Similar to **105**, but not from the same vessel.

Upper City, 1980: Trench unknown, level 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

107 Pls. 9, 38

Sherd from body wall immediately over foot. Deep groove may be the edge of a fillet on top of foot, but sheered off. Above, tongues alternating black and white (area of putative ground line worn away); three bands above, then glazed to break.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.048, th. top 0.004.

Ca. 530–490. Ure's Class C (Ure 1927, 59–62), assuming the glaze at the upper break to represent more than a wide band.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

108 Pls. 9, 38

Lower body sherd over foot. Body glazed: three fine bands with beneath, alternating black and white tongues.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.035, th. 0.003, widening to 0.008 at base.

Ca. 530–490. Ure's Class C (Ure 1927, 61–62).

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

109 Pls. 9, 38

Lower body sherd. Mostly glazed: at lower edge, three fine bands with below, alternating black and applied red tongues.

Ht. 0.045, w. 0.06, th. 0.004.

Ca. 530–490. Ure's Class C (Ure 1927, 61–62).

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

110 Pls. 9, 38

Body sherd. Lower edge of figure scene. Female (probably a maenad) striding to right; lower edge of skirt with incised hemline, foot crudely executed in added white (misaligned with glaze ground and overlapping robe). Groundline in dilute glaze.

Ht. 0.013, w. 0.02, th. 0.003.

Ca. 510–480. CHC Group. As e.g. *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), 13917, pl. 52; Semeraro 1997a, 182, cat. 481 (Oria).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 149.

111 Pls. 9, 38

Upper body sherd. Haunches of a crudely drawn crouching creature, probably a sphinx, to right, rump incised and tail turned down behind. Edge of glaze at left break suggests a further figure. Reserved band beneath. Burnt evenly over all surfaces and in section (perhaps during firing).

Ht. 0.036, w. 0.038, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 510–480. CHC Group. Scheme as e.g. *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), pls. 46, 47, 49–54. Generic examples of this composition (figure flanked by sphinxes) are well represented in the northern Pontic region: see e.g. Shaub 1979, fig. 3.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

112 Pls. 9, 38

Mid-body sherd. Lower body of draped figure to left seated on okladias, with tip of chiton sleeve hanging down behind. To either side, parts of curved dilute lines of sphinx tails. Exterior glaze thin and uneven; knees and lower legs apparently overpainted.

Ht. 0.017, w. 0.042, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 510–480. CHC Group. For scheme, see *CVA Greece 5* (Thessaloniki 1), pl. 60.1, 2; *Agora XXIII*, cat. 1592, pl. 105 (with similar area in silhouette): Ure 1927, pl. XIX 102.102; *CVA Nantes*, Musée Dobrée (France 36), 937–3–13, pl. 17.1.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

113 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-body sherd. Male dancing to right; buttocks, and thighs preserved, arm bent back onto waist. Tendril with added red 'leaf' at left break abuts buttocks (while it is conceivable that this is the stem of a satyr tail which then bushes out, it would be unusually long). Incisions for buttocks, top of legs, and line of body.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.030, th. 0.004.

Ca. 510–480. As Brownlee 1995, cat. 241, pl. 84 (attributed to the CHC Group).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

114 Pls. 10, 38

Rim sherd. Rim edge glazed, two rows of dots beneath, then top edge of figure scene (human head to left, with incision for hair and eye; a further line at the right break). Inner rim edge reserved.

Ht. 0.032, e. d. rim 0.18, th. body wall 0.003.

Ca. 510–480. Crude and simple style of drawing akin to e.g. *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), 1112, pl. 52.1, 2, of the CHC group; although the subject of **114** is lost, a similarly late date seems likely.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

115 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-lower body sherd. Lower part of belly, upper foreleg and one hind leg of horse galloping to right, with foot of rider; incisions on belly and contour of foot. At right, lower leg of human striding to right, details incised. Between, ivy tendril and (accidental?) dot. Below, dilute brown groundline.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.026, th. 0.004.

Late sixth/early fifth century. Scheme as *CVA Athens 4* (Greece 4), 370, pl. 61.1–3 (plus discussion), but with the addition of ivy; see also *CVA Musée Rodin* (France 16), cat. 965, pl. 14.3, 5, 6 (early fifth century), although with greater overlap between figures.

Upper City, 1975: Pit D, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

116 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-body sherd. Unidentified motif with incisions along both edges (perhaps a stud-ded club, in which case Herakles?), cut by white fillet (Dionysiac scene?).

Ht. 0.0026, w. 0.024, th. 0.003–4.

Late sixth/early fifth century. The motif lacks close parallels, but may represent a conjunction of elements as e.g. on the oinochoe Burgas 1919 (Lazarov 1990, cat. 8), depicting Herakles and the Cretan bull.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

117 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-body sherd. Lower edge of field contains oblique end of eye with traces of two or three strokes of added white by upper break (probably confluence of white defining iris). Below, narrow reserved band. Glossy, slightly metallic glaze.

Late sixth–early fifth century. A good parallel for the use of added white is *CVA Thessaloniki 1* (Greece 5), 9063, pl. 57.3, 4, *ca.* 535–525, although the eye on **117** abuts the groundline in the fashion of later, less carefully drawn pieces like *Agora XXIII*, cat. 1626, pl. 106.

Ht. 0.014, w. 0.014, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.006.

Upper City, 1975: Trench 2, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

118 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-lower body sherd. Base of palmette with black heart, many fronds and strongly curved volutes.

Ht. 0.014, w. 0.016, th. 0.002.

Late sixth–early fifth century. The palmette form is that favoured by the Painter of Elaeous I (*ABV*, 575, 708); see e.g. Hatzidakis 1984, cats. 422, 430, 434 for illustrations. The relatively straight profile of **118** accords with the K2 shape favoured by this painter.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, substructure.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

119 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-body sherd. Lower part of chariot team, preserving forequarters of one horse and seven legs of unequal length, foreshortened. Casual incision chiefly for legs, harness and reins (on the latter, added red). Light brown wash over reserved ground; interior glaze fine, exterior washy.

Ht. 0.016, w. 0.025, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–480. Manner of the Haimon Painter. The closest parallels for the iconography of **119** occur on K2 skyphoi such as: Brownlee 1995, cat. 260, pl. 87; *Agora XXIII*, cat. 1504: *Clazomenai*, cat. 105, pl. 10; Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 159, pl. 10 (Old Smyrna). From Hermonassa, Sidorova 1987, fig. 10a (CFC) has the added red harness of **119** combined with the white dots of **120**. For the use of red, see the lekythoi: *CVA Moscow 1* (Russia 1), pl. 39.1 (Haimon Painter); *CVA Nantes*, Musée Dobrée (France 36), D974–2–13, pl. 19.7–9, Haimon Painter.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 22.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

120 Pls. 10, 38

Two joining mid-body sherds. Two horses of chariot group galloping to right; indications of seven forelegs of unequal length, foreshortened. Nominal incision on legs, belly contour, and to define the necks of the two horses and the harness of the nearer horse. White dots at lower edge of harness.

Ht. 0.035, w. 0.03, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–480. Manner of the Haimon Painter. Compare **119** above. For the form of the horse harness, see the skyphoi CVA Basel 1 (Switzerland 4), Z-327, pl. 51.16 (Haimon Painter) and CVA Nantes, Musée Dobrée (France 36), D974–2–18, pl. 13, (type C1), also the lekythoi CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pl. 38.4, 8 (Haimon Painter).

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 14.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

121 Pls. 10, 38

Two rim and body sherds, non-joining. Rim slightly thickened, fairly sharply offset. At lower break, beginning of incurve of lower body. Rim glazed. Shoulder scene: charioteer to right, bending forward with both arms outstretched, left holding reins of horse, of which part of neck/mane preserved. Casual incisions for eyebrow, ear, eye, right arm, mane. At left, ivy tendrils. Narrow reserved band at rim interior. Brown wash over surface.

Ht. 0.030, e. d. rim 0.14, th. base *ca.* 0.002.

Ca. 500–480. Manner of the Haimon Painter. Class K2. Iconography, *cf.* CVA Basel 1 (Switzerland 4), Z-327, pl. 51.16; CVA Capua 2 (Italy 23), pl. 11.9; CVA Thessaloniki 1 (Greece 5), 14904, pl. 63.3, 4 (Ag. Paraskevi cemetery); *Clazomenai*, cat. 105, pl. 10; Skudnova 1988, 50–51, cat. 52, grave 9 (Olbia).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

122 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-lower body sherd. Figure to right in wrestling pose. Incision on contour of thigh and inner detail of lower, left, leg, which is elongated, with an over-long and exaggeratedly curved calf. Reserved band below. Glaze fired uneven brownish red.

Ht. 0.037, w. 0.028, th. 0.004.

Ca. 500–480. Manner of the Haimon Painter. Shape perhaps K2? The pose of the figure, pushing forward, is that adopted by Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion, as e.g. Maffre 1979, 30–33, cat. 6 (Thasos); CVA Frankfurt 2 (Germany 30), pl. 50.9, 10 (K2); *Agora* XXIII, cat. 1519, pl. 103 (K2 or pinchbase); Gorbunova 1983, cat. 144 (mastoid); Brownlee 1995, cat. 253, pl. 85 (with iconographical discussion). In the absence of the torso, it remains possible, if less likely, that the figure is a giant falling to right

and twisting back to face his vanquisher (usually Athena), as e.g. Semeraro 1997a, 186, cat. 506 (with parallels).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

123 Pls. 10, 38

Mid-lower body sherd. Palmette at left, section of ivy tendril, curved loop of tail at right. Reserved band below. Glaze misfired red with traces of black.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.037, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–480. Manner of the Haimon Painter. The tail could be that of a sphinx or lion, as for example the Nemean lion on Frankfurt VF B 312 (CVA Frankfurt 2 [Germany 30], pl. 50.9) and Mainz 81 (CVA Mainz 1 [Germany 15], pl. 40.4).

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, substructure.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

124 Pls. 10, 38

Mid to lower body sherd. Most of palmette with curving stem; vine tendril at left. Reserved band below.

Ht. 0.042, w. 0.044, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.0035.

Ca. 500–480. Manner of the Haimon Painter. As **123** above.

South City, 1979: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

125 Pls. 11, 38

Mid-lower body sherd. Palmette at right (solid heart) with curved stem on left side. Reserved band below. Diagonal smoothing across palmette suggests proximity of handle to right. Glaze unevenly fired red-black.

Ht. 0.029, w. 0.042, th. 0.003 thickening to 0.006 at bottom.

Early fifth century. Haimon Group. As **123** above.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 16, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

126 Pls. 11, 38

Mid-body sherd. Male figure striding to right (preserved from thigh to calf); one incision across top of leg marks short chiton. At left, end of curving line from above—perhaps part of chlamys or sword.

Ht. 0.017, w. 0.020, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004.

Fifth century, first quarter. Figure as Herakles on Athens 18640, CVA Athens 4 (Greece 4), pl. 64.1, 2 (K2 skyphos, manner of the Haimon Painter); Alekseeva 1991,

pl. 27.8 (Anapa). While the scale and drawing are commensurate with this shape and workshop, **126** is insufficiently preserved to attribute.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 2, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

127 Pls. 11, 38

Mid-body sherd. Legs of a figure lunging or collapsing to right. Two fine dilute bands to lower break. Brown wash over surface.

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.021, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, first quarter. As e.g. Semeraro 1997a, 186, cat. 506 (Oria), Athena defeating a giant. The profile is consistent with the K2 shape favoured by the Haimon group, for which this is a favoured subject, but too little is preserved for certainty.

Upper City, 1975: Pit 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

128 Pls. 11, 39

Sherd from rim to incurve to base. Rim thickened with shallow concavity beneath, slightly offset from body. Rim glazed. Beneath, palmette at right; at left, crudely drawn figure to left, with large shapeless silhouette body and disproportionately small head and legs. One reserved band below.

Ht. 0.061, e. d. rim 0.14, th. 0.003–5 (top to bottom).

Ca. 500–470. Palmette and figure exactly as Corinth T2851, from the North Cemetery (*Corinth* XIII, 228, Gr.295:4, pl. 43, = Brownlee 1995 pl. 96), also *Daskyleion* I, cat. 153, pl. 6, and Semeraro 1997a, 187, cat. 508, fig. 151 from Oria. On the Corinth, Daskyleion and Oria skyphoi, a pair of standing figures identical to that on **128** flanks a central, slimmer figure in long robe to left. On the Daskyleion skyphos the central figure is a seated female(?) holding a drinking horn; on the Corinth and Oria vessels s/he stands, holding a staff, on what Palmer, followed by Semeraro, identifies as a podium, making the figure a poet and thus presumably male. By contrast, Hatzidakis (1984, 64, cat. 226) sees the figure as female and the ‘podium’ as a crudely drawn basket. Hatzidakis 1984, 86–87, groups Corinth T2851 with two further close comparanda: AR 1981–1982, 70, fig. 11 from Turi tomb 1, and Papadopoulou 1964, 95–96, cat. 17, pl. 59a, Thessaloniki 2707 from the cemetery at Syl-lata, Chalkidike (although Papadopoulou’s proposed date of 450–440 is surely too late). Both of these have a central standing female figure; a third comparandum cited by Hatzidakis as his cat. 227 is a misreading of Cook 1953, 58, note 51, where Corinth museum P1705 = T2851. In her discussion of Daskyleion 153, Tuna-Nörling usefully locates the piece within the output of the Haimon Painter’s circle (to her list may be added *Akanthos* I, E192, pl. 203 bottom, as a close, conventionally Haimonian, counterpart for the Phanagoria figure; see also Hatzidakis 1984, 74–87), but she does not note the other four published comparanda. The existence of such a distinc-

tive group of six near-identical pieces surely suggests the work of an individual hand within the Haimonian circle. Both the Corinth and Oria skyphoi are of Ure's Class K3; **128** also seems likely to be a K2 or K3 rather than a pinchbase (Class R) as the example from Syllata.

Upper City, 1980: Pit 58?

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

129 Pls. 11, 39

Upper body sherd on transition to rim. Upper edge of field and rim glazed. In field below, back of female head with incised fillet. Leafless tendrils extending to left. At right edge, end of ivy tendril.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.024, th. bottom 0.003, top 0.005.

Early fifth century. K2? Haimon Group style, but too fragmentary to attribute securely. Head as e.g. *Agora* XXIII, cat. 1513.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, topsoil.

Taman Museum.

130 Pls. 11, 39

Rim sherd. Lip glazed (very fine reserved band at tip), upper edge of reserved field beneath with top of female head. Interior glazed, rim reserved.

Ht. 0.028, e. d. rim 0.18, th. 0.002–3.

Early fifth century. K2? As **129**.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 154.

131 Pls. 11, 39

Upper body sherd. Male figure to right (preserved from waist down), crudely drawn (bulging calves and thighs); at the top break, a small scratch is possibly the tip of a body contour incision, although this cannot certainly be identified as other than a silhouette figure. At left, edge of a palmette; below, glaze edge (of feet on groundline?).

Ht. 0.018, w. 0.029, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, first quarter? The total height of the figure is likely to be *ca.* 0.04 at most, and the panel not much greater. This seems somewhat deep for a Hermogenean skyphos and more like the K2 class (probably of Haimon Group or if the figure is truly in silhouette, the Lancut Group), but too little is preserved to place **131** more precisely. Indeed, the style of drawing is close to that of CHC Group pieces including the cup CVA Athens 3 (Greece 3), pl. 37, and the skyphos CVA Reading 1 (Great Britain 12), 29.xii.11, cat. 29, pl. 10.14.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 3.

Taman Museum.

132 Pls. 11, 39

Rim sherd of skyphos. Thickened at rim, with slight concavity immediately below, then convex body turning inwards at the bottom of the sherd. Deep mono band over rim and full concavity below. Upper body frieze has most of a palmette plus part of thin curved line, presumably linking to another palmette or similar at right. Interior glazed, with narrow reserved band around top rim surface.

Ht. 0.032, e. d. rim 0.14, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–470. Lancut (or Haimon) Group. Ure 1927, 68–69 (K2 or K3); *ABV*, 576–579; *cf.* Kacharava 1995, 66, fig. 6 from Vani (a stemless rather than a pinch-base, published as Haimon Group).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 153.

133 Pls. 11, 39

Two joining sherds preserving profile from thickened rim to mid-body with one complete high-swung roll handle. Handle exterior and lip glazed; At left, beside handle root, right side of a silhouette palmette with tendrill.

Ht. 0.046 (including handle), w. 0.067, body wall th. 0.004.

Fifth century, first quarter. Haimon or Lancut Group. K2.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

134 Pls. 11, 39

Mid-body sherd. Top of silhouette palmette, with tendrill at right.

Flat ht. 0.009, w. 0.022, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, first quarter. Haimon/Lancut Group. The profile is consistent with a pinchbase (Class R), but is too fragmentary for certainty.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

135 Pls. 11, 39

Mid-body sherd. Right side of a silhouette palmette with thin fronds, plus tendrill.

Ht. 0.018, w. 0.015, th. 0.003–4.

Fifth century, first quarter. Haimon/Lancut Group. As **134**.

Upper City, 1977: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

136 Pls. 11, 39

Mid-body sherd. Upper left part of silhouette palmette with thin fronds plus tendrill at left.

Ht. 0.013, w. 0.018, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, first quarter. Haimon/Lancut Group. Pinchbase (Class R).
Upper City, 1979: Area 9, substructure, level 2.
Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

137 Pls. 12, 39

Mid-body sherd. Unincised palmette, with black centre (or thick frame) as preserved and thin fronds, tendril to left. At top left edge, a touch of paint. Lower edge glazed.
Ht. 0.022, w. 0.024, th. 0.004.
Fifth century, first quarter. Haimon or Lancut Group.
Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.
Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

138 Pls. 12, 39

Upper body sherd with transition to rim at upper edge. Rim edge glazed. Below, right side of black silhouette palmette with tendril at left. At triangular tip of right break, small oblique edge of glaze may relate to handle.
Ht. 0.03, w. 0.037, th. 0.004.
Fifth century, first quarter. As **137** above.
Upper City, 1985: Trench 30, layer 76.
Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

139 Pls. 12, 39

Rim sherd. Slightly thickened, outturned rim, glazed; top of palmette on wall below.
Ht. 0.022, e. d. rim 0.16, th. bottom 0.003.
Fifth century, first quarter. K2 or R. As **137** above.
Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 17.
Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

140 Pls. 12, 39

Mid-upper body sherd. In figure frieze, two horses galloping to right; most of head and parts of front legs of left horses preserved, and rear half of right, with back of rider. Silhouette as preserved. At lower break, edge of (probably) reserved band.
Ht. 0.031, w. 0.035, th. 0.003.
Fifth century, first quarter. Lancut Group? Shallow skyphos of K2 class. For similar silhouette riders, see the K2(?) skyphos *Agora* XXIII, cat. 1553 (illustrated Vanderpool 1946, cat. 103, pl. 49), connected by Beazley with the Lancut Group (*ABV*, 580.11); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983, fig. 14 top left (Tragilos, Chalkidike). Silhouette riders also appear on Hatzidakis 1984, cat. 579, pl. 34 from Kolaka in Lokris, but with dot filling ornament.
Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, paved area 17.
Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

141 Pls. 12, 39

Two joining sherds preserving profile from rim to mid-body. Outflaring rim, upper surface demarcated by a slight groove. Rim offset from upper body (offset also marked on the interior). Rim glazed; miltos on reserved areas. In field, back of human head (incised lines of garland); tip of spear or crop behind. Interior fired red; surface lost in rim area.

Ht. 0.054, e. d. rim 0.195, th. wall 0.004.

Fifth century, first quarter? K2. The drawing of the head is distinctive and of higher quality than the majority of Haimonian or CFC work. If the feature behind is interpreted as a crop, then the figure should be mounted on a chariot; such a female passenger may perhaps be a maenad or Ariadne on the chariot of Dionysos. **141** however lacks close parallels.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

142 Pls. 12, 39

Mid-lower body sherd with lower part of left edge of figure scene, one reserved band beneath. At right, male running or striding to right (right leg and upper left leg preserved). Folds of his short garment incised. Behind, three crossed ivy branches rising. At left, right edge of handle palmette.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.031, th. 0.004.

Ca. 500–470. Manner of the Haimon Painter. The profile would accord with the K2 or R (pinchbase) classes, and the ivy ‘tree’ is a common motif on the latter in particular (Görkay 1999, 60, discussion under cat. 148 with parallels), but **142** is too fragmentary to assign with certainty. The composition suggests a combat, as on the Class R *Agora* XXIII, cat. 1502 (the struggle for the tripod). In addition to the parallels noted by Görkay, examples of such tree-like crossed ivy include Brownlee 1995, cat. 262, pl. 87 (K2 or R; Goddess mounting chariot), *Histria* IV, cat. 364 (R, striding figure in longer robe), and Ramage 1997, Att 81, pl. 37 (Dionysiac scene).

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

143 Pls. 12, 39

Cup-skyphos or cup? Body sherd with lower edge of rim and pattern band. Frieze of ivy with dot triangles between leaves and further single dots between stems.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.031, th. 0.002.

Ca. 540–470. The form of the ivy band with dot infill is as that on K2 skyphoi such as Gorbunova 1983, cat. 153; *Otchet* 1911, 41, cat. 3, fig. 76 (found by treasure hunters on the Taman peninsula). However, the profile of **143** is closer to that of a Cassel cup, see e.g. Brijder 1993, 140, Type 1 decoration as e.g. cat. 22 (Boston

88.829), note 40 for parallels with black and tongue lip; also Tuna-Nörling 1995, cats. 69, 70, pl. 5 (Old Smyrna); *Daskyleion* I, cat. 46, pl. 2. A similar instance of a cup or skyphos, *Clazomenai*, cat. 101, pl. 10, is discussed by Tuna-Nörling, who notes Beazley's inclusion of them in the category of floral band-cups (Beazley 1932, 189).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

144 Pls. 12, 39

Mid-body sherd with lower edge of palmette or floral; diagonal continuation of glaze band below field implies proximity to handle. One reserved band below.

Flat ht. 0.020, w. 0.02, th. 0.004.

Fifth century, first quarter. The curving profile suggests that **144** may belong to a K2 or R skyphos.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

145 Pls. 12, 39

Mid-body sherd. Lower leg and elongated silhouette foot of male figure to right. Glazed below.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.020, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, first quarter? The incurving profile is consistent with a relatively shallow form, perhaps a K2, although **145** is too fragmentary to assign with certainty.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 1, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

146 Pls. 12, 39

Rim and upper body sherd; thickened rim with concavity beneath. Rim edge glazed, then lip band of two rows of dots (almost rudimentary ivy leaf) and added white band below. On interior, reserved band just below rim.

Ht. 0.035, e. d. rim 0.18, th. 0.003.

Late sixth-early fifth century (or later). Ure 1927, 28, Class IV.B, noting the longevity of the Class. As e.g. Ure 1927, cats. 80–106, pl. IX; Brownlee 1995, cat. 238, pl. 82; Semeraro 1997a, 207–208, cats. 655, 656 (Oria).

Upper City, 1979: Area 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

147 Pls. 12, 39

Rim sherd (thickened with lip concavity beneath to break). Upper row of dots and dividing band preserved on lip. On interior, reserved band at rim.

Ht. 0.012, e. d. rim 0.24, th. 0.005.

Late sixth-early fifth century. Rim as **146**, although in the absence of the lower body, **147** could equally well belong to figured versions of Classes A2–D.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 4, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

148 Pls. 12, 39

Rim sherd; rim offset, body curving in gently above lower break. On rim, row of framed dots with lower(?) row running up over dividing line. On interior, reserved band at rim.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. rim 0.180, th. 0.003.

Late sixth-early fifth century. As **147**.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, under paved area 13.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

149 Pls. 13, 29

Lower body sherd. At left, dotted spiral base of palmette with inner edges of fronds. Lower part much worn.

Flat ht. 0.02 (articulated *ca.* 0.019), w. 0.025, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.005.

Fifth century, first quarter. The sharply incurving profile suggests class R rather than K2, although such palmettes are found on both: see Ramage 1997, 87, Att83, citing von Bothmer's characterisation of such a palmette (on a skyphos) as 'Haimonian'. Among numerous examples of this form of palmette illustrated by Hatzidakis 1984, see e.g. cats. 166, 170.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

150 Pls. 13, 29

Sherd from transition between rim and body. Rim edge glazed; in field below, right edge of palmette at left, dot, silhouette back of head with hat or hair dressed back.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.037, th. 0.003.

Ca. 430–400 (or earlier). Class R. As e.g. Hatzidakis 1984, cat. 586, pl. 37 from Elateia, 1980 excavation grave VII (compare the style of cats. 583 and 584 from grave III in the same plot). Hatzidakis ascribes cat. 586 to the same hand as Geneva 10758.1923 (CVA Geneva 2 [Switzerland 5], pl. 68.4, ascribed by Beazley to the Lancut Group [ABV, 578.56] and dated by Kahil *ca.* 480 or later), which also shows a lyre player but is a poorer parallel for **150** as a longer dot chain separates the figure from the palmette. A closer parallel is Lazarov 1990, cat. 11 (Plovdiv 1212), in the Manner of the Haimon Painter (ABV, 566.624, 'coarse style'). However, the group of graves at Elateia from which Hatzidakis 1984, cat. 586 derives is securely dated to *ca.* 430–400 (Hatzidakis 1984, 261), and he therefore dates the piece accordingly. A

late date for **150** is thus possible on the basis of the date of deposition of all three Elateia skyphoi, although an earlier date of manufacture seems equally likely.

South City, 1982: Trench 33, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

151 Pls. 13, 39

Mid-lower body sherd. Three reserved bands as preserved, below level of main scene.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.028, th. 0.003–4.

Late sixth–early fifth century.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, substructure.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

152 Pls. 13, 39

Mid-lower body sherd. At base of field, near-vertical stroke, perhaps the base of an eye or a limb; one reserved band below.

Flat ht. 0.019, w. 0.022, th. 0.003–4.

Late sixth–early fifth century.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, substructure, level 2.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

153 Pls. 13, 40

Mid-lower body sherd. Lower part of reserved field; oblique edge of unidentified motif; touch of glaze at upper break may be top of field or part of motif. Lower body glazed.

Ht. 0.044, w. 0.023, th. 0.003–4.

Late Archaic. The absence of a reserved band below the field is unusual. The deep profile is consistent with a mastoid or Attic skyphos.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 15, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

154 Pl. 40

Lower body sherd. The lower edge of a reserved band or field at the top break; one reserved band below.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.055, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.006.

Late Archaic. Hermogenean or similar?

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, room 2 (layer 8?).

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

155 Pl. 40

Lower body sherd. One reserved band just above the middle.

Ht. 0.026, w. 0.024, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.005.

Late Archaic. Cf. **154** above.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Red-Figure

156 Pls. 13, 40

Sherd from lower body and base with scar of footring. On exterior, in handle zone, base of palmette with tendril. Underside reserved with broad band and line to break. On interior, impressed decoration: band of circles within guidelines, neatly executed, with at inner break, tip of palmette.

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.041, th. top 0.004.

Fourth century, first quarter. For interior circle motif, see Ure 1946, 67, as cat. 4, pl. VII (Meleager Painter, British Museum F121).

South City, 1982: Trench 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

157 Pls. 13, 40

Lower body sherd and small section of base. At right, part of handle zone palmette. Lower part of draped figure to left with staff. At left, part of motif (altar or second figure?). Reserved groove below. On interior, impressed decoration: band of light ovules within guidelines; tip of palmette within.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.059, th. top 0.004.

Fourth century, first–early second quarter. Workshop of the Jena Painter: Ure 1946, 70–71; iconography and palmette close to Paul-Zinserling 1994, 58–59, pl. 26.1.

South City, 1982: Trench 12, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

158 Pls. 13, 40

Cup-skyphos with heavy offset lip. Rim and upper body sherd. On exterior, head of youth to right. On lip interior wreath of ivy (reserved red leaves) with white berries.

Ht. 0.032, e. d. rim 0.16, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. Manner of the Q Painter. Close to Ure 1946, cat. 31, pl. IV.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 164.

159 Pls. 13, 40

Section from just below rim to footring with stump of one rising roll handle; a further non-joining body sherd. Reserved groove at base of wall over foot. At right, lower

half of draped figure to right, preserved from waist down. Palmettes beside and under handle. Reserved groundline and groove over foot. Glaze unevenly fired (red around figure, glossy black elsewhere).

Ht. 0.049, e. d. base 0.080, th. top 0.004.

Fourth century, late first or second quarter. Manner of the Q Painter. As e.g. Ure 1946, pl. IV.43.

South City, 1982: Trench 12, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

160 Pls. 13, 40

Sherd of lower body to foot. Draped figure to left, preserved from upper leg downwards. Below groundline is narrow reserved groove. Reserved underside of footring. On interior, impressed decoration: band of degenerate, lightly impressed ovules with guidelines; tip of palmette close to band.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.025, th. top 0.004.

Fourth century, late first or second quarter. Similar to **159** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

161 Pls. 13, 40

Mid-body sherd. At right, torso of draped female to right, right arm thrown back (preserved to elbow). Loose chiton belted at waist with large overfold. Fine drapery lines raised, with thicker line down left edge of chiton and for belt. At left to right, extended arm of youth (fat and foreshortened); figure either draped or with mantle thrown over his arm (edge of drapery preserved at left break). Hand proportionately very large in relation to forearm, bent back.

Ht. 0.034, w. 0.035, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. Group of central female figure (perhaps a personification, see ARV², 1412.56, re Meleager Painter, 1414 listing such groupings on stemless cups) flanked by one or two draped youths.

Upper City, 1985: Pit 18.3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

162 Pls. 14, 40

Lower body sherd. Female figure; detail of neckline preserved, but remainder of surface very worn. Further unidentifiable figure at left (most probably a satyr as the most common companion for such figures, as **164** which is possibly, but not provably, part of the same vessel). Surface damaged by deep horizontal and vertical striations.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.043, th. 0.005.

Fourth century, second quarter. Q Painter. As Ure 1946, cat. 32, pl. IV (Hermitage

2263); CVA Warsaw 3 (Poland 6), 198518, pl. 9.1, 2, although with no surviving traces of added white.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

163 Pls. 14, 40

Rim sherd. Rim thickened and offset on interior. Head of woman wearing sakkos at right to left, part of palmette behind; further figure at left too damaged to identify (but probably a satyr, see **162** and **164**). On interior, added red and white wreath on rim (red leaf, white stems and berries).

Ht. 0.026, e. d. rim 0.13, th. 0.004–5.

Fourth century, second quarter. Q Painter. As **162** but not demonstrably part of the same vessel.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

164 Pls. 14, 40

Sherd preserving profile from just below rim to bottom of body wall of skyphos (or perhaps cup-skyphos). Silhouette satyr to right, bearded, both arms outstretched, possibly with red fillet; edge of palmette at left. On interior rim, added white wreath.

Ht. 0.049, w. 0.044, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, second quarter. Q Painter. As CVA Warsaw 3 (Poland 6), 198518, pl. 9.3, although much poorer quality; *Clazomenai*, cat. 224, pl. 23; Talcott and Philippaki 1956, cat. 42, pl. 5. Possibly, but not provably, part of the same vessel as **162**, **163**, and perhaps also **165**.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

165 Pls. 14, 40

Sherd of lower body and base with scar of footring. Base of handle zone palmette with tendrils. Underside reserved with broad and narrow band and part of circle near centre. On interior, impressed decoration: band of ovals within guidelines; tip of palmette within, close to line of frieze.

Ht. 0.018, w. 0.070, th. top 0.005.

Fourth century, second quarter. Q Painter. Compare Ure 1946, 74, cats. 40–41 (Hermitage 244 and 27, the latter from Kerch). Possibly, but not provably, part of the same vessel(s) as **162**, **163**, and **164**.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

166 Pls. 14, 40

Foot and lower body. Moulded ring foot; reserved groove on body wall over junction with foot. At left, female moving to left with lower edge of drapery billowing out. At right, foot or fist on ground with edge of knee behind? Edge of resting surface and preserved edge of underside reserved. Burnt.

Ht. 0.027, e. d. base *ca.* 0.08.

Fourth century, second quarter. Q Painter. Probably pursuit, as e.g. silen and woman on Ure 1946, cat. 32, pl. IV.

Upper City, 1983: Trench 18, layer 15, Pit 18.7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

167 Pls. 14, 40

Upper body sherd with offset of rim preserved on interior at upper break. Draped youth to left preserved from head to chest; at left, edge of tympanon.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.026, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, second quarter. Workshop of the Q Painter.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

168 Pls. 14, 40

Upper body sherd; rim offset preserved on interior at upper break. At right, outstretched hand. At left, strigil being held up by (lost) confronted figure. On the interior, the bottom edge of the thickened rim is preserved, with a white spot at the junction with the body which is probably part of an added white wreath.

Ht. 0.031, w. 0.019, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As Ure 1946, cat. 9, fig. 5 (Hermitage 14392 from Kerch), related to Ure's Millin and Meleager Painter groups, although the hand on **168** has less precisely defined fingers, closer to the style of the Q Painter.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

169 Pls. 14, 40

Upper body sherd with lower part of rim offset on interior and exterior. Draped youth to left, holding out a torch. On interior, added red and white wreath at rim (red leaf, white stem and berries).

Ht. 0.032, w. 0.034, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, first or second quarter.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

170 Pls. 14, 41

Sherd preserving profile from rim to just below handle level. Thickened rim with short concave section; on interior, slightly offset. Right joint and stump of round section handle with the edges of palmettes on either side (on the right, framing tendril only preserved). On rim interior, ivy wreath (reserved red leaves, white stems and berries).

Fourth century, first or second quarter. Scheme as e.g. Ure 1946, cat. 11, fig. 7 (Jena Painter) or cat. 21, fig. 10 (Q Painter).

Ht. 0.044, e. d. rim 0.14, th. 0.004.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 9, 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

171 Pls. 14, 41

Upper body sherd with stump of left side of rising roll handle (roots together). Handle glazed. At left, right side of palmette. On interior, slight offset at top break, with one added white dot from a wreath around rim.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.042, wall th. 0.004, sn. handle *ca.* 0.009.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As **170** above.

Upper City, 1983: Trench 25, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

172 Pls. 15, 41

Mid-body sherd with stump of rising roll handle (glazed). Palmette beside handle. On interior, touch of added white at top left break marks the base of a wreath.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.038, th. 0.0045.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. The handle joint cuts into the palmette and interrupts the framing tendril, as e.g. Ure 1946, cat. 20, pl. 1 (British Museum F122, Q Painter).

Upper City, 1980: Trench unknown, level 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

173 Pls. 15, 41

Rim and upper body sherd. Thickened rim offset on interior. Edge of handle attachment at right break. Upper right side of palmette with arc of framing tendril. On rim interior, ivy wreath (reserved red leaves, white stems and berries).

Ht. 0.04, e. d. rim 0.165, th. 0.002.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. Palmette as e.g. Ure 1946, cat. 15A, pl. V (Jena Painter).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

174 Pls. 15, 41

Upper body sherd with lower edge of rim (interior offset lower than exterior). Top of palmette with arc of framing tendril. On interior, added white stems of wreath on rim.

Ht. 0.035, w. 0.038, th. 0.003–4.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. Close to **173** above (see also Ure 1946, cat. 16, pl. V where the top petal is more rounded).

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

175 Pls. 15, 41

Rim sherd (offset on interior). Top right part of palmette from the right side of the field beside a handle (thickening of profile for attachment visible). On interior, added white wreath around rim.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.027, th. 0.004.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As **173** above; palmette as Ure 1946, cat. 31, pl. IV (Hermitage 284, Q Painter).

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

176 Pls. 15, 41

Rim sherd; thickened profile of rim on exterior, short ‘neck’ below. On exterior, edge of reserved area at lower break. On interior, ivy wreath (reserved red leaves, added white stems and berries).

Ht. 0.019, e. d. rim 0.13.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As **158**, **173**, **170**, etc.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

177 Pl. 41

Rim sherd (offset on interior); edge of handle attachment at lower break. Top edge of unidentified motif. On interior, added red and white wreath around rim (red leaves, white stems and berries).

Ht. 0.025, e. d. rim 0.13, th. 0.004–5.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As **176** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

178 Pl. 41

Rim sherd. Rim thickened, but both faces badly damaged. On interior, added red (and presumably white) wreath on rim; part of red leaf preserved.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. rim *ca.* 0.15, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As **176** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

179 Pls. 15, 41

Body sherd preserving groove over foot at lower break. At left, half of palmette surrounding billowing drapery of figure to right.

Ht. 0.044, w. 0.04, th. top 0.003.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. Similar to e.g. Ure 1946, cat. 11, fig. 7 (Jena 14).

South City, 1982: Trench 12, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

180 Pls. 15, 41

Mid-body sherd. At right, back of a draped figure, with folds indicated by spiral lines. Lines at left are probably part of handle area floral motif.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.021, th. 0.0045.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. Drapery folds close to Ure 1946, cat. 11, figs. 6, 7 (Jena 14).

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

181 Pls. 15, 41

Two joining body sherds preserving profile from just above handle to reserved groove at bottom of body wall; scar of rising round-section handle. Most of palmette at right edge of field, next to left joint of handle, plus large part of under-handle palmette.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.056, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As e.g. **159** above.

South City, 1981: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

182 Pls. 15, 41

Lower body sherd with edge of handle attachment at upper break. Edges of two palmettes to the left of, and beneath, the handle. Burnt throughout section (perhaps in firing), surface appearance grey green.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.033, th. 0.005–7.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As **181** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

183 Pls. 15, 41

Lower body sherd preserving reserved groove over footring. Part of palmette.

Flat ht. 0.015, w. 0.03.

Fourth century, first or second quarter.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

184 Pls. 15, 41

Cup-skyphos or stemless cup. Lower body sherd preserving edge of groove over foot. Part of palmette and spiral. Interior glazed with no preserved evidence of stamped decoration.

Ht. 0.017, w. 0.027, th. 0.003–4.

Fourth century, first or second quarter.

Upper City, 1975: Trench 2, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Skyphos or Cup-Skyphos*Black-Glaze***185** Pl. 41

Foot sherd (*ca.* quarter preserved) to junction with body wall. Ring foot with lip (added red) cut into top half. Reserved foot exterior and resting surface. Underside of foot glazed, concave profile; base lost.

Ht. 0.016, e. d. base 0.09.

Late Archaic. The foot profile is that of the cup-skyphos as *Agora* XII, cat. 573, though without incisions and with a markedly concave interior. In the absence of the body wall, it remains possible that **185** belongs to a skyphos, as Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 155.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 4.

Taman Museum, cat. 156.

186 Pls. 16, 41

Foot sherd preserving *ca.* quarter base. Ring foot with lip cut into top. Convex base. Reserved upper half of foot exterior, resting surface, base (miltos wash). Base has (from outside in) wide band with narrow dilute band immediately around its inside edge, narrow dilute band, centre base lost.

Ht. 0.016, e. d. base 0.095.

Late Archaic. See **185** above. Foot profile as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 578 (cup-skyphos); Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 17, cat. 155 (skyphos).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, layer 3.

Taman Museum, cat. 157.

187 Pls. 16, 41

Most of a high swung roll handle (probably horseshoe). Reserved underside and handle panel.

Ht. 0.046, w. 0.032.

Fifth century? Body profile suggests a cup or cup-skyphos.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 32, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 158.

188 Pl. 41

Lower body sherd with edge of down turn to base. Reserved band just below upper break on exterior.

Ht. 0.028, w. 0.047, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.006.

Fifth century, second half? Profile suggests a cup or cup-skyphos.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***189** Pl. 41

Small body sherd with part of palmette.

Ht. 0.011, w. 0.022, th. 0.006.

Late fifth-first half fourth century.

South City, 1982: Trench 34, layer 8.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Cup or Skyphos*Black-Glaze***190** Pl. 41

Lower-body sherd with, at upper break, thickening of profile for rising handle. On interior, row of lightly impressed degenerate ovules.

Ht. 0.017, w. 0.037, th. top 0.003–4.

Ca. 530-early fourth century (based on degenerate ovules).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

191 Pl. 41

Mid-lower body sherd with small part of rise to lower handle joint. On interior, part of one row of light rouletting.

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.031, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.007.

Most likely post-380 due to the rouletting, but not otherwise datable.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Black-Figure

192 Pls. 16, 41

Mid-body sherd of eye cup or band-cup skyphos. Bottom tip of eye with added white edge.

Ht. 0.013, w. 0.027, th. 0.003 (nearer 0.004 at base).

Ca. 530–500. White outline as *CVA* Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pl. 50.2, 3 (M 630, skyphos, CHC Group, from Panticapaeum), M 1510, pl. 51.4 (Hermogenean skyphos? from Panticapaeum), M 1242, pl. 51.6 (skyphos, CHC Group, from Panticapaeum, = Sidorova 1984, 105–107, cats. 145–146, fig. 25); *CVA* Thessaloniki 1 (Greece 5), 9063, pl. 57.3–6 (skyphos). Compare **117**.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

193 Pls. 16, 41

Mid-lower body sherd. Surface of upper area largely lost. Incised haunches, plus edge of body, back legs and tail curling down (and perhaps rising again if a touch of paint at the lower right break is related). Probably a crouching or springing quadruped (a combat victim?) or a sphinx.

Ht. 0.029, w. 0.037, th. 0.004, thickening slightly at lower break.

Late Archaic.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 12.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

194 Pls. 16, 41

Rim sherd from skyphos or band cup. Deep outflaring rim, slightly offset from insloping upper body. Rim glazed; oblique angle of application indicates proximity of handle attachment at right. Field below reserved, with one large dot at left, and at right, a diagonal line of glaze probably related to the handle. On interior, one (possibly two) reserved band(s) at rim.

Ht. 0.034, e. d. rim 0.17, th. 0.004.

Late Archaic. An unusually poor piece, but in Attic fabric.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 14.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

195 Pls. 16, 41

Small mid-body sherd. Part of unidentified motif (horse neck?) with one ancient incision close to top break and much modern surface damage.

Flat ht. 0.017, w. 0.011, th. top 0.002, bottom 0.003.

Late Archaic.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

196 Pls. 16, 42

Mid-body sherd. Part of arm and shoulder, incised over elbow level along line of body.

Ht. 0.01, w. 0.021, th. 0.003.

Late Archaic.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 15, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

197 Pls. 16, 42

Lower body sherd, incurving markedly. Edge of unidentified black silhouette motif with groundline below. Reserved to lower break.

Ht. 0.011, w. 0.021, th. 0.004.

Late Archaic.

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, room 2(?).

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Cup*Droop Cup***198** Pls. 16, 42

Mid-lower body sherd. Frieze of linked lotus buds; glazed below.

Ht. 0.038, w. 0.034, th. top 0.0025, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 540–510. Ure 1932 Type I.A, as e.g. Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cat. 42, pl. 30 (Pitane). See also Ure 1953 for a further review and discussion of chronology.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

199 Pls. 16, 42

Two joining mid-lower body sherds. Frieze of linked lotus buds, each with dots beneath; tendrils extend above as well as below. Below, one group of three narrow bands plus a further group of at least three below.

Ht. 0.044, w. 0.038, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 540–510. Perhaps Ure 1932, Type I.D., although the absence of much of the lower body precludes secure classification.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, Building 7. Upper City, 1980: first floor surface, Archaic building.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

200 Pls. 16, 42

Droop cup? Mid-body sherd with frieze of linked lotus buds, dotted. Surrounding area lost.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.025, th. top 0.003.

Ca. 540–510. See **199** above. In the absence of the lower body, **200** could be a Cassel cup as e.g. Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cat. 46, pl. 31 (Pitane).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 22.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

201 Pls. 16, 42

Lower body sherd preserving scar of stem joint. Thin rays rise from band around stem joint; above, three fine bands. Reserved area above has fine line at lower edge, and edge of motif at upper break. On interior, edge of tondo with, on lower break, curved edge of lost motif. Glaze streaky red-brown to green-black on exterior.

Ht. 0.018, w. 0.054, th. outside 0.005, by stem 0.008.

Ca. 540–510.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

202 Pls. 17, 42

Two joining lower body sherds at the incurve to the stem. Inner edge glazed; outline rays on groundline above; two reserved bands; reserved band at outer break. Interior glazed with parts of two reserved bands.

Ht. 0.012, w. 0.048, th. 0.004 (0.005 at centre).

Ca. 540–510. Pattern close to Semeraro 1997a, 178, cat. 463 (Oria).

Upper City, 1975: room 1, upper level: trench unknown, layer 15, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

203 Pl. 42

Lower body sherd. Three narrow reserved bands preserved (part of a continuing group); glazed below.

Ht. 0.004, w. 0.029.

Late Archaic. Perhaps a Droop Cup (if so, *ca.* 540–510).

Upper City, 1975: Pit 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

204 Pl. 42

Lower body sherd. Reserved with a broad band across centre and a small part of an unidentifiable motif (curved line) at top break.

Ht. 0.033, w. 0.030, th. 0.003.

Late Archaic. Perhaps a Droop Cup (if so, *ca.* 540–510).

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Cassel Cup***205** Pls. 17, 42

Rim sherd. Slightly thickened rim, minimal concavity beneath, sharp inslope below. Band on rim edge; frieze of black tongues on lip, separated from an upper row of black ivy leaves (part of tendril preserved at bottom right) by several fine horizontal bands casually executed and inconsistent in number. On interior reserved band at rim. Glaze unevenly applied and fired, potting poor.

Ht. 0.026, e. d. rim 0.14, th. 0.003.

Ca. 540–510. Decorative scheme as Munich 2660 (CVA Munich 10 [Germany 56], pl. 37.1, 2, with bibliography); Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cat. 44, pl. 30 (Pitane); *Clazomenai*, cat. 42, pl. 4; Ramage 1997, Att67, pl. 36; CVA New York (Metropolitan Museum), 2 (USA 11), 12, cat. 33, pl. XXXIX, although with no evidence of added colour.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, Pit 167.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

206 Pls. 17, 42

Rim and upper body sherd. Rim thickened; body incurves sharply. Lip glazed; below, laurel band. On interior, reserved band at rim.

Ht. 0.024, e. d. rim 0.15, th. 0.003.

Ca. 540–510. Brijder 1993, 142, cat. 25. Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cats. 63, 64, pl. 5 (Old Smyrna). *Daskyleion* I, cat. 51, pl. 2; CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pl. 59.5 from Panticapaeum.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

207 Pls. 17, 42

Body sherd preserving left root of rising roll handle (glazed). To left, edge of laurel wreath.

Ht. 0.02, w. 0.032, th. 0.003.

Ca. 540–510. See **206** above. See also Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cat. 73, pl. 5 (Old Smyrna), cats. 45, 47, pls. 30, 31 (Pitane).

Upper City, 1980: Pit 7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

208 Pls. 17, 42

Three joining sherds from the lower body over the stem. Three decorative bands preserved, separated by groups of three fine lines. From top to bottom: laurel, diagonal strokes, solid base rays.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.05, th. 0.003–4.

Ca. 540–510. As e.g. Brijder 1993, 142, cat. 25; Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cats. 59–62, pls. 4, 5 (Old Smyrna); Boardman 1959, cat. 61; *CVA* Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pl. 59.5 from Panticapaeum.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

209 Pls. 17, 42

Lower body sherd over junction with stem. Rays; three fine bands above.

Flat ht. 0.017, w. 0.025, th. 0.004.

Ca. 540–510. Very similar to **208** but not obviously from the same vessel.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, Pit 167.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

210 Pls. 17, 42

Lower body sherd preserving scar of stem joint. Stem edge glazed; on body above, band of added white then rays. Interior glazed with reserved centre containing circle and dot (surrounded by a very fine dilute band).

Ht. 0.008, w. 0.052, th. 0.004–5.

Ca. 540–510.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

211 Pls. 17, 42

Lower body sherd just above junction with stem. Rays on groundline with three fine bands above; edge of a further pattern(?) at top break.

Flat ht. 0.021, w. 0.032, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.005.

Ca. 540–510. Probably a Cassel cup if the decoration at the top break is indeed a further pattern band.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 7, under floor.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Band Cup***212** Pls. 17, 42

Lower body sherd. Lower part of frieze with komast at right to right (bottom and rear leg preserved, incision demarcating bottom), elongated arm behind. At left, bottom

right section of incised palmette with added red dots in each segment. Wide band below with edge of reserved ground at bottom break.

Ht. 0.032, w. 0.034, th. 0.003.

Ca. 550–530. Probably frieze composition, as e.g. Manchester Museum iii.H39, Cook 1997, pl. 25B (conventional male dancers), or the cup-skyphos *Corinth* XIII, cat. 237–2, pl. 93. While a komast in this well-established scheme lacks good parallels, the figure is clearly later than the usually more elaborately incised komasts of Siana cups, and the scheme that of a band cup. Palmette as on the skyphoi: Semeraro 1997a, 185, cat. 496 (Oria); Gorbunova 1983, cat. 179.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

213 Pls. 17, 42

Band cup. Rim sherd; at lower edge, tips of a series of lines from unrestorable motifs, one incision preserved. On interior, reserved band below rim.

Ht. 0.025, e. d. rim 0.180.

Ca. 550–520.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 32, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 133.

214 Pls. 17, 42

Upper body sherd of a band-cup. Upper three-quarters monochrome; below, horse and rider to right. Preserved are head of rider, tip of vertical spear, upper half of horse's head, dabs of paint from unidentifiable motif at left. Incisions careless: continuous line from top of hairline, ear, and bottom of neck; eye and mouth also incised. Incisions for horse's eye and ear, and inner line of mane which is defined by red. Interior glazed.

Ht. 0.025, w. 0.032, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 550–520. Compare e.g. CVA Heidelberg 4 (Germany 31), pl. 155.7; CVA Munich 11 (Germany 57), pls. 44.5, 45.1–4 (Munich 2229).

Upper City, 1975: room 1, upper level.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

215 Pls. 17, 42

Mid-body sherd. Chariot group racing to right. Lower bodies and legs of three horses (presumably of a four horse team), chariot wheel, and, at left break, part of chariot. Drawing and incisions careless. At right, part of turning-post. Below, groundline, narrow reserved line, glazed to lower break. Interior glazed.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.045, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.005.

Ca. 500–480. Haimon Group. As e.g.: CVA Heidelberg 4 (Germany 31), S 99, pl.

158.1, 2 (Haimon Group). For similar iconography, see **121** and the K2 skyphoi: *Clazomenai*, cat. 105, pl. 10; CVA Basel 1 (Switzerland 4), pl. 51.16.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 16, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

216 Pls. 17, 42

Four joining sherds preserving body profile from just below rim to incurve towards foot. Rim edge glazed. In field below, palmette with tendril on left, ivy tendril at right, then unidentified black silhouette motif. One reserved band below (and possibly the top edge of a second at bottom break).

Ht. 0.048, w. 0.055, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–480. As e.g. Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 35, pl. 4.

Upper City, 1975: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

217 Pl. 42

Two joining mid-lower body sherds with base of handle attachment. Upper part reserved with glaze around edge of handle attachment: one reserved band below then glazed to break.

A: ht. 0.026, w. 0.02, th. 0.003–4. B: ht. 0.026, w. 0.042, th. 0.003–45.

Late Archaic.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Kamiroi Palmette Group

218 Pls. 17, 42

Two non-joining mid-lower body sherds. A: outline eye with palmette nose and brows. B (not illustrated): reserved, edge of handle attachment at top break surrounded by glaze.

A: ht. 0.044, w. 0.053, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004. B: ht. 0.033, w. 0.04, th. top 0.002, bottom 0.003.

Ca. 530–500. Kamiroi Palmette Group (ABV, 215; *Paralipomena*, 104; Freyer-Schauenburg 1988; CVA Kiel 1 [Germany 55], 58, pl. 26.3, 4). Type as Rhodes 15589: Freyer-Schauenburg 1988, fig. 4. In addition to examples listed in these works, see also *Clazomenai*, cats. 55, 56, pl. 5. Cups of this group are well represented at Miletus, with some twelve sherds from Kalabaktepe and Zeytintepe (N. Kunisch pers. comm.).

Upper City, 1980: floor of the Archaic building.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Palmette Cups (Floral Band Cups)***219** Pls. 18, 42

Five joining sherds preserving profile from rim to incurve to base. Thickened rim, slightly offset, glazed. Below, frieze of five closed palmettes, each with a framing loop above and added white tongue between, set on a chain of circles. Below, washy groundline, monochrome to lower break. At left, curve of glaze around handle attachment. On interior, reserved band just below rim.

Ht. 0.055, e. d. rim *ca.* 0.15, th. *ca.* 0.004.

Ca. 525 onwards. As Ersoy 1994, type II or III, although with a relatively deep profile. As Ersoy notes (295–296), the terminal dates for these types are not well established, although in view of the fact that palmette cups with this profile are well represented in Persian destruction contexts in the Athenian Agora, it is likely that these types, with closed palmettes, continued to be manufactured into the fifth century (Shear 1993, 395, **219** being close to pl. 82f from well Q12:3; see also Roberts 1986, cat. 32, pl. 7, but with white tongues).

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18 (a further fragment from loose soil probably belongs to the other side of the cup).

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

220 Pls. 18, 42

Two joining upper-mid body sherds. Monochrome top, then frieze of incised closed palmettes with framing arcs above and white tongues between. Much of interior fired red, streaky.

Ht. 0.02, w. 0.032, th. 0.002.

Ca. 525 onwards. As **219**.

Upper City, 1974: Trench 9, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

221 Pls. 18, 43

Mid-body sherd with edge of handle attachment at left break. Lower edge of incised (closed) palmette above row of (undotted) chain pattern. Groundline uneven; irregular reserved band below.

Ht. 0.017, w. 0.035, avg. th. 0.003.

Ca. 525 onwards. As **219**.

Upper City, 1980: Trench unknown, level 19, north room 1.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

222 Pls. 18, 43

Lower body sherd. Chain pattern at top break (dotted circle) with one reserved band below.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.059, th. 0.0025–4 (maximum thickness towards centre).

Ca. 525–475. Too fragmentary to assign to type.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

223 Pls. 18, 43

Body sherd preserving profile from rim (slightly thickened) to just below handles, with both roots of one rising roll handle. Handle glazed, area beneath reserved. Rim glazed, below frieze of open, five-leaf palmettes with tongues between set on a chain of circles. Interior rim reserved.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.076, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–475. Type V (Ersoy 1994, 297–298). As Vanderpool 1946, cats. 218 (= Shear 1993, pl. 82a), 219, pl. 62; Boardman 1959, cat. 70).

Upper City, 1975: Pit D, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

224 Pls. 18, 43

Mid-lower body sherd. Low edge of lip glaze with, beneath, frieze of five-leaf palmettes with added red tongues between, set on a chain of circles containing white dots. Reserved band beneath. Interior glaze unevenly fired black-crimson.

Ht. 0.044, w. 0.038, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.005.

Ca. 500–475. Probably Type V (as **223** but with red tongues), although in the absence of the lip, **224** could also be a top-band stemless as **228**. Compare Tuna-Nörling 1995, cats. 96, 97, 100, 101, pl. 6 (Old Smyrna): *Otchet* 1909–1910, 123, fig. 175 (Kerch).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

225 Pls. 18, 43

Mid-lower body sherd. Lower edge of alternating row of unincised closed palmettes (ghost of added red dots on black) and black tongues on dotted circle chain.

Ht. 0.028, w. 0.027, th. 0.002.

Ca. 500–475. Type V as **226** or top-band stemless as **224**. Although the palmettes are closed, Type V is implied by the lack of incision which is comparatively unusual and reminiscent of the highly simplified form of Shear 1993, pl. 82g and Gorbunova 1983, cat. 25. The basic scheme is well attested on full sized vessels, e.g. CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pl. 66.2, 4, 5; Boardman 1959, cat. 68, pl. 36.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

226 Pls. 18, 43

Highly schematised silhouette palmettes alternating with irregularly drawn tongues irregularly drawn, over a simple chain. Reserved band on lower body. Low flaring foot. Outer edge of foot and underside of base reserved, with band around edge of central depression. Reserved band around rim interior.

Ht. 0.059, d. rim 0.109, d. base 0.049.

Ca. 500–480. Type V. See also *CVA Amsterdam 2* (Netherlands 8), 140. As *Kerameikos IX*, gr. E10–3, pl. 85. **226** is a finer product than the small and degenerate examples listed below (**227**, **228**), but its decoration is much simplified in comparison with previous examples.

Cemetery, 1980: Grave 46, find no. 86.

Taman Museum, cat. 53. *Taman Museum KM 10070/2*.

227 Pls. 18, 43

Rim sherd; slight glazed lip with below, frieze of very degenerate palmettes (effectively stroke plus upper dot); added red tongue cuts across central palmette. Roughening of surface at right edge may indicate proximity of handle attachment. On interior, reserved band below rim.

Ht. 0.016, e. d. rim 0.09, th. 0.002.

Ca. 490–460. Type V. Four similarly degenerate miniature palmette cups from Persian destruction contexts in the Athenian Agora are published by Shear 1993, 395, pl. 82g, h, esp. P24678. **227** is probably too large to be a true miniature, but it is certainly much smaller than other examples from Phanagoria, and is similar in style and dimensions to *Kerameikos IX*, E48.1 (burial dated 480–460) and E58.5, pl. 91 (470–460).

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, substructure, layer 8.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

228 Pls. 18, 43

Top band stemless. Rim sherd. Rim edge glazed; below, open palmette and lotus chain. On interior, added white band at rim. Severely burnt all over: lower half of exterior scraped.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. rim *ca.* 0.120.

Fifth century, second quarter. Related to Type V palmette cups. As Brownlee 1995, cat. 283, pl. 90; *Daskyleion I*, cats. 258 and 258A: Görkay 1999, pl. 9 (*Daskyleion*); Alekseeva 1991, pl. 30.7 (*Anapa*).

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 17, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

229 Pls. 18, 43

Top band stemless or skyphos. Rim sherd. Rim glazed: beneath, handle level frieze contains open palmette, flanked by two red tongues. At left, curve of glaze surrounding handle. Interior too worn to determine whether there was a reserved band at the rim (unlikely).

Ht. 0.025, flat w. 0.033, th. bottom 0.004.

Fifth century, second quarter. See **228**; also reminiscent of the miniature skyphoi from the Athenian Agora illustrated by Shear 1993, pl. 83e–h.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 7, under floor.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Type A and Sub-A*Black-Figure***230** Pls. 19, 43

Three joining sherds from the mid-lower body. At left, human foot, then horse to right, preserving one back hoof and both front lower legs. At right, large palmette. Below, four bands then one wider reserved band. On interior, edge reserved ground of tondo at break.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.082, th. top 0.003.

Ca. 530–500. For band arrangement and palmette, see e.g. Boardman 1959, cat. 73, pl. 37. For a similar figure group, see the eye cup CVA Louvre 10 (France 17), Éléonte 413, pl. 104.5, 5.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 7, on floor 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

231 Pls. 19, 43

Mid-body sherd. Edge of black eye at top right side with two parallel incisions; incision with spot of paint beside it. Interior glazed.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.026, th. 0.003–4.

Ca. 525–500 or later. *Agora XXIII*, 66–67.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, layer 2.

Taman Museum, cat. 152.

232 Pls. 19, 43

Rim sherd. Slight thickening of profile at right break may indicate approach to handle. Top of figure scene with parts of several branches with vestigial traces of added white fruit(?). On interior, reserved band at rim.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. rim 0.21, th. bottom 0.003.

Early fifth century. For similar trees on skyphoi, see e.g. Brownlee 1995, cat. 247, pl. 85; Ure 1955, pl. 4, London, BM 1920.2–16.3 (Type B); Gorbunova 1983, cat. 33 (Krokotos Painter, Type B).

Upper City, 1979: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

233 Pls. 19, 43

Rim sherd. Two bands at rim, top edge of figure scene below. Female (maenad?) to right (incision on sleeve only), added white for face, added red fillet around head, right arm (disproportionately large) stretched out, hand reaching to a dotted tendril which runs across the top of the scene. At right break, part of further motif (probably a drinking horn). On interior, narrow and irregular reserved band just below rim.

Ht. 0.024, e. d. rim 0.205, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group (ABV, 632–647; CVA Amsterdam 2 [Netherlands 8], 132). A Dionysiac scene characteristic of this group, as e.g. *Agora* XXIII, cats. 1756, 1769, pl. 113. For use of white, compare CVA Naples 1 (Italy 20), pl. 29.4; CVA Leipzig 2 (East Germany 2), pl. 32.3, 4 (T53, Red Line Painter); Semeraro 1997a, 295, cat. 1096 (Vaste).

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, cistern 58.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

234 Pls. 19, 43

Two joining rim sherds. Rim edge glazed. Below: female to right holding ivy tendrils in extended arm. At right break, part of unidentified motif (head?). Ivy tendril runs across scene and behind figure. Crude incision on female dress. Ghost of added white on flesh of face, neck and arms (not corresponding closely to area defined by glaze).

Ht. 0.023, e. d. rim 0.20, th. bottom 0.003.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group. Iconography as that on the Type B CVA Boston 2 (USA 19), 76.234, pl. 104, although not by the same hand. The square cut of the bodice, with demarcated shoulders, is reminiscent of, but not identical to, the figures on the lekythos from Old Smyrna, Tuna-Nörthing 1995, cat. 202, pl. 16.

Upper City, 1975: Pit D, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

235 Pls. 19, 43

Rim sherd. Two bands at rim, top of figure scene below. Top of head at right; hair in snood(?) with added white probably of female face below; ivy tendril runs from right over top of head; unidentifiable motif at right. On interior, reserved band at rim.

Ht. 1.15, e. d. rim 0.20, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group. See **233**, **234** above.

Upper City, 1975: Pit 2.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

236 Pls. 19, 43

Rim sherd. Rim edge glazed, with narrow band below. Upper edge of figure scene: female head to right with incision, ivy tendril. On interior, reserved band at rim. Burned, probably in manufacture.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. rim 0.175.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group. See **233**, **234** above.

Upper City, 1975: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

237 Pls. 19, 43

Rim sherd. Rim edge glazed, two narrow dilute bands beneath, upper edge of figure scene. Two ivy tendrils behind the back of a head to left which has a trace of added red. On interior, narrow reserved band at rim.

Ht. 0.019, e. d. rim 0.23, th. 0.003.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group. See **233**, **234** above.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 1, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

238 Pls. 19, 43

Upper body sherd, just below rim. Rim glazed with narrow band beneath. In field, dotted ivy cut by part of figure(?).

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.026, th. 0.002–3.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group. See **233**, **234** above.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

239 Pls. 19, 43

Lower body and top of stem. Exterior glazed with one reserved band just below break. In tondo, dancing satyr to right (body preserved from waist down with tip of tail at left). One casual incision across the inside of the left thigh continues onto the field (appears accidental); a further scratch across the left ankle is modern. At right, a thin diagonal line may be part of an object such as a thyrsos or drinking horn perhaps grasped by the satyr (similar to e.g. Semeraro 1997a, 146, cat. 286 from Oria). Three dilute circles surround the tondo.

Ht. 0.017, w. 0.053, th. wall 0.005–6.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group (see **233**, **234** above, also *Agora* XXIII, 67). For analogous composition, see e.g.: Tuna-Nörling 1995, cats. 129, 130, 139, pl. 8 (Old Smyrna); *Clazomenai*, cat. 64, pl. 5; *Agora* XXIII, cat. 1777, pl. 113.

Upper City, 1975 excavations: layer 15, under paved area 2.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

240 Pls. 19, 43

Rim and upper body sherd; rim very slightly thickened on exterior. Rim edge glazed, fine band below; at left, figure to right, preserving front of head with incision for mouth and chest contour; raised arm with outsized hand. Small scratch at wrist is more likely modern than ancient. At right, edge of eye with brow. On interior, reserved band at rim.

Ht. 0.029, e. d. rim 0.20, th. 0.002.

Ca. 500–475. Compare CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pl. 61.1, 2; Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 116 (Old Smyrna), both Leafless Group.

Upper City, 1975: Room 1, upper level.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

241 Pls. 19, 43

Lower body sherd. On exterior, complete silhouette foot to right with tip of rear foot at left break; between, glaze may represent bent knee (as e.g. Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 141, pl. 8) or part of tendril(?), or perhaps even hoof (as Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 126, pl. 8); further spot of glaze at right. Dilute line across bottom of figure scene. One reserved band on body beneath. In tondo, bent elbow of running or dancing figure; dilute circle around tondo edge.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group. See **233**, **234** above.

Ht. ca. 0.006, w. 0.034, th. outer edge 0.005, inner 0.007.

Upper City, 1975: Pit D.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

242 Pls. 19, 43

Lower body sherd with scar of stem joint. Exterior glazed. Edge of tondo only preserved, surrounded by three fine concentric lines. Edge of what is probably the raised knee and calf of dancing or running figure with curving incision down calf.

Ht. 0.007, w. 0.027, th. 0.005 (0.006 at centre).

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group. See **239** above.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

243 Pls. 20, 43

Two joining lower body sherds, close to stem joint. On exterior, one reserved band with, at upper break, traces of a group of two narrow bands separated by a dilute line. On interior, edge of tondo with back of head of youth (incised fillet and knot at nape of neck).

Ht. 0.026, w. 0.084, th. top 0.004.

Ca. 500–475. Leafless Group? Cf the silhouette running youth in *Agora XXIII*, cat. 1843; Tuna-Nörling 1995, cats. 126, 130 (Old Smyrna), pl. 8 (red fillet) with parallels.

Upper City, 1976: Area 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

244 Pls. 20, 43

Lower body sherd, close to stem. Lower edge of field preserved; hoofs (front and rear, former damaged by surface chip). Fine line at bottom edge of field. Reserved band below. In tondo, male calf and foot to right.

Ht. 0.006, w. 0.054, th. 0.003 (0.005 at centre break).

Ca. 500–475. Tondo composition suggests Leafless Group.

Upper City, 1976: Area 7, layer 13.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

245 Pls. 20, 43

Rim sherd. Rim edge painted, narrow band below. Beneath, at left to left, back of woman's head; at right, incised motif with added white edge. Tendril between. On interior, narrow reserved band at rim edge.

Ht. 0.015, e. d. rim 0.160.

Ca. 500–475. The crude execution, incision and added white suggest the Leafless Group. The iconography is obscure; the white-topped object could be a drinking horn as those on Hannestad 1989, cat. 358b, or the olpai Olbia O.1903.33 (Skudnova 1988, cat. 8) and Louvre CP 12711 (Fournier-Christol 1990, cat. 109), although it may be large in proportion to the head.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

246 Pls. 20, 43

Lower body sherd. In field, silhouette front legs of horse or donkey walking to right. At right, end of ivy tendril. Two fine bands below. By lower break, top of reserved band.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.027, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004.

Ca. 500–475. As e.g. Semeraro 1997a, 146, cat. 286 (Oria).

Upper City, 1975: Pit B.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

247 Pls. 20, 43

Lower body sherd. Lower edge glazed; part of silhouette palmette with framing tendril above.

Ht. 0.019, w. 0.017, th. 0.003.

Early fifth century.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 17, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

248 Pls. 20, 44

Mid-lower body sherd. Part of figured frieze with unidentified motif (perhaps a seated figure) which has a group of added red dots (textile pattern?) beneath double incision, and a white line along the lower edge; white dot at right break.

Flat ht. 0.023, w. 0.033, th. 0.003–4.

Ca. 500–470. Dated on the basis of the sketchy drawing and use of colour on this shape.

Upper City, 1975: Room 1, lower level.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Type A or B*Red-Figure***249** Pls. 20, 44

Lower body sherd, close to stem. On exterior, top of scale corselet and helmet with lower end of a long crest, porpax and shield rim. On interior, shield rim with small fringe on interior, left foot projecting beneath. Burnt.

Ht. 0.005, w. 0.025, depth 0.027.

Ca. 500–480. The scale corselet of the exterior figure is closely similar to that on the Sosias cup, Berlin F2278, *CVA* Berlin 2 (Germany 21), pl. 49.1. The position of the shield, seen from the interior, held back and slightly raised in relation to a shoulder angled forward and down, suggests that it belongs to a second figure. The alternative, a falling warrior within a combat group, as that on the cup by Douris, Louvre G115 (Buitron-Oliver 1995, cat. 119, pl. 71), seems less likely as it would imply a shield on the wrong shoulder. On the interior, the vertical element on the shield may be the lower part of a device. If, however, the fine lines are part of a grip and the shield is shown from the interior, then its low position in relation to the foot also suggests a collapsing warrior (as for example the composition of the combat between Achilles and Memnon on Gorgos' cup, *Agora* XXX, cat. 1407, pl. 130, but with the shield dropped even lower). I find no exact parallel for the details of the shields.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

250 Pls. 20, 44

Mid-body sherd plus *ca.* half of high swung roll handle. Handle glazed: upper half of encircled palmette on body.

Ht. total 0.045, ht. body 0.02, w. body 0.041, th. 0.003.

Late Archaic/Classical.

Upper City, 1983: Trench 18, layer 14.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

251 Pls. 20, 44

Lower body sherd with beginning of thickening to base. On exterior, legs of naked male (youth or satyr) striding to right (probably with head turned back left), most of both feet lost, knees detailed. At right, encircled palmette with separate tendril beside youth. On interior, lower legs of larger human figure with one complete foot, other cut off just behind toes. Burnt.

Ht. 0.02, w. 0.03, th. top 0.004, bottom 0.006.

Fourth century, second quarter-mid. Manner of the Q Painter. Close to e.g. Paul-Zinserling 1994, pls. 75.3, 76.1 (Manchester MW1 5943).

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Type B**252** Pls. 20, 44

Most of stem and part of footring (approximately half diameter, although only a small section preserves the complete profile and most of the outer edge is lost). Beginning of outturn to body at upper break. Upper surface of foot flat/slightly concave with a small reserved offset (*miltos*) close to stem. Lipped foot, torus reserved (*miltos*). Resting surface (chipped) reserved; high conical underside with reserved upper area (*miltos*). Burnt on exterior surface (not section), especially on footring and underside. Glaze fairly glossy. Incised T on underside.

Ht. 0.042, e. d. footring 0.105.

Ca. 500–460. Similar to Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 188, fig. 11, noting their parallel with *Agora* XII, cat. 432 (*ca.* 500–480) which has a groove rather than an offset on the foot. The thickness of the foot and the rounded profile imply an early date in the Type B sequence (*Agora* XII, 92 notes the early cat. 432 as close to Type C); for the evolution of the shape in figured and black-glaze, see Bloesch 1941 41–90. Type B is generally more popular with figured than with black-glaze decoration, but the decoration of **252** is lost.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Type C

Black-Glaze

253 Pls. 20, 44

Just over half foot and base. Low, wide stem with fillet (added red) at junction with small splayed foot. Torus rises slightly; torus and resting surface reserved. Underside rises steeply to broad flat base: underside interior glazed, centre base reserved, with two small (accidental) glaze spots and what appear to be modern scratches.

Ht. 0.025, d. base 0.084.

Ca. 525–480. The fillet is well preserved, but the rising of the top of the foot to the stem may indicate a relatively late, post 500, date: *Agora* XII, 91, see e.g. cat. 409.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

254 Pls. 20, 44

Foot; three joining sherds preserving profile from torus to rise to stem (centre base lost). Torus edge and resting surface reserved; glazed underside as preserved.

Ht. 0.016, d. base 0.09, th. outside edge 0.012.

Ca. 525–480. *Agora* XII, 91 (see e.g. cat. 401).

Upper City, 1996 excavations: Trench 33, near Pit 57.

Taman Museum, cat. 134.

255 Pls. 21, 44

Concave lip. Profile from rim to lower body, preserving right half of one high swung handle rising to rim level or very slightly above. Reserved underside of handle and handle panel (miltos wash).

Ht. (excl. handle) 0.037, e. d. rim 0.16, th. bottom edge 0.003–0.005.

500–480. The marked concavity of the lip, as e.g. *Agora* XII, cats. 407–413, suggests a relatively late date for a form otherwise attested from *ca.* 525 (*Agora* XII, 91–92).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, layer 4.

Taman Museum, cat. 135.

256 Pls. 21, 44

Mid-lower body sherd. Profile, and especially degree and extent of thickening close to the centre base, suggest a stemmed form.

Ht. 0.047, w. 0.106, th. base 0.012, top 0.002.

Late Archaic?

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, cleaning.

Taman Museum, cat. 139.

*Black-Figure***257** Pls. 21, 44

Near complete cup restored from many sherds; missing only small part of rim and chips of body. Handle panels reserved. Carefully made fillet between foot and stem in added red. Squat torus foot with reserved exterior face and resting surface; underside glazed, with sharply inset flat centre base (reserved). In tondo, gorgon head on reserved circular field; incision for rolls of hair, nose (horizontal) and mass of small diagonals for short beard converging on centre. Spot on forehead; eyebrows, eyes and ears painted on too. Added red on every other lock of hair (red over black) and on tongue; teeth added white (spots on black ground).

Ca. 525–500. Shape as e.g. *Agora* XII, cats. 401, 403. While the gorgon lacks exact parallels, it is loosely similar to CVA Tübingen 3 (Germany 47), cat. 7, pl. 32 and the two more carelessly drawn examples CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), cats. 5 (lacking incision and added colour) and 6 (lacking incision on nose and forehead spot, from Panticapaeum), pl. 64.

Ht. 0.073, d. rim 0.181, d. base 0.076.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 56, basement 7.

Taman Museum, cat. 54. *Taman Museum* KM 10070/1.

258 Pls. 21, 44

Complete base with centre of tondo. Squat foot with flattened/slightly concave torus. Reserved resting surface, centre base (two circles and a dot at centre). In tondo, much of gorgon (missing hair, lower part of mouth and tongue, and edges of face); three dots on forehead (third very faint), added white teeth, incision on eyeballs, below nose and centre mouth. Glaze uneven and fired deep pink (as is fabric).

Ht. 0.022, d. footring (resting surface) 0.077.

Ca. 525–500. As **257**. Torus profile as *Agora* XII, cat. 398.

Upper City, 1980: cleaning of floor 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

259 Pls. 21, 44

Tondo with small section of foot. Shallow relief fillet (added red) at top of stem. Reserved centre of underside. In tondo, part of gorgon head: hair represented by sections (one black and one added red preserved) marked off by short incisions; three dots on forehead; otherwise, only eyebrows and eyes (unincised) preserved.

Ht. 0.022, max. w. 0.044.

Ca. 525–500. As **257**.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, Pit 156.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

260 Pls. 21, 44

Lower body sherd with scar of base joint. Exterior glazed, edge of added red fillet around base neck to lower break. On interior, edge of tondo containing lower part of gorgon head (mouth with single incision across, ear and edge of fringed beard).

Ht. 0.012, w. 0.044, th. 0.004.

Ca. 525–500.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 3, Pit 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***261** Pls. 21, 45

Lower body sherd. Exterior glazed. On interior, reserved edge of tondo border; in tondo, foot and bent knee of crouching figure.

Ht. 0.006, w. 0.041, th. 0.004.

Ca. 525–475. The elongated foot with squared toe is reminiscent of the style of the Pithos Painter and his associates (ARV², 139–145; as e.g. Anderson 1954, cat. 59, pl. 6; Almagro-Gorbea 1983, 184, pl. 14a). While **261** is too fragmentary securely to assign to Type C, this shape is favoured by this Workshop.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

262 Pls. 21, 45

Rim and upper body sherd. Slightly thickened rim, concave lip, sharply offset inside. Narrow reserved band at top of body; below, part of symposium scene. At right, to left, top of head, wearing sakkos-like headdress with folds indicated, also hair around forehead; either a hetaira or an 'anacreontic' komast. At left, cup of same type held at an angle which suggests kottabos in progress. Three small holes from an ancient repair.

Ht. 0.040, w. 0.045, e. d. rim 0.21, th. lower break 0.003.

Ca. 520–480 or slightly later. External decoration on red-figure C cups is comparatively rare. Too little of the figure is preserved to determine its sex. The subject of kottabos as played by women is attested e.g. on the psykter Leningrad 644 (Euphronios), the hydria Munich 2421 (Phintias), and Munich 2636 of the Proto-Panaetian Group: Csapo and Miller 1991, pls. 98–100. It is equally possible that the headdress is a mitra worn by a male 'anacreontic' komast: with its three folds (more evenly spaced than many sakkoi, see eg. the tondo figure of the Epiktetan *Agora* XXX, cat. 1554, pl. 146), it does not conform in detail to the mitra types illustrated by Boardman and Kurtz 1986, figs. 29, 31, although it is closer to the near-eastern types shown in fig. 30 and could be a variant.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Type C or Stemless*Black-Glaze***263** Pls. 21, 45

Rim sherd. Pronounced thickening on exterior, gentle concavity beneath, marked carination to sharply inturned lower body.

Ht. 0.023, e. d. rim 0.18, th. 0.003.

Ca. 525–480. **263** is too fragmentary to determine whether it belongs to the generally popular Type C cup with concave lip or to a stemless (Class of Agora P10359).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 137.

264 Pl. 45

Rim sherd; outturned and slightly thickened on exterior, concavity below; at lower break sharp outturn by junction with body.

Ht. 0.016, e. d. rim 0.18, th. 0.003.

Ca. 525–480. As **263**.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 138.

*Black-Figure***265** Pls. 21, 45

Lower body sherd by incurve to base. Exterior glazed (unevenly fired to red). On interior, edge of tondo containing top of incised figure, probably beard of gorgon. Figure cuts fine framing band.

Ht. 0.004, w. 0.02, th. 0.004.

Ca. 525–500. Beard as e.g. *Agora XXIII*, cats. 1786, 1788, 1792, pl. 114.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Acrocup*Black-Glaze***266** Pls. 21, 45

Complete foot and stem to joint with body. Fillet around top of stem with reserved band above. Splayed foot with concave upper face and insloping torus; narrow, flat resting surface (reserved), steeply rising inner face with inner part of central cone reserved.

Ht. 0.042, d. base 0.062, w. centre stem 0.014.

Fifth century, second quarter. The rising foot implies a deep form (*Agora* XII, 96), as *Agora* XII, cats. 442–445 (443 being the closest parallel for **266**).

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, room 5, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

267 Pls. 21, 45

Acrocup? Complete foot and fragment of stem. Splayed foot with flat/slightly concave upper face and sharp junction with torus. Flat reserved resting surface; on interior, shallow incurve to deep narrow, reserved central cone. Surface lightly and partially burnt.

Ht. 0.022, d. base 0.061.

Fifth century, second quarter. Similar to Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 186, fig. 11. The upper break is too low to determine whether **267** has the characteristic stem moulding.

Upper City, 1978: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

268 Pls. 21, 45

Complete foot. Downsloping flat/slightly concave upper face with insloping torus. Resting surface reserved; above that, broad glaze band on underside, conical centre reserved (miltos). Surface burning on upper surface and outside edge of lower, going as far in as to discolour outer edge of miltos.

Ht. 0.018, d. base 0.071.

Fifth century, *ca.* second quarter. Insufficiently preserved to determine shape, although the profile strongly suggests an Acrocup as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 442.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 6.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

269 Pls. 21, 45

Acrocup? Two joining sherds forming a complete foot. Downsloping flat/slightly concave upper face with insloping torus (lower edge of which is flat/slightly concave). Resting surface reserved; above that, broad glaze band on underside, conical centre reserved (miltos). Light surface burning on upper and lower surfaces.

Ht. 0.016, d. base 0.07.

Fifth century, *ca.* second quarter. As **268** above, noting the slight lip on the foot.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

270 Pl. 45

Acrocup? Foot sherd; edge only. Spreading profile, slightly concave upper surface, continuous convex resting surface and underside rising to base. Exterior glazed, interior surface lost.

Ht. 0.01, e. d. 0.08.

Fifth century, second quarter. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 442.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 32, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 136.

Stemmed cup

Red-Figure

271 Pls. 21, 45

Body sherd. Part of two unidentifiable motifs (draped youths?) at left and right.

Ht. 0.018, w. 0.021, th. 0.004–5.

Classical.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 148.

Small stemless

Black-Glaze

272 Pls. 22, 45

Bevelled foot. Sherd of disc foot; slightly concave base. Foot face glazed with reserved band around lower part; base reserved with central circle.

Ht. 0.012, e. d. base *ca.* 0.06.

Ca. 500–480. *Agora* XII, 98–99, as e.g. cat. 447 but with a painted rather than scraped circle.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 140.

273 Pl. 45

Bevelled foot. Foot and base preserved to *ca.* two-thirds diameter. On underside, groove between resting surface and edge of base. Reserved resting surface, groove and centre base. Burnt (probably after firing) through section and on glaze.

Ht. 0.014, e. d. base 0.05.

500–480. Profile as *Agora* XII, cat. 446.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Large stemless*Black-Glaze***274** Pl. 45

Sherd of substantially made lipped ring foot; flat base sharply but shallowly inset (edge only preserved). Reserved outer face of foot, resting surface, base (as preserved).

Ht. 0.024, e. d. base 0.125, th. top 0.007.

Ca. 480–450. As e.g. *Agora* XII cat. 469 (*ca.* 480–470). A relatively early date in a type sequence which continues beyond the dates cited is implied by the reserved foot face and the substantial build.

Upper City, 1996: cleaning.

Taman Museum, cat. 141.

275 Pls. 22, 45

Sherd of ring foot (convex on exterior, straight/slightly convex on interior), preserving around one quarter of slightly convex base and small section of body wall. Reserved outer face of foot, resting surface, base (with central circle and dot).

E. d. base 0.065, ht. 0.028, th. wall top 0.004, bottom 0.006.

Fifth century, *ca.* mid-third quarter. See *Agora* XII, cat. 475 (base decoration, *ca.* 450), cat. 476 (foot profile, *ca.* 460–450). Foot form indicates plain rim type.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 142.

276 Pls. 22, 45

Base sherd (around one quarter preserved) with scar of footring (preserved area of junction with body reserved). On underside, surface of base edge only preserved. On interior, impressed decoration: a row of linked palmettes around a band of irregular ovules within guidelines. Exterior glaze blistered (poor firing).

Ht. 0.013, w. 0.055, th. 0.005.

Fifth century, late second quarter onwards. Not as thin-walled as **296** below.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

277 Pls. 22, 45

Lower body sherd to junction with footring. Exterior glaze stops just above break, probably indicating a reserved band at junction of body and footring. The tiny area of base preserved is reserved. On interior, band of impressed ovules overlapping closely spaced guidelines, with the base of one palmette preserved outside.

Ht. 0.008, flat w. 0.050, th. top 0.005 (elsewhere thicker but very irregular).

Fifth century, late second quarter onwards. As **276** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, 19.3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

278 Pls. 22, 45

Ca. one third footring and fragment of base and body wall. Footring has convex profile although uneven and damaged in manufacture. Reserved groove at junction of body and footring; reserved resting surface. On interior, impressed decoration (from outside in): pair of lines, two rows of degenerate ovules surrounding palmettes (top of one preserved in centre). On base, close to junction with footring, incised graffito HP, characters linked.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. base 0.08.

Fifth century, *ca.* third quarter. The combination of simple foot profile and interior decoration suggests a plain rimmed stemless cup, as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 476, rather than a cup-skyphos.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

279 Pls. 22, 45

Plain rim. Section of plain ring foot (both faces convex) with *ca.* one quarter base and fragment of body wall. Reserved junction of foot and body wall, resting surface. Base reserved with (moving inwards), broad glaze band, narrow reserved, narrow glazed, reserved central area with two central circles (the outer more dilute than the inner), very centre lost.

Ht. 0.017, e. d. base 0.08.

Fifth century, *ca.* mid-third quarter. Profile as *Agora* XII, cat. 476.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, Pit 53a.

Taman Museum, cat. 143.

280 Pls. 22, 45

Plain rim. Body restored in plaster (missing *ca.* one third rim). Two horizontal roll handles rising to rim (only one now attached at mid-body). Ring foot with small lip around the top edge. Reserved ring face (miltos on lip), resting surface (miltos), centre base (miltos) with small central circle and dot.

Ht. 0.08, d. rim 0.187, d. base 0.106.

Fifth century, third quarter. Large vessel with taller proportions and almost hemispherical profile closer to that of a cup-skyphos (although lacking the characteristic foot and base mouldings); closest to *Agora* XII, cat. 475, but with a smaller lip on the foot ring.

Context unknown.

Taman Museum, cat. 144. *Taman Museum* KM 10333/1.

281 Pls. 22, 46

Plain rim? Two joining lower body and base sherds. Reserved band at junction of body and footring; resting surface and base reserved; on base, broad outer circle, small circle at centre. On interior, impressed decoration of two friezes of horizontal palmettes set irregularly within guidelines, with linked upright palmettes between.

Ht. 0.026, w. 0.113, e. d. footring 0.090.

Fifth century, third quarter. Profile close to *Agora* XII, cat. 476. Continuous palmette bands, while not an especially common interior motif, are attested. Perhaps the closest parallel for **281** is *Agora* XII, cat. 511.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

282 Pls. 22, 46

Plain rim. Lower body and section of footring. On base, broad band with two flanking fine circles. On interior, impressed decoration of two superposed friezes of linked palmettes separated by a single line, with a frieze of ovules within guidelines near centre. Poorly executed: palmette volutes barely defined and placing of linking lines inconsistent.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. base 0.080, th. 0.004.

Fifth century, third quarter. Profile as *Agora* XII, cat. 476, but flattened on the interior face (see also **362** below).

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 13.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

283 Pls. 22, 46

Plain rim? Lower body and base sherd. Reserved band at junction with footring. Resting surface reserved; base reserved with outer broad circle and narrow central circle. On interior, ring of irregular ovules within guidelines. Two widely spaced palmettes outside. Interior glaze dull red-brown.

Ht. 0.019, e. d. footring 0.09, th. 0.005.

Ca. 430. See **281** above.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

284 Pls. 22, 46

Delicate class. Just under half footring and small section of lower body. Reserved band on body wall over foot with small jog. Lipped foot. Underside reserved, with two bands and central circles and dot. On interior, impressed decoration (from outside inwards), ovules within guidelines (irregularly executed, guidelines occasionally vanish); linked palmettes; ovules within guidelines.

Ht. 0.022, d. base 0.072, th. 0.005.

Fifth century, *ca.* mid-third quarter. Profile as *Agora* XII, cat. 483, foot clearly lipped rather than grooved; decorative scheme as e.g. small stemless cat. 466 or bol-sal cat. 537 (palmettes not linked).

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

285 Pls. 22, 46

Delicate class. Sherd from mid-body to base, preserving *ca.* one quarter footring. Reserved shallow groove (intentional red) over foot; foot has neck above a lower member with a groove in the outer face. Resting surface glazed; reserved band at outer edge of base and reserved section at centre of underside to break, both with intentional red. On interior, linked palmettes; linking lines join upper guideline of lost inner motif.

Ht. 0.04, e. d. base 0.09, th. top 0.003.

Fifth century, *ca.* third quarter. See *Agora* XII, cat. 483 for profile and base.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

286 Pls. 23, 46

Delicate class. Approximately half base and footring. High foot with grooved torus. Base reserved with two bands (inner with edging line), central small circle and dot. On interior, impressed decoration (from outside inwards): neat ovules set regularly within guidelines; palmettes (linked? surface badly damaged); lightly impressed central circle.

Ht. 0.019, e. d. base 0.070.

Fifth century, *ca.* third quarter. Profile closest to *Agora* XII, cat. 483, although torus clearly grooved rather than lipped.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

287 Pls. 23, 46

Delicate class. Sherd comprising *ca.* one quarter base and footring. Moulded ring foot with near central groove and neck. Base reserved with one complete band and part of a second at the inner break. On interior, impressed decoration in preserved central area: two irregularly spaced palmettes are probably part of a row surrounding a circle of ovules on a ground line.

Ht. 0.018, e. d. base 0.070, th. centre base 0.003.

Fifth century, third quarter. Profile as *Agora* XII, cat. 487.

South City, 1981: Trench 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

288 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Much of base and small part of footring. Footring deeply grooved with jog to neck. On base, irregular band, line, at centre two circles and a dot. On interior, impressed ovules projecting from narrow guidelines around a frieze of six small palmettes on a lightly impressed circle. Lightly burnt (probably in kiln) on one face and underside; glaze on much of interior and exterior base brown.

Ht. 0.024, e. d. base 0.060, th. wall 0.005.

Fifth century, third quarter? Loosely similar to **287** above.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

289 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Sherd comprising *ca.* one-third footring and section of lower body. Footring grooved. Very slight groove with reserved band at base of wall over foot. On underside added red band at junction of footring and base. On interior, small, irregular and light circular depressions inconsistently set within guidelines surround the tip of a palmette.

Ht. 0.031, e. d. base 0.07, th. wall 0.004.

Fifth century, second half (perhaps last quarter). Foot profile closest to *Agora* XII, cat. 483, although clearly grooved and body wall rises more steeply; interior decoration as cat. 516 (*ca.* 400–375).

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

290 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Sherd comprising *ca.* one-third footring and section of lower body. Footring grooved. Shallow reserved groove at base of body wall over foot. Resting surface reserved (*miltos*). Underside reserved (*miltos*) with irregular band around footring and further band around outside of base. On interior, impressed ovules, irregular in size and often projecting beyond very lightly impressed guidelines.

Ht. 0.035, e. d. footring 0.07, th. body 0.004.

Fifth century, second half (perhaps last quarter). Very similar in profile to **289**, also to **285** although smaller.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

291 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Two non-joining sherds from the base, lower body, and upper edge of foot (footring lost). Reserved groove on body over foot, then two horizontal ribs beneath vertical ribbing which continues to the upper break. Intentional red band at the base edge, base otherwise glazed. On interior (from centre outwards), rays (11 preserved, probably *ca.* 16+ originally, tips rarely meet), then grouped, irregularly spaced

diagonal lines with a pair of incised lines above and below; inside the outer lines, a continuous row of irregularly spaced arcs (as if the top of tongues, although not aligned with the diagonal bands and continuing between groups). Execution poor.

Ht. 0.013, max. w. 0.051 (A), 0.045 (B), e. d. foot 0.055.

Ca. 420 or slightly later. The ribbing would suggest a date of *ca.* 430–420, but the degeneracy of the interior decoration would imply that **291** is relatively late. On the ribbed version of the stemless cup, see *Agora* XII, 104 (noting the necessity of a concave lip on this type), e.g. cats. 493, 495 (Miller 1993, pl. 38.3); Miller 1993, pl. 38.4 (Kerameikos HS 165); Gill 1986a, 122 noting its limited distribution. See also *Beazley Gifts*, cat. 415; further examples here quoted from Beazley's notes include Kobylina 1951b, 241, fig. 2.4 from Grave 7 in the east cemetery at Phanagoria. The published photograph of this piece rather suggests the closely related heavy-walled cup-skyphos (as *Agora* XII, cat. 612), although no profile is given; there is no indication that Beazley's identification is based on autopsy.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

292 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Lower body sherd rising from junction with foot. On exterior, three grooves producing two horizontal ribs just below upper break; reserved band just above junction with foot. On interior (from centre outwards): frieze of tongues; two incised lines into which arcs of tongues cut; frieze of tongues, two incised lines also cut by arcs, and the very edge of a further unidentified motif preserved at the outer edge of the sherd.

Ht. 0.007, w. 0.025, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, last quarter. Lightly built. *Agora* XII, 104, cat. 494 has a group of two grooves on the lower body which Sparkes and Talcott suggest may indicate intent to give the vessel a ribbed wall, as **291**. **292** would thus most likely be a concave-lipped type, as e.g. *Beazley Gifts*, cat. 414 from the Stara Zagora grave. Interior scheme akin to *Agora* XII, cat. 498.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 145.

293 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Sherd from lower body with scar of lost foot. On exterior, raised ring on either side of foot. On interior, impressed decoration (from centre outwards): palmettes (tip of one only preserved); frieze of tongues.

Ht. 0.006, w. 0.036, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, last quarter. Interior scheme akin to *Agora* XII, cats. 499, 502. Lightly built.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, Pit 50.

Taman Museum, cat. 146.

294 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Base sherd with scar of lost foot. On exterior, groove by outside edge of foot, base slightly inset by shallow reserved groove (edge only preserved). On interior, impressed decoration; frieze of degenerate tongues (irregularly positioned arcs of differing sizes 'linked' by strokes which bear no consistent relationship to them) between two pairs of shallow lines.

Ht. 0.003, w. 0.026, th. 0.0025.

Fifth century last quarter. See *Agora* XII, cat. 498 for comparable execution of motif, cat. 500 for base form. Lightly built.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 147.

295 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Sherd of footring with section of base. Moulded ring foot; resting surface glazed. Underside reserved with thick and thin circle at outer edge, and thin and thicker close to centre (centre base lost). On interior (from outside inwards), band of ovules within guidelines (poorly executed and frequently overrunning lines), one palmette presumably from a linked frieze, outer edge of a further ovule band with outer guideline preserved.

Ht. 0.016, w. 0.040, e. d. foot 0.065, th. wall 0.004.

Fifth century, last quarter. Foot profile as *Agora* XII, e.g. cats. 494, 496. For decorative scheme, see **296** below. Light build.

South City, 1982: Trench 34.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

296 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Sherd from lower body preserving edge of base and upper edge of foot. Reserved band over slight groove on base of wall. On interior (from outside inwards): impressed ovules within enclosing lines (triple on outside, single on inside); row of linked palmettes (one complete plus the tip of a second preserved) the linking lines of which abut the outer guidelines of a central circle of ovules (here ovules cut both inner and outer guidelines). Underside reserved with (from outside inwards), broad band, narrow band, three circles to centre.

Ht. 0.01, w. 0.046, th. body 0.003.

Fifth century, second half? **296** is insufficiently preserved to date precisely. The light build, as e.g. *Agora* XII, cats. 523, 525, fig. 5, implies a relatively late date, although the decoration has not degenerated into the palmette plus roulette scheme more common on fourth century pieces. Pattern akin to *Olynthus* V, cat. 566.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

297 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Sherd of base with sheered edge of footring. Reserved groove at base of wall. Underside reserved with broad and narrow band, the edge only of some form of central circle. On interior, impressed linked palmettes surround a band of ovules within guidelines (inner line at least double).

Ht. 0.012, w. 0.058.

Fifth century, second half? See **296** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

298 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class. Sherd of base and lower body with upper edge of footring. Reserved groove at base of wall; base reserved with edge of band at inner break. On interior, impressed decoration of a band of ovules within guidelines surrounding palmettes (two preserved).

Ht. 0.011, w. 0.065, th. top 0.002.

Fifth century, second half? See **296** above. Decoration as **300** below.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

299 Pls. 23, 47

Delicate class? Base sherd. Underside reserved, with one broad and two narrow bands, and pair of small circles by (lost) centre. On interior, impressed decoration (from outside inwards): band of horizontal palmettes with guidelines; frieze of vertical linked palmettes which abut a band of horizontal palmettes (outer guideline only preserved).

Ht. 0.005, w. 0.042.

Fifth century, second half. Although few diagnostic traits are preserved, the scale of **299** suggests a large stemless rather than a Rheneia cup.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

300 Pls. 24, 47

Deep. Mid-body to base; foot broken off just below beginning of neck, with nothing below preserved. At top break on exterior, beginning of thickening towards handle. Narrow reserved groove at base of wall. On interior, impressed decoration of a band of rudimentary ovules within guidelines surrounding palmettes (one preserved).

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.072, th. 0.003.

Fifth century, third or fourth quarter. *Agora* XII, 101, closest to cat. 467.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***301** Pls. 24, 48

Stemless. Section of tondo with scar of footring. Reserved groove around junction of underside and base; at centre base, edge of reserved circle(?). On interior, right side of tondo surrounded by reserved band and edge of pattern band at break (sections of chequerboard alternating with meander). In tondo, flying Eros: arms only preserved, reaching forward and tossing added white balls. Beneath, altar with volute at left, dotted fillet around. Surface badly scarred.

Ht. 0.012, max. w. 0.07, max. depth 0.032.

Fifth century, *ca.* third quarter. The form of the altar is close (but not absolutely identical) to that on the Washing Painter's pelike Hermitage St1718 (Peredolskaya 1967, 194, cat. 226, pl. 153.3, *ca.* 440), and his stemless cup Louvre CP11943 (ARV², 1133.199), where the Eros carries a box. The hand of the Eros is also reminiscent of the style of this painter (see also Palaiokrassa 1991, Ka 63, pl. 36, circle of the Meidias Painter). This is, however, common iconography, and **301** is insufficiently preserved to attribute. The association between Eros and an altar is widely paralleled on a number of vase forms through the fifth century. See e.g.: ARV², 1130.134 (Vienna 632, pelike, Washing Painter); CVA Frankfurt 2 (Germany 30), Li 540, pl. 70.3 (pelike, Washing Painter, *ca.* 430); CVA Firenze 4 (Italy 38), cat. 4219, pl. 127 (kylix tondo, school of Makron, *ca.* 470). Equally, the young Eros playing with a ball or balls occurs on e.g. CVA Ostschweiz Ticino (Switzerland 5), Winterthur 295, Pl. 18.9, 10 (squat lekythos, *ca.* 430–420). The combination of the two iconographical elements, while unsurprising, lacks parallels.

Upper City, 1983: Trench 18, layer 15, Pit 18.7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

302 Pls. 24, 48

Lower body sherd preserving groove over foot. Palmette.

Ht 0.019, w. 0.043, th. 0.003.

Fourth century, first or second quarter.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

303 Pls. 24, 48

Stemless cup or cup-skyphos. Sherd of lower body with fragment of base (footring lost). On exterior, base of palmette plus unidentified motif. On interior, incised groove (ancient?) plus irregular frieze of ovules with guidelines below.

Ht. 0.014, w. 0.026, th. top 0.005.

Fourth century, first or second quarter. As *CVA Ensérune 2* (France 37), S228, pl. 33 (Tomb 8, *ca.* 400–375).

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Calyx Cup

West Slope

304 Pls. 24, 48

Shoulder sherd. Black-glaze with, on exterior, West Slope decoration of two panels of concentric rectangles in white with an incised line above. The sherd is too fragmentary to determine whether the rectangles were combined with chequerboard (as is most usual). Above, a vertical white dash.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.018, th. 0.003.

Ca. 270. As *Agora XXIX*, cats. 123, 124. **304** must belong at the end of the shape sequence in view of the rectangular motif, which is first used in Athens *ca.* 270 (*Agora XXIX*, 64–65, on shape see 91–92).

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Cup, miscellaneous.

Black-Figure

305 Pl. 48

Lower body sherd. Top edge reserved; below, added red band, two dilute bands; glazed to lower break. Both faces pitted.

Ht. *ca.* 0.006.

Late Archaic. As **203**.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 9, layer 2.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

306 Pls. 24, 48

Lower body sherd. Two feet of standing figure at right; at left, bent rear leg of (male) figure striding to left; glazed below.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.041, th. 0.003–4.

Late Archaic. Perhaps Type A.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 2, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

307 Pl. 48

Lower body sherd; close to handle attachment at right break. Glazed; top edge reserved with small part of unidentified motif on top left.

Ht. 0.019, w. 0.046, th. 0.003–4.

Late Archaic.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 3, room 7.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

308 Pl. 48

Lower body sherd. Glazed with one reserved band (*ca.* 0.005 wide) close to upper edge.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.021, th. 0.003.

Late Archaic?

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 16, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Unknown***309** Pl. 48

Lower body sherd. Reserved band across centre.

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.039, th. 0.003–4.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

310 Pl. 48

Lower body sherd. Upper edge reserved; two bands beneath; glazed below.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.023, th. 0.005.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, under paved area 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

311 Pl. 48

Lower body sherd. Reserved with one narrow band across the middle.

Ht. 0.019, w. 0.038, th. 0.004.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 15, lower.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Kantharos*Black-Glaze***312** Pl. 24

Lower part of square section handle with adjoining body wall.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.032, w. handle end 0.011.

Fourth century, second quarter onwards.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 5.

Taman Museum, cat. 175.

313 Pl. 24

Handle section from kantharos with knotted handle; round section handle preserving angled return band of knot. Probably Attic: glaze has a brownish-grey tone, is thin in places and sometimes has a metallic sheen.

Ht. 0.033, sn. handle 0.006.

Ca. 325–280. *Agora* XII, 123, cats. 715–717; *Agora* XXIX, 89–90, cats. 94–100, fig. 9, pl. 10.

Upper City, 1996: cleaning.

Taman Museum, cat. 176.

*Saint-Valentin***314** Pls. 24, 48

Sessile. Rim-upper body sherd preserving right edge of panel with thickening of handle attachment at rim. On rim, band of black tongues. Beneath, two vertical panels; at right, added white ivy on black ground. At left, reserved panel with four irregularly spaced diagonal lines in dilute glaze. Reserved band below to break. Handle zone and interior glazed.

Ht. 0.041, e. d. rim 0.0115, th. 0.003 (thickening at rim).

End fifth-early fourth century, Howard and Johnston 1954, Group VII, 194–195, 205–206; as *CVA* Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 1 (Austria 1), cat. 4, pl. 46; see also *Agora* XXX, cats. 1235, 1236.

Upper City, 1983: Trench 18, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Kantharos or Cup-Kantharos

Black-Glaze

315 Pl. 48

Lower body sherd with small part of handle-stump. On interior, band of stitched rouletting. Shallow double groove on edge of upcurve of body.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.039, th. 0.004.

Ca. 390–375. Dated by the form of the rouletting: as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 651.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

316 Pls. 24, 48

Foot sherd with fragment of interior centre base (*ca.* one-fifth diameter). Torus (outer face lost), with deep reserved groove above forming jog to small second moulding. Outturn of body wall preserved at upper break. Continuous concavity beneath. Resting surface reserved; glazed beneath.

Ht. 0.026.

Fourth century, second quarter onwards. Widely paralleled, as e.g. *Agora* XXIX, cat. 1 (= *Agora* XII, cat. 710), *ca.* 325, with the addition of the reserved foot groove, noting that the low stem, growing organically out of the foot, is characteristic of the fourth century plain-rimmed shape.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 170.

317 Pls. 24, 48

Complete foot and section of lower body. Ridge at base of body wall with narrow reserved band above. Foot in three degrees; resting surface reserved. Concave underside with central nipple. On interior, one row of lightly impressed rouletting partially preserved at outer breaks; in centre, four impressed palmettes (tall and thin, with volutes, close to *Agora* XII, cat. 611, pl. 55), two opposite each other (one rolled right to left with decreasing pressure so that the left side is lost) and the third and fourth overlapping.

Ht. 0.028, w. 0.067, th. top 0.005.

Fourth century, second–third quarter. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 684. Since the three-stepped foot is typical of the cup-kantharos with squat rim or kantharos with rotelle handles (*Agora* XII, 120–121, 123, cats. 681–685, 719), noting only forms commonly decorated on the interior), it may be that **317** should be assigned to one of these shapes, although since only the foot is preserved and these shapes are relatively uncommon, this must remain tentative. See also *Taman Museum*, cat. 115 from the Belii Khutor tumulus.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

318 Pls. 24, 48

Complete foot and section of lower body. Ridge at base of body wall with narrow reserved band above. Foot in three degrees; resting surface reserved (lower edge of glaze extends up onto outer edge of footring). On interior, two rows of lightly impressed rouletting partially preserved at outer breaks; in centre, four impressed palmettes (three complete plus base of a fourth) arranged irregularly (in two cases impression partial, missing much of left side).

Ht. 0.029, w. 0.064, th. top 0.005.

Fourth century, second-third quarter. See **317**.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

319 Pls. 25, 48

Complete foot (bar chips) and lower edge of body. Foot in three degrees (irregularly constructed); deep groove in (reserved) resting surface; concave underside with central nipple (that the outer edge is reserved probably reflects careless glazing around the resting surface). On interior, four palmettes irregularly disposed around the centre.

Ht. 0.022, max. w. body 0.040, d. foot 0.048.

Fourth century, second-third quarter. See **317**. The form of palmette and the deep, seal-like impressions are paralleled on *Agora* XII, cat. 517 (*ca.* 375).

South City, 1982: Trench 34, trench wall.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

320 Pls. 25, 48

Sherd of foot and base. Foot in three degrees (irregularly constructed); concave underside with central nipple. On interior, four impressed palmettes, irregularly disposed about the centre base and cutting a central circle, within two rows of shallow rouletting.

Ht. 0.030, w. body 0.058, d. base 0.045.

Fourth century, second-third quarter. See **319** above.

South City, 1982: Trench 34, layer 8.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

321 Pls. 25, 49

Foot; form suggests kantharos with squat rim. Small part of centre base and footring. Three-stepped foot, concave beneath with edge of what is probably central nipple. Irregular reserved groove in resting surface. Most of impressed palmette on interior.

E. d. base 0.06.

Fourth century, second or third quarter. See **318** above. As *Agora* XII, cat. 681 (*ca.* 375–350). The internal decoration implies a date before *ca.* 325 (*Agora* XXIX, 37).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, layer 2.

Taman Museum, cat. 166.

322 Pls. 25, 49

Sherd of base/lower body with fragment of foot. Underside concave with central nipple. On interior, two circles of rouletting (the outer of which exists for only *ca.* half circumference) surround four palmettes irregularly spaced around the centre.

Ht. 0.018, w. 0.066, ext. d. foot as preserved 0.031, th. top 0.003.

Fourth century, second or third quarter. **322** is too fragmentary to date other than generally, by the interior decoration (see **321** above).

South City, 1982: Trench 35, layer 8.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

323 Pls. 25, 49

Foot preserving just under one-third diameter to junction with body wall. Torus separated from smaller upper moulding by a reserved groove. Continuous concavity beneath to centre break. Resting surface reserved with small, shallow groove.

Ht. 0.023, e. d. base 0.055.

Fourth century, probably second half. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 676 (= *Agora* XXIX, cat. 52, cup-kantharos *ca.* 325).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 172.

324 Pls. 25, 49

Moulded rim. Sherd of rim and concave neck preserved to full height; edge of joint with body preserved at lower break.

Ht. 0.044, e. d. rim 0.11, th. body 0.003.

Fourth century, most probably second or third quarter. For chronology, see *Agora* XXIX, 83, 85, 87.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, layer 3.

Taman Museum, cat. 171.

325 Pls. 25, 49

Moulded rim. Three joining sherds of rim and concave neck (*ca.* half diameter preserved). An irregularly scratched I/V of variable depth is probably not ancient.

Ht. 0.045, d. rim 0.110, th. lower break 0.003.

Fourth century, most probably second or third quarter. See **324** above.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

326 Pl. 49

Moulded rim. Rim sherd with section of concave neck.

Ht. 0.026, e. d. rim 0.090.

Fourth century, most probably second or third quarter. See **324** above.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

327 Pls. 25, 49

Moulded rim. Rim sherd with section of slightly concave neck preserved almost to full depth (start of outcurve at lower break). Parts of section show light burning probably in firing.

Ht. 0.035, e. d. rim 0.100, th. lower break 0.003.

Fourth century, most probably second or third quarter. See **324** above.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

328 Pls. 25, 49

Moulded rim. Sherd preserving around one quarter diameter of rim plus section of concave neck almost to full depth, with start of outcurve at lower break. Rim slightly undercut at base. Glaze dull on exterior and much worn (rim edge chipped); some burning during firing on lower neck section.

Ht. 0.033, e. d. rim 0.10.

Fourth century, most probably second or third quarter. See **324** above.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

329 Pls. 25, 49

Near complete foot, missing small fragment of outer edge. Two stage profile with moulding above torus. Small flat resting surface then steeply conical beneath. Lower edge of slim stem preserved.

Ht. 0.021, d. base 0.039.

Late fourth or early third century. There are a variety of general parallels for this profile among kantharoi and cup-kantharoi, although the absence of a groove in the resting surface and the near-conical base interior of **329** are unusual: see e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 676 (= *Agora* XXIX, cat. 52) *ca.* 325; *Agora* XII, cat. 717 (= *Agora* XXIX, cat. 100), *ca.* 300–280; *Agora* XXIX, cat. 11. *ca.* 310–300, and cat. 16, *ca.* 275.

Upper City, 1996: cleaning.

Taman Museum, cat. 173.

330 Pl. 49

Two joining sherds of plain, outturned lip. Glazed on both surfaces, very unevenly fired.

Ht. 0.024, e. d. rim 0.10, th. 0.002.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 174.

Cup-Kantharos

Black-Glaze

331 Pls. 25, 49

Rim sherd of globular cup-kantharos or cup-skyphos. Deep, thickened rim joins slightly concave neck which is beginning to curve out at lower break.

Ht. 0.022, e. d. rim 0.095, th. 0.004.

Ca. 375–350. Probably a cup-kantharos as *Agora* XII, cats. 667, 668 rather than a cup-skyphos as *Agora* XII, cat. 622 (where the lip is offset inside).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 165.

332 Pls. 25, 49

Squat rim type. Restored body from rim to just above foot. Complete rim, stumps of both high swung handles. Foot missing. Reserved groove on lower body just above junction with foot. On interior, row of rouletting preserved on base, but centre base missing (presumably originally decorated with palmettes).

Ht. 0.054, d. rim 0.095.

Fourth century, second or probably third quarter. As *Agora* XII, cat. 684, *ca.* 340–325.

Upper city 1971: Central Trench, Trench 14, Pit B.

Taman Museum, cat. 167.

333 Pls. 25, 49

Sherd preserving profile from junction with concave neck to just above foot (reserved groove on body over foot). Strongly curving, squat profile, with both joints of a steeply rising roll handle (roots set close together). On interior, tip of one stamped palmette surrounded by two rows of rouletting, the outer of which becomes shallow and disappears half way across. Glaze thick and dull; handle poorly finished.

Body ht. 0.035, ht. with handle 0.048, w. 0.085, th. top 0.004.

Fourth century, second or third quarter. The squat proportions, setting of the handles and likely breadth of the foot suggest a date later than the introduction of the shape in the second quarter of the fourth century, but before *ca.* 325, when the increasing depth of this and related shapes rendered such decoration impractical: see *Agora* XII, 117–120 for shape development and cats. 663, 657 (*ca.* 350–325) for profile. Also *Agora* XXIX, 36, noting that only cats. 52 (plain rim, *ca.* 325) and 79 (moulded rim, *ca.* 350–335), the profiles of which are close to that of **333**, have such decoration.

Upper City, 1977: Area 9, layer 20.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

334 Pls. 25, 49

Mid-body sherd with lower joint of one high-swung roll handle.

Ht. 0.027, w. 0.055.

Fourth century, perhaps mid-third quarter. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 676, *ca.* 325.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 168.

335 Pl. 49

Mid-body sherd with small part of handle-stump.

Ht. 0.015, w. 0.030, th. top 0.003, bottom 0.004.

Fourth century, probably second or third quarter. Similar to **334** but somewhat more squat, close to e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 672.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

336 Pl. 7

Handle; right side plus start of return angle at end.

Flat length 0.072.

Fourth century. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cats. 677, 683, but insufficiently preserved to date precisely.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

337 Pls. 26, 49

Foot, just over half diameter preserved. Ridge with groove at outer edge of top surface. Foot has profiled edge with three mouldings (two narrow ones flanking a wide central one) separated by two grooves decorated in added red. Elaborate underside with (from centre outwards): deep conical centre; reserved ridge with central groove; glazed concave band; reserved ridge with central groove; glazed concave band and reserved resting surface with central groove.

Ht. 0.019, d. base 0.06.

Early third century. Similar to the cup-kantharos with tall stem, *Agora* XXIX, cat. 92, *ca.* 300–260(?).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 169.

Cup, Kantharos etc.*Black-Glaze***338** Pl. 7

Section of high-swung handle from cup or kantharos. Right side of handle from joint with body wall to start inturn at end.

Flat length 0.053, ht. 0.045.

Fourth century?

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

339 Pl. 49

Handle section. Most of one side with edge of steeply angled turn.

Flat length 0.047.

Fourth century?

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

340 Pl. 49

Handle. Approximately half of one side of rising roll handle with angled turn at break.

Flat length 0.034.

Fourth century?

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

341 Pl. 7

Section of round handle. Most of one side with start of incurve at end.

Flat length 0.053.

Classical.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

6. SMALL OPEN VESSELS

One-handler and Bowl*Black-Glaze***342** Pl. 49

Rim sherd; groove on base on exterior. Profile thickens markedly on both sides at lower break. Entirely glazed.

Ht. 0.012, e. d. rim 0.19.

Late Archaic? Concave offset lip akin to that of the much smaller stemmed dish, as *Agora* XII, cats. 986–989. **342** presumably belongs to a related but larger form of dish or bowl.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, layer 3.

Taman Museum, cat. 177.

343 Pls. 26, 50

One-handler. Rim sherd with left half of horizontal roll handle set at rim level (horse-shoe, rising slightly above rim). Squared rim with incurving body wall. Underside of handle and handle panel reserved.

Ht. 0.024, e. d. rim (interior edge) 0.16, th. wall 0.004.

Fifth century, post-480. Shape as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 749 (450–425).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, Pit 68.

Taman Museum, cat. 178.

344 Pl. 50

One-handler. Sherd preserving body profile from rim to incurve to base. Insloping rim with flat top; sharply incurving wall. Entirely glazed.

Ht. 0.023, e. d. rim 0.10, th. bottom 0.005.

Ca. 460–440. Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 20, cat. 211.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 4.

Taman Museum, cat. 179.

345 Pl. 50

Rim sherd. Flat rim, slightly flaring.

Ht. 0.018, e. d. rim *ca.* 0.10.

Ca. 375–350. As *Agora* XII, cat. 759.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

346 Pls. 26, 50

One-handler or deep bowl. *Ca.* half base, preserving complete profile of ring foot profile and lower edge of body wall. Reserved band on body wall immediately over foot. Resting surface grooved, reserved. Base inset with strongly convex profile and central nipple. Glaze unevenly fired on torus and base; base mostly fired red with black edges and centre.

Ht. 0.014, d. base 0.045.

Fourth century? Profile similar to the deep one-handler *Agora* XII, cat. 769. Although there are few criteria with which to date **346**, the wholly glazed underside and grooved resting surface may suggest a fourth rather than a fifth century date.

Upper City, 1971: Trench 4, layer 30.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

347 Pl. 26

One-handler or bowl with outturned rim. Rim sherd; rim sharply outturned with convex underside and slightly convex upper face. Entirely glazed.

Ht. 0.018, e. d. rim 0.18.

Mid fifth century onwards. The rim overhangs only slightly on the interior (less so than the deeper Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 210) and is perhaps closer to that of **350** below.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 3.

Taman Museum, cat. 180.

348 Pls. 26, 50

Outturned rim. Sherd preserving rim to lower body; small rolled rim sharply offset with slight groove beneath, sharply incurving body. On interior, most of two stamped palmettes preserved.

Ht. 0.041, w. 0.071, e. d. rim 0.130, th. below rim 0.0025, at lower break 0.004.

Late fifth century–first quarter fourth. Profile as e.g. *Agora* XII, cats. 802, 803.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layers 9, 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

349 Pls. 26, 50

Outturned rim? Body sherd from below rim (thickening of outturn just discernible) to inturn of base. On interior, linked palmettes (part of three preserved).

Ht. 0.014, w. 0.030, th. top 0.0035, bottom 0.004.

Late fifth century–first quarter fourth. Profile shallow, but insufficiently preserved for comparison.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

350 Pls. 26, 50

Outturned rim. Rim sherd; sharply outturned rim with slightly convex top, and one small shallow and one deep wide reserved groove immediately beneath; shallow profile.

Ht. 0.017, e. d. rim 0.19.

Fifth century, third quarter onwards. As Ramage 1997, Att 399 (reserved band not groove), and *Agora* XII, cat. 789 (*ca.* 420); although the latter in particular is a close parallel, the shape remains popular through the fourth century and beyond (*Agora* XII, 128–130; *Agora* XXIX, 156–158) and **350** is too fragmentary to place more precisely within the sequence.

Upper City, 1996 excavations: Trench 33, Pit 57.

Taman Museum, cat. 181.

351 Pls. 26, 50

Outturned rim. Two non-joining sherds preserving sharply angled profile, from rim though near-vertical upper body to incurve of lower body (the preserved profile of which is slightly convex/near flat). Interior undecorated as preserved, but centre base lost.

Ht. 0.003, e. d. rim 0.12.

Fourth century, first half (*ca.* 380). As *Agora* XII, cat. 802.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

352 Pls. 26, 50

Outturned rim. Rim sherd. Entirely glazed.

Ht. 0.023, e. d. rim 0.14, th. 0.003.

Late fourth century? As *Agora* XII, cat. 808 (= *Agora* XXIX, cat. 870), *ca.* 310, but see **350** above.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, layer 5.

Taman Museum, cat. 183.

353 Pls. 26, 50

Outturned rim. Rim sherd. Small outturned triangular rim, straight insloping sides. Interior and exterior glazed.

Ht. 0.019, e. d. rim 0.17, th. 0.004.

Late fourth century? As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 806 (*cf.* *Agora* XXIX, cat. 866, *ca.* 325), but see **350** above.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 32, layer 5.

Taman Museum, cat. 184.

354 Pls. 26, 50

Foot and base sherd. Low ring foot with central concavity around torus. Lower edge of foot and resting surface very worn; underside of foot reserved with miltois wash; base inset, red. Marked dip in interior base. On interior, a group of three fine ridges; **354** is too fragmentary to determine whether three raised dots at the inner break are part of a further motif.

Ht. 0.008, e. d. base 0.08.

Fourth century? While **354** lacks exact parallels, it may be an elaborate and later variant on the shallow bowl with convex-concave profile, akin to *Agora* XII, cat. 823 (*ca.* 325) but with a more marked foot.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, layer 3.

Taman Museum, cat. 185.

Phiale/Bowl*Black-Glaze***355** Pls. 27, 50

Lower body sherd. Shallow form; incurve to lip at top edge. Base preserved to near centre (without a boss). Deep horizontal ribbing on exterior (ribs narrow and pointed).

Ht. 0.04, w. 0.073, th. top 0.006, mid body 0.004, approaching centre base 0.007.

Ca. 500–480. Miller 1993, 118–120, monochrome but without omphalos (upper body profile lost). Comparable monochrome examples (but with less pointed ribs) include: *Alt-Ägina* II.3, cat. 255, pl. 23 (*ca.* 500); Weinberg 1961, pl. 91a (Geroulanos collection); Semeraro 1997a, cats. 663, 664 (Oria); Ramage 1997, Att 393, 394 (the latter debatably Ionian). Miller 1993, pl. 20.2 (Hermitage O.1913.75, from Olbia, with a deposition date in the second quarter of the fifth century), although similar and black-glazed on the exterior, is listed among her bichrome group. Gill 1986a, 124–125, see especially p. 124 note 1 on the more limited distribution of entirely black examples (Gill's Olbia Class II).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 186.

Echinus bowl (small, broad base)*Black-Glaze***356** Pl. 50

Footed. Sherd preserving complete body profile (strongly convex, squat profile) from incurving rim to just over foot (the downturn of the foot junction is preserved at the lower break). Reserved groove over foot. Glaze largely lost over rim.

Ht. 0.015, e. d. rim 0.095.

Ca. 325–275. *Agora XXIX*, 165, as e.g. cats. 1050–1057. Although the diagnostic foot is lost, the width implied by the position of the foot joint, as well as the splayed wall profile and rim diameter, suggest this shape rather than a footed saltcellar. The thickness of the wall suggests that **356** is not of the latest type.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Echinus bowl (saltcellar)

Black-Glaze

357

Complete shallow bowl. Interior decorated with (from centre outwards) four radiating palmettes, ovules within framing bands, seven palmettes with their bases cutting into the ovule.

Ht. 0.035, d. rim 0.09.

Fourth century, end first quarter (or later?). Profile as *Agora XII*, cat. 828 (*ca.* 375–350), but elaborate decoration similar to *Agora XII*, cat. 826 (where outside palmettes linked, *ca.* 400–380).

Cemetery: context unknown (grave 1).

Taman Museum, cat. 60. *Taman Museum* KM-6460/2.

358 Pl. 50

Footed. Bowl sherd (*ca.* quarter preserved); complete profile from rim to foot joint. Entirely glazed.

Ht. 0.028, e. d. rim 0.08.

Fourth century. Profile closest to *Agora XII*, cats. 946, 947 (*ca.* 350); *Agora XXIX*, cat. 1077 (325–300) is slimmer towards the foot. In any case, the curved wall suggests a date before the end of the fourth century (*Agora XXIX*, 167).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 187.

Saltcellar (concave wall)

Black-Glaze

359 Pls. 27, 50

Sherd preserving full profile from rim to base (*ca.* one quarter of body and just over half base). Marked rim, rounded on top and down-turned; poorly constructed (occasionally sags into body). Concave wall with low ring foot (resting surface glazed)

curving out from body; deeply recessed convex base (chip in exterior centre glazed over). Glaze occasionally misfired on exterior.

Ht. 0.03, e. d. base 0.065, e. d. rim 0.062.

Fourth century, *ca.* 350–315. As *Agora* XII, cats. 937, 938 (938 = *Agora* XXIX, cat. 1066—see also cats. 1064–1065), although lacking the groove in the resting surface. For shape evolution and chronology, see *Agora* XII, 137; *Agora* XXIX, 165–166.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

360 Pl. 50

Sherd preserving just under one third of base and a section of wall (rim lost). Concave wall with low ring foot (resting surface glazed) curving out from body; deeply recessed convex base. Glaze dull and scuffed, streaked brown on exterior; poorly finished with wheel scratches on underside and underglaze pitting across both faces of base.

Ht. 0.024, e. d. base 0.07.

Fourth century, *ca.* 350–315. See **359**.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Exaleiptron?

Black-Glaze

361 Pls. 27, 50

Rim sherd. Mono at rim; beneath, reserved band, then at transition between lip and body, broad glazed band; reserved to lower break. Rim edge band extends just over into interior, which is otherwise reserved to the break where an edge of glaze is preserved.

Ht. 0.013, w. 0.023, th. lower break 0.003.

Fifth century? The band scheme occurs on sixth century exaleiptra as *Tocra*, cats. 1135–1137, pl. 85, although the much less incurving profile is closer to the later black-glaze *Agora* XII, cat. 1339, but with a much shorter rim; see also *Sindos*, 32–33, cat. 38 (grave 55, *ca.* 460–450). The shape is rare in Attic, but **361** lacks the usual rim decoration of a later Type A or B exaleiptron. **361** is also sharply incurving, and is likely therefore to be either very squat or a small vessel, perhaps similar in scale to the Swan Group exaleiptron Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 318, cat. 323.

Upper City, 1996 excavations: Trench 33, near Pit 57.

Taman Museum, cat. 188.

7. SERVING DISHES

Plate*Black-Glaze***362** Pls. 27, 50

Lower body and base sherd. Reserved groove at junction with footring. Reserved resting surface, also base with broad band as preserved. On interior (from outside in), circle of ovules within guidelines, frieze of linked palmettes, frieze of horizontal palmettes within guidelines (upper lines only preserved).

Ht. 0.023, e. d. base 0.155, th. wall 0.002–3.

Fifth century, second half. The dimensions and foot form of **362** (curving directly onto the underside of the base, as e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 1060) are reminiscent of a plate rather than a large stemless cup, to which **362** is clearly closely related, especially in decoration (see **281** above, also **282** for profile), and with which it is likely to be contemporary.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 14.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

363 Pls. 27, 51

Complete footring and base with edge of lower body. Deep footring concave on both faces; groove (glazed) at junction of foot and body; inset, flat base. Reserved resting surface, base reserved (miltos) and decorated with outer circle and central circle and dot. On interior, four bands of rouletting.

Ht. 0.028, max. w. 0.131, d. footring 0.112, th. wall 0.005.

Fourth century. Profile close to the first quarter fourth century *Agora* XII, cat. 1047, especially in the sharp angle of floor and underside and the absence of a groove in the resting surface, although the simple roulette decoration may suggest a later date. Probably roll-rim type.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

364 Pls. 27, 51

Rilled rim. Just under half diameter, preserving complete profile. Under rim exterior, simple groove (no moulding). Low ring foot. Reserved rim (with two deep grooves), and resting surface (no evidence of a groove survives, although surface much worn). Glaze dull and much worn; **364** is poorly finished especially on the interior.

Ht. 0.020, e. d. rim. 0.15, e. d. footring 0.070.

Fourth century, second half. Profile close to *Agora* XII, cat. 1044. For evolution of

type, see *Agora* XXIX, 151. In the absence of a datable context, **364** cannot be placed precisely, but it shows the fourth century traits of a horizontal lip which does not project, and a completely glazed body apart from the rim and resting surface.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

365 Pls. 27, 51

Two non-joining lower body and base sherds. Low ring foot, on underside curving onto body. Reserved band at join with footring, reserved narrow groove in resting surface; underside glazed. On interior, four to five circles of rouletting, with one surviving palmette near centre.

Max. ht. 0.02, e. d. footring 0.110, th. *ca.* 0.007.

Fourth century, second half. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cats. 1055, 1056.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 6.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

366 Pls. 27, 51

Rolled rim. Sherd preserving thickened rim with sharp inner edge, fillet and shallow groove below on exterior; small section of body shows very shallow profile. Foot and base lost. Wall thins below rim and thickens markedly at inner break. Glaze black on exterior and resting surface, crimson on base (contrast marked and perhaps deliberate).

Ht. 0.015, e. d. rim *ca.* 0.15.

Fourth century, last quarter. Profile between *Agora* XXIX, cats. 636 (*ca.* 325–300, early in span) and 643 (*ca.* 325–300, late in span). For shape development see *Agora* XXIX, 143–144.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

367 Pl. 51

Rolled rim. Sherd preserving thickened rim with sharp inner edge, fillet and groove below on exterior.

Ht. 0.015, e. d. *ca.* 0.12.

Fourth century, last quarter. As *Agora* XXIX, cat. 634.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

368 Pls. 27, 51

Rolled rim. Sherd preserving thickened rim curving into interior, shallow reserved groove below on exterior, small section of downcurving body shows shallow profile. Foot and base lost. Wall section of consistent width below rim.

Ht. 0.018, e. d. *ca.* 0.026.

Ca. 300–275. Profile as *Agora* XXIX, cats. 648 (*ca.* 300), 654 (*ca.* 300–275), noting the simple groove beneath the rim. The large diameter is a trait popular from the end of the fourth century onwards: *Agora* XXIX, 143.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

369 Pls. 28, 51

Rolled rim type. Sherd preserving *ca.* half diameter of footring and base. Low ring foot, slight groove at junction with body; foot curves continuously onto underside; central nipple on base. On interior, four stamped palmettes, two of which are incompletely linked, within one row of rouletting as preserved (ends overlapping).

Ht. 0.014. e. d. base *ca.* 0.09, th. floor 0.008.

Ca. 300–275. As e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 1059 (= *Agora* XXXIX, cat. 653, see fig. 46).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Fishplate

370 Pls. 28, 51

Two joining rim and body sherds plus a further non-joining rim sherd (depression and foot lost). Outer edge of insloping floor with convex rim. On floor, lower half of body of one fish with pelvic and pectoral fins. Reserved groove around outer edge of floor. Wave pattern on rim. Underside glazed.

Ht. 0.025, e. d. *ca.* 0.36, th. body 0.006–7.

Early fourth century. Painter of the Larisa Fishplate: McPhee and Trendall 1987, 40–41, as pl. 6e, f (Ferrara 2436 and 2435). Also attributed to this hand is an example with the same rim pattern from Phanagoria (1960 excavations, Kerameikos, south east city, KXXVIII + XXX/15, cat. 732): McPhee and Trendall 1987, 41 cat. 86; Loseva 1968, fig. 2.4. Of the remaining pieces catalogued by McPhee and Trendall, five certain and three possible examples come from Kerch, indicating a strong Bosporan bias in the distribution of this artist's work, plus three from Spina and the name vase from Larisa on the Hermos. A further fragment, *Clazomenai*, cat. 260, is tentatively attributed to this hand by Tuna-Nörling, although the evidence is inconclusive. A rim sherd with this pattern from Anapa is illustrated by Alekseeva 1991, pl. 5.1.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, Pit 156; Area 10, substructure; Trench 19 B.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

371 Pls. 28, 51

Sherd from floor close to depression. Reserved body of fish with edge of dorsal fin. On underside, reserved ridge close to downcurve to foot.

Ht. 0.006, w. 0.047, depth 0.026.

Early fourth century. By the Painter of the Larisa Fishplate: see **370** above. As McPhee and Trendall 1987, pl. 6e (Ferrara 2436). From the same context as **370** and possibly, but not provably, from the same plate.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, Pit 156.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

372 Pls. 28, 51

Approximately one quarter of moulded foot plus edges of depression. Jog at base of stem; resting surface reserved; on underside, two deep grooves at transition to depression, centre base reserved with band at inner break. On floor beside depression, spiny edge of dorsal fin; inside depression, the same. Underside misfired orange.

Ht. 0.036, e. d. base 0.165.

Early fourth century. By the Painter of the Larisa Fishplate: see **370** above. Scheme as McPhee and Trendall 1987, pl. 6a (Ferrara 14834), fins as pl. 6e, f (Ferrara 2436, 2435). From the same context as **370** and possibly, but not provably, from the same plate.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, substructure.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

373 Pls. 28, 51

Floor sherd. Edge of pectoral fin. Underside glazed.

Ht. 0.02, w. 0.036, th. 0.004.

Early fourth century. As **370** above. Too fragmentary to attribute with certainty, but if not by the Painter of the Larisa Fishplate, then belonging to the class of plates with plain fish (McPhee and Trendall 1987, 42–43), noting that the majority of these come from Kerch.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 11.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

374 Pls. 28, 51

Sherd of flat plate surface. Exterior glazed. On interior, section of pectoral or perhaps caudal fin.

Ht. 0.006, w. 0.026.

Early fourth century. Too fragmentary to attribute, but probably from a plain fish, see **373** above.

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, loose soil, level 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

375 Pls. 28, 51

Rim sherd of fishplate or lid. *Ca.* 1/7th circumference preserved. Ovulo frieze with framing bands. Underside glazed.

Early fourth century. Ovulo is popular on plates with plain fish: McPhee and Trendall 1987, 42–43. For lid, see e.g. *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 34.

Ht. 0.017, e. d. 0.245, max. th. 0.007.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 21.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

376 Pls. 28, 51

Rim sherd. Ovulo frieze with framing bands. Underside glazed.

Ht. 0.019, w. 0.022, max. th. 0.007.

Early fourth century. As **375**.

South City, 1981: Trench 34, layer 12.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Stemmed dish*Black-Glaze***377** Pls. 28, 51

Convex and large form. Two joining sherds preserving *ca.* half bowl with complete profile from rim to just above stem joint. Rim thickened and very slightly incurving; the flat upper surface has a shallow glazed groove towards the interior edge. On the exterior, there is a deep, broad groove at the base of the rim.

Ht. 0.048, e. d. rim *ca.* 0.20.

Ca. 470. As *Agora* XII, cat. 961 (exterior groove glazed, rim markedly thickened; see 139 for shape development).

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

378 Pl. 52

Convex and large form. Sherd of slightly incurving rim, thickened but less markedly so than **377**. On exterior, reserved groove at the base of the rim; body sharply incurving.

Ht. 0.015, e. d. rim 0.19, th. wall 0.003.

Ca. 470–460. As *Agora* XII, 139, cat. 962; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 218, fig. 14, pl. 49, although larger in diameter.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 189.

379 Pls. 28, 52

Convex and large form, although with a significantly smaller diameter than **377** and **378**. Sherd of rim (*ca.* one third radius) and bowl, preserving full profile to joint with stem. Rim thickened (slightly incurving interior) with rounded top.

Ht. 0.043, e. d. rim 0.14.

Ca. 470–450. Rim profile similar to **377** if downcurving on the interior (as Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 219, fig. 14), but **379** unusually lacks a groove at the base of the rim and in this respect more closely resembles **380**.

Upper City, 1976: context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

380 Pls. 28, 52

Convex and large form, although with a significantly smaller diameter than **377** and **378**. Complete bowl (rim glaze damaged). Slightly thickened rim, flat on top; convex body profile to top of stem. Reserved, broad, shallow groove around lower body.

Ht. 0.041, d. rim 0.14.

Ca. 475–450. As Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 21, 108, cats. 219–221 (listing parallels and noting 14 additional fragments with the reserved band from the Athenian Agora), fig. 14, pl. 49. As they note, this is a generally rare version, but is unusually well represented in Agora Pit H 4:5 which contained pottery connected with public dining.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, room 6.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

381 Pls. 29, 52

Foot sherd of large form; just under one quarter preserved with fragment of base. Spreading ring foot with steeply convex inner face rising from resting surface to break. Reserved groove on junction with body wall; resting surface reserved, also beginning of reserved area on underside just below break.

Ht. 0.021, e. d. base 0.12.

Ca. 525–460. The glazed outer foot edge is unusual, but the profile, close to a contemporary stemless cup foot, clearly belongs to this shape (see *Agora* XII, 138–141 for discussion). The sloping upper surface, incised fillet and rounded torus suggest a relatively late date.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 194.

Lekanis*Black-Figure***382** Pls. 29, 52

Sherd from near centre of lid. Almost flat profile, rising slightly towards centre. Outer half glazed, with two fine added red bands by interior edge. Rays radiating outwards from glazed area preserved at inner break. Underside glazed. Glaze consistently misfired to bright orange.

Ht. 0.008, depth centre to edge 0.047, th. centre 0.008, outer edge 0.006.

Early fifth century, *ca.* 480. As *Agora* XII, cat. 1234; in the absence of the chronologically diagnostic knob, a fifth century date is preferred for **382** on the basis of its flatter profile in comparison with sixth century examples such as cats. 1226 or 1229. A similar lid has been found in a fifth century complex in the south city at Phanagoria: Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.20. See also Alekseeva 1991, pl. 57.3 (Utash, by the road to Taman near Anapa); Sidorova 1987, fig. 11d (Hermonassa). Panticapaeum: Sidorova 1984, fig. 7b; Sidorova 1992a, 184, fig. 8b; Sidorova 1992b, fig. 7a.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 190.

383 Pls. 29, 52

Ca. one-third of lid from rim to near centre. Slightly rising profile; curved articulation with torus. Outer half glazed, with two fine added red bands halfway in and a further pair by the interior edge. Rays radiating outwards from centre. Underside glazed, lip edge reserved. Glaze fired unevenly, with greenish-orange patches especially on underside. Slight trace of burning on break.

Ht. 0.025, d. base 0.199, th. centre 0.009.

Early fifth century, *ca.* 480. As **382**.

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, Pit E.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

384 Pl. 52

Sherd from near centre of lid. Almost flat profile, rising slightly towards centre. Outer part glazed with inner row of rays on glaze ground, and added red band.

Ht. 0.014, w. 0.057, th. 0.006.

Early fifth century, *ca.* 480. As **382**.

Upper City, 1980: Trench 3, layer 2.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

385 Pl. 52

Sherd from near centre of lid. Almost flat profile, rising slightly towards centre. Outer part glazed, with two red bands demarcating inner row of rays on glaze ground.

Flat ht. 0.023, w. 0.037, th. 0.0065–7 (irregular).

Early fifth century, *ca.* 480. As **382, 384.**

Upper City, 1976: Trench 3, layer 17.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

386 Pls. 29, 52

Rim sherd preserving profile to mid-body. Inset flange for lid. Band around upper body below flange contains diagonal zigzag lines on white ground; groove around base of band. Two narrow bands just above lower break in added red(?). Exterior surface lightly burnt.

Ht. 0.046, e. d. rim 0.300, th. 0.005.

Fifth century, probably *ca.* 480. The profile is closest to Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 257 and *Agora* XII, cat. 1224 (more flaring than the late fifth century *Agora* XII, cat. 1221 and closer to cat. 1217, *ca.* 500–480), but the chronologically diagnostic foot and handles are missing. Rim sherds of this shape and decoration belonging to both phases of production are widely distributed in the Bosporan area (as throughout the Black Sea): see e.g. Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.1 (Phanagoria BV XLVI/11); *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 28 (provenance unknown, possibly Tyramba, late fifth century); Sidorova 1987, fig. 11c (Hermonassa); Sidorova 1992a, 184, fig. 8g,d (Panticapaeum); Sidorova 1992b, fig. 7b (Panticapaeum); Vdovichenko 1996, cat. 76 (Eupatoria Museum KP 3520, Kerkinitida). For Asia Minor, see e.g. Tuna-Nöröling 1995, cat. 217, pl. 16 (Old Smyrna); *Clazomenai*, cats. 292–296, pl. 29 (of these, only cat. 296 dates to the latter part of the fifth century).

Upper City, 1978: Area 7, room 6, layer 3.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***387** Pls. 29, 52

Lid. Sherd from rim edge. On lid surface, extended paw of (probably) couchant feline (griffin?). On outer face, ovulo with band below. Interior glazed; reserved resting surface.

Ht. 0.017, th. top 0.005, edge 0.004, e. d. *ca.* 0.20.

Fourth century, second quarter. Related to the Group of the Vienna Lekani (ARV², 1501–1502), as e.g. *Olynthus* XIII, cat. 63 (frieze with griffins, panthers and two female heads), although too fragmentary to attribute.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 191.

388 Pls. 29, 52

Two joining sherds from outer part of top of lid. At left, arm and upper torso of Eros in added white reaching to right, carrying an object (box?) from which hang a pair of fillets. At right, moving to right but probably looking back to left, draped female holding a further pair of fillets (or a lost object from which they hang). Very edge of downturn to side face occasionally preserved, although this is too fragmentary to determine the side pattern (thick and thin vertical bands only now evident). Underside glazed.

Ht. 0.012, w. 0.113, d. 0.048, th. 0.008, est. d. *ca.* 0.21.

Fourth century, *ca.* second quarter. Close to Talcott and Philippaki 1956, cat. 145, although not by the same hand.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 5, layer 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

Krater*Black-glaze***389**

Column krater? Body sherd with lower part of vertical strap handle. Handle reserved.

Ht. 0.068, w. 0.082.

Archaic/Classical?

Upper City, 1996: Trench 32, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 192.

390 Pl. 29

Bell krater. Left side of one rising roll handle with attachment to body wall. Underside of handle reserved.

Ht. 0.07, th. handle 0.015, w. 0.042.

Classical.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 193.

391 Pl. 52

Mid-lower body sherd. Entirely glazed.

Ht. 0.024, w. 0.046, th. 0.006–7.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

392 Pl. 52

Mid-lower body sherd. Entirely glazed. Slight traces of burning through much of section, probably in firing

Ht. 0.030, w. 0.049, th. 0.006.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Black-Figure***393** Pls. 29, 52

Two joining fragments of a column krater handle-plate, preserving just under half. Heavy construction, with uneven edges and a slight rim in places over the top edge. Surface scraped and scuffed. On the underside, to outer break, thickening of joint of handle. Thick, slightly convex section. Tailfeathers and part of the raised wing of a siren or bird to right. Added red on body below. Near left edge, irregular line, probably a framing band or accidental drip. Thin line along outside edge; outer faces and underside monochrome.

Ht. 0.021, w. 0.076, depth 0.054.

Sixth century, *ca.* mid-third quarter. There are no exact parallels for the details of this image, especially the pattern of incision (see Tiverios 1988, 51–53 for an overview with bibliography). The elongated body with long tailfeathers, noting that the feet must be forward of the right break, may suggest a siren, although a swan or preening bird are also possible (for the last, see e.g. *Agora* XXIII, cats. 442, 443 or CVA Thessaloniki 1 [Greece 5], *s.v.* pls. 15, 21, 26, with bibliography). The two are closely related; see e.g. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum N187 from Naukratis (Bakir 1982, 17, 130, A-7, fig. 30), workshop of the Painter of Berlin F 1659.

Upper City, 1977: Trench 2, layer 19.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

394 Pls. 29, 52

Mid-body sherd (krater type unclear). Male (preserved from upper body to just above feet), reclining to left, knee raised and with right arm bent down (fingers bent back but nothing in grasp); draped around the waist; behind the arm, incision may represent a sleeve or a hanging object. Tip of incised beard preserved, along with incision probably for breastbone. Interior glaze streaked red.

Ht. 0.05, w. 0.105, th. 0.005–7.

Ca. 530–520. Compare the column kraters CVA Thessaloniki 1 (Greece 5), cat. 9302, pl. 36, and cat. 14898, pl. 37, both from the Ag. Paraskevi cemetery, Thessaloniki. Perhaps a symposiast, but if a deity, the long beard suggests Dionysos.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, cutting.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

395 Pls. 29, 52

Body sherd of a krater or dinos. Mane and reins of horse to right. Incisions for edges of mane and double incisions for reins. Added red on mane. Interior monochrome.

Ht. 0.028, w. 0.036, th. 0.006.

Ca. 530–520. As *Agora* XXIII, cats. 86, 87, pl. 10; the mane is a mix of the two on the Agora fragments. Dated by analogy with the Agora fragments, although a wider chronological range should not be discounted.

Upper City, 1975: trench unknown, layer 2.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

*Red-Figure***396** Pls. 29, 52

Upper body sherd. Head to youth to right, with outline of petasos behind; missing front of face, nose and mouth. Short hair, with reserved fillet, reserved edge demarcating back of head; short wavy front locks in dilute glaze. Profile eye with dotted pupil.

Ht. 0.022, w. 0.035, th. 0.004–5.

Early Classical, ca. 480–470. By a Mannerist painter (and probably a relatively early one, although the shape of the eye suggests not the earliest), but not attributed. The closest (but not exact) parallel for the drawing of the head, and especially for the ear, is Syracuse 35185 (*ARV*², 567.12, Leningrad Painter).

Upper City, 1996: Trench 35, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 195.

397 Pls. 29, 53

Column krater. Upper body sherd on incurve to rim. Rise to handle at centre right break. At right, vertical ivy frame. At left, shoulder of female to left, with hair falling down her back and one strand over her shoulder and upper arm.

Ht. 0.016, w. 0.047.

Fifth century, first half (second quarter?). Mannerist. Compare the Maenads on CVA Bologna 1 (Italy 5), DL 106, pl. 49.4; CVA Louvre 4 (France 5), G349, pl. 24:6 (*ARV*², 518.6, Syracuse Painter).

Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 15.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

398 Pls. 29, 53

Lip of a volute krater? Base of lotus-palmette festoon with framing band beneath. Right side glazed (close to handle?) Lower edge reserved with irregular edge of glaze (error close to handle?). Surface severely pitted.

Ht. 0.057, w. 0.090, th. top 0.007.

Ca. mid-fifth century. Pattern as *Agora XXX*, cat. 244, pl. 33.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

399 Pls. 30, 53

Calyx or bell krater. Upper body sherd. Torso of athlete to right, preserved from close to shoulder to thigh, with both arms extended down and forwards (probably holding a discus or halteres). Raised contours for anatomy (arm and pelvis); uneven and shallow 1/8th inch line.

Ht. 0.046, w. 0.029, th. 0.005.

Fifth century, *ca.* second or third quarter. Mannerist. The rendition of the anatomy lacks exact parallels, although the lines of the body are reminiscent of the Painter of Tarquinia 707's nudes (see for example his treatment of the women on Vienna 2166, CVA Vienna 2 [Austria 2], pls. 93.1–3, 94.1).

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

400 Pls. 30, 53

Calyx or bell krater. Upper body sherd. Upper body (close to shoulder to waist) of a draped male seen from behind, with himation (broad border, added red line) pushed back over shoulder. At left, bent arm of a second figure reaches behind shoulder (possibly holding a staff, although this is unclear).

Ht. 0.058, w. 0.053, th. 0.005–6.

Fifth century, *ca.* second-third quarter. Mannerist. The figure appears to be turned in twisted pose akin to that of the trainer on the Pig Painter's column kraters and is likely to be of similar date, although not by this hand; see e.g. Gilbert Collection, Lisbon, Rocha-Pereira 1962, 64–66, cat. 25, pls. 26, 27 (*ARV*², 564.23bis); CVA Castle Ashby (Great Britain 15), pl. 50 (*ARV*², 562.1). Probably, but not provably, from the same krater as **399** (perhaps an athlete and trainer group if from the same side).

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

401 Pls. 30, 53

Bell (or possibly calyx) krater. Mid-body sherd. Draped youth to right, preserving lower part of right arm (bare arm and shoulder) and drapery to lower leg.

Ht. 0.093, flat w. 0.06, th. 0.004–6.

Fifth century, mid—third quarter.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 10.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

402 Pls. 30, 53

Mid-body sherd. Draped torso of mantle figure to left.

Ht. 0.051, w. 0.053, th. 0.0055–0.006.

Fifth century, *ca.* second half.

South City, 1982: Trenches 18+34, layer 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

403 Pls. 30, 53

Bell krater. Rim sherd with moulding and ovulo band. Reserved band at rim on interior. Ancient mend hole.

Ht. 0.041, e. d. rim *ca.* 0.33, th. wall 0.007.

Ca. 460–430? Probably part of the same vessel(s) as **404–407**.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 32, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

404 Pls. 30, 53

Rim sherd with section of ovulo band. As **403**.

Ht. 0.023, w. 0.035, th. bottom 0.007.

Ca. 460–430?

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 14.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

405 Pls. 30, 53

Body sherd with the extended arm of a male warrior holding a spear out to right. Shoulder of corselet with star pattern and tip of beard preserved. A second spear points diagonally down across the arm.

Ht. 0.03, w. 0.052, th. 0.006.

Ca. 460–430. The overall style (and details such as the execution of the beard) are reminiscent of the circle of the Niobid Painter (see e.g. Prange 1989, N14, pl. 10, B5, pl. 13) and the piece, while not attributed, is likely to be by an artist of that date. See also New York 07.286.81 (Oakley 1997, pl. 52A) by the Achilles Painter. **405** Probably belongs to one of the vessel(s) represented by **403–404, 406–407**.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 32, layer 18.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

406 Pls. 30, 53

Bell krater. Two joining sherds preserving the top of a figure scene and the ovulo moulding below the rim. Top of head of Amazon to right with spotted headdress, fringe and one eyebrow preserved.

Ht. 0.051, w. 0.055, th. wall 0.005.

Ca. 460–430. The style is consistent with that of **405** and **407**, although not part of the Amazon depicted on **407**. The fact that the figures on all three sherds are to right probably indicates that they come from two vessels or separate sides of the same vessel. While there are many parallels for two Amazons in file (e.g. Tillyard 1923, cat. 135, pl. 23), the warrior could not readily be accommodated within the same scene.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

407 Pls. 30, 53

Bell krater. Body sherd with right arm of an Amazon bent back and up (as if brandishing a spear), clad in a long-sleeved garment with a pattern of bands and dots. A lock of hair falls over the shoulder beneath the lower edge of the headdress. Two ancient mend holes.

Ca. 460–430. See **405**, **406**.

Ht. 0.058, w. 0.045, th. 0.006.

Upper City, 1985: Trench 33, layer 16.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

408 Pls. 30, 53

Probably bell krater (possibly volute krater). Mid-body sherd. Flank and rear quarters of a horse, with to left, bare leg and lower edge of thigh of male rider, plus drapery hanging, running under leg and then up back of rider. Drapery has fine vertical lines with hollow circles.

Ht. 0.066, flat w. 0.064, th. 0.007.

End fifth century. Sub-Meidian drapery.

South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

409 Pls. 30, 53

Bell krater. Mid-lower body sherd. Right edge of pattern band with meander and checkerboard (cut by handle zone glaze): above, feet of figure to left, front foot on tip-toe (frontal, with twist at ankle), perhaps flying.

Ht. 0.061, flat w. 0.048, th. 0.007.

End fifth–early fourth century. Pose and drawing as CVA Vienna 3 (Austria 3), cat. 1143, pl. 123.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

410 Pls. 30, 53

Calyx krater. Sherd probably from cul. Section from pattern ground line with linked spiral centres of horizontal palmettes: framing band above and below.

Ht. 0.05, w. 0.054, th. 0.008–9.
 Late fifth–early fourth century.
 Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 12.
 Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

411 Pls. 31, 54

Bell krater. Three joining sherds from rim and upper body. Below rim, laurel wreath to right. Two confronted males, each with right arm outstretched. Right youth preserved to knee level, draped, with himation bunched over shoulder; head and shoulder of left youth preserved. Between youths, diptych. On interior, one reserved band just below rim, plus a second *ca.* 0.06m below.

Ht. 0.127, e. d. rim 0.33, max. th. body 0.008.

End fifth–early fourth century. Painter of Louvre M85 (I. McPhee). *ARV*², 1342: Trendall and McPhee 1986, see especially cats. 3, 12, figs. 6, 12.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 9.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

412 Pls. 31, 54

Lower body sherd. At top, base of lost main scene, with groups of added white dots; below, dotted wave pattern framed by horizontal bands.

Ht. 0.07, w. 0.069, th. 0.007.

Early fourth century. As *Olynthus* XIII, cat. 113 obverse, pl. 71; *CVA* Vienna 3 (Austria 3), cat. 1063, pl. 136.4–6, 1074, pl. 137.5.

Upper City, 1980: Area 10, cutting.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

413 Pls. 31, 54

Bell krater. Lower body sherd. Lower part of scene with, at right, left side of a stand (perhaps a perirrhanterion), at left low altar or dish. Beneath, pattern band comprising two units of single line meander with, to right, one unit of chequerboard, then edge of a further meander to break.

Ht. 0.072, flat w. 0.09, th. 0.006–8.

Fourth century, first half. Foot and edge of stand as e.g. Tillyard 1923, 150, pl. 25, although with its degenerate, dotted meander band, **413** is likely to be later.

South City, 1982: Trench 18, layer 4.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

414 Pls. 31, 54

Bell krater. Mid-lower body sherd. Base of palmette over pattern band (two meander squares preserved).

Ht. flat 0.038, w. flat 0.025, th. 0.005.

Fourth century, first half. See **383** above. As e.g. Alekseeva 1991, pl. 12.4 (Anapa South City, 1982: Trench 17, layer 11.
Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

415 Pls. 31, 54

Lower body sherd on incurve to foot. Bottom edge of field at left has reserved part of motif with two crude (fold lines?); at right, solid area of glaze. Reserved band beneath, then pattern band consisting of three units of line meander with dotted x at right. Reserved band below.

Ht. 0.053, w. 0.108, th. 0.008–0.010.

Fourth century, first half.

Context unknown.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

416 Pl. 31

Bell krater. Body sherd from handle zone. Palmette floral with pattern band beneath (meander?).

Ht. 0.063, w. 0.057, th. 0.006–7.

Fourth century (second quarter-mid). As e.g. *Olynthus* XIII, cat. 204B.1, pl. 26 lower, cat. 35, pl. 42.

Upper City, 1976: Trench 2, layer 12.

Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

417 Pls. 31, 54

Body sherd (probably bell krater) with part of grypomachy. At left, most of head and part of neck of winged griffin to right; direct white with painted details (dilute glaze) for eye and nostrils, marks on cheek and line of back of neck. Behind head, reserved zone of wing with painted flecks and at right break, edge of black-glaze. Interior glazed.

Ht. 0.029, w. 0.032, th. top 0.005, bottom 0.006–7.

Fourth century, second–third quarter or later. Group G (Griffin Painter?). For similar motifs on pelikai, see Schefold 1934, cat. 516, pl. 23; Kobylina 1951a, State Historical Museum, Moscow, 3/7, fig. 6.4, see 144 for discussion of iconography.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 196.

418 Pls. 31, 54

Probably bell krater. Lower body sherd preserving bottom edge of pattern groundline. Part of a meander preserved at right.

Ht. 0.038, w. 0.06, th. 0.007.

Late Classical (probably fourth century).
 Upper City, 1979: Area 9, layer 12.
 Moscow, Institute of Archaeology.

8. LAMPS

Black-Glaze

419 Pl. 54

Edge of nozzle wall and section of top. Traces of burning on edge of nozzle. Band of glaze around nozzle unevenly fired black-crimson. Body glazed.

Ht. 0.024, length 0.05.

Fifth century. Akin to e.g. *Agora* IV, Type 21A or B, although insufficiently preserved to attribute precisely. The proximity of the nozzle hole to the rim and the broad, slightly sloping, glazed upper surface make a significantly earlier or later date unlikely.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 36, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 199.

9. SHAPE UNKNOWN

Open

Black-Glaze

420 Pls. 31, 54

Base sherd; footring broken off. Underside glazed, central nipple. On interior, impressed linking lines presumably from the base of four lost palmettes.

Ht. 0.007, w. 0.039.

Fourth century, probably post 380. Probably from a shape such as a one-handler or cup-kantharos: see e.g. *Agora* XII, cat. 759 (one-handler). Such decoration is usual on cup-kantharoi as *Agora* XII, cats. 652, 656, 658 etc. (no rouletting is preserved on the small base section of **420**); the treatment of the underside on late cup-skyphoi (as cat. 608) is as **420**, although the usual scheme of stamped decoration differs.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 34, topsoil.

Taman Museum, cat. 198.

421 Pls. 31, 54

Base sherd. On interior, one stamped voluted palmette with part of two linking lines.

Ht. 0.005, flat w. 0.021, flat depth 0.018.

Classical.

Upper City, 1996: Trench 33, Pit 65.

Taman Museum, cat. 197.

CHAPTER 3

COMMENTARY

The Chronology of Attic Imports at Phanagoria

As noted in Chapter 1, almost all of the earliest Attic imports from Phanagoria coincide chronologically with the likely date of the city's foundation, and were probably among the possessions of the first settlers, either brought from Ionia or acquired locally.¹ On present evidence, only two closed vessels, **29** and **38**, are likely to date within the first half of the sixth century, contemporary with the earliest imports elsewhere in the Taman peninsula (as also Panticapaeum).² At Kepoi, a small collection of Attic sherds recovered from the few surviving early settlement contexts dates back to the second quarter of the sixth century, and includes Komast and Siana cups and a lekanis lid by the Polos Painter: a Tyrrhenian amphora may also belong as early as 560.³ This amphora is of particular interest, since although Tyrrhenian Group vessels of various forms, not merely neck-amphorae, were primarily exported to the west, the discovery of five vessels of this Group from Ionia (two from Phocaea and one each from Daskyleion[?], Clazomenai and Old Smyrna) not only enhances the limited eastern distribution of finds based on Naukratis and Rhodes, but suggests a possible point of origin for the Kepoi amphora.⁴ Early finds from Hermonassa, are similar in date, and include an olpe of the circle of the Gorgon Painter.⁵ In general, material from both these sites accords stylistically and chronologically with the earliest Attic imports at sites in the Propontis, western and

¹ The same conclusion was reached by Kobylina 1956, 16–17, on the basis of imports found in earlier excavations.

² Sidorova 1992a, *passim* 1992b, *passim* (see e.g. pp. 213–214 for the lekanides, figs. 8, 9).

³ Kuznetsov 1992, 35, 38, pls. 4, 5 (summarised by Treister and Vinogradov 1993, 555–556). On the lowering of the Tyrrhenian group to *ca.* 560–530, see Carpenter 1983.

⁴ Tuna-Nörling 1997 (noting that the provenance of only some 40% of the known Tyrrhenian corpus can now be identified). Daskyleion: Görkay 1999, cat. 166, pl. 14? Old Smyrna: I thank Yasemin Tuna-Nörling for drawing to my attention an amphora by the Castellani Painter to be published in *Addenda zur attisch-schwarzfigurigen Keramik aus Alt-Smyrna (Bayrakli)*, cat. 31.

⁵ Sidorova 1987, 111, fig. 7b.

northern Black Sea (notably Apollonia Pontica, Histria, Olbia) and Berezan, as well as in eastern Macedonia and Thrace, the limited evidence so far available from Sinope on the southern Black Sea coast, and central Anatolia (Gordion).⁶

These imports date to the first quarter of the sixth century, by which time connections between Ionia and Greek and Scythian communities in the Pontic region had long been established.⁷ Clearly, therefore, while emphasis has been placed on Ionia as the likely immediate source of pottery transported (among other goods) to the Black Sea, it is important to note that Macedonia and Aegean Thrace were also implicated in a triangular system of exchange from the beginning. This is shown not simply by the quantity of East Greek imports at a number of settlements and cemeteries which overlap with the arrival of specific Attic wares common to all three regions, but by the scripts represented in graffiti found in the north Aegean and the continuing presence of marks (both owners' marks and commercial graffiti) in Ionian script on vases (mainly of East Greek origin) in the Black Sea area.⁸ While the presence of SOS amphorae confirms that other products were being shipped in containers that

⁶ For reviews of this material with full bibliography, see Dimitriu and Alexandrescu 1973, 24–27 (Dimitriu); Tiverios 1988a, 151–171; Tuna-Nörling 1995, 103–123. Among more recent site publications: DeVries 1997, 447 (Gordion); Ramage 1997, 66 (Sardis); *Samos XXII, passim*; *Samothrace* 11, 512; Maffré 1990 (Thasos).

⁷ For a recent review of publications, see Tsatskheladze 1998b, 10–12, 21–22, 35–37. Domaneantu 1996, 189 also argues for Ionian middlemen active in the redistribution of early Attic imports in the Pontic region.

⁸ For recent discussion of links between Macedonia, Ionia and areas further south, including Egypt, see e.g. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988; Tiverios 1993. On the association between East Greek and Attic imports, see e.g. Tiverios 1990 (Thessaloniki, unidentified sanctuary? Cf. Tiverios 1998): Toumba Thessaloniki, see note 10 below. Karabournaki: Tiverios 1987; Tiverios *et al.* 1995; Pantermali and Trakosopoulou 1994; 1995. Ag. Athanasios Thessaloniki: Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1992. Ag. Paraskevi: Sismanidis 1987. Polychrono: Vokotopoulou 1990. Mende: Vokotopoulou and Moschonissioti 1990. Poseidi: Vokotopoulou 1991. Vokotopoulou 1996 summarises data from these Chalkidian sites in tracing the pattern of Ionian links. On Macedonian production of Chiot style pottery, see Lemou 1992. For recent graffiti from Karabournaki, see Tiverios *et al.* 1995, 280 and figs. 5, 6 (Carian graffiti on an amphora). A relatively late graffiti on an Attic skyphos base of ca. 500–480 from Poseidi (Vokotopoulou 1991, 310, fig. 16) is in an Ionic script with the *sampi* characteristic of sixth century Teos, Ephesos and Erythrae. Ionian dipinti in the Black Sea: Johnston 1979, 18–19 (I am grateful to Alan Johnston for confirming that no significance can be read into any of the surviving marks on the pottery presented in Chapter 2); see in general Johnston 1974.

are likely to be Attic,⁹ the nature of the fineware shapes represented during this first phase of Attic export (especially plates, cups and large open mixing or serving vessels) indicates that they were commodities in their own right. In his publication of one of the earliest Attic black-figure imports in the north Aegean, a column krater by the Painter of Louvre F6 from Vrasta in the Chalkidike (Polygyros Museum 235), Michalis Tiverios listed works by the same hand from Neapolis (Kavala) and Potidaea, as well as Histria and Berezan, and set these into the context of the beginnings of wider Attic export, notably of the works of the Gorgon Painter (the first Attic painter whose output was widely distributed outside Attica), the Polos Painter, Lydos, and Sophilos, as well as komast cups by various hands. Whether or not one chooses to view the initial introduction of this material into eastern Macedonia, Thrace and the Propontis in the context of developing Athenian political interests, it is clear that such interests cannot be a satisfactory explanation for the extent of a distribution which reached as far as the Taman peninsula, and it therefore seems likely that Attic vessels quickly entered into a variety of local exchange networks.¹⁰ Here the nature of the pottery is worthy of note; by contrast with the later evidence which will be discussed in this chapter, early finds tend to be few in number and to include a significant proportion of large, elaborately decorated pieces, and so may have circulated as unusual, luxury items.

While it is important to note the inclusion of the Taman (as also the European Bosphorus, as Kuznetsov notes) in an early distribution which was clearly not confined to the western Pontic region, we currently lack evidence to assess the extent and nature of local involvement. At Phanagoria, only the two earliest pieces, **29** and **38**, overlap with this initial distribution. The sphinx on **38**, while unusually crude in execution, must belong to a multi-tiered composition characteristic of the first half of the century, and may well date the vessel as

⁹ Johnston and Jones 1978, 112–113 note examples from Histria, Oisymni, Amphipolis, Karabournaki (see now Tiverios *et al.* 1995, 279), Pitane and Smyrna.

¹⁰ Tiverios 1988a, noting also material from Old Smyrna, Naukratis, Rhodes and Cyprus. A substantial body of material can now be added to Tiverios' catalogue, further strengthening his case: see note 6 above, also e.g. Souref 1990, fig. 13 (Toumba Thessaloniki); Skarlatidou 1990–1995 (krater by Lydos from Thermi [Sedes] Thessaloniki); Skarlatidou 1999; Vokotopoulou 1993 (Sane); Yiouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, 372, fig. 26 (Oisymni); Domanteanu 1996 (focusing on Lydos at Histria and related Pontic sites); Tuna-Nörling 1993, figs. 1–12. Kreuzer 1994 offers a valuable analysis of the mechanisms behind early Attic imports at the Samian Heraion, arguing for the existence of just such a local network.

early as the first quarter of the century. It could therefore be earlier than **29**, which was almost certainly manufactured before 550 but perhaps not long before, and could very well have continued in use after 550. In general, however, our first substantial group of finds is slightly later (*ca.* 550–530) and somewhat different in nature, relating more closely to the large scale circulation of symposium equipment in particular that reached its peak in the late sixth and early fifth centuries (see below). This early group of imports, all in the black-figure technique, consists of one storage vessel (the amphora **1**), a pouring shape (the probable olpe **16**), an oil container (the shoulder lekythos **47**), four drinking vessels (the Corinthian skyphos **73** which, with a date of *ca.* 550, is likely to be the earliest piece in this group, and three band cups, **212** with a komast closely similar to the style of those on Siana cups but within a band composition, **213** and **214**), and one serving vessel, the column krater **393**. None of these vessels is attributable, although the likely Exekian connections of **1** should be noted. A larger number of pieces dates between 540 and 510, and includes some which may perhaps overlap with this early group (notably the amphora, **2**) but also a collection of drinking vessels in particular (such as the popular Droop and Cassel cups, see Fig. 9) which are likely to continue later. This early group of finds at Phanagoria, while small in number, contains the complete range of symposium equipment found in the later Archaic assemblage. It includes the storage vessels which in later times disappear (probably being replaced by local products, see below), but not additional forms such as plates, dinoi, lekanides or lebetes which also feature amongst the very earliest Attic material elsewhere, and not, as far as the present record suggests, pieces that are likely to be old or heirlooms at the time of settlement.¹¹ The focus on symposium equipment, so evident in the following decades, is therefore present from the start.

The chronological distribution of Attic imports at Phanagoria is shown in Fig. 3, which incorporates all the settlement material listed in Chapter 2 and Appendix 1. Before further discussion, however, it is worth pausing to note the problems of quantifying the chronological distribution of such a sherd assemblage, since problems of this kind are rarely considered in the archaeological or statistical literature. The basic question to be answered is how many

¹¹ For shape distributions, see e.g. Tuna-Nörthing 1995, 104, 106, 109, 113, 116, 118, 120, 124; 2002b.

Attic pots were likely to have been in use at Phanagoria at any one time. The chief difficulty in approaching this problem is that our evidence consists of a range of sherds of different degrees of preservation which can be attributed to shape with varying degrees of certainty, and which in turn belong to vessel forms which vary greatly in the precision with which they can be dated. The data are thus continuous, but with too many interlocking areas of uncertainty to be susceptible of expression via a simple histogram (nor is there any straightforward way of varying class width to accommodate different degrees of datability of vessel forms over time). The solution adopted, in accordance with the focus of the initial question, is to take artificial ten-year periods and to assess the likelihood that a particular sherd dates within any particular decade — thus, for example, a sherd dated 470–460 has a 100% score in that decade, whereas one dated 470–450 has 50% in each of the two decades spanned. The chief source of bias following from this method is a general trend towards more precise dating in the Late Archaic period in contrast with the late fifth or early fourth century, with dates often expressed in 20–30 year brackets rather than the 50 or sometimes 60 common later on. Thus the curve around 420–350 is almost certainly artificially flattened, as is clear if one compares Figs. 4 and 5, which show the earliest and latest dates for each piece. These dates coincide much more closely in the Archaic and Early Classical periods than they do in later times. In short, while the overall trend is almost certainly accurate, it is possible that there was a second peak of import either around 400–390 or *ca.* 340 rather than the more sustained pattern indicated here. In Fig. 3, only the overall volume of imports is shown; the breakdown of the assemblage by shape and by decorative technique in relation to shape are separate issues considered below in relation to Figs. 6–8, 10–12.¹²

The dates assigned in this catalogue are those advanced in analyses of finds from central Athens, and especially the Athenian Agora, where *Agora* XII and

¹² For purposes of comparison, both *Daskyleion* I, table 1 and Tuna-Nörling 1998 (table 1, Old Smyrna, red-figure only) and 2002b present catalogue numbers by 25-year period and vessel type, in the former case also with an indication of decorative technique for each catalogue entry. Tuna-Nörling thus combines in one table information about date, assemblage structure and use of technique, categories of information which are here treated separately in Figs. 3–8, 10–12. Her presentation has the advantage of economy and involves fewer judgments than the graphs used here, but the major disadvantage is the difficulty of tracing and clearly expressing patterns in the data.

Agora XXIX provide type sequences based on context, stylistic development and the relationship between figured and unfigured shapes. Some time lag in reaching relatively remote sites like Phanagoria is likely but hard to measure, not least given the shortage of useful closed contexts. Our Archaic graves, for example, are dated by their Attic contents, and the situation is generally worse for much of the Classical period when Attic is the only fineware imported in any quantity and a key source of dating evidence in its own right. There is, however, valuable evidence from elsewhere in the Taman, notably a number of Archaic grave groups from Tuzla, Tyramba and the Hermonassa area which contain a mixture of Attic, Ionian and Corinthian pottery, and thus permit cross-dating (allowing for the fact that the majority of associations are with Ionian pottery which is generally less precisely dated than Attic).¹³ These show no serious chronological discrepancies between the different wares represented, and thus no long delays in relation to the Attic sequence, confirming the more general impression gained from Phanagorian settlement contexts such as the South City complex published by Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov (1993). Small delays would probably not be detectable, but with the possible exception of late red-figure (see below) are unlikely to be significant, especially when set against unmeasurable factors such as variation in the life of individual vases.¹⁴ This picture seems to find general confirmation across the Kerch Straits at Nymphaeum,¹⁵

¹³ Tuzla: Sorokina 1957; see also Farmakovskii 1912, 329–334; *Otchet* 1911, 37–40 for preliminary notices. Tyramba: Korovina 1987, 8–14. Imperial Commission excavations of 1913, especially burials 10km south of Taman town (Hermonassa) on the road to Tuzla, also graves excavated within Taman town (Hermonassa) in 1931, 1938, 1940; Gaidukevich 1959, 154–187.

¹⁴ See David 1972 for a pioneering discussion of longevity in relation to function. Ceramic censuses in the ethnographical literature reveal great disparities in the lifespans of different forms of vessel in different communities, with longevity dependent on a complex of factors including the nature, frequency and context of use, the cost of replacement, and the production technology employed. See Arnold 1985, 152–155 and Rice 1987, 293–299 for reviews, emphasising that the notion of an average lifespan for pottery is misleading. Considering the Phanagoria assemblage, comparison of import patterns of different shapes points to significant variation in use life as a likely factor determining import (compare for example the rather clustered import of kraters, with peaks at *ca.* 70 year intervals, with the more regular flow of drinking cups). Clearly, however, more detailed examination of the implications of the Phanagoria record is required, and this will be the subject of future study by the present author.

¹⁵ Grach 1999, ch. 3. Gill 1986a, 3, note 12, remarks on the chronological span of pottery in Nymphaeum grave II (published in Vickers 1979), and compares (note 13) the range of pottery in contexts from the Îlot d'Amirauté at Carthage. Comparison with Grach's study suggests that grave II falls at the end of a spectrum of variation and may therefore not be typical.

further west at Chersonesus, Olbia and Histria for example,¹⁶ and just west of the Propontis, on Tenedos.¹⁷ In Ionia, the best comparative evidence comes from Clazomenai, where well-defined settlement contexts of the later sixth and early fifth centuries in particular, but also of the fourth, show no significant time lag, and in the case of palmette or floral band cups (see below), confirm a late sixth century date for the earliest types (earlier than sometimes proposed for Attica).¹⁸

As is clear from Fig. 3, the greatest quantity of imports date to the end of the Archaic period, and especially the first decades of the fifth century. In this respect, Phanagoria compares closely with the overall picture across the Black Sea, Ionia and the northern Aegean, where there is a general rise in vessel numbers and a change in fashion from a focus on the larger, more elaborate show-pieces which formed a significant proportion of the earlier sixth century imports, towards drinking cups and especially cup-skyphoi.¹⁹ At Phanagoria,

¹⁶ Chersonesus: Zolotarev 1996. Olbia: Skudnova 1988. See the catalogue of deposits in *Histria* IV, 126–128.

¹⁷ Tenedos: Özkan 1992; Nurten 1994.

¹⁸ Clazomenai: for the Archaic period, see Ersoy 1993 (esp. pp. 12–13, 109–279, 291–306); *Clazomenai*, 27–29. Publication of the later fifth–fourth century contexts is forthcoming. Band cups: Ersoy 1993, 294–295. Cemetery contexts in which Attic pottery is securely associated with other wares are rare: an unpublished grave in the DSI necropolis (find group 16), excavated in 1985, contains a KY Painter Komast cup and an olpe by the Gorgo Painter (*Clazomenai*, 24, cats. 2, 129) together with a Middle Corinthian aryballos (B. Hümmüzlü, Y. Tuna-Nöröling pers. comm.). Elsewhere in Ionia, suitable closed contexts are rare, not least for want of excavated cemeteries. In the Archaic cemetery at Samos, grave 40 contains a group of 23 East Greek, Attic and Lakonian vases of the mid-third quarter sixth century: Boehlau and Habich 1996, 50–55. The case for eastern Macedonia and Thrace is even clearer, especially as associations often combine East Greek, Corinthian and Attic wares: see, e.g. Tiverios 1985–1986 for discussion of ceramic cross-dating at Archaic Sindos (see also the grave groups illustrated in *Sindos*); Pantermali and Trakosopoulou 1995, 288–290 (Karabournaki); *Akanthos* I for a typical illustration of numismatic cross-dating of later, Classical, imports.

¹⁹ As noted (Chapter 1, note 24), early settlement levels at Black Sea sites are rarely well preserved or extensively excavated, but the impression gained from published material, including that from later contexts and also grave finds at a number of colonial and trading sites is consistent. See e.g. Tsvetaeva 1980, 74–77 (Gorgippia); Berezan, summarised with bibliography by Solovyov 1999, 88, figs. 78–88; *Histria* IV, 29. Material from other sites in the Taman peninsula is noted in discussion of individual shapes later in this Chapter. Compare Ionia (black-figure): Tuna-Nöröling 1995, 124–130; *Clazomenai*, diagrams 1–3; *Daskyleion* I, 9–10. N. Aegean settlement contexts include Thasos: Maffré 1990, 409; Peristeri 1990, 397. Tumba

the greatest proportion of these consists of Class A and sub-A cups of the Leafless Class plus Haimon Group cup-skyphoi, with Type C and floral band cups being slightly less popular, and rather earlier Droop, Cassel and Band cups represented in lesser measure (Fig. 9). Thereafter, there is a notable fall in overall numbers which lasted until *ca.* 420. This is not a dramatic decline, however, and (setting aside the question of what may be missing from this sample) affects some shape groups more than others. As Figs. 10 and 11 show, the overall proportion of drinking cups and oil containers drop from 73% of the Archaic assemblage to 59% of the Early Classical, and the decline in storage and pouring vessels is even more marked, whereas small bowls and serving vessels increase in relative importance. Considering the smaller size of the Early Classical assemblage in absolute terms, this may reflect the fact that some of the large quantity of drinking vessels imported in the first decades of the century continued in use after 480, and attention was rather focused on relatively high quality kraters plus new black-glaze mugs and bowl shapes. Indeed, especially when compared with the mass of poor-quality Haimon and Leafless Group pieces of the end of the Archaic period (see below), the overall quality of Early Classical imports is notable. As Fig. 3 demonstrates, our sample shows a very slight resurgence of imports *ca.* 460–450. The fact that most of the vessels of this period are closely datable by the overall standards of the assemblage may serve to exaggerate this, but comparison with the plot of earliest and latest dates in Figs. 4 and 5 would tend to suggest that the underlying trend is genuine.

By contrast with the Archaic period, some fall in Attic imports covering the middle decades of the fifth century is a fairly widespread phenomenon in the areas under consideration, and although this is commonly explained in terms of political disruption, it varies in extent and duration depending on site location and trading connections. In Asia Minor, the destruction of many city-sites by the Persians and the relocation of certain communities had a dramatic effect

Thessaloniki: Soueref 1987 (see e.g. fig. 14); 1989 (e.g. fig. 12); 1990; 1991; 1992 (fig. 9); 1993 (figs. 15, 16). Karabournaki: Tiverios 1987; Tiverios *et al.* 1994; 1998. Polychrono: Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1989. Sane: the material discussed by Tiverios 1989b, 54 accords with that from subsequent excavations. Tragilos: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983 (figs. 14, 15). I am grateful to Stavros Paspalas for discussion of material from Torone in advance of publication, and for confirming that the overall pattern of Attic import there corresponds closely to that at the sites indicated above.

not only on the presence of Attic imports, but on the nature of the archaeological record itself. At Xanthos, for example, a near hiatus in import relates closely to the destruction and reconstruction of the city.²⁰ Elsewhere, however, the picture is often complicated by the state of archaeological research. At Clazomenai, there are two hiatuses in settlement due to Persian intervention, one lasting for some twenty years after the incursion of 546, and a second spanning the fifth century from *ca.* 480 onwards, when at least part of the population moved offshore to the Karantina island. To date, very little fifth century material has been found from the wider area of Clazomenai, but a small amount of Attic pottery has been discovered in test excavations on Karantina island, and it may well be that the apparently dramatic decline in imports is at least in part a reflection of the limited investigation of this particular site.²¹ By contrast Ephesos, where cult activity was maintained under Persian rule, has a pattern of imports very close to that at Phanagoria,²² and as at Phanagoria, kraters feature prominently among Attic imports to Old Smyrna during the second and third quarters of the fifth century.²³ Under Persian rule, sites such as Sardis, Gordion and Daskyleion, the seat of a satrapy, show a consistently higher level of import though the fifth century. Indeed, as Margaret Miller highlights, in many cases (and not just in the areas considered here), Persian rule opened or smoothed paths of trade with the Aegean, rather than proving a hindrance.²⁴ At Daskyleion, for example, there is a decline in the number of drinking vessels in the second or third quarters of the century similar to that at Phanagoria, but no significant overall decrease in the absolute numbers of vessels imported until the last quarter of the century and the waning of Persian power. Elsewhere, periods of decline in, or cessation of, imports

²⁰ *Xanthos* IV, 194–196.

²¹ *Clazomenai*, 25–27, see 22–23 on Karantina; Ersoy 1993, 23; Pausanias 7.3.9 notes the move.

²² Statistics compiled from Gasser's catalogue in *Ephesos* XII/1 show an identical peak in the first quarter of the fifth century, a lesser peak in the mid-fifth, but the earlier level of imports not repeated until the end of the fifth or early fourth century. (I am grateful to Michael Kerschner for confirming that there is no quantity of unpublished Attic pottery from Ephesos that would significantly alter these trends.)

²³ Tuna-Nöröling 1998, table 1.

²⁴ Sardis: Ramage 1997, 67–68. Gordion: DeVries 1997, 449. *Daskyleion* I, tables 1, 2, diagram 1: the statistics given by Gökay 1999 relate solely to black-figure; Tuna-Nöröling 2001; Miller 1997, 64–73.

vary greatly in date. At Samothrace, a rather earlier hiatus in Attic imports, in the first decades of the fifth century, was over by *ca.* 470, and imports continued through the fifth century. By contrast, the situation at Thasos, where, even though Attic red-figure was initially less popular than black (as at Phanagoria), there is scant evidence of any real break, seems more typical of much of Aegean Thrace and Macedonia.²⁵

In short, however tempting it may seem to explain the decline in imports at Phanagoria simply in terms of a reduction in the availability of Attic pottery or the trading power of those communities most likely to have been her immediate suppliers, the situation was surely more complex. Had Phanagorians been determined to acquire the same kind of shapes in the same quantities as before, they could surely have found some way of doing so using their existing connections. In the case of Thasos, for example, the distinctive sub-Geometric skyphoid kraters and skyphoi with dot decoration produced in the Phari kilns from the last quarter of the sixth century have been found at a number of Black Sea sites, including Phanagoria among those in the Taman peninsula, and just predate the appearance of the first proto-Thasian stamped amphorae from the first half of the fifth century onwards.²⁶ As Perreault points out in his publication of this material, this distribution in itself constitutes a strong argument for Thasos as a middleman in Black Sea trade, and the presence of fifth century Attic imports in quantity would make Thasos a plausible source of continuing supply.²⁷ So while availability may have played some a part in the diminution of imports at Phanagoria, a variety of additional issues must also be taken into account.

The change from the popular black-figure to the initially less popular red-

²⁵ *Samothrace* 11, 512–514. For Thasos, see note 27 and Maffré 1988 for a spread of evidence which does not quite accord with Dusenbery's equation with the pattern at Samothrace and consequent political explanation for the hiatus in imports. Blondé 1988 also reports extensive 4th century Attic imports at Thasos, coinciding with large scale Thasian wine export to the Black Sea (although by contrast with imports to Phanagoria, she notes that those on Thasos cease by *ca.* 330). At Torone, for example, mid-fifth century Attic imports are numerous, and as at Phanagoria, kraters are a particularly popular shape (Stavros Paspalas, pers. comm.).

²⁶ Perreault 1999, see 256 note 8 for unpublished examples from the Taman, including Phanagoria, in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology, Moscow. On their northern Greek distribution and issues of production: Tiverios 1989a.

²⁷ *Thasos* VII, 73–101, 105–130; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1979 (mainly Archaic, see 82–83 for later material). Archaic red-figure: Maffré 1979, 57–60, 63–69; 1988.

figure technique may have caused a temporary market reaction (and one which might well appear in an exaggerated fashion in our statistics, bearing in mind the bias towards figured wares in this sample as noted in Chapter 1). In common with most sites outside Etruria, Phanagoria has produced very little early red-figure, although at least four of the five pieces in this catalogue which probably predate 470 are all of unusually high quality in the context of the assemblage as a whole.²⁸ The two earliest pieces (both *ca.* 510–500) are **12**, a neck sherd almost certainly from a pelike (the only Archaic example of this shape and perhaps a Pioneer piece), and **261**, a cup perhaps of Type C which, while fragmentary, is strongly suggestive of the Pithos Painter. The latter is of particular interest as work of, or in the manner of, the Pithos Painter is some of the most widely distributed early red-figure, occurring in the west (at Adria, Syracuse, and Gela), the northern Aegean (e.g. Olynthos), on Chios, Rhodes and Cyprus, in the Near East (e.g. Al Mina, Tell Jemmeh and Tell abu Hawam) as well as at Berezan, Olbia, Kerch and Hermonassa. Counted by Beazley as part of the ‘coarser wing’ of early red-figure painting, the work of the Pithos Painter is the exception to the overall impression of high quality among our early imports.²⁹ Three further, slightly later pieces are of higher quality: the Type C cup **262**, insufficiently preserved to attribute, although probably a Pioneer work, the Type A **249**, close to the style of Douris but not attributed, and the Mannerist krater **396**. Equally, changes in consumption patterns may be suggested by alterations in the overall composition of the assemblage, a process which is continued into the Late Classical period. And in assessing changes in consumption patterns, one should also consider the growing role of local production which may have made import needs increasingly specific, a point to which we will return.

²⁸ A situation widely paralleled in the areas under consideration. See for example, Thasos: Maffré 1988; Phokaia: Tuna-Nörbling 1993, fig. 23, see also Tuna-Nörbling 2002a.

²⁹ ARV², 139–142; *Paralipomena*, 334–335; *Addenda*, 178. Berezan: Ilyina 2000, 150, 152, figs. 6–8. Olbia: *Otchet* 1904, 33, fig. 39. Kerch: Loseva 1962, 167, fig. I.2 (attributed Bothmer; *Paralipomena*, 334). Hermonassa: Sidorova 1987, fig. 13d; CVA Moscow 4 [Russia 4], pl. 47.6 (Circle of the Pithos Painter). Near East: Clairmont 1955, 120, 130, suggesting that these finds may represent a single purchase subsequently sold-on by the shipper; Perreault 1986, 173–174. DeVries 1977, 546 argues for deliberate catering to the Oriental market, but as Miller 1997, 69 argues (and see also the general objections of Lissarrague 1987), the wide distribution of the products of this workshop make this unlikely. For an overview of the workshop distribution, see Lissarrague 1990a.

Whatever the explanation(s) for changes in the level of import at Phanagoria, the decline seems to have been over by the end of the century. By any reckoning, numbers of imports increased during the first half of the fourth century, at least until *ca.* 350, although whether this should be seen as the relatively sustained and even phenomenon shown in Fig. 3, or one of the sharper peaks shown on Figs. 4 and 5, depends on the method of calculation of distribution, discussed above. Three further factors should be taken into consideration in interpreting these statistics. First, general reports of Attic pottery in the published accounts of pre-1971 excavations suggest that much of the unpublished material held in the Pushkin Museum is likely to date from this period (indeed the geographical location of the areas excavated, by the coast and in the south city in particular, make this almost certain), and to this should be added that black-glaze pottery in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology incorporated in Morel's study. This may, however, be offset against the second factor, that of settlement expansion.³⁰ According to our sample, the volume of pottery imported during the late fifth and fourth century is roughly half to two thirds of the amount present during the Late Archaic period. Even assuming an error factor of 100% in the volume of the later Classical material to take account of the finds noted above, yet no change in the Archaic figures, this would still only produce quantities equal to, or slightly larger than, those imported when the city was around half its later area. It is, of course, a huge and unsustainable leap to move from a doubling of city area to a doubling of population and thence a doubling of demand for Attic imports, although it must be noted that the widely scattered fifth and fourth century findspots reported indicate that Attic pottery remained in general use and did not become an elite commodity in the sense of being physically confined to certain contexts. Nonetheless, some shift in potential market size is a real possibility, and it is therefore legitimate to consider what a proportionate reduction in the overall role of Attic pottery might mean in terms of local perceptions of its function and value (a point to which we will return in considering the structure of the Late Classical assemblage). In terms of sheer numbers, the com-

³⁰ See e.g. Loseva 1968; Kobylina 1956, 23 noting a large collection of Attic black-glaze and red-figure (kraters, fishplates, kylikes and lamps) from fifth–fourth century levels in the coastal excavations of 1939–1940 and the 1954 Kerameikos excavation; Kobylina 1967, 125–127 on fourth century pottery from the Kerameikos area; Kobylina 1969 on pottery from fifth century houses in the south city.

monly held view that the late fifth and fourth centuries form an important period of Attic import is broadly valid,³¹ although it should be nuanced by recognition of the greater quantity of Late Archaic material — but numbers alone cannot tell the whole story. Attic pottery may indeed have dominated the import market in a way that it did not during the Late Archaic period (although as will be emphasised later in this Chapter, this is hardly a safe assumption but rather a major question for research). Yet the nature and scale of that market itself may have changed, echoing the emphasis placed in Chapter 1 on the importance of differentiating between assessments of scale in terms of production, transport and consumption.

The third factor to be considered in establishing the pattern of Late Classical import is that of chronology. The latest securely datable pieces within our material have black-glaze or West Slope decoration, and span a range of shapes. The calyx cup **304** is dated with unusual precision to *ca.* 270 by the combination of its shape and West Slope rectangle motif.³² While this is a high quality piece, it is the only calyx cup in the present collection (nor is it a common ceramic shape elsewhere).³³ Together with the West Slope oinochoe **33**, of the second or third quarter of the third century (also an unusual shape although paralleled in the Taman, see note 35), it shows that imports kept up with the latest Attic styles to the end. This picture is confirmed by the four published West Slope vessels from previous excavations in the cemetery (an oinochoe, bowl-kantharos, reversible lid and baggy kantharos).³⁴ Current evidence suggests that while Attic West Slope is not found in large quantities in the Taman, the Phanagoria pieces are not exceptional.³⁵ Indeed, this is to be

³¹ Phanagoria: Loseva 1968. See also Zedgenidze 1978 on Chersonesus, where the sample size is considerably larger. Typical is Robertson's comment (1992, 267) that 'the most interesting change is the wealth of material from South Russia' — in the present collection there is indeed a wealth of material, but no more so than during the late Archaic period.

³² *Agora* XXIX, 64, noting parallels.

³³ Two pairs of black-glaze calyx cups, differing in size but both miniature, from tomb 4 at Bolshaya Bliznitsa date between the mid-fourth and the first quarter of the third century: *CR* 1869, 11, cats. 64, 65; Pruglo 1974, fig. 3 right.

³⁴ Described in Appendix 1: Korovina 1982, figs. 8, 9; Marchenko 1966, pl. IV.11, 12.

³⁵ Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1913.62, Hellenistic type guttus, ivy on shoulder, early third century (as Rotroff notes, *Agora* XXIX, 173, this shape is not common, but isolated examples in many parts of the Hellenistic world include one from Chersonesus). Kepoi: cup-kantharos, Dikeras-Edwards group (*Agora* XXIX, 74–77), *ca.* 270–260, *Taman Museum*, cat. 55,

expected in view of the proven local interest in polychrome decoration of all kinds, including the moulded lekythoi from Phanagoria listed in Appendix 1, gold-decorated ware, notably hydriai and pelikai, sometimes seen as a forerunner of West Slope,³⁶ and the later local Bosporan post-firing 'watercolour' or polychrome technique.³⁷ The latest black-glaze in our material is consistent with these dates. Among closed vessels, the latest amphora or oinochoe is the early Hellenistic **10**, the latest chous **34** dates *ca.* 325–300, and the Classical type guttus **64** is late fourth or early third century. The latest drinking vessels are the early third century cup-kantharos **337**, and the late fourth or early third century kantharos or cup-kantharos **329** and kantharos **313** (*ca.* 325–280). Type A skyphoi (**77**, **78**) disappear slightly earlier, in the last quarter of the fourth century. Serving dishes also continue late, with two rolled rim plates (**368**, **369**) dating to the first quarter of the third century and the echinus bowl **356** to the last quarter of the fourth or the first quarter of the third. The four published vessels from the cemetery noted above (and see Appendix 1) date to this period also, with the kantharos, dating around the mid to third quarter

noting that this Group exports widely, with seven other examples found in the northern Black Sea area (Mirmekion, Olbia, mostly provenance unknown); Classical kantharos, plain rim, *ca.* 300–275, West Slope garland, Sokolskii 1965, 113–115, fig. 40.2, kurgan 3. Perhaps Tyramba?: oinochoe, necklace and spiral wave, *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 2, third century, second or third quarter; Classical kantharos, spearhead necklace, *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 23, probably Attic in which case third century, first or early second quarter. Tuzla: Classical kantharos, plain rim, ribbed, olive garland: Sorokina 1957, pl. 11.2 (grave 162[117]). Burial mound near Taman-Tuzla road (*Otchet* 1885, lxxxv–lxxxvi): State Hermitage T1885.2, chous (intermediate size), ribbed body, charm necklace, third century, first quarter; Knipovich 1949, pl. 4.1, State Hermitage T1885.1, Type B pyxis, garland, Dolphin and wave (close to Dikeras Group), post 280; T1885.4, Type B pyxis, olive wreath, charm and spearhead necklaces, third century, first half. See Knipovich 1949 for a review of Attic and Pergamene West Slope from the northern Black Sea coast, including material from Kerch and Anapa.

³⁶ Gold-decorated pottery: *Agora* XXIX, 40–41; Kopcke 1964, who also raises the question of local production (24 note 7). Gold-decoration is not found in the present sample, but is attested in the Phanagoria cemetery (State Hermitage T1869.2, pelike, local imitation?) and elsewhere in the Taman, e.g. in the Zellenskaya tumulus (Farmakovskii 1913, 178–188, figs. 3, 20, securely dated to the end of the fourth century by a Panathenaic amphora sherd, figs. 4, 5), and is also popular at Kerch.

³⁷ Knipovich 1955, 381–389; Korovina 1982, 87–93 (evidence from the Phanagoria cemetery). See Marchenko 1966 for the role of West Slope in inspiring a range of Bosporan third-first century painted styles. Korovina 1968, 74–75, fig. 24, illustrates 2 Phanagorian pelikai from grave 17 at Tyramba (third century); see also Korovina 1987, fig. 18 (grave 87).

of the century, being the latest in the group. In general, as Rotroff notes,³⁸ black-glaze and West Slope pottery is very rarely found outside Attica after *ca.* 250, and so the dating of the Phanagoria evidence fits well within the broader picture of pottery circulation. Indeed, the fact that by 250 most of the old Classical shapes had gone out of production may have had an impact on consumer demand. Certainly, current evidence indicates very little Attic pottery in the Taman after this date.³⁹

If the chronology of black-glaze and West Slope is relatively secure, the same cannot be said for late red-figure. Of the fourth century skyphoi and cup-skyphoi (**81–87**, **156–184**, see also Appendix 1), plus related works of the Fat Boy group (**31**, **32**), there is little more to be said, since while one might suspect that they continue well down into the third quarter of the fourth century, there is no contextual evidence that would help to refine their date. However, in Chapter 2 and Figs. 3–5, I have allowed the possibility that both palmette and Bulas Group squat lekythoi and late red-figure pelikai may date at least to *ca.* 300, later than the conventional dates of first half and second-third quarters of the century respectively. While this earlier chronology is still widely cited, evidence primarily from south Russia but also now from Macedonia suggests that it should be lowered in both cases, a view which is gaining ground in many quarters. As Rotroff notes, ‘it is possible that, with the lowering of dates in the latter part of the fourth century, the latest red figure should now be dated within the Hellenistic period.’⁴⁰ It should be stressed that the case for chronological revision at present (and at least until the publication

³⁸ *Agora* XXIX, 11, 223.

³⁹ Comparably late pieces include a black-glaze lekythos from Hermonassa (*Taman Museum*, cat. 73, late fourth/early third century; from Tyramba(?) *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 23 (cup-kantharos, third century, first-early second quarter, not certainly Attic), 25 (echinus bowl, third century, first quarter). Burial, Taman bay: State Hermitage T1913.72, plate (late fourth-early third century). Exceptions are two or perhaps three vessels from the Stone Tomb 57 probably to be associated with Hermonassa. State Hermitage T1886.10: West Slope amphora (Attic version) as Knipovich 1949, pl. 2.3 (Hermitage B2081 from Kerch), third century last quarter or later. As Rotroff suggests (*Agora* XXIX, 120 and pers. comm.), since versions of this shape were produced in a number of different regions, there may well have been some competition for the Black Sea market in this form at this time, making this a potentially exceptional export type. T1886.11: black-glazed version of West Slope oinochoe shape, last quarter third century onwards. The third vessel in the tomb, T1886.12, is probably Attic: a black-glaze plate, roll rim, rouletted, third century second half, perhaps late.

⁴⁰ *Agora* XXIX, 3.

of certain key late fourth century deposits, such as those from the royal tombs at Vergina) concerns these two vessel forms, although it would be premature to speculate about the particular significance of their longevity. There are a number of other instances, including three cases from the Taman peninsula, where rather finer red-figure vessels appear in contexts which appear almost embarrassingly late in comparison with the stylistic dates assigned to them, but where other explanations may be preferred. A burial mound on the road from Taman to Tuzla contained three West Slope vessels which give a precise *TPQ* of *ca.* 275, along with a red-figure lekanis lid attributed by Schefold to the Apollonia Group and dated by him to the end of the 340s.⁴¹ While this date could be lowered slightly into the 330s, it is hard to conceive on stylistic grounds that it could be contemporary with the West Slope vessels, and since the context is closed, the most straightforward explanation seems to be that the piece was an heirloom.⁴² This is currently the most secure such context in the Taman area, but it is not the only one.

Argument has long surrounded the dating of the Bolshaya Blitznitsa burials, noting especially the discrepancy between the earlier stylistic dates of the pottery and the late dates of the jewellery, but recently the trend has been to lower the dates of the burials to the late fourth or early third century.⁴³ Pottery published and reported from these tombs would, however, seem fall somewhat earlier, although the stylistic dates assigned to the black-glaze wares could extend later than those for the red-figure. Probably the earliest vessels recovered from two of the dining areas associated with the tumulus are at least three red-figure fishplates of the Europa Group.⁴⁴ Slightly later are four red-figure pelikai; two would probably, on conventional chronology, be placed in the sec-

⁴¹ See note 35 above. *Otchet* 1885, lxxxv–lxxxvi. West Slope: State Hermitage T1885.1, 2, 4. Lid, State Hermitage T1885.3: Schefold 1934, 9–10, 103–104, pl. 2.2; *ARV*², 1482.7 (KAB 80e).

⁴² This should, however, cast doubt upon the recent trend towards raising the date of the entire Kerch style (see most recently Robertson 2000); instead, it should be stretched somewhat in both directions. Panathenaic amphora production provides valuable chronological fixed points, as Valavanis 1991 shows, and highlights the long careers of certain workshops; e.g. Valavanis 1991, 286 (Marsyas Painter, equated with the Eleusinian Painter, 367/6–335), 296, 310–312 (Painter of the Wedding Procession *ca.* 360–320). This in turn should be a spur to reassessment of some of the very large stylistic groupings (workshops) prevalent in the fourth century.

⁴³ Pruglo 1974; Schwarzmaier 1996, noting Macedonian and Thracian parallels. Peredolskaya 1964, 6–8 accepts an earlier fourth century date.

⁴⁴ *CR* 1864, viii; *CR* 1865, iv; *CR* 1866, 79–127, pl. 3; McPhee and Trendall 1987, 32, cats.

ond quarter of the fourth century,⁴⁵ one is dated more precisely to *ca.* 340 by Schefold,⁴⁶ and the fourth would also fit within the third quarter of the century.⁴⁷ Two further red-figure vessels, a jug and a lekythos of which only a description is published, seem to fit within this general chronological area, but a third, skyphos, fragment may be fifth century (its context is unknown).⁴⁸ By contrast, from tomb four a half-sized black-glaze hydria and an alabastron are probably late fourth century,⁴⁹ two pairs of miniature black-glaze calyx cups could date from the mid-fourth to the third quarter of the third century, two miniature Corinthian type skyphoi and a fishplate are less precisely datable within the fourth century,⁵⁰ and a pair of half-sized saltcellars belong to the second half of the fourth century.⁵¹ The greatest discrepancy between vessels with any secure context here is between the Europa group fishplates and the latest black-glaze, and if McPhee and Trendall are right to date these early in the first quarter of the century, then it is hard to conceive of them as other than heirlooms. Lowering the date of the pelikai slightly would bring them more closely into line with the black-glaze, and produce a pottery assemblage close to the proposed date of the jewellery. In other words, the discrepancy may hide a mixture of modern dating error with regard to the pelikai (see below) and ancient behaviour in keeping elaborate vessels such as painted fishplates as heirlooms. It is unfortunate that the 'twin' tumulus of Bolshaya

2–4, proposing a date (31–32) in the first quarter of the fourth century, earlier rather than later (on their cat. 2, State Hermitage St1915 KAB 4a, see also Schefold 1934, 57, dated 370–360). *CR* 1868, v–x, notes remains of one badly burnt painted plate among sherds in funerary dining area 3.

⁴⁵ *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 6 and 7.

⁴⁶ Schefold 1934, cat. 396, pl. 31.3, from Burial 4 (Demeter Priestess): *CR* 1865, 102–112, pl. IV.1, 2.

⁴⁷ Pruglo 1974, fig. 2. Tomb 4 (Kerch Museum).

⁴⁸ Jug: *CR* 1865, iii–v, five fragments of a relief jug showing a woman (Europa?) sitting on a bull from the dining area of the south-western kurgan. Williams and Ogden 1994, 180, note a miniature squat lekythos with two Amazon heads placed at the feet of the body in Grave 3. Skyphos: Loseva 1948, 61.

⁴⁹ Hydria: *CR* 1869, 10, cat. 62; Pruglo 1974, fig. 3. Alabastron: *CR* 1869, 12, cat. 68.

⁵⁰ Calyx cups: see note 33. Skyphoi: Pruglo 1974, fig. 3 centre; *CR* 1869, 11, cat. 63. Fishplate: *CR* 1869, 11, cat. 67.

⁵¹ Kondakov, Tolstoi and Reinach 1891, 74; *CR* 1869, 11, cat. 66. Williams and Ogden 1994, 180, also report a black-glaze lekanis from Grave 3, but with insufficient information to date it.

Bliznitsa, Malaya Bliznitsa, proved to have been more severely looted, and no close study of the fragmentary and largely unpublished pottery is possible.⁵² But a similar discrepancy is likely in the Zellenskaya (Lysaya Gora) tumulus, 7.5km south-west of Hermonassa,⁵³ even though the context and thus association of the relevant pieces is less securely established. A key date for the tumulus is provided by two sherds of a prize Panathenaic amphora with the archon name Neaichmos (320/319) from the filling of the grave mound. From the grave itself comes a pelike with gilded garland decoration of the end of the fourth century. Finds purchased locally and assumed to come from the fill of the mound include a red-figure amphora of Panathenaic shape attributed by Schefold to the Painter of the Wedding Procession (*ca.* 335–330)⁵⁴ and a late fourth century pelike with a gilded wreath.⁵⁵ Finally, not far from the excavation area was found a red figure fishplate of the second quarter of the fourth century by the Pierides Painter.⁵⁶ All three of the cases discussed are burials, and one might therefore argue that particular forms of selection governed the use and deposition of vessels in death-related contexts. It is, however, interesting to note that they include graves associated with a city-site (Hermonassa) as well as rural tumuli, the ethnic identity of whose occupants remains a matter of debate. However representative or unrepresentative these cases prove to be, they do at least show that conservatism in vessel use or the retention of heirlooms was not simply the preserve of a non-Greek elite (indeed, there is at least one good parallel from Athens itself).⁵⁷ And while the Phanagoria settlement material does not contain anything of the quality of the Europa Group plates, it is nonetheless interesting to consider how late in the fourth century vessels such as the fishplates **370–376** or lekanides **387–388** might have continued in use.

⁵² CR 1881, xvi–xviii; *Otchet* 1882–1888, xvi–xviii; *Otchet* 1907, 84–85, figs. 86–88; *Otchet* 1915, 146–148.

⁵³ Farmakovskii 1913, 179–188; *Otchet* 1912, 48–49.

⁵⁴ Schefold 1934, 63–64, cat. 1, pls. 30, 31.2; Valavanis 1991, 292–312 (cat. 7).

⁵⁵ Kopcke 1964, pl. 28.4, cat. 142.

⁵⁶ McPhee and Trendall 1987, cat. 118; Schefold 1934, cat. 56; *Otchet* 1915, 145–146, fig. 228.

⁵⁷ Menon's cistern in the Agora (deposit F16.8; Miller 1974) contains a red-figure lebes gamikos (Miller 1974, 203–204) which appears significantly earlier than the remaining pottery (*ca.* 325–275), but which is a shape which one might expect to be retained as a family heirloom.

To return to the specific case of squat lekythoi and ‘Bosporan’ pelikai, however, there is direct evidence to suggest that our chronology should be revised. To begin with squat lekythoi, palmette decoration is well represented at Phanagoria and at many other sites in the Taman peninsula (59–63, see also discussion below). While no examples of the Bulas Group are represented in the present sample, this is surely a matter of chance as both squat lekythoi and alabastra are known from the Phanagoria cemetery and from other sites in the peninsula (see Appendix 1 and discussion below). That both Bulas Group and palmette lekythoi were in use during the first half, and especially second quarter of the fourth century is amply attested, and Robinson’s discussions of both types at Olynthos have rightly become fundamental points of typological reference.⁵⁸ However, the extent to which the fixed point of the destruction of Olynthos in 348 has been taken to imply that the types fundamentally belong to the second quarter of the century is less satisfactory. Robinson did not discuss the possibility that palmette lekythoi might continue into the third quarter of the century, even though Percy Ure had long since argued this point with reference to finds from Hadra.⁵⁹ While Robinson acknowledged the presence of Bulas Group lekythoi in contexts later than 350,⁶⁰ namely three from a tomb at Halai cited by Bulas and dated *ca.* 350–348, and examples from the Chatby cemetery which should be post 331, he thought that in the former case the vessels themselves were made before 348 but perhaps deposited later, and in the latter that they were of a later type. Robinson’s aim was clearly to show that his examples predated the 348 sack of Olynthos, which he successfully achieved, rather than to deny that the type continued. The overall tenor of his remarks, and especially his unsupported comment about the Chatby ‘typology’, has nonetheless tended to be interpreted in a negative sense. At Olynthos itself, the question of the extent and nature of settlement after 348, let alone its effect on the pottery assemblage, remains problematic,⁶¹ and the possibility that both types continued in use should not be discounted.

More secure evidence, however, comes from grave contexts in both the

⁵⁸ *Olynthus* XIII, 146–150, 160–162.

⁵⁹ Ure 1913, 50, note 2.

⁶⁰ *Olynthus* XIII, 162; Bulas 1932, 394; Breccia 1912, pl. 46, cats. 68–70 (on chronology, see *Agora* XXIX, 29–31).

⁶¹ See *Agora* XXIX, 18–20 for a review. Rotroff accepts 348 as an important cut-off point for the Olynthos assemblage, with squatter occupation thereafter, perhaps involving substantial re-use of imports combined with a preference for easily-obtained local pottery.

Taman and Macedonia, and it is now clear that both types must continue into the third, and probably the fourth quarter of the century. In the Taman, published examples from the cemetery at Tyramba have been assigned dates in the second half of the fourth century or the early third.⁶² In Grave 13 of tumulus 2 at Chernomorskii, palmette and Bulas Group squat lekythoi were associated with a black-glaze footed saltcellar dated *ca.* 325.⁶³ A similar association may have occurred at Belii Khutor, where six palmette squat lekythoi were found with two black-glaze cup-kantharoi, one of the second or third quarter of the century, and one of the last, although since these were chance finds in the area of the tumulus the connection is not secure.⁶⁴ In Macedonia, a child grave at Mieza contained, among a large collection of offerings, a Bulas Group lekythos in association with a black-glazed kantharos and phialai of the third quarter of the fourth century,⁶⁵ at Karathodoreika, a warrior grave of the second half of the fourth century contained a palmette squat lekythos and black-glaze kantharos,⁶⁶ and graves also of the second half of the fourth century from the north cemetery of Pydna (Makrygialos) are reported to contain palmette squat lekythoi as the most common ceramic offering, together with other black-glazed shapes.⁶⁷ That this is not merely a northern and Pontic phenomenon is shown by, for example, the Athenian Kerameikos context cited in Chapter 2 (under 59) and also by the presence of both palmette and Bulas Group lekythoi in the Crossroads well in the Agora.⁶⁸ Clearly, therefore, it is

⁶² Korovina 1968, 68–69, e.g. grave 4 (figs. 16.4, 5) dated to the second half of the fourth century (citing the typology developed by T.K. Ivanov at Apollonia); Korovina 1987, 33, fig. 20 (grave 150), dated to the end of the fourth century.

⁶³ Limberis and Marchenko 1997, 46–47, fig. 1. Saltcellar: *Taman Museum*, cat. 83, as *Agora* XII, cats. 948–949 (948 = *Agora* XXIX, cat. 1075, where the date is lowered to *ca.* 325). A black-glaze kantharos in Taman Museum (*Taman Museum*, cat. 74) of the last quarter of the century also has a Chernomorskii provenance, although it is not mentioned by Limberis and Marchenko and its exact context is unknown.

⁶⁴ *Taman Museum*, cats. 109–116; for the cup-kantharos cat. 115, see *Agora* XII, cat. 604 (*ca.* 340–325) and cats. 681–685 for the squat-rim type; for cat. 116, see *Agora* XXIX, cat. 37.

⁶⁵ Misailidou-Despotidou 1990, citing as comparanda *Agora* XII, cats. 830–833 (350–325).

⁶⁶ Savvopoulou 1994, 257, fig. 10.

⁶⁷ Besios 1988, 188.

⁶⁸ *Kerameikos* XIV, Grabbezirk VIII.37, cat. 17. Crossroads well (deposit J5:1: *Agora* XXIX, 458): published examples, Shear 1973, 130–134, pl. 28e–g, are selected from the lower, rather than the upper (third–second century) deposit. Other forms of context are equally suggestive of a later date, although by their nature less conclusively so than closed grave groups. At Knossos,

highly likely that both forms continued in use well into the second half of the fourth century at Phanagoria also.

The second category consists of late red-figure pelikai (**13, 14, 15**, see also Appendix 1 for published finds from the settlement and cemetery), principally those with protome groups associated with Group G and the Amazon Painter, but including Amazonomachies and Grypomachies, and other shapes such as kraters with related iconography (**417**). Here the case for continuation at least until the end of the fourth century and possibly just into the third was made some fifty years ago by Kobylina and reiterated more recently by Pruglo,⁶⁹ although western scholars have largely ignored their discussion in favour of the second and third quarter dates proposed by Beazley and, somewhat less rigidly, Schefold (principally on stylistic grounds).⁷⁰ Kobylina's chronology rested primarily on context (noting numismatic evidence from graves especially at Kerch); she took full note of internal stylistic evidence and comparison with coin types, but was critical of Schefold's formalistic approach. There are no useful new contexts from the Taman to refine the evidence presented by Kobylina,⁷¹ although the case of the pelike in Bolshaya Bliznitsa tomb four is worthy of note.⁷² But more recent discoveries from Macedonia (notably Paionia, Vergina and Derveni)⁷³ would tend to confirm her downdating, and to highlight the

for example, the fourth century Deposit P, which represents a later fill in the fundamentally Late Geometric well 1 in the Venizeleion area, contained a squat lekythos with Attic imports which should continue after 350, including an Attic-type skyphos which should not predate the mid-century: Coldstream 1999, 328.

⁶⁹ Kobylina 1951a, see e.g. 152–153 for an exemplary late date; Pruglo 1974, 69.

⁷⁰ ARV², ch. 83; Robertson 1992, 274–275; Schefold 1934, *passim*. Margos 1980 is a rare exception in citing the work of both Schefold and Kobylina.

⁷¹ For example, the association in a grave 8km south of Hermonassa between the Group G pelike State Hermitage T1868.14 (Schefold 1934, 465, pl. 5.3; ARV², 1465.70) and a black-glaze footed salt cellar (*Agora* XII, 137–138) only confirms a date in the third or fourth quarter of the fourth century.

⁷² Schefold 1934, 62, 68, cat. 396, pl. 31, dated in the 360. As Pruglo 1974, 69 notes, this is at odds with Beazley's third quarter fourth century dating for most of Group G (which may itself be too early, as such pelikai are associated with Bosporan coins of 330–315 in graves at Panticapaeum). He therefore suggests that there is a strong case for down-dating the pelikai in tomb four to the third quarter of the fourth century or later.

⁷³ Paionia Kilgis: Savvopoulou 1992, 427–428 noting a black-glaze kantharos of the end of the fourth century (figs. 5) and then a Group G pelike (figs. 6, 7) from a second, later burial in the same tomb. Vergina: Drougou 1991, 52–55, Megali Toumba grave 1979/1. In addition to

point that in our present state of knowledge, such pelikai are not independently datable and cannot in themselves contribute to the dating of their contexts.⁷⁴ In Athens itself, the fact that two pelikai are among the earliest finds in the Agora cistern deposit H16:3 (Group B), which otherwise dates from *ca.* 300 onwards, is a clear indication that the later dates for this type apply in one of its major production centres.⁷⁵ A new and much-needed study of this material, taking into account the large number of recent and unpublished finds especially from the northern Aegean and the Black Sea, may show this observation to be unduly pessimistic, but at present it is safe only to date these vessels in relation to established context. The extent to which Group G and iconographically related late red-figure should be considered in isolation is debatable. The presence of a late pelike by the Painter of the Wedding Procession in Derveni tomb H (noted above) might be taken to imply that it should not, although one should also note (see note 42) that this particular workshop seems to have

the pelike BNP 55, which is dated stylistically *ca.* 320–310, the Vergina grave contains a post-mortem bronze coin of Philip II, and black-glaze (especially a small bowl and a guttus) both probably late in the final quarter of the fourth century. Derveni: Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 95, pl. 106 (Tomb G cat. 1), see also Tomb H cat. 2, pls. 145–146, pelike by the Painter of the Wedding Procession (see note 42). In discussing overall tomb chronology (183–185), they note that while conventional stylistic chronology would place G1 slightly earlier than H2 (*ca.* 323 as opposed to 320), a better overall date for the grave group as a whole, to accommodate the coins (and noting also the chronology of the West Slope pottery and local black-glaze in Tomb G), would be the end of the fourth or early third century. They further suggest that this is a generally applicable date for those monumental tombs with coin evidence. See under G1 for a list of the principle (but not the only) finds of such pelikai in Macedonia.

⁷⁴ The danger of relying upon Group G and related vessels for dating is well illustrated by the case of the Eordia tomb (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1995). Here the tomb architecture is unhelpful and the contents used for dating are a Group G pelike (figs. 6, 7) and a post-mortem bronze coin of Philip II (Lazaridis *et al.* 1992, 51, cat. 1). The coin issue must be at least contemporary with the reign of Alexander III, although how much later it could be, let alone the date of its deposition, is unclear (see note 73 for a similar find in Vergina Megali Toumba grave 1979/1, a tomb dated to the end of the fourth century by its black-glaze pottery). The pelike is dated to the second or third quarter of the century citing Beazley (but not Kobylina), refined to *ca.* 330–320 via three poorly dated comparanda (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1995, 31, cat. 20). Such a stylistic date is hard to sustain, and so while the tomb may indeed date to the start of the last quarter of the fourth century as proposed, there is no reason why, on the evidence presented (and noting also the Vergina tomb and the conclusions of Kobylina), it could not come down by up to 25 years. The available evidence does not admit the degree of precision inferred.

⁷⁵ Thompson 1934, 330–345, cats. B1, B2; *Agora* XXIX, 456.

been longlived. In contrast to pieces such as the Europa Group plates, it is hard on contextual (let alone aesthetic) grounds to see Group G and related pieces as heirlooms, and the overall trend emerging from an ever increasing number of geographically diverse contexts is towards later dating, with vases remaining in circulation, and perhaps even in production, at least until the end of the century. Clearly, much work remains to be done on questions of distribution, context and workshop before any greater precision is possible. It is, however, fair to conclude that in cases like that of Phanagoria, where late red-figure of this kind has no useful context, we should allow the possibility that it remained in circulation alongside Attic black-glaze and West Slope at least to *ca.* 300.

As discussion so far has shown, the process by which Attic red-figure ceased to be produced and circulated is both complex and obscure. It is clear that imports continued to arrive at Phanagoria for as long as Attic wares were exported in any significant quantity, and that they were not confined to drinking vessels, where one might argue that Attic black-glaze had a significant practical and aesthetic advantage over local fabrics, but included at least the smaller storage and pouring shapes as well. As has been suggested in the case of West Slope decoration, Bosporan customers seem to have been interested in colourful decorative techniques (indeed, Attic West Slope was replaced before long by the products of other workshops, especially those of Pergamon), and so even though larger shapes may have been more economically imitated by local potters, it may seem hard to envisage the local clientele choosing to abandon red-figure were it still in ready supply. As Martin Robertson wisely comments, 'the process of cessation is . . . something we cannot trace with any precision.' Whether, as he suspects, the 'bulk production of artistically worthless small stuff' failed before the fine ware, or whether, as I have argued, squat lekythoi, and somewhat repetitive and often poor larger vessels, mostly pelikai, continued to be made and used until the end of the century, while finer earlier products were from time to time treated as heirlooms, must remain a matter of discussion.⁷⁶ What is clear is that while the volume of imports in circulation at Phanagoria, as generally in the north Pontic region, seems to have declined markedly around the middle of the fourth century, this should not be taken to imply a decline in potential market, nor is it likely that what was already in circulation was lightly abandoned.

⁷⁶ Robertson 1992, 290–291.

Imported Attic Finewares: Analysis by Shape

1. STORAGE

Amphora. All examples of this shape in the present collection are in the black-figure technique bar one possible piece with West Slope ornament.⁷⁷ Seven pieces (1–7) date mainly between 540 and 500, slightly earlier than the majority of cups, for example, although as noted above, rather earlier amphorae occur elsewhere in the Taman, notably the Tyrrhenian amphora from Kepoi. 1 may be slightly earlier than 540 and is unlikely to be later than 530, and 7, by the Red Line Painter, belongs later, in the first quarter of the fifth century. The presence of a Red Line Painter amphora is perhaps not surprising since products of this workshop were exported widely, principally to Italy (notably Etruria), but with occasional examples reaching the Black Sea.⁷⁸

Five of these seven sixth-century pieces from Phanagoria are likely to be the generally more popular neck-amphorae, and there are no securely identifiable examples of the one-piece shape, although 1 and 3 are too fragmentary to assign (and may possibly be hydriai). In the three instances which are reasonably preserved, 1–3, the figure decoration on our amphorae is among the finest of the Phanagoria black-figure, although none of these pieces is securely attributable. The horse legs, which are the only parts of the chariot scene preserved on 1, have, as noted in Chapter 2, their closest parallel on State Hermitage B162 which is probably to be attributed to the Princeton Painter rather than Exekias. The parallel is not exact, however, and in the pattern of incision in particular, 1 is perhaps more Exekian, and although clearly not attributable, likely to be by a hand somewhere within this circle. Yet more

⁷⁷ The shape is rare in black-glaze: *Agora* XII, 47–48.

⁷⁸ Holmberg 1990, 7. No Black Sea provenances are listed by Beazley in *ABV*, 600–607, 710 or *Paralipomena*, 300–301, although he assigns 2 vessels to the Manner of the Red Line Painter: *Paralipomena*, 302, 5bis, a small neck amphora in the Hermitage (*CR* 1867, v, from Panticapaeum), and an oinochoe from Olbia. Holmberg 1989, 61 note 5, reports A.J. Clarke's attribution to this hand of 2 further oinochoai in the Moscow State Historical Museum and the Hermitage, but does not note their provenance. Two possibly attributable pieces from Daskyleion strengthen this connection, as hitherto, finds of this workshop have not been made in Asia Minor, the closest being from Rhodes (Tuna-Nörthing 1995, 140–141, table 9): *Daskyleion* I, cat. 151 (oinochoe or small neck amphora, near the Red Line Painter); Gökay 1999, cat. 225, pl. 18 (lekkythos) is not attributed but seems close in style.

tantalising is **2**, where the closest parallel for Dionysos' unusual grip of the kantharos by its handle rather than its stem is found on a one-piece amphora by a hand close to Exekias.⁷⁹ As indicated in Chapter 2 under **2**, two further parallels for this grip are less exact, as either the further handle is held rather than the nearer, or the grip is much lower. Here it is perhaps even more likely that the piece is to be attributed to a hand in the circle of Exekias, an interesting addition since products of the artist and his circle are found mainly in the west, and representation in the Black Sea and Ionia is modest.⁸⁰ **3** is too fragmentary to attribute, but its iconography is interesting; the unusual position of the kitharode at the head of a procession scene, rather than behind the horses, may imply some exceptional procession of divinities, and perhaps an introduction. The closest parallel cited under **3** is Apollo leading the introduction of Herakles, but although Apollo is often depicted looking very feminine,⁸¹ the use of added white for flesh may rather indicate a woman, perhaps a maenad leading a procession (with Dionysos and Ariadne?). Whatever the case, the quality of the piece and its iconographical interest set it alongside **1** and **2**, showing that the large vessels imported to Phanagoria are early and of good quality; the last piece in the sequence, **7** by the Red Line Painter, is a markedly lesser work.

The near-disappearance of the amphora at the end of the Archaic period is paralleled in Asia Minor, at Daskyleion and Old Smyrna for example (where it had formed a larger proportion of the Archaic assemblage throughout).⁸² There are only two possible examples of post Archaic amphorae from the Phanagoria settlement among our material. **10**, black-glazed as preserved, is Early Hellenistic in date (but the shape is not certain and it could also be an oinochoe), and what may be a red-figure amphora is published from a fifth

⁷⁹ CVA Boston 1 (USA 14), pl. 12.3, close to Exekias (H. Cahn), attributed to Exekias as potter (H. Bloesch).

⁸⁰ See e.g. Dimitriu and Alexandrescu 1973, 27 (Histria); Tuna-Nörling 1995, 138–139, table 9; *Daskyleion* I, 9, 42, cat. 180 (Circle of Exekias).

⁸¹ See *LIMC*, s.v. Apollon for an overview of both black- and red-figure imagery.

⁸² Tuna-Nörling 2002b, 109–111; *Daskyleion* I, 15, 42–44; Görkay 1999, 15. Smyrna: Tuna-Nörling 1998, 175–177, cf. Tuna-Nörling 1995, 126–130. *Clazomenai*, 47–50, 64 latest example 500–480 (red-figure Type A). Sardis: Ramage 1997, 74–76, latest example ca. 490. While red-figure amphorae may have been comparatively rare in the Athenian Agora as a whole (*Agora* XXX, 5–12), they are well represented among the figured fineware in the debris from the fifth century public dining room published by Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 12–13.

century context in the south city.⁸³ From a child grave in the Phanagoria cemetery, a black-glaze amphora with a neck swag and red-figure ovulo rim band is likely to date well into the fourth century.⁸⁴ The greater popularity of red-figure pelikai, discussed below, suggests that from the latter part of the fifth century onwards, when large storage shapes reappear (see below), it was this particular version of the amphora which took over. On present evidence this may be generally true of the Taman peninsula, since the majority of cemetery sites in particular have produced pelikai rather than regular amphorae (see below). Two exceptions, distinguished by their Panathenaic shape, come from Zellenskaya (Lysaya Gora). As noted above, two sherds of a prize Panathenaic amphora with the archon name Neaichmos (320/319) come from the filling of the grave mound, and a red-figure amphora of Panathenaic shape, attributed by Schefold to the Painter of the Wedding Procession, was purchased locally but believed to come from the fill of the mound.⁸⁵ One amphora of conventional shape is reported from a kurgan 3km from Titorovski station, close to Starotitarovskaya, but no illustration is published.⁸⁶ The latest Attic import known to me is the West Slope amphora from Stone Tomb 57, Hermonassa, which may date as late as the final quarter of the third century, some while after the cessation of most Attic imports (and certainly underwent a complex mend before deposition), although as noted, particular market concerns may have affected the export of this shape.⁸⁷

Hydria. There is only one securely identified hydria in the present assemblage, the black-figure **11** of which only the shoulder tongues survive but which dates to the last decades of the sixth century, consistent with the date of the amphorae noted above. Two further sherds, **8** and **9**, both probably from black-figure vessels, could come from hydriai or amphorae, and both also date to

⁸³ Kobylina 1969, fig. 34.3, Early Classical (*ca.* 460); seated female to right, holding out phiale in right hand, left on chest.

⁸⁴ Kobylina 1989, fig. 34.

⁸⁵ Farmakovskii 1913, 178–184, figs. 4–7; Schefold 1934, 63–64, cat. 1, pls. 30, 31.2; Valavanis 1991, 292–312 (cat. 7).

⁸⁶ *Otchet* 1885, lxxxi–lxxxiv for excavation report; the figure decoration is described simply as an Amazon.

⁸⁷ State Hermitage T1886.10; as *Agora* XXIX, e.g. 418, see also Knipovich 1949, pl. 2.3 (Hermitage B2081) from Kerch.

this period. Later hydriai are present in the cemetery, where, for example, two late fifth century red-figure vessels have attracted considerable scholarly attention. State Hermitage T1859.2, described by Beazley as in the manner of the Kadmos Painter, comes from burial mound 28,⁸⁸ and the sub-Meidian (Φα)Pha1869.52 is listed by Farmakovskii among the contents of the Tomb of the Polychrome Vases.⁸⁹ Within the Taman, the Archaic evidence from Phanagoria finds parallels at Hermonassa, noting a small early fifth century black-figure hydria by the Painter of the Half-Palmettes from the cemetery.⁹⁰ Later finds include a red-figure hydria (*ca.* 440–430) with a toilet scene, discovered in the course of building in the area of a destroyed burial mound near Hermonassa,⁹¹ and a black-glaze hydria with a gilded neck-wreath from Zellenskaya tomb 2.⁹² The apparent shortage of hydriai in the Phanagoria assemblage is not surprising; while this is a common black-figure shape in Athenian domestic deposits, it does not travel in quantity.⁹³ Indeed, the fact that there are between one and three black-figure examples surviving from the settlement is interesting. Thereafter, the shape is rare in black-glaze until the late fifth century, when it appears in a variety of sizes, including the large form often with a gilded garland as that from Zellenskaya.⁹⁴ The apparent lack of such late black-glaze, and indeed of red figure examples, from the settlement (assuming that this is not fortuitous, especially given the cemetery evidence) may relate to a long-term shift in the structure of the assemblage, with storage and pouring vessels disappearing temporarily in Early Classical and then reappearing in reduced numbers and different guise in Late Classical (a point to which we will return). But while in the Athenian Agora public dining room deposit red-figured hydriai were an early and relatively common shape,⁹⁵ the chronological pattern of import at Phanagoria is closely echoed by that of Clazomenai, Old Smyrna, Daskyleion

⁸⁸ ARV², 1187.2, see Appendix 1.

⁸⁹ Farmakovskii 1921, 5, cat. 14; CR 1870–1871, pl. VI.6, 10.

⁹⁰ *Paralipomena*, 287, Moscow Historical Museum 86964. See also Sidorova 1987, fig. 12 (red-figure hydria, first quarter of the fifth century, Hermes? and Athena; Pushkin State Museum, from Hermonassa).

⁹¹ State Hermitage T1864.1; CR 1864, xi; CR 1865, 112–158, pl. IV.3, 4.

⁹² Kopcke 1964, pl. 24.4, cat. 96.

⁹³ *Agora* XXIII, 35; Shear 1993, 390. Gill 1986a, 35–36, noting that the shape is rare in black-glaze, as unglazed versions were favoured for Athenian domestic use.

⁹⁴ *Agora* XII, 53.

⁹⁵ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 12.

and Sardis, emphasising the difficulty apparent at all of these sites, Phanagoria included, of separating amphorae and hydriai in sherd deposits.⁹⁶

Pelike. That our assemblage contains no securely identified black-glaze or black-figure pelikai should not be surprising. This is a relatively rare shape in black-glaze,⁹⁷ and since its appearance in black-figure does not predate that in red, given that we have only one pre-fourth century red-figure pelike, we should not be surprised at the absence of black-figure.⁹⁸ The Pioneer neck sherd **12** (ca. 510–500?) is one of the most interesting pieces in the assemblage, since not only is it a rare example of early red-figure here (see also under cups below), but it is likely to be a very early example of a shape that was probably developed within a Pioneer workshop.⁹⁹ The shortage of red-figure fits a much wider general pattern which affects even the Athenian Agora¹⁰⁰ — indeed, it is commonly noted that only the Etruscans much cared for early red-figure (which was, after all, but a small part of Athenian production for several decades after its introduction). What is exported tends to be of high quality, however, as is evident not only from the surviving fragment of our pelike but from the early cups discussed below. The chronology and quantity of early red-figure in the Phanagoria assemblage accords with the general picture from Ionia, as also that starting to emerge from the northern Aegean as evidence comes to press, although there are no specific parallels for this pelike.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Tuna-Nörbling 2001, 113; *Clazomenai*, cat. 144 (ca. 510). Old Smyrna: Boardman 1959, 162, notes 3 black-figure body sherds as either amphorae or hydriai; Tuna-Nörbling 1995, cats. 173, 176 (both black-figure, possibly amphorae — nothing reported from Pitane) noting that her presentation of general black-figure shape distribution across Ionia and surrounding regions groups together the two shapes; Tuna-Nörbling 1998, cat. 51? (ca. 430–410). *Daskyleion* I, cats. 180, 183–187, 190, 192, 196, 198, 476, 482, 491, 497 all amphora/hydria; Gökay 1999, cats. 183–189, 193, amphora/hydria. Sardis: Ramage 1997, Att18 (Leagros group), plus the black-glaze amphora/hydria sherds Att140–143 of which the first is noted as fourth century.

⁹⁷ *Agora* XII, 49–51; Gill 1986a, 32–34, although as he notes, most of the black-glaze pelikai that have a recorded findspot come from the eastern Mediterranean (see his cats. B30–31 from Miletus, and B26–29, 33 from Kamiros).

⁹⁸ *Agora* XXX, 12–13.

⁹⁹ *Agora* XXX, 12, with bibliography.

¹⁰⁰ Considering Agora deposits of the time of the Persian sack, Shear 1993, 396 reports a ratio of 1:12.2 red- to black-figure, with black-glaze much more common than either but less readily quantifiable using old excavation data.

¹⁰¹ Old Smyrna: Tuna-Nörbling 1998, 175, noting that only cat. 52 (psykter) may be earlier than 500. *Daskyleion* I, cats. 379–384 (cups) are the earliest securely dated pieces, but 476–480

The fourth century is the period of the pelike's greatest popularity overall, and at Phanagoria it takes the place of other forms of amphora as the standard fineware container for bulk storage of liquids. Eleven examples are known from the Phanagoria settlement, eight of which are Group G pieces with protome groups of the second half of the century (**13** and **14**, the latter a relatively high quality piece by the Griffin Painter, plus six further pieces from the 1955 excavations in the north settlement).¹⁰² A ninth sherd, from the Kera-meikos area shows a youth or Eros,¹⁰³ and two further rims, **15** and State Hermitage T1872.71, come from pelikai of the very end of the fifth or the fourth century. In the cemetery, eight further examples serve to illustrate the popularity of the form. Five of these come from the Imperial Commission excavations, and the remaining three from later campaigns (see Appendix 1). The earliest, from a burial of the end of the fifth century in mound 1, is of unusually high quality and was attributed by Beazley to the Kiev Painter (it depicts the birth of Helen).¹⁰⁴ Of the remaining seven examples, four show protome groups,¹⁰⁵ and there are single instances of a komos with Eros,¹⁰⁶ and a seated Dionysos;¹⁰⁷ the iconography of the seventh is not reported.¹⁰⁸ Pelikai, especially the so-called 'Bosporan' pelikai discussed below, are well represented at most other sites of this period in the Taman,¹⁰⁹ including the cemeteries of Kepoi,¹¹⁰ Tyramba,¹¹¹

(large closed shapes) could be late sixth or first quarter of the fifth century, and 604 (bell krater) is end sixth/early fifth century. Phocaea: Tuna-Nörling 1993, fig. 23 (Pioneer cup); Tuna-Nörling 2002a, 224–227. See also Metzger 1981/1983, 188 on Anatolia. Gordion: DeVries 1997, 449, fig. 4. Ag. Paraskevi Thessaloniki: Sismanidis 1987, 793, pl. 160.2, reports a red-figure column krater from what must be one of the latest graves in a cemetery with an Archaic phase dating 570–500.

¹⁰² CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 29.1 (= Loseva 1968, 85, cat. 2, fig. 2.3. (Φα)Pha882).

¹⁰³ Kobylina 1967, 125.

¹⁰⁴ State Hermitage T1860.1: ARV², 1346.2; CR 1861, 129–138, pl. VI. 1–2.

¹⁰⁵ State Hermitage T1869.18. Reverse, 2 draped youths. Marchenko 1960, 22–24.

¹⁰⁶ State Hermitage T1869.19. Reverse, 2 draped youths.

¹⁰⁷ State Hermitage T1874.1 (KAB 25n), Painter of Athens 1472: Schefold 1934, 445; CR 1874, xvi, pl. 4.4, 5; ARV², 1477.

¹⁰⁸ Noted by Williams and Ogden 1994, 172, citing Goertz 1898, 141–142. From Beguitchev's 1855 excavation of a pyre grave on the farm of Semenyakov.

¹⁰⁹ The provenance of Schefold 1934, 458, State Hermitage KAB 65a (protome group; two mantle figures with tympanon) is reported simply as the Taman.

¹¹⁰ Sokolskii 1965, 113–115, fig. 40.2, depicting a pursuit, woman and Eros, from his 1962 excavations, kurgan 3.

¹¹¹ *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 5 (protome group, ca. 360–340), 8 (Amazonomachy, Group G).

a grave 8km. south of Hermonassa on the road to Tuzla,¹¹² and the tumulus of Bolshaya Bliznitsa.¹¹³

The iconography common to much fourth century work of Group G and related hands, and represented at Phanagoria not only on the pelikai noted above, but also on one krater **417**, features Amazonomachies and Grypomachies expressed either as specific battle scenes or in the shorthand form of protome groups. While one school of thought, following Rostovzeff, would separate the protome groups from full narrative scenes by emphasising the religious symbolism of the female head,¹¹⁴ the other, currently more accepted, interpretation acknowledges an intimate relationship, with the juxtaposition of an ambiguous central female (Amazon or female Arimasps) with the griffin (redundant in an Amazonomachy) and horse creating a complex allusion to interrelated stories of the exotic peoples of the far north.¹¹⁵ By the fourth century, the Amazonomachy was a long-established theme in Attic vase painting,¹¹⁶ and while one might suggest that it was given a new direction and perhaps a new lease of life by association with the Grypomachy, this would hardly be the first time that it had been 'reinvented' in vase painting. The Grypomachy, however, is a more novel subject, very rare until the end of the fifth century and then abundant during the fourth. This is substantially later than the appearance of the myth in literature, in the *Arimaspea* of Aristaeus of Proconnesos¹¹⁷ which was the source of Herodotus' account (3.116; 4.13; 4.27) and probably also of Aeschylus

Korovina 1987, fig. 19 (grave 107); Dionysiac scene (satyr and maenad with thyrsos), 2 confronted mantle figures on reverse.

¹¹² State Hermitage T1868.14: Schefold 1943, 465, pl. 5.3; ARV², 1465.70. Group G. Amazonomachy.

¹¹³ *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 6 (protome group), 7 (protome group; close to the Amazon Painter and the Group of Mytilene 590). CR 1865, 102–112, pl. IV.1, 2; Schefold 1934, 396, pl. 31.3 (centauromachy: Dionysos, maenad and satyr; ca. 340) from burial 4 (Demeter Priestess). Pruglo 1974, fig. 2 (Grypomachy) from burial 4 (Demeter Priestess), Kerch Museum. Marchenko 1960, 22–23, compares two pelikai from the Phanagoria cemetery (listed in Appendix 1) with examples from Bolshaya Bliznitsa.

¹¹⁴ Rostovzeff 1919, esp. 469–472, connected with worship of the Great Goddess; Schefold 1934, 148, primarily Aphrodite, with the griffin and/or horse as attributes; Yiouri 1965, 167–168, notes the appearance of male and female protomes and regards them as linked pairs of deities which can be interpreted according to the religious needs of individual communities.

¹¹⁵ Margos 1980, 30–33, with bibliography.

¹¹⁶ For a review, see Bothmer 1957.

¹¹⁷ Kinkel 1877, fr. 243–247; Bolton 1962.

(*Pr* 802–809).¹¹⁸ Other factors have therefore been sought to explain the sudden popularity of the subject in vase painting, notably, given the popularity of this iconography in the Bosporan kingdoms, the interests of patrons in this area. In her 1951 review of the class,¹¹⁹ Kobylina demonstrated that while pelikai in particular are widely distributed across the Greek world, the largest proportion were exported to the Bosporan kingdom in particular (more so than to other areas of the Black Sea). Kobylina's statistics now stand in need of considerable revision, but nonetheless it is clear that Amazonomachies and Grypomachies were popular and established subjects in the Bosporan kingdom. This does not, however, mean that Athenian production was geared specifically to that market. Athenian artists had a notable and longstanding capacity to adopt and adapt exotic images and ideas, be they Scythian archers in the sixth century or Thracians during the fifth,¹²⁰ and the adoption of the Grypomachy and coincidental adaptation of the Amazonomachy fit both established habits and the eclecticism of the age.¹²¹ In short, by whatever route fourth century Athenian painters came to focus on these myths (and to create sophisticated allusions to both in protome groups), their actions are explicable in Athenian terms. Moreover, this was widely relevant imagery, and its popularity in a number of regions is again readily comprehensible. In assessing the bias in distribution towards the Bosporus, Kobylina emphasises that griffins in particular were common in the local art of the region.¹²² Yet the same could be said of Macedonia, where the growing numbers of pelikai and other vessels with this iconography may eventually come to match the figures from the Bosporus (although as yet too little is published to provide accurate statistics).¹²³ Here too, the iconography accords with the griffin and Amazon imagery prevalent

¹¹⁸ Bolton 1962, 45–70.

¹¹⁹ Kobylina 1951a, 165. As Villard 2000 notes, the basic discrepancy in numbers found in east and west still holds good, and forms part of a wider picture of contrast in favoured shapes and styles.

¹²⁰ Vos 1963; Tsiafaki 1998.

¹²¹ Metzger 1951, 327–334.

¹²² Kobylina 1951a, 136–137. See e.g. sarcophagi from Bolshaya Bliznitsa (Minns 1913, 331, 424, fig. 4; Vulina and Wasowicz 1973, pl. LIa), or the wooden coffin in the stone tomb between Hermonassa and Tuzla (Minns 1913, 323–324, fig. 234; *CR* 1868, x; *CR* 1869, 177–178). See Wasowicz 1964, 179–189 for discussion and illustration of a group of Bosporan wooden sarcophagi now in the Louvre. Kul-Oba sarcophagus: Vulina and Wasowicz 1973, pls. I–VII.

¹²³ In addition to material noted above, discussions and preliminary excavation notices mentioning

in other media at a wide range of sites, from the spectacular contents of the royal tombs at Vergina to the more modest, but still wealthy, burials in city cemeteries such as those at Stavroupoli and Ag. Athanasios near Thessaloniki.¹²⁴ The shared taste for this imagery in the Bosporan kingdom and Macedonia may reflect the wider similarities in, and common roots of, much elite and royal iconography during the fourth century. Clearly, therefore, there are a variety of interacting factors behind the adoption and spread of these images on Athenian vessels and local imitations, ranging from the artistic climate in Athens to local iconographical preferences in the various receptor communities. It would thus be a mistake to read its presence in the Bosphorus in simplistic terms of Athenian market strategy. Overall, as suggested above, a new study of this material is badly needed, not only to review contextual evidence for chronology and determine whether we can reliably identify typological development, specific hands and production centres, but also to assess distribution, taking into account the fragmentary and often overlooked evidence of sherd deposits.

It may be fortuitous that other forms of late fifth century decoration are not represented in this assemblage, as they are attested in the Phanagoria cemetery and elsewhere in the Taman peninsula. A chance find in the village of Sennoi of a late fifth century black-glaze lidded pelike (a relatively rare shape) may have originated from Phanagoria or Kepoi, and its near complete condition suggests that it probably came from a grave.¹²⁵ Examples of late fifth or fourth century black-glazed pelikai with applied neck wreaths are attested at Zellenskaya¹²⁶

such iconography on Attic vases include: Amphipolis: Nikolaidou-Patera 1993, fig. 7 (hydria) from Nea Kerdyllion; Kranioti 1988, fig. 9 top; Rhomiopoulou 1964. Edessa: Chrysostomou 1992, 187, fig. 2. Thessaloniki Museum 11572 (museum display), pelike from a grave near the city Maternity Hospital. The fragmentary nature of some of this material highlights the necessity of undertaking a systematic search through sherd deposits before advancing arguments about the relative popularity of this material in different areas.

¹²⁴ Vergina: e.g. Andronikos 1984, figs. 13, 14 (sarcophagus in 'Bella' tumulus), 46 (tomb of Persephone). Stavroupoli, Od. Oraioastrou (male cremation with full weapons): Rhomiopoulou 1989, 216–217, cat. 25, 4 gilded terracotta attachments from a box or couch with battle scenes (Greeks versus Amazons or Persians?). Ag. Athanasios: Tsimbidou-Avloniti 1993, 253–254, fourth century wooden couch decorated with gilded clay griffins and Arimasps.

¹²⁵ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 4, as *Agora XII*, cat. 25 (as Sparkes and Talcott note, 50–51, this is not a common shape in black-glaze; see also Gill 1986a, 32).

¹²⁶ Purchased, but thought to come from the fill of the tumulus: Kopcke 1964, cat. 142, pl. 28.4 (wreath gilded). State Hermitage T1916.1 (ovulo lip, gilded garland) comes from a rather

and the Tuzla Point cemetery,¹²⁷ and a poor quality ribbed pelike with a gilded neck wreath from the Phanagoria cemetery may perhaps be Attic.¹²⁸

2. POURING

Olpe. With the exception of **29**, a foot of the first half of the sixth century (one of the earliest sherds in this present collection), and a body sherd probably of the Leagros Group (**30**), both of which could belong to olpai or oinochoai, such Archaic pouring vessels as can be assigned to shape are olpai. There are thirteen likely black-figure olpai from this assemblage, all of the tall sixth century type (with none of the smaller and more compact shape which continued later),¹²⁹ and mostly dating to the last decades of the century. The earliest, **16** ca. 550–530 (probably an olpe although conceivably a small pelike), is one of the few examples with preserved iconography, in this case a fleeing Maenad who is probably part of a symmetrical, three figure Dionysiac composition by an unknown hand. Another two have parts of figures, a way-faring Hermes on **20** and a Dionysiac scene with a satyr and ivy on **26**, and while the drawing of these three pieces is sufficient to confirm the impression that the larger vases imported during the Archaic period include fine pieces (finer than the average cup), only **26** is attributable (to the Dot Ivy Group, the work of which also occurs on olpai from Old Smyrna, Pitane, Sardis and on Rhodes).¹³⁰ Most of the remaining sherds are lip or neck fragments with only patterns preserved — chequerboard lips as **17**, **18** and an example from the South City,¹³¹ a lip with ivy (**19**), necks with ivy (as **22**, **23**, **25** and perhaps also **21**) or net pattern (**24**), and in the latest case (**27**, late sixth or early fifth century), a palmette. A further neck sherd, **28**, could belong to an oinochoe or amphora. The absence of fifth century black-glaze olpai (as indeed oinochoai) in our material is not surprising, since even though they were particularly common

later stone tomb near this mountain (by Taman Station), associated with a local watercolour vase: Pyatysheva 1949, 26–27, figs. 8, 9.

¹²⁷ State Hermitage T1911.5 (ivy wreath).

¹²⁸ State Hermitage T1869.2.

¹²⁹ *Agora* XII, 76–79.

¹³⁰ Sardis: Ramage 1997, Att. 20; Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 181 (Old Smyrna), cat. 96 (Pitane); 142–143, noting 12 examples in total, mostly from Rhodes.

¹³¹ Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.3.

in Athens, neither black-glaze nor banded olpai are commonly found elsewhere.¹³² Relatively little black-glaze has been published from Asia Minor, but the quantity and chronological distribution of figured examples is similar to that at Phanagoria. As will be further emphasised in discussion of oinochoai below, where fully published and quantified data are available (notably from Daskyleion, Clazomenai, Old Smyrna and Sardis), they tend to show a more even numerical distribution of olpai and oinochoai than seems on present evidence to be the case at Phanagoria, although they also highlight the difficulty of securely identifying oinochoai in sherd assemblages.¹³³

Elsewhere in the Taman, an olpe of the late sixth century showing Polyphemos and the ram was recovered from treasure hunters early this century, and should come from a grave to judge from its state of preservation.¹³⁴ Among examples from graves south of Hermonassa (a continuation of the Tuzla cemetery), a near complete olpe from a grave of the first decades of the fifth century (*ca.* 500–480) with an armed Athena, Ajax, and Cassandra, has received attention primarily for its inscription ΑΡΙΣΤΕ ΜΕΤΡΗ, noting also the trademark on the base.¹³⁵ Farmakovskii suggested that the inscription was added in the early fifth century, since the letter form seemed to him to be later than the pot, but since the late sixth century date proposed for the vessel should now be brought down, the gap seems small and it is more likely that the inscription was added to a vessel in the course of its normal life than to an heirloom.¹³⁶ The nature of the inscription is problematic; the end of the sec-

¹³² See e.g. Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 12, 24–25. Gill 1986a, 79, see cat. G2 for an example from Histria.

¹³³ *Daskyleion* I, cats. 202–204, 209A (olpe), 205–206, 209 (olpe/oinochoe), 208 (oinochoe/amphora), 500A, B (oinochoe?), 486A, 488, 490, 491, 493, 499, 500 (small oinochoe); Görkay 1999, cat. 191 (amphora/oinochoe). *Clazomenai*, cats. 129, 129A, 130, 142 143, 145 150 (olpe), 138–140, 148, 151 (oinochoe?), 149, 152 (large closed?). Old Smyrna: Tuna-Nörling 1995, 178–181 (olpe). Sardis (settlement, black-glaze also published): Ramage 1997, Att. 19, 20 (olpe), 109, 144–148 (oinochoe?). See Tuna-Nörling 1995, table 7 for an overview of the black-glaze site data presented in her Ch. VII.

¹³⁴ *Otchet* 1911, 43, cat. 6, fig. 77; Farmakovskii 1912, 337–338, fig. 22.

¹³⁵ State Hermitage T1913.35: *Otchet* 1915, 143, cat. 8, fig. 224a; Farmakovskii 1914, 222–223, figs. 32–34; Sorokina 1957, pl. 7.2 (grave 1). Johnston 1979, 72, 5A.7. Two further olpai from Hermonassa are illustrated by Sidorova 1987, pl. 7a, b (a = late sixth century olpe/oinochoe with Herakles and an Amazon; b = first half of the sixth century, circle of Gorgon Painter).

¹³⁶ Tolstoi 1953, 143, cat. 247 interprets ΜΕΤΡΗ as ΜΗΤΡΗ, i.e. mother. Johnston 1979, 72, 5A.7 gives the date as 510–500, but notes (pers. comm.) that while the lettering is not greatly

ond line in particular is badly chipped and there is space for at least one further character. Taking it as complete, Tolstoi interpreted it as a dedication to Meter, but it could perhaps be either a personal name,¹³⁷ or a pseudo-vocative, added as a comment on the olpe's quality (both of which make more sense applied to a vessel still in use). In the latter sense, there is an interesting parallel in the inscription 'υδρίη μετρίη' applied to an amphora in the sanctuary at Gravisca; here Torelli interprets the term 'μετρίη' as meaning 'proper', perhaps a reassurance related to the substitution of one vessel form for another in a cult context.¹³⁸

Oinochoe. With the possible exceptions noted above, oinochoai in this assemblage date from the fourth century, and are decorated both in red-figure and West Slope technique. Since the olpe had by this time disappeared, they may indicate a change in preferred pouring shape.¹³⁹ It should, however, be noted that five black-figure body sherds (38–42) come from large closed vessels of indeterminate shape, and some or all may be oinochoai. The distinctive lip of the olpe preserves well in sherd assemblages and the characteristic neck profile is also comparatively easy to recognise.¹⁴⁰ It is therefore possible that biases of preservation and recognition favour this shape, and although these factors and the number of unassigned sherds are unlikely completely to reverse the basic pattern of preference, singly or in combination they would alter it substantially. Elsewhere in the Taman, published examples of black-figure oinochoai

informative, the later date proposed is possible (noting especially the form of the *rho*). A further olpe, *Otchet* 1915, 143, cat. 9, is noted as similar but is not illustrated.

¹³⁷ Μετρίη, attested on Thasos (*LGPN* I, 310), is unusual. Elaine Matthews (pers. comm.) draws my attention to 'metrios' perhaps as a genitive of Metris from Zone (*Praktika* 1970, 75), and [M]etrios from Argos (*IG* I³ 1149.17).

¹³⁸ Torelli 1977, 400–401. I am grateful to Alan Johnston for drawing this to my attention and commenting on this usage in advance of his publication of the Gravisca corpus. See also *SEG* XLIX, 1999, no. 1048, graffito on the foot of a black-glazed vase of ca. 500–480 from Phanagoria, 'Σίμων χαρίεσσα· εἰμὶ κάλλος, ἀγαθὲ καὶ μετρίε'.

¹³⁹ Note here the contrast with the Athenian Agora public dining room deposit, where both shapes were used together, although perhaps in different ways (as the small size of the olpai suggests that they may have held individual servings): Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 24–25.

¹⁴⁰ In the public dining room deposit from the Athenian Agora, for example, olpai were chiefly identified via rim and base sherds, whereas oinochoai, unless their trefoil mouths were preserved, were more ambiguous: Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 24–25.

are few: one unattributed piece possibly comes from Tyramba,¹⁴¹ and a further one with a Taman peninsula provenance, also unattributed, was recovered from tomb robbers.¹⁴²

The Phanagoria assemblage includes two fourth century red-figure shape two oinochoai, one (31) sufficiently preserved to attribute to the FB Group and the other (32), although less diagnostic, possible also of this Group.¹⁴³ There are no published red-figure oinochoai from the cemetery, and elsewhere in the Taman, only one published example from Tyramba.¹⁴⁴ The shape three oinochoe or chous occurs once in red-figure (35), a poorly preserved piece which is hard to date although likely to fall late in the fifth century or later, and thus probably the earliest post-Archaic oinochoe in this assemblage.¹⁴⁵ This poor representation may up to a point be a matter of chance, as late fifth century red-figure, and especially the child iconography associated with the Anthesteria in Athens, is represented in the Phanagoria cemetery,¹⁴⁶ at Tyramba(?),¹⁴⁷ and in levels at the so-called Phanagoria Fortress (disturbed burials probably from

¹⁴¹ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 1, Gigantomachy, ca. 500–480. This is also clear if one compares the much more balanced representation of the two shapes in the cemetery at Pitane with the statistics available from the settlement deposits given in note 133 above: Tuna-Nörling 1995, 75–77, 80, 88–89, 92–96 (certain or likely olpai), 81–84, 91, 93, 95 (oinochoai, mostly trefoil-mouthed). From the northern Aegean, there is as yet too little pottery published from the major settlement sites to permit any clear impression of the relative popularity of olpai and oinochoai over time, although in at least two cases fifth–fourth century black-glaze oinochoai are explicitly noted in discussion of assemblages: Tiverios 1992, 361–361 (Anchialos, trench gamma); Lazaridi 1990, 255 (Amphipolis, Gymnasium area).

¹⁴² *Otchet* 1911, 43, cat. 7; Farmakovskii 1912, 337–338, fig. 22, Dionysos, Silen and maenad.

¹⁴³ As Moore notes (*Agora* XXX, 40), the majority of Shape 2 oinochoai of the fourth century belong to the FB Group; Green 1971, 190 note 6, reports their popularity as an export shape in Italy.

¹⁴⁴ Schefold 1934, cat. 362, Kiev Museum (Opis 81): Arimasp on horse; Eros with thyrsos, not attributed.

¹⁴⁵ Noting also 43 which cannot be assigned to shape or dated more precisely than to the Classical period.

¹⁴⁶ See e.g. State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1869.47, children's comedy, ca. 410–400, Class of Athens 1227 (circle of the Meidias Painter). From the Tomb of the Polychrome Vases, see Appendix 1. Note also a local imitation of the shape, without figure decoration (surface burnished), State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1869.57.

¹⁴⁷ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 3, crouching child with amulet chain, omphalos and streptos cakes, ca. 420–390.

part of the cemetery of Hermonassa).¹⁴⁸ But the chous is the most common type of oinochoe in Attic red-figure¹⁴⁹ and the only common large black-glaze pouring vessel made in Athens throughout the fifth and fourth centuries.¹⁵⁰ The shortage of red-figure choes is perhaps more surprising than that of black-glaze, however, since despite their popularity in Athens, the latter are rarely exported.¹⁵¹ One further example of the shape (34), black-glaze as preserved, has a ribbed body and is likely to be up to a century later than the red-figure pieces (ca 325–300 or slightly later, although ribbing is uncommon on this shape after ca. 270).¹⁵² Since only the foot survives, it is impossible to tell whether this had West Slope decoration like a similarly ribbed example from a burial mound by the road between Tuzla and Hermonassa.¹⁵³ Among our Phanagoria settlement material, one instance of a West Slope oinochoe (33) decorated with an olive garland is likely to be among the latest Attic imports (probably dating around the third quarter of the third century), and is paralleled by an example which probably comes from Tyramba.¹⁵⁴ The same shape occurs in black-glaze in Stone Tomb 57 by the road from Hermonassa to Tuzla.¹⁵⁵ As noted in Chapter 2 (under 33), Rotroff describes the West Slope oinochoe as a shape rare outside Athens and Macedonia, although in large measure this reflects the limited publication of material from key areas like the Black Sea.¹⁵⁶ While the evidence published here adds little to overall numbers,

¹⁴⁸ State Hermitage T1872.37, child with dog, ca. 420–390: CR 1872, pl. 3.4; Schefold 1934, 36, cat. 315; Van Hoorn 1951, cat. 587, fig. 536. See also State Hermitage T1872.30, child with cake, ca. 420–390. Two further choes have been erroneously assigned Taman provenances: ARV², 1249.16, State Hermitage P1872.15, by the Eretria Painter is assigned to the Taman by Beazley, although Lezzi-Hafter 1988, cat. 227, pl. 140a, following CR 1873, 53, pl. 3.6, correctly gives its provenance as Kerch (Mt Mithridates). The same error is made by Van Hoorn 1951, re his cat. 586 (Hygeia and Hermes), misreporting CR 1870–1871, pl. 6.7.

¹⁴⁹ *Agora* XXX, 41.

¹⁵⁰ *Agora* XXIX, 125. *Agora* XII, 60, notes it as the commonest of all black oinochoai (see 58–69 for the full shape range).

¹⁵¹ Gill 1986a, 43–44.

¹⁵² *Agora* XXIX, 126.

¹⁵³ State Hermitage T1885.2: *Otchet* 1885, lxxxv–lxxxvi; as *Agora* XXIX, cats. 470 (charm necklace and ribbing, although fragmentary), 477 (shape).

¹⁵⁴ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 2, necklace and spiral wave pattern.

¹⁵⁵ State Hermitage T1886.11. Shape as *Agora* XXIX, cat. 466 (plus rope handle with satyr head), and probably contemporary.

¹⁵⁶ S. Rotroff pers. comm.

the appearance of a shape also popular in Macedonia is logical in view of the strength of links between the northern Aegean and the Pontic region. The almost immediate translation of the shape into silver, as exemplified by an oinochoe with gilded ornament from the Quarantine Road cemetery near Kerch,¹⁵⁷ is interesting since the choice of shapes for silverware by no means automatically reflects current ceramic fashion.

3. OIL CONTAINERS

Askos. The askos occurs here only in its shallow form and late in the fifth century, coincident with a marked rise in its popularity in Athens.¹⁵⁸ Two of the five securely identified examples (**44** and **46**) are more likely to date within the last thirty years of the fifth century than to continue into the fourth. Of the remaining examples, two could equally well belong in the first quarter of the fourth (**45** and an unpublished example in the State Hermitage, the latter, with a pursuit scene, the only example with iconography preserved), and the last is placed in the second quarter of that century.¹⁵⁹ In her review of red-figure imports from excavations conducted between 1938 and 1962, Loseva remarks on the many small fragments of fourth century shallow askoi found especially in the lower levels of the Kerameikos area, with figure decoration including couchant panthers as well as ornamental motifs.¹⁶⁰ It is therefore probable that askoi are significantly underrepresented in the present collection.¹⁶¹ Red-figure askoi are also found in the cemetery,¹⁶² as in other burial tumuli on the Taman peninsula, such as that at Starotitarovskaya,¹⁶³ albeit not, on published evidence, in great numbers. Askoi from Phanagoria graves also include more elaborate

¹⁵⁷ Reinach 1892, 90, pl. XXXVIII.3.

¹⁵⁸ *Agora* XII, 158–159; *Agora* XXX, 56 with bibliography.

¹⁵⁹ State Hermitage T1872.85.

¹⁶⁰ Loseva 1968, 86. The example that she illustrates as having the best quality drawing, (Φα)Pha895, 86, cat. 4, fig. 2.2 has two griffins; see now *CVA Moscow* 6 (Russia 6), pl. 63.5.

¹⁶¹ Two examples with a likely Taman peninsula provenance but not now attributable to site are on display in Taman Museum: *Taman Museum*, cats. 39 (askos or cruet top, tongues), 46 (panther).

¹⁶² State Hermitage T1872.26 (woman, panther); from a tumulus on the Shapirov Farm, close to Sennoi, noted in *CR* 1875, xiv–xvii but without details of pottery. For the contents of the tumulus, see Appendix 1.

¹⁶³ *Taman Museum*, cat. 75.

types, notably one with a strainer top and lion-head spout,¹⁶⁴ and a black-glaze relief-top askos.¹⁶⁵ While it is hard to draw conclusions when many examples of this shape remain unpublished, the evidence currently available suggests that askoi were more popular in the settlement than in graves, and it may therefore be that their primary role was as part of the dining assemblage, perhaps as oil or honey dispensers, and this may account for their presence in funerary dining areas. Of the related guttus form, this collection includes one late fourth or early third century black-glaze example of the Classical shape in black-glaze (64), but none of the Hellenistic shape, even though it is represented elsewhere in the Taman (for example at Hermonassa).¹⁶⁶

Amphoriskos. There are no examples of this shape, nor of the related alabastron, in this present material. From the Taman peninsula there are a number of black-glazed amphoriskoi with stamped decoration akin to that of the Athenian Academy Group (dated from *ca.* 430 into the early fourth century);¹⁶⁷ all those known to me come from cemeteries associated with the major city-sites, including Phanagoria,¹⁶⁸ Hermonassa,¹⁶⁹ and Kepoi.¹⁷⁰ Amphoriskoi of the Bulas Group (a decorative style well documented through squat lekythoi from many sites in the region, see below) have also been found at Phanagoria in the Tomb of the Polychrome Vases and in a tumulus belonging to the city cemetery on the former Shapirov property.¹⁷¹ It may therefore be that this is a

¹⁶⁴ State Hermitage T1879.35 (panther, hare, lion). Type: Massei 1978, xxxvii–xxxix, class Iib; *Agora* XII, 160, with bibliography; *Agora* XXX, 56–57, as e.g. cat. 1185.

¹⁶⁵ State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1870.2.

¹⁶⁶ Hermonassa (settlement?): State Hermitage 1913.62; West Slope decoration (ivy), early third century. On the Classical shape, see *Agora* XII, 160; *Agora* XXIX, 172–173; on the Hellenistic, *Agora* XXIX, 173–174, noting its wide distribution (extending to the Crimea) albeit generally in small numbers.

¹⁶⁷ For the class, see *Agora* XII, 156; Kapetanaki 1973; Gill 1986a, 174–180.

¹⁶⁸ Kobylina 1951b, 241, fig. 2.2. Grave 7, east cemetery, 1948 excavations (= Gill 1986a, T149, where wrong reference cited). State Hermitage T1875.3 (from the Shapirov farm, see note 162 above).

¹⁶⁹ *Taman Museum*, cat. 66. Also Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 3.2a, b, from burial 5, 1931 excavations (= Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. CXLIV.1; Gill 1986a, T36).

¹⁷⁰ Sorokina 1963, fig. 23.6 (grave 14); as *Agora* XII, cat. 1159 (early fourth century). The Kepoi piece appears to have just simple horizontal mid-body incisions.

¹⁷¹ State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1969.56; Farmakovskii 1921, 5, shape as Bulas 1932, pl. 21.10. Shapirov tumulus (see note 162 above); State Hermitage T1875.2.

primarily funerary shape, with the squat lekythos perhaps serving some of the same functions in everyday circumstances, although firm conclusions must await publication of the full range of material from the other major settlements.¹⁷² Furthermore, if the apparent bias in distribution towards city cemeteries rather than 'rural' tumuli is real, and this is very hard to assess, then it would be tempting to suggest that this reflects a concentration on the part of the elite buried in these rural tumuli upon those ceramic shapes represented in the dining assemblages of the Greek cities. But in our present state of knowledge, this remains conjectural. It is also worth noting that a shape closely related in function, the alabastron, is represented in ceramic (as well as stone) form both in the Phanagoria cemetery, in the Tomb of the Polychrome Vases,¹⁷³ and in a half-sized version in tomb four of the Bolshaya Blitznitsa tumulus.¹⁷⁴

Lekythos. By contrast with the smaller oil and perfume containers discussed above, full-sized lekythoi are found in both settlement and cemetery contexts at Phanagoria. As one might expect from mainland Greek practice, they seem to be more common in graves.¹⁷⁵ Yet there is also a chronological discrepancy with the general pattern in much of the Greek world in that almost all examples here are black-figure lekythoi of the sixth and early fifth centuries, with rare later fifth century red-figure exceptions. The late sixth and early fifth century seems to be the period of greatest popularity of the shape in all contexts, but while later red-figure and white ground lekythoi are generally rarer, they also tend to appear in tombs. All of the Phanagoria settlement lekythoi considered here are shoulder (type 2) lekythoi, with none of the earlier type 1, although the earliest of the group, 47 of the third quarter of the sixth century (*ca.* 540), is among the earliest group of imports in this assemblage.

In settlement contexts, lekythoi may have served as toilet or table vessels. At Phanagoria, the contexts in which they were found, in so far as they are

¹⁷² While detailed information from northern Aegean settlements is slight, amphoriskoi and alabastra are mentioned in preliminary reports, although with no indication of type: see e.g. Lazaridi 1990, 255 (Amphipolis, Gymnasium area). Both shapes are common cemetery finds, and so if preliminary reports are a reliable indication, the same picture may apply here also.

¹⁷³ Farmakovskii 1921, 5: State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1869.53 (as Bulas 1932, pl. 21.8); (Φα)Pha1869.54 (as Bulas 1932, pl. 21.8); (Φα)Pha1869.55 (as Bulas 1932, pl. 21.1).

¹⁷⁴ CR 1869, 12, cat. 68 (presumably black-glaze from the context in which it is noted). Similar alabastra come from the settlement at Daskyleion: *Daskyleion* I, cats. 373–374.

¹⁷⁵ As noted by Sorokina 1961, 50, re fifth century Hermonassa.

helpful, do not suggest any connection with cult, leaving a choice of toilet or dining functions. Two or perhaps three examples were associated with structures that had domestic or manufacturing functions,¹⁷⁶ three were discarded in the same pit in the upper city, and the remainder lack any useful context.¹⁷⁷ Elsewhere in the Greek world, red- and black-figure lekythoi are found in contexts connected with dining. In the Athenian Agora, for example, they occur in dumps of varying kinds related to the Persian destruction (where almost all of the workshops identified here are represented) and in the fifth century public dining room,¹⁷⁸ and they are also found in domestic contexts in the northern Aegean (at Karabournaki and Tragilos for example),¹⁷⁹ and Asia Minor (at Old Smyrna, Sardis, Clazomenai, Ephesos, Daskyleion and Gordion).¹⁸⁰ The majority of our black-figure pieces belong to those groups of late black-figure lekythoi which date to the very end of the sixth or the first decades of the fifth century, and are widespread in the Taman peninsula. One possible instance of a Phanyllis Class lekythos depicts what may be an arming scene (**48**), and there are also two examples of the Class of Athens 581, ii (**49**, **50**), one of the Haimon Group (a Group represented also at Hermonassa and Tuzla),¹⁸¹ and one by the Sappho or Diosphos Painter (**51**). Not assigned to workshop but of considerable iconographical interest is **55**, with its problematic kneeling figure, apparently in a Kaineus-like pose but unusually (although not unprecedentedly) at the edge of the scene rather than flanked by adversaries. Of the four published black-figure lekythoi securely provenanced in the Phanagoria cemetery,

¹⁷⁶ **51** from area 10, substructure, 1980 excavations. Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.11 from a domestic or workshop complex of the fifth century in the south city. **47** comes from paved area 13 in trench 2, 1976.

¹⁷⁷ Pit D, 1975 excavations upper city: **49**, **55** and **57**. Context unknown/loose soil: **48**, **56**, **57**.

¹⁷⁸ Shear 1993, 393–395, tables 1 and 2; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 12, 25.

¹⁷⁹ Karabournaki: Tiverios *et al.* 1994, fig. 3. Tragilos: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983, fig. 17.

¹⁸⁰ Old Smyrna: Boardman 1959, cats. 103–113; Tuna-Nörling 1995, cats. 192–212 (noting many examples of the Haimon Group); 1998, cats. 53–55. Sardis: Ramage 1997, Att. 21–34 (including Class of Athens 581, Sappho Painter, and Beldam Painter). *Clazomenai*, cats. 153–162 (including Cock Group, Phanyllis Group, Haimon Group). *Ephesos* XII/1, cats. 1–11 (including Haimon Workshop and Phanyllis Group). *Daskyleion* I, cats. 210–233, 296–298, 304–372 (including Haimon Group, Beldam Painter, plus numerous white ground and red-figure pieces). Gordion: DeVries 1997, 449, noting many products of the Haimon Workshop.

¹⁸¹ Phanagoria: Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.11 (Dionysiac scene?), from room G, house 2, south city. Hermonassa: chance find in Taman town, *Taman Museum*, cat. 117. Tuzla: Sorokina 1957, pl. 8.3 (grave 77[32]).

one with palmette decoration is probably of the Marathon Group (52, noting that Marathon Painter pieces also occur in the Hermonassa cemetery, and in a grave south of Hermonassa),¹⁸² one is a Little Lion type,¹⁸³ one black-bodied (54), and the fourth is unattributed with palmette decoration (53).¹⁸⁴ Elsewhere in the Taman, the Cock Group is represented at Patraeum, in the cemeteries at Hermonassa and Tuzla Point, and in graves by the shore west of Hermonassa and on the road from Tuzla to Hermonassa.¹⁸⁵ A further seven black-glaze and black-figure lekythoi reported from graves at Hermonassa (plus one from the settlement at Volna 1) cannot be assigned to hand or type from the references available, and the situation is similar at Tuzla.¹⁸⁶

57, the single red-figure lekythos among the Phanagoria settlement material, is a secondary shape of the second or third quarter of the fifth century, prob-

¹⁸² Hermonassa: Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 19 from grave 11 (area I, 1938); *Paralipomena*, 211, State Hermitage B8616 from Taman (= Skudnova 1958, 124, no. 14, pl. 6, 12). Grave south of Taman town: Farmakovskii 1914, 224, fig. 37 (State Hermitage T1913.87), Herakles; Farmakovskii 1914, 234, fig. 36 (State Hermitage T1913.91), Herakles wrestling bull, near the Marathon Painter.

¹⁸³ Blavatskii 1951, fig. 15.2 from grave 106 on Hill D, close to the western boundary of Phanagoria. The type continues into the second quarter of the fifth century, later than the published date of the end of the sixth, although the grave is independently dated to the end of the sixth or early fifth century by its amphorae.

¹⁸⁴ Two further black-figure lekythoi are reported from the same general area as the inscribed olpe noted above (note 134): Farmakovskii 1914, cols. 223 (lotus; rider between warriors), 223–224, fig. 35 (lotus; seated Dionysos between maenads).

¹⁸⁵ Hermonassa Grave 11: State Hermitage 1938.15. Patraeum: *Taman Museum*, cat. 120. Grave west of Hermonassa, on sea shore: State Hermitage T1868.2. Tuzla road (5km from Taman town): State Hermitage T1913.9; *Otchet* 1915, 143, cat. 14?; Farmakovskii 1914, 223; Skudnova 1968, 124, cat. 13, pl. 6.10, fig. 5. Tuzla Point: State Hermitage T1911.36 from grave 155 (*Paralipomena*, 211; Skudnova 1958, 124, cat. 12, pl. 6.9; *Otchet* 1911, 38, cat. 2, from grave 155 [110]). Moscow State Historical Museum 49472: Skudnova 1958, 124, cat. 15, from a plundered grave, 1911 excavations; Sorokina 1957, colour plate 1.2 (combat between 2 warrior, flanking mantle figure[s]). Moscow State Historical Museum 49473: Skudnova 1958, 124, cat. 16, from grave 70/25 excavated 1911; Sorokina 1957, colour plate 1.3 (Herakles with centaur and Iolaos?).

¹⁸⁶ Hermonassa cemetery: Sorokina 1961, fig. 16.3. State Hermitage 1938.25 (black-glaze, grave 1); 1938.30 and 31 (both black figure, grave 3); 1938.46 (grave 8), 1938.23 (black-glaze, grave 21). Farmakovskii 1913, 182–183 reports the purchase of a black-figure lekythos (sphinx between two mantle figures) ‘from Taman’. Volna 1: Solovyov and Butyagin 2002, fig. 12. Tuzla: Sorokina 1957, 20, fig. 8.1–5, all black-figure of the late sixth or early fifth century.

ably from the Beldam workshop. Black-figure lekythoi from this workshop are also found in the cemetery at Hermonassa.¹⁸⁷ There is only one possibly later lekythos among our material. The shape of **58** is uncertain, but its full-bodied yet squat profile is plausible for a lekythos, and its decoration, a single female head, places it securely in the middle decades of the fourth century. Only one group of lekythoi from the cemetery is published, those from the Tomb of the Polychrome Vases of the end of the fifth or early fourth century, excavated in the village of Sennoi in 1869.¹⁸⁸ This is a large group comprising three red-figure lekythoi in the manner of the Eretria Painter and one from the Meidian circle,¹⁸⁹ plus six polychrome moulded lekythoi including the much discussed sphinx, Aphrodite and siren.¹⁹⁰ While the polychrome lekythoi seem to be exceptional pieces, especially in such quantity, it is harder to know how common red-figure lekythoi were in lesser graves. Elsewhere in the Taman, published examples of red-figure or white ground lekythoi are very few. There are red-figure lekythoi reported from graves at Hermonassa and Tuzla Point,¹⁹¹ and white ground from Tuzla Point and among an unprovenanced collection from the peninsula recovered from tomb robbers in 1911.¹⁹² There is as yet no published evidence from the Phanagoria settlement or cemetery for the latest lekythoi, such as the late fourth or early third century black-glaze type known from Hermonassa.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁷ Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 32.1 and probably also fig. 32.2, both from burial 3 (area II 1938).

¹⁸⁸ Farmakovskii 1921 (see 42 on chronology).

¹⁸⁹ Farmakovskii 1921, 5 notes 9, 10 (= CR 1870–1871, pl. VI.4, 9), 11 (= CR 1870–1871, pl. VI.5, 9), 12 (= CR 1870–1871, pl. VI.2, 9, State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1869.48, circle of Eretria Painter). (Φα)Pha1869.49 (circle of Eretria Painter); (Φα)Pha1869.50 (circle of Eretria Painter); (Φα)Pha1869.51 (circle of Meidias Painter).

¹⁹⁰ Farmakovskii 1921, 29–40, pl. 1, 2 (Sphinx), 6–19, pl. 3 (Aphrodite), 20–28, pl. 2 (Siren), 4 note 7, 43 (bird), 4 note 8 (CR 1870–1871, 165, pl. II.4; woman wearing chiton and himation and holding in her left hand a chest), 4 note 9, 43 (interpreted by Farmakovskii as a dancing winged demon in oriental dress, and not a Boread as read by Stephani).

¹⁹¹ Hermonassa: *Otchet* 1912, 50, Shkorpil's excavations, lekythos depicting a female figure standing by a stool, not illustrated. Tuzla Point: *Otchet* 1911, 38, cat. 5; Farmakovskii 1912, 330–331, cat. 5, head of Perseus.

¹⁹² Tuzla point: *Otchet* 1911, 38, cat. 3; Farmakovskii 1912, 330, cat. 3. Unprovenanced (Tuzla area?): Sorokina 1957, colour plate 1.1 (purchased by Shkorpil in 1911; truncated 'dash and dot' lotus on shoulder, palmette frieze on upper body); *Otchet* 1911, 41, 43, cat. 4.

¹⁹³ *Taman Museum*, cat. 73, chance find, Taman town.

Squat lekythos. On present evidence, this is the single most widespread closed vessel form in the Taman area. It occurs in both burial and settlement contexts, and was probably used for variety of purposes. At least one example in Temryuk Museum (provenance unknown, perhaps Tyramba) contains a small clay pellet which, following the suggestion of Sparkes in relation to the Talcott Class, may have served to aid the flow of liquid, or perhaps (as a secondary function) as a rattle.¹⁹⁴ In addition to the widespread use of imports, the shape was also made locally. Examples of Phanagorian manufacture with palmette decoration are numerous. Apart from finds at Tyramba,¹⁹⁵ one comes from Chernomorskii, for example, and a further piece which has lost its surface was found in the area of the 'Phanagoria Fortress'.¹⁹⁶

The two main patterned groups (those with palmettes and the reticulate decoration of the Bulas Group) are well represented across the region. Of the Palmette type, following Olynthos terminology, very few of the earliest, type 1, are reported (there are none in the Phanagoria material, but one possibly from Tyramba and one from Tuzla Point cemetery).¹⁹⁷ Most date from the second quarter of the fourth century onwards and belong to Olynthos type 2. There are six examples, **59–63**, among our Phanagoria settlement material, and as Loseva notes, they are represented in earlier city excavations.¹⁹⁸ Palmette squat lekythoi also occur in the Phanagoria cemetery,¹⁹⁹ and are widespread at other settlement and burial sites across the Taman, including Tyramba, Kepoi, Belii Khutor, Chernomorskii, Starotitarovskaya, Novotamanskii tumulus 2, and Taman Terminal.²⁰⁰ Equally common are examples of the Bulas Group which are present in the

¹⁹⁴ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 9. Sparkes 1977, 15, 24.

¹⁹⁵ Korovina 1968, fig. 16.5.

¹⁹⁶ Chernomorskii: Limberis and Marchenko 1997, fig. 1.5. Phanagoria Fortress: State Hermitage T1872.32.

¹⁹⁷ Tyramba(?): *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 9. Tuzla: State Hermitage T1911.12.

¹⁹⁸ Loseva 1968, 86 under cat. 3.

¹⁹⁹ State Hermitage T1859.3. Kobylina 1951b, 249, reports an example from the 1948 excavations in the East Cemetery area but not in a grave context. See Appendix 1, also note 202 below for a report of palmette and Bulas Group lekythoi from graves on the Shapirov property.

²⁰⁰ Tyramba: Korovina 1968, figs. 16.7, 10; 1987, 33, fig. 20 (grave 150); *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 10–13. Kepoi: Sokolskii 1965, 113–115, fig. 40.2, from kurgan 3, 1962 excavations. Belii Khutor, from the area of the burial chamber: *Taman Museum*, cats. 109–114. Chernomorskii, tumulus 2 grave 13: *Taman Museum*, cat. 84; Limberis and Marchenko 1997, 46. Starotitarovskaya: *Taman Museum*, 44, cat. 85 (KM 6464/13, PM 2733/14). Novotamanskii and Taman Terminal: *Taman Museum*, 44.

Phanagoria settlement (noting especially the unquantified number of examples reported, including those from the Kerameikos area in the south-east city),²⁰¹ and also in graves.²⁰² Examples have also been reported from the cemeteries of Kepoi, Hermonassa, Tyramba, Tuzla Point, Akhtanizovskii Kurgan, a burial mound on the south shore of Taman bay, Chernomorskii, Starotitarovskaya, and Novotamanskii tumulus 2.²⁰³ The chronology of both classes is considered above.

Figured examples are not present among the material published in this study, but this is likely to be a matter of chance as they are reported from previous excavations. Loseva, for example, notes that all common subjects are present, including couchant panthers and winged Nikai, and she illustrates an example with a head of Hermes.²⁰⁴ Two further examples, with a swan and a hare, come from the excavation of a kurgan belonging to the Phanagoria cemetery on Shapirov property in Sennoi.²⁰⁵ Figured squat lekythoi are found at several other sites in the Taman, including, for example, the cemeteries of Hermonassa and Tuzla Point, and one from Bolshaya Bliznitsa.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Kobylina 1967, 125.

²⁰² State Hermitage, T1874.36, T1879.36; Blavatskii 1951, 217, from grave 116, 1939 excavations on Hill D. From the Phanagoria cemetery, Shapirov property (Sennoi): *CR* 1875, xiv–xvii, mentions three further palmette or net lekythoi in tomb 7 and one ‘checked’ in tomb 6.

²⁰³ Kepoi: Sokolskii 1965, 113–115, not illustrated. Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1872.33 (in debris of burials within ‘Phanagoria Fortress’). Tyramba: Korovina 1968, figs. 16.4, 6, 9; *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 14, 15. Tuzla: State Hermitage T1911.14 (see also Sorokina 1957, fig. 8.7). Akhtanizovski Kurgan: *Otchet* 1900, 46–47. Taman Bay: State Hermitage T1872.49. Chernomorskii, tumulus 2 grave 13: Limberis and Marchenko 1997, 46. Starotitarovskaya: *Taman Museum*, 43–44 (KM 6461/16, KM 6461/17, PM 2733/18, PM 2733/19, PM 2733/26). Novotamanskii: *Taman Museum*, 43–44.

²⁰⁴ Loseva 1968, 86 under cat. 3, (Φα)Pha452, fig. 3.1 (Hermes, 1949 excavations). A further example of the same type is illustrated by Blavatskii 1951, 215, fig. 15.7 from a non-grave context in the cemetery area on Hill D, 1939 excavations (= CVA Moscow 6 [Russia 6], pl. 47), 4–7). See also Loseva 1989, 86 under cat. 3, (Φα)Pha123, fig. 3.4, from grave 91 in Cemetery B (west cemetery, 1938 excavations = Blavatskii 1951, fig. 4.4 and CVA Moscow 6 [Russia 6], pl. 43, 3–6). Blavatskii 1951, 208 reports a ‘red-figure aryballoid lekythos’ from grave 28 in the 1939 coastal excavations.

²⁰⁵ *CR* 1875, xiv–xvii; State Hermitage T1875.6 (hare), T1875.7 (swan).

²⁰⁶ Hermonassa: *Otchet* 1915, 143, cat. 15 (hind), cat. 16 (swan). Tuzla: State Hermitage T1913.43 (deer); Sorokina 1957, fig. 8.6 (grave 64[19], 1911 excavations), pl. 9.1 (grave 112[67], 1911), pl. 9.2 (1911 excavations). Bolshaya Bliznitsa: Williams and Ogden 1994, 180, note what they describe as a miniature with two Amazon heads found at the feet of the skeleton in grave 3.

Black-glaze lekythoi with stamped decoration so far appear to be rare, with just one published example from the Phanagoria cemetery.²⁰⁷ Other less common types, present in the region but not among our material, are a banded black-glaze lekythos of the third quarter of the fifth century from the Hermonassa cemetery, and a fourth century example with linear decoration which was found by chance in the area of Hermonassa.²⁰⁸

Other. There are no perfume pots in the present assemblage nor among published finds from Phanagoria. The three published examples from the Taman all date to the first half or mid-fourth century, and come from grave contexts. The Talcott class is represented by one early fourth century black-glaze example from a symposium/dining area associated with the Starotitarovskaya tumulus,²⁰⁹ and a silver version from a burial in the Zellenskaya tumulus, again of a form best paralleled in the first half of the fourth century (leading Sparkes to suggest that it may be an heirloom since the grave is dated late in the century by a gold stater of Alexander III).²¹⁰ The other principal black-glaze shape in this category, the relatively rare mastos shape, may have served a function akin to an askos, perhaps as a strainer; there is an example in the Tuzla point cemetery.²¹¹ Feeders or fillers are also absent from our material,²¹² although there are instances from other sites in the Taman. One in the Temryuk Museum has no secure provenance, but may come from Tyramba: it has stamped decoration (linked palmettes) around the rim, identical to an example from the Samothrace H necropolis, and dates *ca.* 450–424.²¹³ A second, fourth century, example with

²⁰⁷ State Hermitage T1859.5. See Gill 1986a, 168–169 for discussion of the type, noting that it is more common in the west than the east.

²⁰⁸ Black-glaze: Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 28, from tomb 21 (area I, 1938). Linear: *Taman Museum*, cat. 90.

²⁰⁹ Bogoslovskii 1983, pl. IX.1; *Taman Museum*, cat. 77, as Sparkes 1977, A7–A13. This vessel is one of a number which beg the question of whether silverwork was really bound by the chronological development of ceramic shapes, or whether ‘anachronistic’ vessels were made either because they suited the medium or because their ‘traditional’ shapes were perceived as somehow appropriate for the circumstances in which they were used or deposited.

²¹⁰ Farmakovskii 1913, fig. 16 (see 180–184 for tomb contents); Sparkes 1977, 22–23, D1; Gill 1986b, 16, figs. 18, 19.

²¹¹ State Hermitage T1913.42; *Otchet* 1915, 143, cat. 17; Sorokina 1957, fig. 15.5: as *Agora* XII, 163–164, cat. 1205, *ca.* 375–325.

²¹² On these types, see Gill 1986a, 189–190.

²¹³ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 16; cf. *Samothrace* 11, 695, H3–A; *Agora* XII, cat. 1197.

wave pattern around the rim, comes from a collection of finds probably derived from a disturbed grave in the 'Phanagoria Fortress'.²¹⁴

4. TOILET VESSELS

The only example of a definite toilet vessel is the late fifth or fourth century Type C pyxis **65**, which is paralleled also in the Hermonassa cemetery.²¹⁵ From a child grave in the Phanagoria cemetery comes a Type B pyxis with West Slope decoration (ivy plus spearhead necklace) published by Kobylina, again a form paralleled in burials elsewhere (see the examples from a grave on the road between Tuzla and Hermonassa listed in note 35).²¹⁶

As mentioned in Chapter 1, vessels here classified under other functional categories may well have served toilet functions. Likely candidates include squat lekythoi and lekanides, especially those with the feminine imagery of boudoir scenes and Erotes favoured in later red-figure. Even so, toilet vessels seem to form a low proportion of Attic imports overall. It may therefore be that such imports or even pottery *per se* were not favoured, and that other media were used for these purposes. This is borne out, for example, by the variety of wooden pyxis shapes attested at Olbia, Kerch and in the Taman, including examples akin to both Attic Type C and Type D pyxides.²¹⁷ Glass was also used for a whole range of small bottles and containers,²¹⁸ and perhaps

²¹⁴ State Hermitage T1872.31. For type, see *Olynthos* XIII, 265, 267, pl. 178, cats. 479–480; Kern 1957.

²¹⁵ State Hermitage T1817.3 (Imperial Commission excavation, grave 2); with graffito ΕΠ ΘΗΑΕ.

²¹⁶ Kobylina 1989, fig. 34. Tuzla grave, see note 35 above (T1885.1, T1885.4).

²¹⁷ Rieth 1955; Wasowicz 1964, 188–198.

²¹⁸ For a summary review, see Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, 233–234 (Sorokina). For core-formed vessels with Taman provenances, see Sorokina 1957, 20, pl. III (Tuzla); McClellan 1984, 176.15 (Taman peninsula), 205.14 (Kepoi), and 250.1 (Type III.C.ii, Bolshaya Bliznitsa), noting also the large number of pieces throughout his catalogue from Panticapaeum, 'South Russia', Olbia and Apollonia Pontica. See Kunina 2002 for glass from the Taman peninsula, and Kunina 1997, *passim*, for illustration of glass of all periods from sites in the Bosporan kingdom. In addition to the extensive literature on the manufacture and distribution of early glass, see Stern 1999 for discussion of the wide range of glass shapes in the inventory of the Parthenon and Asklepeion in Athens, highlighting the regular use of glass in a variety of techniques back at least into the sixth century, to judge from recently discovered evidence from

marble too, as this is attested in a variety of regions.²¹⁹ **65** is thus an unusual vessel in the context of Attic import overall, but by contrast with a similarly isolated find which was so out of place in the Athenian Agora public dining room deposit that Rotroff and Oakley debated whether it could have served some table function,²²⁰ it seems more likely that **65** represents a fashion which never really caught on at Phanagoria.²²¹

5. DRINKING VESSELS

Mug. Despite its sturdy construction, practicality for shipment, and potential multiple uses as a dipper, jug or drinking vessel,²²² the mug is not a popular shape in this collection. Four examples, **66–69**, are probably all Pheidian shapes of the second half of the fifth century, although in so far as can be determined, they differ in proportion or decoration. There is no evidence for earlier, pre-Pheidian, versions of the shape.²²³ Mugs occur in small numbers elsewhere, at Hermonassa and in the Tuzla Point cemetery for example (the latter probably slightly earlier than the Phanagoria examples by virtue of the rim profile).²²⁴ But on present evidence, they seem not to have been widely popular, at least in ceramic form.

Skyphos. Skyphoi are comparatively rare in this assemblage and considerably less popular than cup-skyphoi. The Corinthian type is less common than the Attic, but four black-glaze examples (**70–72**, plus the unpublished State Hermitage

Pydna, and with bibliography of representative finds drawn from all areas (see e.g. 46–47, fig. 22 for a late fourth–early third century lidded bowl with gold leaf and painted decoration, said to be from Olbia).

²¹⁹ Marble pyxides from Brauron: *BCH* 87, 1963, 708, fig. 14 (Type C at top left).

²²⁰ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 12, cat. 80.

²²¹ This compares closely with settlement finds from Asia Minor, where pyxides are generally few and widely scattered chronologically: see e.g. *Daskyleion* I, cats. 234, 663?, 664–665. Old Smyrna: Tuna-Nörling 1995, cat. 216; 1998, cat. 56. Phocaea: Tuna-Nörling 1995, 106, table 2, note 152. *Clazomenai*, cats. 173–175, 188?

²²² *Agora* XII, 70, see 71–76 on shape varieties.

²²³ See Gill 1986a, 52–54, on the export of earlier types.

²²⁴ Hermonassa: *Taman Museum*, cat. 14, ribbed, perhaps squat; State Hermitage T1857.1, ribbed (for its graffito see Tolstoi 1953, 143–144, cat. 248). Tuzla: State Hermitage T1913.44 (plain wall); Sorokina 1957, fig. 10.8 (Shkorpil's excavations of 1913, no grave context known).

T1872.66), one black-figure (73) and one red-figure (74), range widely in date, from *ca.* 550 perhaps to the first half of the fourth century, with three examples clustered in the mid-fifth. A further mid-fifth century example comes from the cemetery, probably from the tomb of the Polychrome Vases.²²⁵ Elsewhere in the Taman, there are Corinthian skyphoi at, for example, Tuzla and Bolshaya Bliznitsa, the latter site producing two pairs of late fourth century miniature (half-sized) vessels.²²⁶ From the mid-fifth century onwards, Type A is more common, although there are many fewer examples dating to the middle or second half of the fifth century than to the fourth. Fourth century pieces comprise the red-figure 79–87²²⁷ plus two black-glaze pieces (77, 78) of the last quarter of the century,²²⁸ whereas there are just four fifth century skyphoi, two black-glaze (75, 76) and two red-figure (79, 80). While a further skyphos dated *ca.* 475, discovered during the 1965 excavation in the settlement, is too fragmentary to assign to shape, its attribution to the Circle of the Lewis Painter (Polygnotos II) would make Type A most likely. This attribution is also interesting in view of the comparandum cited under 79.²²⁹ There are no earlier Type A skyphoi in our assemblage, although they are attested elsewhere in the Taman (for example in a burial at Yantar),²³⁰ but the chronology of the Phanagoria pieces coincides with the main period of the shape's popularity in the Athenian Agora.²³¹

There is only one example of a red-figure Type B skyphos in the Phanagoria assemblage, the Glaux 88, but this type tends to be widely distributed in small

²²⁵ State Hermitage Pha1869.59 (*ca.* mid-third quarter fifth century); while this does not fit the description of Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 19, as a small flat cup, the sequence of inventory numbers suggests that it must come from this tomb. Two further examples from Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1872.34 (cross-hatched lower body, second half fifth–early fourth century, from 'Phanagoria Fortress'). See also, from Hermonassa (context unknown, perhaps settlement): *Taman Museum*, cat. 32.

²²⁶ Tuzla: Sorokina 1957, fig. 9.4. Bolshaya Bliznitsa: Pruglo 1974, fig. 3 centre; CR 1869, 11, cat. 63.

²²⁷ From Bolshaya Bliznitsa, Loseva 1948, 61 refers to a red-figure skyphos with a centaur-machy by Aristophon in the State Hermitage.

²²⁸ Cf. from Hermonassa (context unknown, perhaps settlement): *Taman Museum*, cats. 23, 29, 34 (the type of nos. 33, 35, 36 cannot be determined). Grave south of Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1913.83, probably first half of the fourth century.

²²⁹ CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 38.2.

²³⁰ *Taman Museum*, cat. 76 (*ca.* 500–480).

²³¹ Agora XXX, 63.

quantities. There are, for example, published Glaukes from Tyramba and the Tuzla Point cemetery (where the shape also appears in black-glaze).²³² There is no secure evidence for other classes of skyphos such as, for example, the Pistias type, again attested elsewhere in the Taman.²³³

Cup-skyphos. In both red- and black-figure, this shape is much more popular than the skyphos, and a narrow second only to cups. In black-glaze it is less common and, with the exception of **93** (500–480),²³⁴ it is a late fifth or early fourth century shape. Heavy walled versions (**94** perhaps ribbed, **95–97**) are favoured over light (**98**).²³⁵ While most black-figure cup-skyphoi date to the end of the Archaic period (*ca.* 500–480) there are a number of sixth century examples, the earliest of which is the A1 or A2 (**99**) with FP decoration (*ca.* 540–510),²³⁶ noting also the A1 or A2 shape **100–103**, dating from 530 onwards and **104** which may be of the Sub-Krokotos Group. Five further Type C or B sherds (**105–109**) are more likely late sixth century, although they could go into the first decade of the fifth, and three sherds which cannot be assigned to Ure type (**115–117**) are datable only generally to the late sixth or early fifth century. The decoration of these pieces, where restorable, is unre-

²³² Tyramba: Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. XLVIII.6. Tuzla Point: Farmakovskii 1912, 330, cat. 4 (= *Otchet* 1911, 38, cat. 4; Sorokina 1957, pl. II.1, grave 122[77]). Black-glaze Type B from Tuzla: State Hermitage T1911.30, Sorokina 1957, fig. 9.7, (Grave 99[52]), *ca.* 500–450 (perhaps *ca.* 450). For further examples, see e.g. Chersonesus: Zedgenidze 1978, fig. 4.3. Elizavetovskoe: Brashinskii 1976, fig. 4. Pichvnari: Tsetskhladze 1999, fig. 95; *Daskyleion* I, cats. 465–470; Tuna-Nörling 1995, cats. 12, 13. Sardis: Ramage 1997, Att130, 131.

²³³ Hermonassa: Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. XL.17, *ca.* 515–490.

²³⁴ Black-glaze cup-skyphoi of this date are attested elsewhere — at Hermonassa, for example (e.g. State Hermitage T1916.6, from the area of the Spa Institute in Taman town).

²³⁵ A vessel from grave 7 in the Phanagoria East Cemetery published by Kobylina 1951b, 241, fig. 2.4 appears from the published photograph to be a heavy-walled cup-skyphos as *Agora* XII, cat. 612 (*ca.* 420–380), rather than a ribbed stemless, although no profile is published and the two shapes are closely linked (Gill 1986a, M59, also sees it as a cup-skyphos). Beazley (*Beazley Gifts*, s.v. cat. 415) noted it as a stemless, but evidently not from autopsy. From Hermonassa, see also *Taman Museum*, cats. 6 and 18, both with graffiti. From Tyramba: Korovina 1968, fig. 16.1 (grave 9); *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 19. Further sherds which could come from either shape have been found at Hermonassa: *Taman Museum* cats. 13, 16, 19, *ca.* 460–380. From Hermonassa, Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 30.3 (burial 3, area II, 1938 excavations) is a cup-skyphos of the Manchester class (= Gill 1986a, M19).

²³⁶ Jackson 1976, 60 emphasises the Ionianising nature of this scheme.

markable, although the eye of **117** (and see perhaps also **152**) is interesting, since at Phanagoria this motif is rare on skyphoi or cups (see the Type A cup **231** and the cup or skyphos **192**), in marked contrast to Athens.²³⁷ This is indeed surprising since, as has already been remarked on in the case of FP decoration and will be further noted in discussion of cups, Ionianising decoration was generally favoured at Phanagoria, and the eye scheme has been seen to be derived from Ionia.²³⁸ In view of the fact that eyes are quite well represented at Panticapaeum this could be chance, or it may be that the diagnostic areas of decoration have been lost (although eyes generally tend to dominate). But it is perhaps worth noting that eye motifs on Attic cups and skyphoi are not reported in large numbers at Ionian sites (perhaps they were simply too familiar in style).²³⁹

Of the major late Archaic workshops represented at Phanagoria, the Haimon Group dominates, with only one probable K2 skyphos (**118**) bearing a palmette in the distinctive form of the Painter of Elaeous I, and five fragments (or possibly six, noting **192**) probably attributable to the CHC Group,²⁴⁰ namely three with Dionysiac imagery (**110**, **113**, **114**) and two with sphinx-flanked figures (**111**, **112**). This mixture closely reflects that current in contemporary Athenian settlement contexts,²⁴¹ and the popularity of the Haimon Group in particular is predictable as it is found so widely across the northern Aegean,

²³⁷ *Agora*, XXIII, 66–67.

²³⁸ Jackson 1976, 60–70.

²³⁹ At Clazomenai there are 4 or 5 examples, all cups (*Clazomenai*, cats. 46–50, 53?), at Sardis, 2 (Ramage 1997, Att68, 69), 2? at Daskyleion (*Daskyleion* I, cat. 76; Görkay 1999, cat. 97), 10 at Old Smyrna (Tuna-Nörling 1995, cats. 109–118) and one at Pitane (*ibid.*, cat. 68 [Old Smyrna]). Tuna-Nörling 2002a, cat. 51 illustrates one example from Phocaea. Published examples of eyes (generally eye cups) from other Black Sea sites suggest a wide distribution: among a wide selection of material, see e.g. Solovyov 1999, figs. 83.1, 84 (Berezan). Panticapaeum: CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), e.g. pls. 62, 64; Sidorova 1984, figs. 17–19, 22, 25; 1992a, 190, 194, fig. 13; 1992b, figs. 13–16. Olbia: Skudnova 1988, cats. 1, 10, 50, 82, 140, 266 (cups), 122 (mastos). In the northern Aegean, numbers are currently hard to assess; published references include a cup from grave 10 in the Panagouda cemetery at Polychrono (noting that the ceramic repertoire in both the Panagouda and Nyphe cemeteries is very similar to that at Phanagoria: Vokotopoulou 1990), and also from Oisyme (Yiouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, 372).

²⁴⁰ For the CHC Group at Hermonassa, see CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), 46, pl. 49.5 GMII F-1373 (= Sidorova 1987, 113, fig. 10a, from the 1968 excavations).

²⁴¹ Shear 1993, 393–395, table 1; *Agora* XXIII, 95–96.

Ionia and the Black Sea²⁴² as well as locally in the Taman at, for example, Hermonassa.²⁴³ Twenty-four vessels (**119–142**) can be attributed to the Haimon or Lancut Groups (plus a further four published examples).²⁴⁴ Of these, **140** belongs to the Lancut Group, **128** has a Lancut-style open palmette and silhouette decoration (although see below on iconography), and nine sherds could belong to either group. Bearing in mind that both groups decorate the shallow K2 and R (or pinchbase) forms that Beazley identifies in the Lancut Group, it is frequently difficult to distinguish them in sherd assemblages unless pieces preserve sufficient of the profile, the distinctive open palmette, or sufficient of the figure decoration to confirm the absence of incision. Shefton has recently highlighted the concentration of Lancut Group vessels in particular around the margins of the Greek world, and whatever proportion of the questionable pieces from Phanagoria prove to belong to this Group, there is at least some evidence here to strengthen his case.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, he notes the

²⁴² Shefton 1999, on the distribution of the Lancut Group (also offers useful information on the distribution of the wider Haimon Group). In the northern Aegean, descriptions of drinking cup shapes and decoration at all the major Archaic settlements and cemeteries suggest close similarity with the Phanagoria assemblage, although quantification is not yet possible. Illustrated examples of Haimon Group cup-skyphoi include: Karabournaki: Rey 1932, fig. 3 (*cf.* fig. 4, CHC Group); Tiverios 1990, fig. 11; Pantermali and Trakosopoulou 1994, tomb 9 (see also fig. 9, CHC Group). Sindos: Tiverios 1988b, fig. 13. Polychrono: Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1989, fig. 20 (Nyphé). Parthenonas: Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1990, fig. 23. Tragilos: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983, fig. 15. Oisymi: Yiouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, fig. 15; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990, fig. 19. For an overview of finds from Asia Minor, see Tuna-Nörling 1995, 144–145, table 9. Daskyleion: Görkay 1999, cats. 135, 136, 138–141 (142, 146 = Lancut), 143, 145, 147–148; *Daskyleion* I, cats. 93, 95, 97–106, 108–109, 116–117, 119, 121, 125, 127, 128, 133, 153 (plus a number of other closely related fragments not attributed but with parallels noted from the Haimon Group). Gordion: DeVries 1997, 449. Among extensive Black Sea material, see e.g. Solovyov 1999, figs. 86–88 (Berezan); Skudnova 1988, cats. 52, 206 (Olbia); CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), pls. 52, 53 (Panticapaeum, Olbia?); Sidorova 1984, figs. 23, 24 (Panticapaeum); Sidorova 1992a, 198–199 (Panticapaeum); Sidorova 1992b, 228–230 (Panticapaeum); Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pls. IV.7 (Nikonion), CXLII.6 (Tiritaka); *Histria* IV, cats. 359–360, 364–365.

²⁴³ CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), 50, pl. 53.3 (= Sidorova 1987, 113, figs. 9a, 10b, from the 1968 excavations); Solovyov and Butyagin 2002, fig. 11 (Volna 1). Probably related is a K2 skyphos with ivy decoration, recovered from tomb robbers and with a Taman provenance: *Otchet* 1911, 41, cat. 3, fig. 76 (see under **143**).

²⁴⁴ Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.5; Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, figs. 9.8 (XLVIII/11), 9.9 (XLIX/11), 9.15 (XLV/112).

²⁴⁵ Shefton 1999.

coincidence of distribution of Lancut Group vessels and those with coral or intentional red; while there is no evidence for the latter in our material, it is interesting to note the presence of a ribbed phiale (**355**), a form which usually bears coral red, although here it is entirely glazed as preserved.

To return to the Phanagoria cup-skyphoi, **119–133**, **140–141** are probably K2 or closely related types, **134–138** type R, and **139** and **142** could be either. In many cases only handle palmettes are preserved; where iconography can be restored, it covers a range of established subjects, including chariot teams (**119–121**),²⁴⁶ a rider (**140**), possible Herakles figures (**122**, **126**), what may be a gigantomachy (**127**), and highly fragmentary examples of Dionysiac scenes (**124**, **129–130**). Of particular interest is the distinctive silhouette figure of **128**, which as noted in Chapter 2, has near identical parallels at Oria, Corinth, Syllata in Chalkidike and Daskyleion. It is perhaps unsurprising that few serious attempts have been made to identify individual hands within the Haimon Group,²⁴⁷ but these pieces form such a close and distinctive group that there is a strong case for identifying them as the work of an individual hand, and interestingly, one whose output was widely distributed to east and west. It should also be noted that, in the absence of contextual controls, rather than seeking to place individual pieces more precisely on stylistic grounds,²⁴⁸ I have dated all the Haimon Group and associated pieces within one general bracket (although their lower terminal date is debatable and good cases can be made for continuation to 470 or even 460). Quite apart from the fragmentary state of the material, five or ten year distinctions, even if reliable, are unlikely to be meaningful in establishing which pieces were in use at any one time at a site so distant from Athens.²⁴⁹ The remaining fragments in our assemblage can only rarely be assigned to shape, but tend to be K2 or R where even a general description is possible (**143–145**, **149**). The Class R **150** is the only piece in the present collection which could date later in the fifth century, noting a parallel from a well-dated grave at Elateia, but it need not do so and we lack

²⁴⁶ From Phanagoria cemetery, see also State Hermitage T1870.59.

²⁴⁷ See, however, Rotroff and Oakley 1992, cat. 3.

²⁴⁸ As does, for example, Tuna-Nörthing in *Daskyleion* I.

²⁴⁹ Kurtz 1975, 150–152, places the Haimon Painter's lekythoi late in the first quarter or early in the second quarter of the fifth century. Yet they must surely start much earlier as there is good contextual evidence (notably from Clazomenai: Ersoy 1993, 258–264, 299) placing Haimon Group cup-skyphoi in the late sixth century, and both forms are present in quantity in the Persian destruction debris in the Athenian Agora (Shear 1993, 393–394, table 1).

secure evidence for the continuation at Phanagoria of black-figure cup-skyphoi beyond the Archaic period. Other forms of skyphos or cup-skyphos are rare and the fragmentary state of the material usually precludes secure identification. **154** and **155** could be Hermogenean (a rare group at Phanagoria).²⁵⁰

Red-figure cup-skyphoi of the first half of the fourth century or slightly later (see above) are even more popular, with twenty-nine examples (**156–184**) in this sample plus a further ten published pieces (three of which come from the cemetery).²⁵¹ While our material is fragmentary, its overall quality is high. In many cases (**170–178**, **181–184**), only body palmettes and/or the rim with its interior wreath are preserved, perhaps with a fragment of a figure (**168**, **169**, **179**, **180**), and little more can therefore be said. Largely due to the state of preservation, attributable pieces are few. The greatest number of sherds linked to any single workshop are **158–167**, all associated with varying degrees of proximity with the Q Painter, noting that perhaps the most closely attributable pieces, **162–165**, are possibly, but not provably, part of one vessel. Otherwise **157** probably belongs within the circle of the Jena Painter:²⁵² while the majority of our red-figure cup-skyphoi probably had stamped interiors, this plus **156** are rare instances where the right part of the vessel is represented for this to be preserved. In the case of **156**, the interior motif finds its closest parallel in the work of the Meleager Painter, but too little is preserved to attribute. A slightly earlier and more elaborate piece, dated by Loseva to the end of the fifth century and attributed to an artist in the circle of Aison or Aristophon, comes from the West Cemetery, but not from a preserved grave context.²⁵³ Published red-figure cup-skyphoi from the Taman area include examples from

²⁵⁰ The range among published finds from the Taman is much the same. For a Dog Group piece from Hermonassa, see CVA Moscow 1 (Russia 1), GMII F1591, 47, pl. 50.4, from the 1985 excavations, *ca.* 500.

²⁵¹ Loseva 1968, 86–87 (noting its general popularity in the settlement), cat. 5, pl. 4.1–3, fig. 5.1 (Ph54K IX-3 no. 1401), 91 fig. 5.2 (Ph49. x <G> V-VI/29 no. 379); Kobylina 1967, fig. 48.2, further example noted 127. Cemetery: State Hermitage T1859.1, burial mound 2 (Gertz excavations) noted CR 1859, xiii–xiv (2 draped youths plus tympanon); Loseva 1968, 91, Ph38 H Bl 4/1–6 no. 14 (East Cemetery), draped youths; see also notes 51 and 52 above.

²⁵² Two cup-skyphoi from the burial mound on the Shapirov farm close to Sennoi, which produced the Europa Group fishplates (see below), and which formed part of the Phanagoria cemetery, are also in the manner of the Jena Painter: State Hermitage T1872.24 and T1872.25.

²⁵³ Ph38 HB IV/IX 188, from the area of the amphora dump in the West Cemetery, 1938 excavations: Loseva 1948 (= Blavatskii 1951, fig. 4.3), tondo scene of two revellers (one with thyrsos) with on exterior, palmette.

Hermonassa, Malaya Bliznitsa and a group in the Taman Museum thought to come from the peninsula, but without precise provenance.²⁵⁴

Bolsal. There is only one certain bolsal in the present collection, **92**, which probably dates to the end of the fifth or early fourth century. While unpublished examples in the State Hermitage raise the number slightly,²⁵⁵ this does not on present evidence seem to have been a particularly popular shape in the Phanagoria settlement, nor at the other major sites on the peninsula.²⁵⁶ If so, this may seem surprising as the shape is otherwise widespread, and its sturdy build makes it readily transportable.²⁵⁷ However, other such 'practical' shapes such as mugs or Castulo cups (see below) are also rare if they appear at all.

Cup. Cups are by far the most common Attic fineware form at Phanagoria during all phases of import, although favoured technique varies over time, with black-glaze appearing in quantity in this collection only from the last decades of the fifth century onwards. The majority of Archaic cups have black-figure decoration (Fig. 6), with black-glaze confined to Type C, small stemless cups with bevelled foot (**272, 273**),²⁵⁸ and then in Early Classical times to Acrocups. Securely sixth century figured examples include one piece with a clear debt to the Ionian repertoire, **218** of the Kamiros Palmette Group, and then approximately

²⁵⁴ Hermonassa: CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pls. 29.2 (perhaps Meidias Painter), 39.1 (in the manner of the Meleager Painter, but not attributable). Malaya Bliznitsa: *Otchet* 1907, 85, figs. 86–88. *Taman Museum*, 25–27 (stemless cups).

²⁵⁵ State Hermitage T1872.60, foot with a swastika graffito (the latter paralleled on vessels of same period, in the founder collection of the Stavropol museum: Malyshev 1993, figs. 3.a, b). Three further bases, all of the second half of the fifth century, may come from stemless cups or bolsals: State Hermitage T1869.38 (graffito MEFA = Tolstoi 1953, 142, cat. 246), T1870.20, T1870.21.

²⁵⁶ Hermonassa cemetery: Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 7.2 (= Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. CXLIV.2, grave 13, 1931 excavations, context third quarter-second half fifth century); State Hermitage T1872.35 (from 'Phanagoria Fortress', probably early fourth century). Grave 10km south of Hermonassa on the road to Tuzla: State Hermitage T1913.106 (last quarter fifth century or slightly later?); Sorokina 1957, fig. 15.3 (grave 12, 1913 excavations).

²⁵⁷ Gill 1984; 1986a, 127–130.

²⁵⁸ See also, from graves ca. 10km south of Hermonassa, State Hermitage T1913.96 (Gill 1986a, 97–98, among the earliest type of stemless). A small stemless cup, ca. 480, comes from Hermonassa (settlement?): *Taman Museum*, cat. 119. See also Korovina 1987, fig. 10, from Tyramba (grave 120), one of two such cups.

equal numbers of Droop cups (**198, 199, 201, 202**, and probably also **200, 203** and **204**) and Cassel cups (**205–211**). Some band cups date this early (**212–214**),²⁵⁹ but as many are either undatable within the Late Archaic period (**217**)²⁶⁰ or belong to the first decades of the fifth century, contemporary with the large scale import of Leafless Group and related cups (as the Haimon Group **215**, see also **216**). With the exception of the Haimon Group chariot scene, none of the band cup iconography is sufficiently preserved to reconstruct. The comparative paucity of band cups and the absence of lip cups in this sample form an interesting point of comparison with Ionia where they occur in some quantity: in the four large published collections of comparable date to Phanagoria (Old Smyrna, Pitane, Daskyleion and Clazomenai), they are more popular than Droop or Cassel cups.²⁶¹ It is tempting to suggest that the decorative style of Droop and Cassel cups may have been an attraction to a community used to importing East Greek pottery.²⁶² Another possible explanation may lie in the comparatively late date of the Phanagoria cups, since as Ersoy points out, while the majority fall within the conventional date bracket of 540–510 (and probably in the last quarter of the century), there are indica-

²⁵⁹ From the Phanagoria cemetery, see also State Hermitage T1870.55, band cup (sphinxes, ca. 550–530). From Kepoi: Treister and Vinogradov 1993, fig. 23.7.

²⁶⁰ See also Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.2, from a drain in house 5, south city. Sidorova 1987, fig. 8 from Hermonassa (band-cup shape but black-glaze).

²⁶¹ The following statistics are based on published figured wares (the only type likely to be significantly underrepresented as a result is Type C). Old Smyrna (combining figures from Boardman 1959 and Tuna-Nörbling 1995): Type A/B = 59, Band = 41, Floral band = 36, Droop = 20, Cassel = 20, Lip = 12. Pitane (Tuna-Nörbling 1995): Band = 22, Komast = 5, Lip = 5, Droop = 4, Cassel = 4, Type B/B = 3, Floral band = 3. Daskyleion (combining figures from *Daskyleion* I and Görkay 1999): Band = 63, Cassel = 60, Lip = 39, Type A/B = 26, Floral band = 18, Droop = 12. *Clazomenai*: Type A/B = 25, Band = 21, Lip = 11, Droop = 5, Cassel = 4. I am grateful to Norbert Kunisch for confirming that band cups are similarly popular at Miletus. Tuna-Nörbling 1993, re figs. 13–15 (see Tuna-Nörbling 2002a, cats. 41–44), notes that Little Master cups are common at Phocaea. The sample from Ephesos is too small (9 pieces published in *Ephesos* XII/1) and the chronological focus of *Samos* XXII is too early for valid comparison with Phanagoria.

²⁶² This is not to suggest that either is derived from East Greek. The Lakonian connections of the Droop cup are well documented (Ure 1932, 70–71; 1953, 46–50), as is the derivation of the Cassel cup from the Siana (see most recently Brijder 1993, 140–145, who notes also arguments for Lakonian affinities). The point is merely that they are less obviously different than other cup types from previous imports.

tions that black-glaze versions of the shape continued to be used into the fifth century in Athens itself, where it merges into the Acrocup.²⁶³

A further category of black-figure cups which is slightly better represented than those so far discussed is the palmette or floral band cup, a type generally common not only in later Archaic deposits in Athens, but also in Asia Minor.²⁶⁴ The typology of this class will be the subject of a new study by Ersoy and Tuna-Nörling based substantially on contexts from Clazomenai. The five stage (I–V) scheme outlined in a preliminary fashion by Ersoy and adopted here is based both on profile and palmette form and is accretional, with successive types overlapping through the late sixth and early fifth century.²⁶⁵ Three of our examples can be assigned to Types II or III of the last quarter of the sixth century (**219–221**), and two certainly (**223**, **227**) and two probably (**224** and **225**, the latter perhaps a top-band stemless) to the latest, Type V, of which all but the late **227** (*ca.* 490–460) are likely to belong within the first quarter of the fifth century. A further example of Type V, **226**, comes from the Phanagoria cemetery. Two top-band stemless cups with palmette decoration (**228** and **229**) are likely to date to the second quarter of the fifth century, and two further sherds (including **222**) cannot be assigned to category.²⁶⁶ The Phanagoria examples therefore cover the full chronological span of the class, and while it is perhaps predictable to find early fifth century examples overlapping with the Haimon Group as well as the palmette lekythoi represented in the cemetery (see pp. 189–190 above), a mixture that is well attested in the Persian destruction deposits in the Athenian Agora,²⁶⁷ there is an almost equal number of pieces belonging early in the style, perhaps reflecting their currency in Ionia.

The second most popular class of Archaic cup at Phanagoria is Type C, of which we have four black-glaze sherds (**253–256**),²⁶⁸ four with black-figure gorgon tondos (**257–260** plus a possible fifth in **265**), and two red-figure pieces

²⁶³ Ersoy 1993, 303–304.

²⁶⁴ Athens, Agora: Shear 1993, 395. See statistics in note 261 above. At Miletus, Kunisch (pers. comm.) reports some 12 examples. In the Taman, see e.g. Sorokina 1957, pl. II.2, grave 52[7], 1911 excavations, Tuzla Point.

²⁶⁵ Ersoy 1993, 294–299.

²⁶⁶ See also Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.10, from a drain in house 5, south city.

²⁶⁷ Shear 1993, especially 393–395.

²⁶⁸ See also State Hermitage T1870.18, T1872.67, T1872.68, T1872.69, of which all but the 1st are late (*ca.* 500–480).

discussed below.²⁶⁹ The shape is also popular elsewhere in the Taman peninsula.²⁷⁰ Seven sherds (**253**, **254**, **257–260**, **265**) could go back to the final quarter of the sixth century, while the rest are more likely to be late types dating 500–480. Two rim sherds (**263** and **264**) belong either to Type C or the Class of Agora P 10359.²⁷¹ The range of black-glaze shapes represented here is limited, both during the Archaic and early Classical periods, although Acrocups, Vicups and Rheneia cups are attested elsewhere in the Taman.²⁷² Equally, there are no examples of Castulo cups in the present material, although one previously published sherd from the Phanagoria settlement might belong to a Type C or a Castulo, two securely identifiable examples are published from the Hermonassa area and Tuzla, and a further example comes from Hermonassa.²⁷³ Here too, the omission may seem curious, since this sturdily-

²⁶⁹ As Gill 1986a, 86, notes, Type C cups are among the most widespread and popular Attic export shapes.

²⁷⁰ See e.g. Type C from Hermonassa settlement?: *Taman Museum*, cats. 11, 12, 15, 20, 25, 30, 31, 37. Hermonassa cemetery: Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 43.1 (grave 14, area II, 1938 excavations), with interior stamp. Kepoi: Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. XLIV.4. Graves ca. 10km south of Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1913.95, T1913.128, ca. 500–480. Tuzla cemetery: State Hermitage T1913.1 (Sorokina 1957, fig. 9.5), T1926.7, ca. 500–480; Sorokina 1957, fig. 9.6, pl. 9.3 (1911 grave 108[63]). Starotitarovskaya: *Taman Museum*, cat. 81, ca. 500–480. Where preserved, all examples have an inset lip.

²⁷¹ See also Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.3, Type C or stemless from the Central ‘Agora’ area.

²⁷² Acrocup: Hermonassa cemetery (deep form): Gaidukevich 1959, figs. 30.1, 2 (= Koshe-lenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. CXLIV.4; Gill 1986a, I241), second quarter of the fifth century (burial 3, area II, 1938 excavations). Vicup: Hermonassa settlement(?): *Taman Museum*, cats. 10, 24 (fifth century, second quarter). Tyramba? *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 18, shallow Acrocup or Vicup. Graves ca. 10km south of Hermonassa, State Hermitage T1913.131, Vicup or shallow Acrocup. Rheneia cup: Hermonassa: *Taman Museum*, cat. 21, ca. 480–425 (settlement?); Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 7.3a, b (1931 excavations, = Gill 1986a, 103, J55, noting the use of the same palmette stamp as on a bolsal from Kamiros). Tuzla: Sorokina 1957, fig. 9.2 (low, broad profile suggests a date post 450).

²⁷³ Phanagoria: Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.2.3, Type C or Castulo rim and body sherd (while there is a marked interior offset visible, the angle of the photograph does not show the profile, and I have not seen the piece). Graves ca. 10km south of Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1913.115. Tuzla cemetery: State Hermitage T1911.48. Hermonassa cemetery: Sorokina 1961, fig. 16.7 (stemless or Castulo); Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 41 (= Gill 1986a, J140; burial 8, area II, 1938 excavations). Shefton 1996, 175 also notes a Castulo on exhibition in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, with a Taman peninsula provenance, and a further one (listed under Krasnodar) from Cape Panagia.

built form was designed to withstand the rigours of transport, and indeed is usually found outside Attica (although Black Sea finds are not numerous).²⁷⁴ As Shefton points out, however, transport overland is likely to be the most taxing part of any journey, and of all Attic shapes, this is the one which penetrated furthest into the barbarian world during the fifth century. Since Phanagoria is a coastal site, unless there was any significant onward trade inland, it is hard to see any practical need to favour tough shapes for difficult journeys. Shefton lists a small number of Castulo cups from inland sites in the modern Ukraine (Romny and the Aksyutinskii kurgan) and also from the Elizavetovskoe necropolis, but in general, Attic pottery of any kind did not penetrate in large quantities much beyond the coastal zone of Greek settlement. If Tsetskhladze is right in arguing that local populations preferred metalwork and jewellery to pots as objects of trade, Phanagorians probably had nothing to take into consideration beyond their own tastes and needs when selecting Attic pottery.²⁷⁵

Much of the large increase in cup numbers during the first decades of the fifth century is due to an influx of Type A and Sub-A black-figure cups (**230–248**), which also occur elsewhere in the Taman (in the Tuzla cemetery, south of Hermonassa, for example) and are very common in Asia Minor.²⁷⁶ Only two of this class are likely to date before 500, **230** and **231**, the latter our only eye cup (see above).²⁷⁷ The majority (thirteen of nineteen, accounting for almost all of the better preserved pieces) can be attributed to the Leafless Group of the following decades, with its characteristic Dionysiac imagery and single tondo figures (satyrs or a running male).

As noted in earlier discussion of the single red-figure Pioneer pelike in the assemblage, early red-figure is rare at Phanagoria, but there is a small number of cups of high quality. The two earliest are both Type C. **261** is in the manner of the Pithos Painter (*ca.* 500–510) an artist discussed earlier in this chapter; **262**, mended in antiquity, is slightly later (*ca.* 520–480). Undue significance should not be attached to the repair; the cup may have been perceived to merit preservation by virtue of its quality, but as Amyx notes, the evidence of the

²⁷⁴ Shefton 1990; 1996, see 165–167, 173–176 for Black Sea finds.

²⁷⁵ Shefton 1990, 86; 1996, 175; Tsetskhladze 1998b, 53–64.

²⁷⁶ State Hermitage T1913.36; Sorokina 1957, pl. 8.4; *Paralipomena*, 312; *Otchet* 1915, 143, cat. 10, figs. 225a, b. Asia Minor, see note 261 above.

²⁷⁷ Hermonassa settlement(?): Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. XL.13. (quadriga) is also dated to the late sixth century.

Attic stelai suggests that even in central Athens, whatever could be salvaged by mending, coarse or fine, small or large, was salvaged.²⁷⁸ A Type C cup for which Tuna-Nörling adduces parallels by Oltos and Epiktetos is also among the very few early red figure sherds from Clazomenai,²⁷⁹ and a bilingual eye cup from the same site, while too fragmentary to attribute, also shows traits of Oltos.²⁸⁰ At Phanagoria, the early fifth century Type A **249** (*ca.* 500–480) is not attributed but falls within this general area, and **252** is likely to belong early in the Type B sequence (*ca.* 500–460). The present collection contains just one sherd (**271**) of a stemmed cup with red-figure decoration (only part of a draped youth survives) which is probably Early Classical, and a section of tondo (**301**) with a curious combination of two well-attested iconographical elements, Eros flying over an altar while balancing balls. Two further cups which probably date to the second quarter of the century are previously published.²⁸¹ Late Classical red-figure cups are even rarer in this collection, with just one securely identified example, **251** in the manner of the Q Painter, and two further fragments (**302**, **303**, the latter possibly a cup-skyphos). With the exception of the West Slope calyx cup (**304**) of *ca.* 270 noted above, these are likely to be the latest cups in the assemblage.

Much more common in the Early Classical period are black-glaze Acro cups, with five examples dating to the second quarter of the century (**266–270**). The sequence of large stemless black-glaze cups which are the most common cup shape of the Classical period, widely paralleled across the Taman,²⁸² begins with the isolated early foot **274** of *ca.* 480–450. The majority of pieces (twenty four in total) date from the mid-century onwards however, beginning with

²⁷⁸ Amyx 1958, 168–169, 208–209.

²⁷⁹ *Clazomenai*, cat. 207, pl. 22. See also the two rather later (second quarter of the fifth century) cups from Old Smyrna: Tuna-Nörling 1998, cats. 1, 2.

²⁸⁰ Ersoy 1993, 300. Oltos or a related hand is also represented at Sardis on the only late sixth century Attic sherd known from that site: Ramage 1997, Att126.

²⁸¹ Kobylina 1969, fig. 34.1, *ca.* 470–460. Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.16, from drain in house 5, south city (second quarter of the fifth century).

²⁸² Hermonassa settlement(?): *Taman Museum*, cats. 2, 3, 17 (fifth century, second-third quarter). Hermonassa cemetery: Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 9.1 (grave 15, 1931 excavations, = Gill 1986a, J273), fifth century, late second quarter onwards, plain rim, noting the Castulo-like lipped foot; Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. CXLIV.7, *ca.* 430–420, delicate class, ribbed. Tuzla: Sorokina 1957, fig. 9.1 (grave 15, 1913 excavations), delicate class, concave rim. Starotitarovskaya: *Taman Museum*, cat. 78, *ca.* 430–400, delicate class.

275–277.²⁸³ There are five examples of the plain rim type of the mid-third quarter of the century (**279–283**), and seventeen of the delicate class²⁸⁴ with stamped ornament on the interior, of which five date to the mid-third quarter of the century (**284–288**), seven to the second half (**289, 290, 296–300** including three light and one deep version of the shape), and five to the last quarter (**291–295**). A red-figure stemless cup of *ca.* 450–424, attributed to the Polygnotan Group by Sidorova, was found in the 1965 excavations in the Phanagoria Kerameikos.²⁸⁵

Kantharos and Cup-Kantharos. There are only three undoubted kantharos fragments among the present assemblage—a St Valentin rim (**314**) and two later handles **312** and **313**, the latter with its Herakles knot²⁸⁶ being among the latest black-glaze in the assemblage (dating *ca.* 325–280). There is a further published example of a Classical kantharos with moulded rim from the south city.²⁸⁷ The presence of the St Valentin class, albeit with only two examples (**314** plus an example from the Kerameikos noted in Appendix 2, both sessile kantharoi of Group VII) is perhaps not surprising since the class is represented at, for example, Hermonassa, Kerch, Nymphaeum, Olbia and Histria,²⁸⁸ although it has an uneven distribution and only rarely occurs in large quantities.²⁸⁹

Identifiable cup-kantharoi are rather more plentiful, with seven examples (**331–337**) dating from the second quarter of the fourth century onwards, the latest **337** being early third century. While it may be that kantharoi were less popular than cup-kantharoi at Phanagoria, the true balance is hard to establish

²⁸³ See also State Hermitage: T1872.61, T1872.62 (graffito = Tolstoi 1953, 144, cat. 249), T1872.63.

²⁸⁴ See in addition Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.21 (south city). State Hermitage: T1872.64, T1870.17 (graffiti Tolstoi 1953, 145–146, cat. 251 read as dedication of Dionysios), T1872.73. From Tyramba: Korovina 1968, fig. 6.1 (= Gill 1986a, J322, erroneously attributed to Sidorova [sic] in the same volume of *SoobGMII*).

²⁸⁵ CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 44.4, 6 (= Lossewa [Loseva] 1967, 482, pl. 51.3).

²⁸⁶ *Agora* XXIX, 89–90.

²⁸⁷ Kobylina 1969, fig. 33.2, fourth century (pre 330).

²⁸⁸ See Gorbunova 1972 on material in the State Hermitage (70–72 on Group VII); *Histria* IV, 80–81, cat. 493, pl. 58. Hermonassa: Sidorova 1987, fig. 9.b.

²⁸⁹ See e.g. *Daskyleion* I, cats. 285–295. Old Smyrna: Boardman 1959, cats. 164, 165. Gordion: DeVries 1997, 450, fig. 9, noting at least 12 skyphoi and kantharoi. Anchialos: Tiverios 1992, 361–362. Stryme: Triantafyllos 1992, figs. 5–7 (tumulus A).

as the rim and foot fragments which tend to be preserved cannot always be attributed to type. A further sixteen such fragments (315–330) could belong to either kantharoi or cup-kantharoi; these span the fourth century from *ca.* 390 to the last quarter but are mainly concentrated around the middle quarters.²⁹⁰ All examples of either form that have the relevant area preserved have stamped interior decoration. Overall, however, it seems that this kind of shape was less popular in the ceramic repertoire than cups and cup-skyphoi, the latter also represented in silver, for example in the Zellenskaya tumulus.²⁹¹ Furthermore, with the exception of the St Valentin 314, all examples are black-glaze in so far as it is possible to determine from the vessel parts preserved. Since West Slope vessels are preserved from Kepoi (a plain-rimmed Classical kantharos with a garland of *ca.* 300–275, and a Dikeras Group cup-kantharos of *ca.* 270–260)²⁹² and Tuzla (a similar plain-rimmed, ribbed Classical kantharos with an olive garland),²⁹³ it is possible that some of our latest pieces had similar decoration. But the majority date to the middle quarters of the fourth century and thus predate the development of West Slope. The available data from other sites in the Taman suggest that the picture at Phanagoria may turn out to be generally applicable, since there seems to be a general scattering of fourth century black-glaze kantharoi and cup-kantharoi at most sites, including Hermonassa (where the earliest published example is rather earlier than the Phanagoria material, probably dating to the third quarter of the fifth century),²⁹⁴ Tyramba(?),²⁹⁵ Tuzla,²⁹⁶ Starotitarovskaya,²⁹⁷ Chernomorskii,²⁹⁸ and Belii Khutor.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁰ See also the foot State Hermitage T1870.19, second/third quarter of the fourth century.

²⁹¹ Farmakovskii 1913, fig. 13 from the Zellenskaya tumulus.

²⁹² Sokolskii 1965, 113–115, fig. 40.2, from kurgan 3; *Taman Museum*, cat. 55. *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 23 (provenance unknown, probably Tyramba) is not certainly Attic.

²⁹³ Sorokina 1957, pl. 11.2.

²⁹⁴ *Taman Museum*, cats. 1, 9, 22; Gaidukevich 1959, figs. 12, 13 (= Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. CXLIV.3; Gill 1986a, N25, Class of London 64.10–7.19665) from grave 16, 1931 excavations (sessile kantharos with low handles, as *Agora* XII, cat. 633, fifth century, third or early fourth quarter).

²⁹⁵ *Temryuk Museum*, cats. 22, 30.

²⁹⁶ Sorokina 1957, pl. 11.2, 4, both from grave 162(117).

²⁹⁷ *Taman Museum*, cat. 86.

²⁹⁸ *Taman Museum*, cat. 74.

²⁹⁹ *Taman Museum*, cats. 115, 116.

6. SMALL OPEN

One-handler and Bowl. Not surprisingly, given their rarity in Athens,³⁰⁰ bowls are not a feature of the Archaic repertoire at Phanagoria as represented here. Furthermore, all sizes of bowl in this collection are generally late in comparison with those at neighbouring sites and especially cemeteries (at Hermonassa, for example, fifth century bowls have been published).³⁰¹ Only one sherd, **342**, perhaps related in its rim form to a small stemmed dish (see below), may belong to the Archaic period. The other early exception is **355**; whether this should properly be called a phiale is debatable, since it almost certainly has no omphalos, but as noted in Chapter 2, by virtue of its ribbing it is clearly related to the phialai of the early fifth century.³⁰² This is the only example known to me from the Taman, but while the distribution of these phialai is wide, as the comparanda cited in the catalogue entry for **355** show, they are not usually found in large numbers. **355** is very likely to have been used as a drinking vessel, but since phialai can serve a range of other, chiefly ritual, purposes, it is here considered as a distinct item.³⁰³

Thereafter, three black-glaze one-handlers,³⁰⁴ **343**, **344**, and **345**, are widely spread in date from the second quarter of the fifth century to the second quarter of the fourth.³⁰⁵ Two further sherds, **346** and **347**, may belong to one-handlers or bowls.³⁰⁶ In the latter case, the bowl shape concerned would be that with outturned rim, and if **347** is indeed as early as the mid-fifth century, it would be the earliest example of what came to be a favoured shape in the

³⁰⁰ *Agora* XII, 128.

³⁰¹ Hermonassa cemetery: Gaidukevich 1959, 171–173, fig. 31a, b, grave context second quarter of the fifth century (burial 3 area II, 1938 excavations); Sorokina 1961, fig. 16.2 (grave 11/4, first half of the fifth century). See also Tuzla: Sorokina 1957, fig. 9.3.

³⁰² Miller 1993, 118.

³⁰³ *Agora* XII, 105–106.

³⁰⁴ Earlier banded one-handlers (*Agora* XII, 125) are found in the Hermonassa cemetery: Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 7.1 (= Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgorukov 1984, pl. CXLIV.5), grave 13 (1931 excavations), a context dated overall to the third quarter or second half of the fifth century; Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 10, from grave 15 (1931 excavations), context first half of the fifth century.

³⁰⁵ See also State Hermitage T1872.70, early fourth century.

³⁰⁶ Two further sherds with what are probably dedicatory graffiti belong to one-handlers or bowls: State Hermitage T1869.39 (Tolstoi 1953, 147, cat. 253); T1870.22 (Tolstoi 1953, 146–147, cat. 252). *Cf.* from Tyramba?: *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 24 (second half of the fourth century).

Phanagoria assemblage, with six further examples (**348–353**) dating from the late fifth century to the late fourth.³⁰⁷ Indeed, the only fourth century bowl among our material that is unlikely to be of this shape is **354**. As will be discussed, the appearance of such bowls at Phanagoria coincides with an overall widening of the dining assemblage to include a variety of serving and small multi-purpose vessels which began in the Early Classical period, but is most evident during the fourth century. The one-handler, with its stable base and overhanging lip, was a practical shape for liquids, although it could surely have served a wide range of other purposes too, and is the only one of that range of shapes renowned for their sturdy construction to be found in this assemblage in any quantity. However, following the general pattern of export of this shape, it is very much less popular than in the Athenian Agora, where it is the commonest shallow bowl through the fourth century and equal in popularity to the skyphos.³⁰⁸ By contrast, bowls with outturned rim, not least by virtue of that rim form, would have been less practical for liquids and so must have been primarily used to hold food. This shape was rare before the last quarter of the fifth century but becomes very popular thereafter. Its appearance at Phanagoria coincides with its rise in popularity at Athens, and only **347** could be earlier, although it need not be so.³⁰⁹ None of our examples preserve the relevant area to determine whether they had the stamped decoration usual in Late Classical times.

A significant addition to the fourth century Attic assemblage at Phanagoria is a range of smaller bowls of a size to hold sauces, salt or the like.³¹⁰ These comprise a small echinus bowl of the broad-based variety (**356**),³¹¹ an echinus-walled small bowl or saltcellar (**358**),³¹² and two concave-walled saltcellars

³⁰⁷ Cf. from Hermonassa cemetery: Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 36.2 (burial 4, area II, 1938 excavations), context first quarter of the fifth century. Tuzla Point cemetery: State Hermitage T1926.5; also Sorokina 1957, fig. 15.2.

³⁰⁸ *Agora* XII, 124; *Agora* XXIX, 155–156; Gill 1986a, 145.

³⁰⁹ *Agora* XII, 128–131; *Agora* XXIX, 156–157.

³¹⁰ *Agora* XII, 132. Again, these are not the earliest in the region as a whole. From Tuzla point, see State Hermitage T1911.28 (Late Archaic—ca. 450): Sorokina 1957, fig. 10.7 (grave 97[52]).

³¹¹ Two further examples come from a tumulus of the Phanagoria cemetery on the Semenyakov farm: State Hermitage T1879.2, T1879.3, both probably early fourth century. From a burial mound south of Taman: State Hermitage T1913.73.

³¹² See also State Hermitage T1872.65, probably of the end of the fourth century. Burial mound south of Taman: State Hermitage T1913.81.

(359, 360). Further fourth century examples of the last two types of saltcellar (including 357) occur in the Phanagoria cemetery,³¹³ and they are also widely distributed elsewhere in the Taman, for example at Hermonassa,³¹⁴ graves south of Hermonassa on the road to Tuzla,³¹⁵ Tyramba,³¹⁶ Bolshaya Bliznitsa,³¹⁷ Chernomorskii,³¹⁸ and Starotitarovskaya.³¹⁹ Other forms of small bowl are attested in the Taman area but not among our Phanagoria material. Broad based bowls dating from the end of the fifth through the fourth century (the commonest fourth century small bowl type in Athens)³²⁰ are found, for example, at Hermonassa,³²¹ where the steep-walled small bowl also occurs.³²² Shallow and deep echinus bowls of Classical type (i.e. very close to saltcellars but generally a little bigger) are found in a burial south of Hermonassa,³²³ and in the dining or symposium area (feature 7) of the Starotitarovskaya tumulus,³²⁴ where the latest piece which, together with an example perhaps from Tyramba, dates to the first quarter of the third century, marks the end of this sequence in the Taman as we presently know it.³²⁵

The range of small bowls of varying sizes at Phanagoria can readily be associated with the dining and sympotiastic activity indicated by the remainder

³¹³ Concave wall: State Hermitage T1879.37; (Φα)Pha1869.60 (probably the 'small flat cup' in the tomb of the Polychrome vases mentioned by Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 19).

³¹⁴ Hermonassa: *Taman Museum*, cat. 8, perhaps fifth century, first half (context unknown).

³¹⁵ 8km south of Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1868.15 (echinus-walled, fourth century). 10km south of Hermonassa (all concave wall): State Hermitage T1913.97 (probably *ca.* 520–480); T1913.98 (fourth century); T1913.116 (late fifth–fourth century). See also Sorokina 1957, fig. 10.5–7 (the 1st two from 1913 graves 9 and 10 respectively, the last from 1911 grave 97[52]).

³¹⁶ Korovina 1968, figs. 16.11 (concave), 12, 13 (echinus).

³¹⁷ Two miniature (half-size) pairs of vessels: Kondakov, Tolstoi and Reinach 1891, 74; *CR* 1869, 11, cat. 66.

³¹⁸ Tumulus 2, grave 13: *Taman Museum*, cat. 83; Limberis and Marchenko 1997, fig. 1.3 (echinus, footed), fourth century, *ca.* last quarter.

³¹⁹ Starotitarovskaya (feature 7, dining/symposium area): *Taman Museum*, cats. 63, 68, 69 (concave, *ca.* 375–315), 67 (echinus, fourth century, second half).

³²⁰ *Agora* XII, 135.

³²¹ Hermonassa (context unknown, settlement?): State Hermitage T1926.10, T1868.5, T1868.6.

³²² Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 39.1 (burial 8, area II, 1938 excavations), context mid-fifth century.

³²³ State Hermitage T1913.81 (fourth century, first quarter).

³²⁴ *Taman Museum*, cats. 57, 59, 82, 62 (deep).

³²⁵ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 25.

of the assemblage, and, as will be argued presently, may be seen as enhancing provision for individual aspects of the occasion. One vessel, however, the kothon or exaleiptron **361**, stands out as its purpose (or at least that of full-sized versions of the shape) was to not to serve food or drink but rather to hold water either for personal use or in religious ceremonies.³²⁶ While they could have a place on a symposium or dining table, exaleiptra could therefore be used in funerary and sanctuary contexts also. The date of **361** is problematic. The shape and decoration, with a simple reserved rim edge is, as noted in the catalogue, closer to rarer earlier versions than to the somewhat more common Types A and B, but **361** lacks close parallels. Furthermore its likely small size, or at least very squat body, marks it out as unusual.³²⁷

7. SERVING

Plate. The earliest securely dated plates in the Phanagoria assemblage are red-figure fishplates of the first quarter of the fourth century. Three sherds attributable to the Painter of the Larisa Fishplate (**370–372**) were found in close proximity in the upper city in 1980, and although they do not physically join, they very likely come from the same vessel. A fourth (**373**) might belong to this hand, although it is safe only to describe it is a plate with plain fish (as **374**); it was, however, discovered in 1985 in the south city, in a context at some distance from the other fragments, and is thus unlikely to be part of the same vessel. The Painter of the Larisa fishplate, as noted in Chapter 2, is well represented in the Bosphoran kingdom, especially at Panticapaeum, and an example from the Phanagoria Kerameikos has already been published.³²⁸ The only other fishplate sherds in our assemblage, two fragments of rim with ovulo ornament (**375, 376**) are not attributable. Apart from the work of the Painter of the Europa fishplate, which is somewhat better represented at Panticapaeum than at Phanagoria,³²⁹ Phanagoria has long been recognised as perhaps the principal importer of the Europa Group (perhaps via a special commission),

³²⁶ *Agora* XII, 180–181.

³²⁷ It should, however, be noted that the profile does not fit a lamp — the body is too deep, the rim too short and high, and it lacks interior glaze.

³²⁸ Loseva 1968, 87–90, cat. 6, fig. 2.4 (2 sherds, Ph60 K XXVIII+XXX/15 no. 732), 1960 excavations, Kerameikos, low level; McPhee and Trendall 1987, 41, cat. 86.

³²⁹ McPhee and Trendall 1987, 36–37.

thanks to the rich finds from the tumulus on the Shapirov farm³³⁰ which produced twenty of the thirty examples known to McPhee and Trendall (the remainder coming from Panticapaeum, Nymphaeum and Bolshaya Bliznitsa).³³¹ A further example probably to be attributed to this group was discovered in 1955 in a fourth century level in the northern city.³³² The only other workshop yet securely identified in the Taman, although not as yet at Phanagoria, is that of the Pierides Painter, dated to the second quarter of the fourth century. A plate by this hand was found not far from the excavated area at Zellenskaya (Lysaya Gora), perhaps from the funerary dining area associated with the burials.³³³ A second, from the fifth-fourth century first city level beneath the Taman Tholos, shows stylistic similarity with the works of both the Pierides Painter and the Painter of the Olynthos Fishplates.³³⁴ The presence of red-figure fishplates in our assemblage is hardly surprising, as the Bosporan kingdom was one of the main centres of import.³³⁵ As noted in earlier discussion of chronology, elaborately decorated fishplates are among those red-figure vessels which seem to have been treated as heirlooms, and whereas Rotroff argues, in considering the Athenian Agora material, that their black-glaze counterparts were probably ordinary tableware,³³⁶ red-figure pieces were likely to have been elaborate

³³⁰ State Hermitage T1872.1–16, 18–21; McPhee and Trendall 1987, 29–33, cats. 6–24, 27; Zahn 1983, 49–50, cats. 51–54. The tomb also produced a plate (T1872.17) which McPhee and Trendall 1987, 49, cat. 150, list under ‘other fishplates with decorated fish’.

³³¹ Bolshaya Bliznitsa has produced at least three Europa Group plates from two funerary dining areas: *CR* 1866, 79–127, pl. 3.1–2; McPhee and Trendall 1987, 32 cats. 2–4 (on cat. 2 see Schefold 1934, 57, dated 370–360). In addition to these pieces, a half-sized black-glaze fishplate was recovered from Tomb 4: *CR* 1869, 11, cat. 67; *CR* 1868, v–x, reports, in discussion of funerary dining area 3, the remains of one badly burnt painted plate among other unspecified sherds.

³³² Loseva 1968, 88–90, fig. 2.1 (Ph883), female in chariot. In addition, from the 1964 excavations in the south-east area, Kobylina 1967, fig. 48.6, illustrates a rim sherd with ovulo edge and wave around the rim and mentions a further plate fragment from same place. She dates both to the second half of the fifth century on unstated grounds, but it is worth noting that the Europa Group uses a similar pattern combination (the external border alone is used also by the Painter of the Uppsala Fishplate and the Pierides Group).

³³³ McPhee and Trendall 1987, cat. 118; Schefold 1934, cat. 56; *Otchet* 1915, 145, 146, fig. 228.

³³⁴ Sokolskii 1976, 7, fig. 4; McPhee and Trendall 1987, 45, cat. 120a, pl. 9f.

³³⁵ McPhee and Trendall 1987, 21, connecting finds from the northern Aegean (notably Olynthos and Abdera) with this trade route.

³³⁶ *Agora* XXIX, 146. A notable exception is a miniature (half-size) example from tomb 4 at Bolshaya Bliznitsa: *CR* 1869 11, cat. 67.

centrepieces for dining in both domestic and funerary contexts. The connection between the marine iconography of these plates and their function has been a matter of some discussion,³³⁷ but the different uses proposed, ranging from holding fish to serving as a target (the oxybathron) for kottabos,³³⁸ are not incompatible even in the context of the same occasion.

There are no Attic black-glaze fishplates in the current collection and none among the published selection of previous excavation material from Phanagoria, although the type is attested elsewhere.³³⁹ Plain fishplates were produced at Phanagoria, however, and it may therefore be that only the more elaborate painted pieces were considered worthwhile imports.³⁴⁰ The Attic black-glaze plate shapes represented are mainly rolled rim types covering a large span from possibly the first quarter of the fourth century (363) to the first quarter of the third (368, 369), with two of the last quarter of the fourth century (366, 367). Only the base sherd 362 might be earlier (second half of the fifth century), although its type is unclear (as is that of 365).³⁴¹ As Rotroff notes,³⁴² the rolled rim shape, which originated early in the fourth century, was the most popular form of plate in Attica during the Hellenistic period. As an export shape (primarily during the early Hellenistic period), it is widely attested in Asia Minor in particular (at, for example, Miletus, Pergamum and Ephesos among a long list of sites), and it is not therefore surprising to find it at Phanagoria, as well as Hermonassa, Kepoi, Starotitarovskaya, Tuzla and Tyramba.³⁴³ It is not at present possible to judge the comparative popularity of

³³⁷ See *Agora* XXIX, 146, note 11 for a review and bibliography; Kunisch 1989, 34–36 notes that the species identified are not all edible (see also McPhee and Trendall 1987, 21, for a list of identifiable fish on Attic plates of which many, albeit not all, are edible).

³³⁸ On the last, see Kunisch 1989, 51–62.

³³⁹ Decorative technique is not always noted, however: thus Kobylina 1951b, 241, simply reports the discovery in 1948 of the lip of a fishplate in grave 7 of the Phanagoria East Cemetery. Starotitarovskaya: *Taman Museum*, cat. 56 (symposium/dining area).

³⁴⁰ Phanagorian imports at Tyramba: Korovina 1968, 70; Korovina 1987, 23 (grave 107).

³⁴¹ For earlier plates (and the thickened rim type) elsewhere, see e.g. State Hermitage T1911.43 from the Tuzla cemetery (thickened rim, early fourth century?).

³⁴² *Agora* XXIX, 142–143, see 143 note 6 for eastern Aegean findspots.

³⁴³ Kepoi (settlement): *Taman Museum*, cat. 58; Nikolaeva 1975, fig. 1.1, noting (note 2) that a plate of the same shape was excavated by Korovina at Hermonassa in 1972. *Taman Museum*, cat. 61. Kepoi (cemetery): Sokolskii 1965, 113–115, fig. 40.2, from kurgan 3. Graves south of Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1913.72, not certainly Attic. Graves ca. 10km south of Hermonassa, en route to Tuzla: State Hermitage T1913.108; Sorokina 1957, fig. 15.1 (grave 13).

the rolled rim plate and the fishplate at Phanagoria. Shape differences suggest that they are likely to have served different but complementary functions, and if the present bias towards red-figure for fishplates proves to be valid, then it might be that fishplates served more as attractive focal points or higher status pieces — hence perhaps their appearance, sometimes as heirlooms in the funerary dining areas of the later fourth century elite tumuli. At Phanagoria there is also one example (**364**) of the rilled rim type of the second half of the fourth century. This is unexpected since, as Rotroff shows, this is one of the few shapes that has until now seemed to be exclusively Attic in their distribution, a fact which may be explained not only by their poor quality but by their likely cult function (as they are commonly associated with Athenian sacrificial pyres, although they also occur in domestic deposits).³⁴⁴ While the shape is made in other regions, fabric apart, **364** is consistent with Attic in profile, size (the diameter of 0.15m is at the upper end of the range of 0.11–0.15m represented in the Athenian Agora) and glazing, and it also shows evidence of the hasty and careless manufacture common in Athens. **364** would therefore seem to be an exceptional case.

Stemmed dish. All five stemmed dishes in this assemblage (**377–381**) are black-glaze, of the convex and large form and (with the possible exception of the last listed) date to the second quarter of the fifth century.³⁴⁵ None of the earlier types of stemmed dish with overhanging rim are represented, and all of our examples are simplified late forms. It is interesting here to note the contrast in both date and number with Clazomenai, where the stemless dish (both large and small) is the most common black-glaze shape after the Type C cup, and where datable, belongs to the last quarter of the sixth century.³⁴⁶ At Phanagoria,

The large third century example, State Hermitage T1886.12 from stone tomb 57, Hermonassa, is the latest such Attic plate known to me (see note 35 for the West Slope vessels in this grave). Starotitarovskaya: *Taman Museum*, cat. 80. Tyramba: Korovina 1968, fig. 16.2 (grave 15); *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 27 (part of pre-war collection, provenance lost).

³⁴⁴ *Agora* XXIX, 151–152, 212–213.

³⁴⁵ Elsewhere in the Taman, the versions of the shape in both large and small sizes is represented at e.g. Hermonassa: State Hermitage T1926.6; Gaidukevich 1959, fig. 43.2 (burial 14 area II, 1938 excavations). Grave 10km south of Hermonassa (towards Tuzla): State Hermitage T1913.92; Sorokina 1957, figs. 10.1, 2. Kepoi: Sorokina 1963, fig. 23.1 (grave 140). Tyramba: Korovina 1987, fig. 8 (grave 95), fig. 12 (grave 136).

³⁴⁶ Ersoy 1993, 304–306.

there are no securely identified examples of the small convex shape (although **342** may be related), even though it occurs (in imports and copies) at neighbouring Kepoi and Hermonassa and in the cemeteries at Tyramba and Tuzla.³⁴⁷ Nor are there examples of the other main form of stemless dish, the chalice shape of the first or early second quarter of the fifth century, which is generally widely distributed and in the Taman occurs in the Tuzla cemetery.³⁴⁸ All four of our examples which preserve the rim diameter are large, although there is a distinct difference in size between the larger pair (**377**, **378**) and the smaller (**379**, **380**). The latter, with a diameter of 0.14, lies at the lower end of the range of large examples catalogued in *Agora* XII, and may therefore have overlapped in function with small bowls in addition to acting as serving dishes as described in Chapter 1. Finally, it is worth re-emphasising the unusual reserved band decoration of **380** which, while particularly well paralleled in one Athenian Agora deposit as noted in Chapter 2, seems on present evidence to be comparatively rare at home and abroad.

Lekanis. Lekanides fall into two groups. The earlier consists of the black-glaze shape of the early fifth century, of which there are five examples in this assemblage, all lids with ray motifs (**382–386**).³⁴⁹ Further examples occur elsewhere in the Taman (at Hermonassa and Tyramba?).³⁵⁰ After a gap in popularity, this shape reappears with a slightly lighter and more outflaring profile during the last quarter of the fifth century — the absence of this later form may be fortuitous as it is represented among published finds from the Phanagoria cemetery.³⁵¹ The second group consists of fourth century pieces with red-figure decoration. While our assemblage contains only two examples, **387** (related to the Group

³⁴⁷ Kepoi: Sorokina 1962, fig. 39.1 (one of two such dishes in grave 29). Tyramba: Korovina 1987, fig. 9 (grave 105). Tuzla: State Hermitage T1911.19, see also Sorokina 1957, fig. 10.3 (grave 12, 1913, small).

³⁴⁸ Gill 1986a, 163. Tuzla: *Otchet* 1911, 38, figs. 65 (T1911.38 = Farmakovskii 1912, fig. 10), 66 (State Hermitage T1911.37), profile illustrated by Sorokina 1957, fig. 10.4, ca. 500–470, grave 155 (110).

³⁴⁹ See also Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.1 (south city, KV XLVI/11), as **386**, fig. 9.20, as **382**, **383**.

³⁵⁰ *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 28 (provenance unknown, perhaps Tyramba?) ca. 425–400; Sidorova 1987, fig. 11c (Hermonassa).

³⁵¹ In the tomb of the polychrome vases: Farmakovskii 1921, 5 note 20, State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1869.58 (ca. 425–400). At Bolshaya Bliznitsa, a black-glaze lekanis of unknown form is reported in grave 3: Williams and Ogden 1994, 180.

of the Vienna Lekanis) and **388** with a woman and Eros, the fact that seven more lid sherds are published from earlier excavations (and Loseva notes this as a common type) suggests that this category is severely underrepresented.³⁵² Published examples from other sites in the Taman are few (a lid attributed by Schefold to the Apollonia Group and dated to the 340s comes from a burial mound near the road to Tuzla),³⁵³ but it should be noted that as with all large late red-figure vessels such as pelikai and kraters, the lack of publication of many sites, especially the tumuli dug in the nineteenth century where reports of pottery are tantalisingly vague, almost certainly creates a misleading impression.³⁵⁴ As noted in Chapter 1, lekanides could be used for a wide range of purposes, and while the present examples are classed as serving vessels for analytical convenience, the iconography of the red-figure examples might suggest a closer link with women and perhaps, therefore, their use as toilet vessels.

Krater. The three black-figure kraters in this assemblage all date securely within the sixth century. The column krater **393** is the earliest, followed perhaps in a matter of five or ten years by **394**, probably of the same shape, and **395** which could perhaps be a dinos (making it the only example of the shape in this material).³⁵⁵ With the exception of the Dionysos on **394**, a well-paralleled subject,

³⁵² Loseva 1968, 90–91, cat. 7, fig. 4.4 (Ph60 K XXVIII+XXX/15 no. 734 = CVA Moscow 5 [Russia 5], pl. 16.3–4) from the 1960 excavations in the Kerameikos, noted as the best quality of a range of such lids), late fifth-early fourth century. Loseva 1968, 90–91, under cat. 7, fig. 4.6, a lid ‘of the Meidian circle’ from the same excavation (F-992 = CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 16.6), Dionysos with maenads(?), early fourth century. Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 4.5 (Ph62 BR II pod. no. 170), 1962 excavations, northern city, Amazon and Griffin, second quarter of the fourth century. Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 5.4 (F-884 = CVA Moscow 5 [Russia 5], pl. 21.4), 1955 excavations, northern area, closely paralleled by *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 29 (provenance unknown, Tyramba?) and perhaps also by the Painter of Salonica 38.290. Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 5.3 (Ph49X <G> V–VI/25 no. 391); Kobylina 1969, fig. 34.4, from a fifth century house in the south city, late fifth century.

³⁵³ State Hermitage T1885.3: Schefold 1934, 9–10, 103–104, cat. 20, pl. 2.2; ARV², 1482.7. See above (note 35) for the associated West Slope vessels.

³⁵⁴ From Malaya Bliznitsa, for example, we have only brief notices as follows: *CR* 1881, xvi–xviii (many Greek sherds from the second and third dining areas); *Otchet* 1882–1888, xvi–xviii (black-glaze lekythoi and lekanis, also krater in separate trench); *Otchet* 1907, 84–85 (85, figs. 86–88, three red-figure sherds illustrated); *Otchet* 1915, 146–148, a small quantity of kylix sherds plus red-figure.

³⁵⁵ See also State Hermitage T1872.59, column krater rim sherd with (unusually) animal figures on top and side faces. From Kepoi: *Taman Museum*, cat. 51, column krater rim sherd.

these pieces are insufficiently preserved to reconstruct their iconography.³⁵⁶ Thereafter, there is a small gap until *ca.* 480–470 and the red-figure **396**, with the head of a petasos-wearing youth (possibly, but not provably, Theseus).³⁵⁷ This is clearly Mannerist in style — early, but perhaps not the very earliest to judge by the form of the eye. The drawing, especially of the ear and eye, is so distinctive that one might expect **396** to be readily attributable. But while it is close to the style of the Leningrad Painter (as noted in Chapter 2), there are sufficient differences to preclude attribution, and for the present it remains as one of a large number of such pieces left in the deep hinterland of Early Mannerism. **397** has a maenad paralleled in the work of the Syracuse Painter, although here too, the parallel is inexact and too little is preserved to attribute. Where identifiable, all of these early pieces are column kraters.

The earliest volute krater is **398**, somewhat vaguely dated to the mid-fifth century due to its fragmentary preservation. The two sherds **399** and **400** may belong to the same bell or calyx krater as they are similar in style and come from the same context. If so, and if they belong to the same side of the vase, they would form an athlete and trainer group. The style of these pieces is also Early Mannerist, with the pose of the ‘trainer’ on **400** paralleled in the work of the Pig Painter, for example, although here too, no attribution is made. Five sherds, **403–407**, are so similar in overall style and iconography that some at least are likely to belong to the same vessel, even though they do not join and their context is of little assistance. But they cannot all belong to one krater — or at least to the same side of the same krater. The Amazons on **406** and **407** both face right, but they are surely not one and the same figure as the head-dress of **406** is hard to reconcile with the angle of the shoulder and the lock of hair on **407**. Among a variety of permutations of combat groups used in depicting Amazonomachies, a number of examples show two Amazons in file, and these tend to concentrate around the middle decades of the fifth century, a likely date for our pieces also.³⁵⁸ The Greek warrior on **405** also faces right,

³⁵⁶ From the Phanagoria cemetery (Semenyakov farm), see also State Hermitage T1869.36, column krater rim (lion and boar as *Daskyleion* I, 547, 551).

³⁵⁷ Early Classical kraters from other sites in the Taman include a bell krater by Hermonax, *ca.* 460, from Hermonassa: Pichikyan 1987, 130–134, figs. 6, 7. Burial mounds on the south shore of Taman Bay: State Hermitage T1874.10 (*ca.* 480–470).

³⁵⁸ Bothmer 1957, 182, cat. 65 (Guiglielmi Painter, stamnos) pls. LXXX.3, cat. 68 (Aison, neck amphora), LXXX.4, both pairs at right to left. *LIMC*, s.v. Amazons, 233a (Polygnotan Group, dinos), 300 (Niobid Painter volute krater). Tillyard 1923, cat. 135, pl. 23.

however, and the angle of the spear descending across his arm implies a further figure probably confronting him. He must therefore belong to a separate scene, possibly accompanied by one of the Amazons, but surely not by both.

Of the remaining securely fifth century pieces, **401** and **402** can be dated only vaguely by the style of their preserved mantle figures, although they would seem substantially to predate the eleven kraters which belong to the end of the fifth and the fourth centuries.³⁵⁹ Of these Late Classical sherds, eight (**409**, **410**, **412–416** and **418**) are too fragmentary to contribute much more than a record of date and shape. Of the remaining three, only one definitely dates to the fourth century: **417**, a Group G bell krater with a Grypomachy (perhaps attributable to the Griffin Painter), is the only secure example of such iconography on any shape other than a pelike (see above).³⁶⁰ The bell or volute krater sherd **408** is sub-Meidian in style, and **411** belongs to the end of the fifth or early fourth century and is attributed to the Painter of Louvre M85, an artist who, according to Trendall and McPhee,³⁶¹ may have begun his career in Athens and subsequently migrated to southern Italy. It is, however, interesting to note that while the kraters in this assemblage focus chronologically around the late sixth and mid-fifth century, perhaps implying a steady demand for a small number of vessels which would necessitate episodes of replacement less regular than that of, for example, drinking cups (according with their likely role as the centrepiece of the symposium), we have very few late pieces. Indeed, the greatest quantity of fourth century imports in this collection consists of smaller vessels, although here unpublished finds from previous campaigns may change the picture (noting that at least one early fourth century krater is reported from the cemetery).³⁶² Although four black-glaze krater sherds (**389–392**) are

³⁵⁹ From the Phanagoria settlement see also: Loseva 1968, 85, cat. 1, fig. 1 (Pha886 = CVA Moscow 4 [Russia 4], pl. 24.4), from the Kerameikos area (dated *ca.* 470 by Sidorova); CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 26.4 (*ca.* 440–430, Polygnotan Group [Sidorova]); Kobylyna 1956, 22, fig. 5.3, of similar date.

³⁶⁰ Kobylyna 1967, 125, refers to a krater from the Kerameikos in the south-east city as dating to the first half of the fourth century, but this is not illustrated and the description is general. Onaiko 1955, sherd dated to the end of the fifth or early fourth century (northern city, 1938 excavations). From the Phanagoria cemetery: State Hermitage Pha1870.3 (calyx krater; komos; banquet), Meleager Painter (I. McPhee); T1872.23, T1872.22 (possibly the same vessel although no join), calyx krater of the end of the fifth–first quarter of the fourth century from the tumulus on the Shapirov farm. Hermonassa, context unknown: *Taman Museum*, cat. 18, combat.

³⁶¹ Trendall and McPhee 1986.

³⁶² Marchenko 1968, 9, 12, fig. 6.

included in the catalogue in Chapter 2, in no case can it be determined whether the vessel was figured or black-glazed. Black-glaze kraters are generally rare, but they are known in the Taman region.³⁶³ As noted above in the case of fishplates, it should, however, be emphasised that it is particularly difficult to assess the representation of kraters in the Taman region since, like all large, showpiece forms, they are likely to have been present in some quantity in the great burial tumuli many of which have not been fully recorded, let alone published,³⁶⁴ and where references are made in preliminary reports of nineteenth century excavations, they are rarely sufficiently precise to identify the piece concerned.³⁶⁵ In view of the date of most of these burials, this seriously affects our understanding of fourth century material.

Lamp. Despite the fact that there is only one fifth century lamp, **419**, in the present assemblage, and one further example published from the 'agora' area,³⁶⁶ lamps are mentioned explicitly by Kobylina³⁶⁷ as present with the large quantity of other Attic imports found in the coastal area excavations of 1939–1940 and in the Kerameikos in 1954. Their poor representation here is almost certainly fortuitous.

The Function of the Assemblage

The scheme adopted here for the grouping of shapes according to function has been outlined in Chapter 1. Applied to the three main chronological phases,

³⁶³ Gill 1986a, 37–39, note the rarity of the type outside Attica and documents its distribution. Hermonassa cemetery: State Hermitage T1818.1, calyx krater lower body sherds (inventoried as a plate) is black-glaze as preserved, but too fragmentary to determine the overall technique of the krater.

³⁶⁴ An exception is Starotitarovskaya, *Taman Museum*, cats. 52, 71–72 (komos scene; mantle figures); Bogoslovskii 1983, pl. III, from the debris of tomb robbing. This piece is unattributed but paralleled by the also unattributed Rainone collection 170, S. Agata de'Goti — a further illustration of the scope for reappraisal of hands, workshops and chronology of fourth century Attic pottery.

³⁶⁵ Thus, for example, in discussing material from the Hermonassa cemetery (Phanagoria Fortress), the report in *CR* 1868, ix–xi mentions but does not illustrate a krater with four males reclining plus an Eros and two mantle figures on the reverse.

³⁶⁶ Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.2.

³⁶⁷ Kobylina 1956, 23.

Archaic, Early Classical and Late Classical (Figs. 10–12), it reveals interesting trends and points of contrast. Drinking vessels, mainly cups and cup-skyphoi, clearly dominate throughout. They form just under three quarters of the Archaic assemblage, almost two thirds of the Early Classical, and just over half of the Late Classical. There is only one piece in the entire collection, the Late Classical Type C pyxis **65**, that can unequivocally be described as a toilet vessel, and even allowing for the likely use of lekanides (especially during the fourth century) and small oil vessels such as squat lekythoi for this purpose, it would seem that Attic imports were not directed towards primarily feminine, toilet uses and containers in other media were probably favoured. Oil vessels, mainly lekythoi, form a consistent 4% and 5% respectively in Archaic and Early Classical times (a low figure in comparison with the 16% in the Persian destruction deposits in the Athenian Agora),³⁶⁸ rising only to 6% in Late Classical as squat lekythoi and new askos shapes were introduced. In view of the multiple uses of these shapes, it is impossible to determine whether this very slight increase reflects more on table or toilet habits, but it is clear that at Phanagoria, as in Athens itself, with the well-known exception of funerary white ground lekythoi, the lekythos as an oil container served both domestic and funerary functions.

One potentially significant development is the striking reduction in amphorae, hydriai and olpai at the end of the Archaic period. Even when storage and pouring forms reappear in Late Classical times, they do not regain their former popularity and they differ in shape.³⁶⁹ In the case of pelikai, as previously noted, the difference is minor as they are merely a variant form of amphora, but the change in pouring vessels, favouring choes and generally smaller shapes over the olpai of the sixth century, is more interesting. As Rotroff suggests,³⁷⁰ small choes could have held individual servings of wine, but if their scarcity in this assemblage is truly representative of the site as a whole, then they are unlikely to have been widely provided. It is possible that locally made jugs or dippers took over from the previously popular olpai and oinochoai at the end of the Archaic period, that ladles (perhaps non-ceramic) were used,³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Shear 1993, statistic derived from tables 2–4.

³⁶⁹ For an analogous situation, see e.g. *Pistiros* I, 83–84, where the fifth and fourth century assemblage shows an even greater focus on a smaller range of drinking vessels and kraters.

³⁷⁰ *Agora* XXIX, 14–15.

³⁷¹ For depictions of the use of ladles on Attic vases, see e.g. *ARV*², 557.116 (lekythos by the

or even that Phanagorians took to dipping straight from the krater. The cup-skyphoi favoured during the fourth century would be reasonably practical for this, if perhaps a little large, but the large delicate class stemless cups of the late fifth century would seem a less viable option. In the Athenian Agora, the appearance of high handles on small open forms such as the kyathos (in this case from the mid-fifth century onwards)³⁷² may reflect such use as dippers, but there is nothing comparable in our material, and if small pottery dippers were used, they would have to have been locally produced. Overall, the range of shapes represented is only slightly smaller than that in the public dining room deposit in the Athenian Agora published by Rotroff and Oakley, but one explicable if interesting absence is the psykter.³⁷³ While this is a relatively rare shape only current from the last quarter of the sixth century to the mid-fifth,³⁷⁴ it is present in the Agora deposit and its absence here must imply some alternative means of cooling wine (assuming that the local preference was for wine below room temperature, especially in the summer).

The other major post-Archaic trend is the increase in small bowls and serving shapes, apparently at the expense of drinking vessels. The importance of the krater as the symbolic centrepiece of the symposium has often been stressed.³⁷⁵ The diversity of other shapes might reflect increasingly elaborate provision for different aspects of commensality, but whether this meant greater investment in the occasion *per se*, or whether separate provision was now made for functions previously served by 'drinking' shapes, is debatable.³⁷⁶ Here it is interesting to note the commercial graffito CKY on a late fourth or early third

Pan Painter, Haverford College, Comfort coll. cat. 24; a girl ladles wine from a skyphos into a phiale); ARV², 464.80 (cup by Makron, Brussels R264 and Villa Giulia).

³⁷² *Agora* XII, 143.

³⁷³ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 25–26 (see in general the review of shapes, 11–26).

³⁷⁴ *Agora* XII, 52.

³⁷⁵ Among extensive literature, see, for example, Luke 1994; Lissarrague 1990b, 19–46; 1990c.

³⁷⁶ Gras 1991, 417, discusses the range of uses of the kotyle. A similar case was made for identifying Geometric 'drinking' vessels as food bowls by Howe 1958, 49–50, note 24. While her specific suggestion that the food that they held was a porridge-like cooked cereal is regarded as less likely for the fifth century by Rotroff (*Agora* XXIX, 46), the Geometric case also rests on the lack of plates in many deposits (see also *Isthmia* VIII, 322–323). It is possible that meat and bread were held in the hand, or wooden plates used instead, but anything less solid would require some container.

century black-glaze rolled rim plate from Kepoi.³⁷⁷ As Alan Johnston has argued in discussing a similar graffito on the base of a silver mug from Stara Zagora, and in the light of many Greek parallels, this is surely an abbreviation for skyphos and has no connection with Scythians.³⁷⁸ Other shapes on which this abbreviation appears, such as a kylix from Gorgippia or a bolsal from Haleis,³⁷⁹ might be argued to have a stronger claim than a plate to be described as skyphoi, at least in terms of formal similarity. But this graffito does raise the possibility that in certain cases plates took over some of the multiple functions served by what we now classify as drinking vessels.

The nature and extent of local tableware production is likely to have been an important factor affecting both the long-term pattern of Athenian import (via changes in the ceramic context into which imports were introduced) and the way in which gaps in supply might be filled. In order to document this precisely, a new, quantified, comparative study of local wares is required, noting especially the influence of Attic shapes and the comparative shape representation in various fabrics. This is beyond the scope of this present study, but a few general remarks about the evidence for local production may help to put our imports into context. Pottery production is attested at Phanagoria from the sixth century onwards,³⁸⁰ very soon after the establishment of the city (a common pattern in colonial situations). In addition to debris specifically linked to pottery production (such as wasters), tuyères (which have close parallels elsewhere in the Taman including Kepoi and Hermonassa) have also been connected with manufacturing (with both metalworking and potting).³⁸¹ However, other explanations for these objects (as, perhaps, supports for cooking pots)³⁸² may be preferred, and as Papadopoulos notes, their discovery near kilns may imply that they themselves are wasters. By the fourth century, the Kerameikos of Phanagoria, which lay in the south-east part of the city (Fig. 2), seems to

³⁷⁷ *Taman Museum*, cat. 58; Nikolaeva 1975, fig. 1.1 (excavations of 1957).

³⁷⁸ Johnston 1978, 79–80.

³⁷⁹ Gorgippia: Alekseeva 1991, pl. 67.2 (with black-figure imports in room 22). Haleis: *ADelt* 31, 1976, 309, fig. 6, pl. 75.

³⁸⁰ Tsvetaeva 1972.

³⁸¹ Treister and Shelov-Kovedyayev 1989, noting an inscription on an example from Hermonassa in Cretan script which they interpret as the work of an emigrant craftsman, perhaps a potter.

³⁸² Morris 1985; Papadopoulos 1992.

have been substantial,³⁸³ with evidence of kilns, wasters and mould debris relating to a wide range of ceramic products, including figurines,³⁸⁴ lamps and amphorae, as well as finewares. Not only did local potters produce much of the pottery found in Classical and Hellenistic burials at Phanagoria, but their wares were widely exported (notably to Tyramba).³⁸⁵

Much attention has been paid to Hellenistic Bosporan pottery, especially the polychrome pelikai that came to succeed Attic red-figure and later still, to Megarian bowls.³⁸⁶ If, however, we focus on earlier local wares contemporary with our material, it is clear that certain categories of coarseware (jugs, jars, bowls, amphorae and cooking vessels) which, while a small proportion of the overall assemblage, continued to be made throughout the period of our imports, show strong affinities with shapes current in the other Greek cities (Nymphaeum for example), the lower Kuban area, as well as Olbia, Tanais and Elizavetovskoe. Only from the third century onwards, after the time of most Attic fineware import, is there a significant change in storage and cooking shapes which could be seen as influence from fineware production, for example in large, flat plate-like cooking dishes and well-formed flat-bottomed jars.³⁸⁷ Clearly, at least during the earliest centuries of the city, this category of pottery was very little affected by Greek motherland traditions, and it seems that as long as shapes were available to fulfil the required functions and suit the culinary practices of the colonists, there was no perceived need faithfully to copy motherland shapes.

By contrast, among the finewares made at Phanagoria during and after the period of Attic import, a number of shapes show close Attic (as also Ionian) influence.³⁸⁸ Squat lekythoi with palmette decoration have already been noted,

³⁸³ Kobylina 1953, 124–127; 1966; 1967a; 1970.

³⁸⁴ Kobylina 1967b. For a general review of production, see Koshelenko, Kruglikova and Dolgurokov 1984, 167–170.

³⁸⁵ Korovina 1962. The question of the emergence of a ‘Pontic’ Hellenistic style produced at a number of centres around the Black Sea, while beyond the scope of this study, should be noted as at least in part a product of shared taste for Attic imports: see most recently Bozkova 1997.

³⁸⁶ See note 384 above. Megarian bowls: Kovalenko 1996, noting (55) evidence in the form of a mould fragment in local clay (N Phan 84 YG 83/5) for production at Phanagoria as one of a series of centres (*cf.* Ustaeva 1978).

³⁸⁷ Kruglikova 1951.

³⁸⁸ Kobylina 1951b, 249, figs. 3.1–4; Korovina 1968, 70–71, 74; 1987, 23–24, figs. 7–9, 18.

and olpai, amphorae, and lekanides of Attic shape are also found at Phanagoria and exported to, for example, Tyramba.³⁸⁹ The appearance of storage and pouring shapes such as olpai, oinochoai and amphorae which, as noted, disappear from, or become rare in, the imported repertoire, may be significant, and it is tempting to speculate that it may have been more cost-effective to buy such large practical vessels locally (apart, perhaps, from showpiece vessels like decorated fishplates and kraters). The same might apply to small shapes like lekythoi, where discrepancies in the quality of clay and glaze would have no practical significance. In the case of cups, however, although Phanagorian potters did produce a range of shapes, the superior quality of Attic glaze (which could not be reproduced in local clays as it could, for example, on Thasos and in some areas of the west)³⁹⁰ would be immediately (and literally) felt. This pattern is echoed elsewhere in the Bosporean kingdom. At Panticapaeum, local pottery in a deposit of the late sixth to early fifth century includes, in addition to storage and pouring vessels such as amphorai and oinochoai, drinking cups (notably kantharoi) strongly influenced by Greek forms, and as Marchenko notes, this evidence has good local parallels (at Nymphaeum for example).³⁹¹ In the Taman, a local imitation of a Type C cup has been found in the cemetery of Hermonassa.³⁹² The status of such copies in relation to actual imports is unclear, although there is at present no strong evidence to suggest that they reached areas that Attic imports did not. Clearly, detailed conclusions about the precise functional and aesthetic relationship between Attic imports and local products would be premature, but it is not unreasonable to conjecture that it must reflect a complicated balance between technical possibility (what could be achieved ‘successfully’ with local clays, noting also functional advantages of imports, such as better quality black-glaze than could be achieved locally), economics (the cost of importing versus copying or using local alternatives), and the added value to be gained from an import (in terms of the status of the particular vessel in the context of its use).

One further possibility, already raised (albeit on dubious grounds) in the

Ionian: Korovina 1968, 57, fig. 5. See also Korovina 1987, 8–9, for a copy of a Corinthian skyphos in Tyramba grave 106.

³⁸⁹ See e.g. Korovina 1987, fig. 7 (banded oinochoe, grave 71), fig. 8 (grave 95, jug with baggy profile accompanied by an Attic stemmed dish).

³⁹⁰ Thasos, see e.g. Blondé 1988, 52–53; 2000; Coulié 1996. Villard 1991 on Lipari.

³⁹¹ Marchenko 1967.

³⁹² Gaidukevich 1959, 174, note 88, fig. 43.1, from burial 14 (area II 1938).

case of the Hermonassa tuyère, is that the Bosphoran cities housed migrant potters, and that the transfer of knowledge implied by the stylistic traits appearing in local wares was more than just a matter of local craftsmen copying something perceived as desirable.³⁹³ At present, evidence which can be interpreted as directly reflecting the presence of Attic craftsmen in the Bosphoran kingdom is comparatively late.³⁹⁴ Perhaps the best known instance (albeit hardly straightforward to interpret) is that of two squat lekythoi from Panticapaeum, of the end of the fifth or early fourth century, which were signed as potter (*epoisen*) by Xenophantos Athenaios (a form of identification relevant for a foreign rather than an Athenian audience).³⁹⁵ Whether this signature was added in Athens in full knowledge of the market for which the pots were destined,³⁹⁶ or in the Bosphorus by a resident Athenian cannot be proved. Ionia, however, provides us with one of the best documented and often cited instances of migrant Attic potters, that recorded in a decree of the Ephesian boule that

Kittos and Bacchios, sons of Bacchios, Athenians, who have undertaken to provide at a price established by law, black pottery for the city and the hydria for the goddess, shall. . . . so long as they remain within the city and undertake the commissions of the boule, be citizens of Ephesos. . . . and their descendants also.³⁹⁷

In assessing the motivation for the import of foreign fineware, a number of factors should be considered. Boardman emphasises three, namely to supply Greeks overseas who lacked their own kilns or a satisfactory local source of supply (not a factor obviously applicable at Phanagoria), the commercial value of vessels either for their contents (again, not applicable here) or their own sakes (which is most likely the main reason for import to Phanagoria), and travellers' or native traders' curios (again, not a likely explanation for material of the quantity and consistency of that at Phanagoria).³⁹⁸ The strong bias

³⁹³ Papadopoulos 1997.

³⁹⁴ MacDonald 1979, 203–214 offers a general review of the evidence, albeit based on partial data.

³⁹⁵ Hermitage St1790 and 108i: ARV², 1407; CR 1866, pl. IV.2; Peredolskaya 1945.

³⁹⁶ The issue of special commissions is much debated, and the strength of cases made in different areas of the Greek world varies greatly (see also Chapter 1, note 30). For a relatively strong case from Apollonia Pontica, based on shape and iconography, see Lezzi-Hafter 1997 (with bibliography on other cases, 368–369 section XIII, noting also the objections of Hoffmann to the concept of special commissions).

³⁹⁷ Kiel 1913, 232, 239; Preuner 1920, 69–72 (especially 70–71); Beazley 1943, 456–457.

³⁹⁸ Boardman 1999, 16–18.

towards open shapes indicates that our vessels were imported for their own intrinsic qualities, but the consistency and longevity of emphasis on a narrow range of vessel shapes associated with drinking and dining³⁹⁹ raises the question of the meaning of the assemblage as a whole, and especially the social role of these activities in the Bosporean kingdom. On the basis of the present assemblage, it is not possible to determine the precise nature of the commensality involved. Clearly drinking was well provided for, but whether this implies the symposium in the strict Greek sense, or whether an occasion involving both drinking and dining is unclear,⁴⁰⁰ and for this reason, the term ‘symposium’ is here used only in the most general sense. It is also worth emphasising that our finds are not confined to any public or elite building, and present evidence suggests that they were scattered across all excavation areas. Their domestic contexts suggest that the occasion(s) for which they were used, whatever they were, probably took place in the *oikos* of one of the participants. If Attic imports did change in status over time, especially during the fifth century when, as suggested, they probably diminished as a proportion of the overall assemblage, then we can at present only speculate about how this was expressed — in the occasion of use, for example, or in the manner of their combination with increasingly popular media such as silver, or perhaps in being confined to a few households in each part of the site (something which is at present impossible to assess).

In discussing the prominent role of symposium-related shapes among Attic pottery imports in the Black Sea as a whole, Bouzek has described the institution of the symposium as a means of affirming the Greek national character, and of doing so in a more ‘modest’ fashion than the local ‘barbarian’ populations with their preference for metal vessels.⁴⁰¹ While one might reasonably doubt where there was any such thing as a Greek national character especially as early as the sixth century, and also question Bouzek’s assumptions concerning the moral values implicit in the use of metal vessels, there are important underlying points here. It is clear that attitudes to the production and consumption of food (including what was accepted as edible and/or desirable) were perceived as key aspects of cultural identity in antiquity, notably

³⁹⁹ Compare the evidence of the Attic stelai (Amyx 1958) for the range of vessels in use in fifth century Athenian homes.

⁴⁰⁰ See Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 18, 27–30, for documentation of the foodstuffs and serving vessels depicted on Attic vases.

⁴⁰¹ Bouzek 1989, 257.

by Herodotus.⁴⁰² Furthermore, colonisation itself could introduce a variety of new phenomena into the colonised area, ranging from single crops to effectively new ecosystems as well as cultural habits of diet and food preparation. These could then be adopted more widely, adapted or continued unchanged over the centuries depending on resources and cultural factors such as the strength and nature of dominant ethnic identity and the manner of its expression. In other words, food production and consumption could themselves serve as means of negotiating identity.⁴⁰³

It is now wholly uncontroversial to emphasise that commensality served to bind together social groups, reinforcing shared values, history, and individuals' roles within the social structure. While there were distinctively Greek approaches to the symposium,⁴⁰⁴ and while Attic imports in the northern Black Sea are largely confined to the coastal zone, as noted, neither offers any guarantee of 'Greekness'. Indeed, how 'Greekness' might be defined in such a colonial milieu forms part of the broader problem of ethnic identity in the Bosporean cities, and especially in the rural burial tumuli, which is a thorny issue not aided by the very different approaches to ethnicity in Russian and western scholarship.⁴⁰⁵ Bosporean cities like Phanagoria were poised between old Greece and Scythia, among a range of cultures, and the symposium in its broadest sense was a powerful and flexible 'bridge' institution that could embody at once tradition and cultural accommodation.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Schmitt-Pantel 1992, see e.g. 425–470 for discussion of 'barbarian' practices as recorded in Greek sources.

⁴⁰³ Lombardo 1996.

⁴⁰⁴ Murray 1990; Schmitt-Pantel 1992.

⁴⁰⁵ Current scholarly approaches to the western colonies emphasise the plurality of colonial populations and the complex and continuing processes of identity negotiation which arise: for reviews see Antonaccio 2001; Morgan 1999. The historical development of former Soviet approaches to ethnicity, treating ethnic groups as reified entities with autonomous material cultures, has recently received considerable critical examination in western literature: see e.g. Chapman and Dolukhanov 1993; Dolukhanov 1995; Shnirelman 1995; 1996. For examples of such approaches, see Marchenko and Vinogradov 1989; 1991; Andreev 1996. Maslennikov 1978, argues that the majority of inhabitants of the former colonial cities were Greek but that some local Bosporeans lived there too, with the start of the creation of a Graeco-barbarian mix beginning in the fifth century in the Asiatic Bosporus. However, he bases his argument not only on the evidence of onomastics, but also on the supposedly indicative contents of graves (notably handmade pottery), which are more questionable.

⁴⁰⁶ Murray 1990. See, for example, Ebbinghaus 2000, on the varied cultural influences on the banquetting depicted on the Nereid monument at Xanthos.

There is, however, no real evidence for any change in pottery shapes which might be connected to changing practices or particular cultural influences upon consumptive behaviour at Phanagoria. The only possible hint of such change is the introduction of the red-figure rhyton in the later fifth and fourth centuries. There are none in the present assemblage, but two have been published from the Phanagoria settlement (a griffin-head rhyton with a rearing hind and palmette on the neck, and a claw rhyton) and a third from Hermonassa (by the Deepdene Painter, showing Zeus pursuing nymphs).⁴⁰⁷ While it is tempting to relate rhyta to Persian drinking vessels, and to note that late Archaic 'Persianising' may have lain behind the initial idea of animal head vessels in Athens, none of our shapes are true Persian forms, and the principle of making such plastic drinking vessels was so well established in Athens by the time these imports reached the Taman that there is no absolute necessity to view them as other than a highly decorative part of the regular Attic repertoire. There is thus no need for any special explanation for their import above and beyond Athenian practice.⁴⁰⁸ If, however, one accepts Hoffmann's arguments that rhyta of this type in Athens held ritual, heroising, meaning, and if one further accepts that this meaning was understood and accepted by Phanagorian and other local users of imported rhyta, then one might tentatively suggest that their import served to reflect or enhance the status and role of consumption in the city.⁴⁰⁹ But this argument (fragile as it is) is constructed in Greek terms, and there is nothing in our repertoire to suggest other cultural influences, such as, for example, the Achaemenid-derived ceramic rhyta and their precious metal prototypes present in Thrace, perhaps, as Ebbinghaus has argued, manufactured by Greek craftsmen to Thracian tastes and connected with the similar Thracian and Persian use of such vessels as status symbols.⁴¹⁰

One final point to emphasize in discussing the role of imports in dining is that in the fourth century rural tumuli in the Taman, in the Bolshaya and Malaya Bliznitsy, Zellenskaya or Starotitarovskaya for example, Attic pottery is mainly found in the associated funerary dining areas rather than as an offering in the

⁴⁰⁷ Phanagoria: Loseva 1968, 91, cat. 9, fig. 3.2 (Ph60 XXVII+XXX/15, no. 743), and 91–92, fig. 3.3 (Ph. 280 = CVA Moscow 4 [Russia 4], pl. 36.6–7). Hermonassa: Pushkin Museum TMG 681/35–38 no. 350 (Pichikyan 1987, 126–131, figs. 1, 2, attributed to Alkimachos [Pichikyan] = CVA Moscow 4 [Russia 4] pl. 37.1–3, attributed to the Deepdene Painter [Sidorova]).

⁴⁰⁸ Hoffmann 1962, 3–4; Miller 1993, 115–116, 122–126.

⁴⁰⁹ Hoffmann 1989.

⁴¹⁰ Ebbinghaus 1999.

graves themselves. In so far as the burial record can be reconstructed, the shapes represented echo those found in the Greek city-sites, Phanagoria included.⁴¹¹ The processes by which imports could come to play a role in the negotiation and expression of identity between different ethnic groups within the zone of contact surrounding a Greek colony have received considerable attention in the west,⁴¹² but such study is in its infancy in the Pontic region. Clearly, such work must rest on detailed documentation of evidence from a series of colonial sites and their hinterlands, and is an important topic for research, albeit beyond the scope of this present work. Here, I merely note that even on present evidence, there is a clear relationship between ceramic forms used in the 'Greek' cities (however these are culturally defined) and the rural tumuli, and nothing to suggest a radical transformation in the use of those imports which moved beyond the immediate confines of the cities.

Painters and Workshops

EXEKIAS (Circle of)	1, 2
CHC GROUP	110–112, 113?, 114?
CLASS OF ATHENS 581, ii	49, 50?
DOT IVY GROUP	26
FB GROUP	31, 32?, 84, 85
FP GROUP	99
GRIFFIN PAINTER (GROUP G)	14, 417
GROUP G	13
GROUP OF THE VIENNA LEKANIS	387?
HAIMON GROUP	119–125, 142, 215
HAIMON GROUP (Painter of Phanagoria 128)	128
HAIMON OR LANCUT GROUP	131–137
JENA PAINTER(Circle of)	157
KAMIROS PALMETTE GROUP	218
LANCUT GROUP	140?
LEAFLESS GROUP	233–239, 241, 242, 243? 244?, 245?
LEAGROS GROUP?	30
PAINTER OF ELAEOS 1	118

⁴¹¹ See Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 427–429 for a summary of literary sources on Scythian and Thracian funerary dining (although there is no Greek literary evidence for the practices of the local population in the Taman).

⁴¹² See e.g. Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Morgan 1999.

PAINTER OF THE LARISA FISHPLATE	370–372, 373?
PAINTER OF LOUVRE M85	411
PAINTER OF NAPLES 146681 (Manner of)	82, 83?
PHANYLLIS GROUP	48?
PITHOS PAINTER	261?
Q PAINTER	158?, 159?, 160?, 162–167, 251
RED LINE PAINTER	7
SAINT VALENTIN GROUP	314
SAPPHO OR DIOSPPOS PAINTER?	51

Summary

The Attic finewares presented in this study span some 300 years of import, from *ca.* 550/540, approximately coincident with the foundation of Phanagoria, to *ca.* 250, a date which accords with a widespread ending of trade in Attic vases across the Greek world. Only two closed vessels are earlier and probably contemporary with the earliest finds in the Taman peninsula (notably from Kepoi). These imports show that the region was integrated into the exchange networks which linked the northern Aegean, Ionia and the Pontic region and within which relatively small quantities of often elaborate Attic vessels circulated. However, the majority of early finds from Phanagoria appear slightly later, at a time when there was a widespread move in all of these areas towards the larger scale import of symposium equipment.

The shapes represented in the early stages of import include storage, pouring, drinking and serving forms, constituting the widest range of functions of any period. In subsequent times, while drinking shapes continued to dominate the assemblage, pouring and storage shapes almost disappeared and serving vessels and small bowls gained greatly in popularity. It is unclear whether this represents provision for more aspects of drinking and dining or whether the vessels used for various functions were now more elaborately differentiated. The consistency of emphasis upon drinking and dining equipment is notable. There are almost no unequivocally toilet shapes, and it seems likely that vessels in other media, including wood and glass, were favoured over pottery for such functions.

According to the material considered here, the peak of imports, both in terms of absolute sherd numbers and relative volume in relation to what is known of likely site size, occurred at the end of the sixth and in the first decades of

the fifth century. At this time, the workshops and styles represented (especially the Haimon and CHC Groups) are those common across the most likely regions of immediate supply, namely the northern Aegean and Ionia. The date of this material does not accord with historical evidence for direct Athenian trade with the Pontic region (especially the grain trade), and other, more complex patterns of connection involving the northern Aegean and Ionia must be recognised, noting also the chiefly Ionian trademarks and graffiti current in these areas. Thereafter, a marked reduction in levels of import over the middle decades of the fifth century may reflect a reaction against red-figure (noting that here, as in most regions, early red-figure is rare, although what is imported is of high quality). There may also have been a selective need to replace certain vessels types, while others perhaps remained in use (noting the prominent presence of kraters, especially Mannerist pieces, and new drinking shapes such as mugs). Political upheavals may have caused fluctuations in supply, although it is impossible to document any consistent pattern affecting all those areas previously interlinked, nor is there real evidence to suggest that these previous connections were broken.

A second and more sustained peak of imports occurred during the last decades of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century, when a large number of black-glaze vessels (especially stemless cups) were complemented by red-figure skyphoi and cup-skyphoi of generally low quality (including works of the FB group and the Q Painter workshop). It must, however be stressed that while this period is almost certainly underrepresented in the present sample, this peak is smaller than that of the Archaic period both in terms of absolute vessel numbers and in terms of the likely proportion of Attic vessels in the site assemblage, since the settlement area of Phanagoria almost doubled during the fifth century. The commonly held view that the later Classical period was the heyday of Attic export to the Bosporan kingdom should therefore be called into question. Furthermore, specific iconographical types, notably the so-called Bosporan pelikai, can now be seen to be less focused on this region than previously thought. Indeed, their popularity in Macedonia in particular extends to pottery the question of shared traits in royal iconography evident in other more prominent and costly media. In terms of the social role of Attic finewares at Phanagoria, while emphasis upon symposium shapes (in the broadest sense) continued, the likely decline in their proportionate representation within the total fineware assemblage begs the question of their perceived status. Was either the occasion of their use or access to them more limited

than during the Archaic period, or were proportionately reduced numbers supplemented by local production (and if so, what was the relative status of the two wares)?

Numbers of imports declined markedly around the middle of the fourth century. Red-figure pelikai and squat lekythoi probably continued in small quantities until at least the end of the century, although were much less common than black-glaze. The latest Attic imports at Phanagoria comprise black-glaze and West Slope wares, the latter indicating that Phanagorians kept up with the latest Athenian fashions to the end. For this reason, and noting also the speed with which the loss of Attic imports was made up by local production, including the watercolour technique, and from other sources of West Slope, it is possible to suggest that the cessation of imports had at least as much to do with Attic producers as Phanagorian consumers.

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APPENDIX 1

PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED ATTIC FINEWARES FROM PHANAGORIA

The following catalogue includes all references to vessels with a secure Phanagoria provenance which are clearly identified as Attic in western literature and that part of Russian literature available to me. It therefore includes the majority of published pieces, and probably the most important ones, but it cannot be guaranteed to be wholly comprehensive. The attribution of those in the State Hermitage has been verified by autopsy, but I have not seen those in Moscow. References to Attic pottery which do not specify individual vessels are noted in Chapters 1 and 3, but in general not here unless they can be related to catalogued examples. References to black-glaze which do not specify an Attic origin are also omitted. Items designated by an inventory number rather than a bullet point are in the collection of the State Hermitage, St Petersburg. CVA Moscow 4–6 (Russia 4–6) include Pushkin Museum inventory numbers designated F (similarly designated in the publications of Loseva *et al.*). For the location of excavation areas, see Fig. 2.

A. FINDS FROM THE SETTLEMENT

1. STORAGE VESSELS

Amphora

Red-Figure

- Kobylina 1969, fig. 34.3 Amphora? Seated female to right, holding out phiale in right hand, left upon chest. Early Classical, *ca.* 460. From fifth century settlement levels in the south city.

Pelike

Red-Figure

- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 29.1, F882 (= Loseva 1968, 85, cat. 2, fig. 2.3). Shoulder sherd of Group G pelike; griffin head to right; back edge of headdress of

Amazon at right break. Ovulo band at base of neck. Fourth century, third quarter onwards. From the 1955 'Beregovoi' excavations in the north city.

- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 17.4, F885. Group G pelike. Fourth century, third quarter (+?). From the 1955 'Beregovoi' excavations in the north city.
- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 17.2, F894. Group G pelike. Fourth century, third quarter (+?). From the 1955 'Beregovoi' excavations in the north city.
- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 10.5, F955. Group G pelike. Kerameikos, 1959.
- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 29.2–4, F1332 (= Korovina 1987, 79). Griffins. Fourth century, last third.
- Kobylina 1967a, 125 reports the discovery of a fourth century pelike sherd with a youth and an Eros during the 1964 excavation in the Kerameikos area (south-east city).

2. POURING VESSELS

Olpe

Black-Figure

- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.3; lip sherd with checkered pattern (as catalogued examples in Chapter 2, listed under 17). Drain by south wall of house 5, south city.

3. OIL CONTAINERS ETC.

Askos

Red-Figure

- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 63.5, F895 (= Loseva 1968, 86, cat. 4, fig. 2.2). From lower levels in the Kerameikos, south-east city. Published as a flat-bottomed askos with arch handle (decoration: 2 griffins), noting that this is the finest example among a collection of smaller fragments (the decoration of which includes figures such as couchant panthers as well as abstract ornament). Fifth century, second quarter.
- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 60.5, F425. 1948 excavations. Askos, ca. 430–20; deer to left.

Lekythos*Black-Figure*

- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.11; Haimon Group (Dionysiac scene?). South city, house 2 room G.

Squat lekythos*Red-Figure*

- Loseva 1968, 86, F452, cat. 3, fig. 3.1; head of Hermes; from 1949 excavations. Under this heading, she also notes that among fragments of lekythoi preserved from Phanagoria are sherds with couchant panthers, winged Nikai, palmettes and stripes, and that all common types of squat lekythoi are represented here.
- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 42.5, F952. Kerameikos; 1959. Nike in flight. Fifth century, end.
- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 49.4–5, F709. Hill I, 1951. Female head to right; first quarter of the fourth century.
- Kobylina 1967, 125, reports fragments of a Bulas Group net lekythos from the Kerameikos, south-east city (not illustrated).
- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 53.11–12, F705. Chance find in Phanagoria, 1951. Bulas group palmette lekythos; second quarter of the fourth century.

4. TOILET VESSELS

- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 25.1. Pyxis(?) lid sherd. Flying Eros to right. Painter of Salonica 38.290 (Sidorova and Tugusheva). Fourth century, second quarter(?). Kerameikos, 1965 excavation, F-1008.

5. DRINKING VESSELS

Rhyton*Red-Figure*

- Loseva 1968, 91, cat. 9, fig. 3.2. F60 XXVII+XXX/15, no. 743. Claw rhyton. Fourth century. Kerameikos, south-east city.
- CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 36.6–7 (= Loseva 1968, 91–92, fig. 3.3 (F880)).

Griffin head rhyton with on neck, rearing hind and palmette. Circle of the Eretria Painter (Sidorova). *Ca.* 425–420. 1955 excavations, north city, fifth-fourth century level.

Skyphos

Black-Figure

- Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.2.5. Early fifth century, probably Haimon group. Edge of palmette plus back of head and shoulder of silhouette (female?) figure. From central ‘agora’ area.
- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.9 (XLIX/11) south city. Fifth century settlement. Haimon Group (maenad plus ivy).
- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.8 (XLVIII/11). Fifth century settlement, south city. Skyphos or cup? Haimon Group (female — drapery, plus ivy).

Red-Figure

- CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 38.2. Rim sherd (two joining sherds with ancient repair hole); upper part to seated female to right, right arms stretched forward holding phiale. *Ca.* 475. Circle of the Lewis Painter (Polygnotos II) (Sidorova). 1965 excavation, F-1003.

Cup-Skyphos

Black-Figure

- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.15 (XLV/112) south city. Fifth century settlement. Haimon Group (rim sherd; female head, probably Dionysiac).

Red-Figure

- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 35.4 (= Kobylina 1967a, fig. 48.2). Cup skyphos with mounted eros to right and at left, edge of palmette. Q Painter (Sidorova and Tugusheva). Late fifth/early fourth century. Kerameikos, 1964 excavation, F-64 KXXXVII/1 no. 448.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 35.5. Rim sherd. At left horse head to right; palmette. Inside, ivy garland with stems and dot rosettes in white. Q Painter (Sidorova and Tugusheva). [Late fifth/] early fourth century. Kerameikos, 1965 excavation, F-1004.

- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 32.7. Body sherd. Seated Eros to right. Jena Workshop (Sidorova and Tugusheva). Early fourth century, Kerameikos, 1965 excavation, F-1006.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 39.4. Body sherd. Seated female to right, head turned back. Fourth century, first quarter. Kerameikos, 1955 excavation, F-897.
- Loseva 1968, 86–87, cat. 5, pl. 4.1–3, three sherds all from the Kerameikos, south-east city. Fig. 4.1: standing Eros to right and arms only of confronted figure. Fig. 4.2: edge of palmette at left, head of satyr to right. Fig. 4.3: female at left to left and edge of palmette at right. Dated to first quarter of the fourth century on analogy with finds from Mt Mithradates, but could as well belong to the second quarter.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 39.2. Rim sherd. At left palmette, at right naked youth to right. Fourth century, early second quarter? Kerameikos, 1959 excavation, F-951.
- Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 5.1 (F54K IX–3 no. 1401). On interior, draped youth in tondo with edge of curvilinear motif (palmette) at right; probably garland round lip interior, though this is not clearly illustrated. On exterior draped youth with floral ornament. Fourth century, first half. Kerameikos, south-east city, lower levels, 1954 excavation.
- As above; Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 5.2 (F.49. x <G> V–VI/29 no. 379). Small fragment of lip interior with leaf from garland; outside edge of tondo area with edge of palmette.
- Kobylina 1967, 127 refers to a cup (probably a cup-skyphos) with a red-figure palmette on the exterior and stamp ornament inside (not illustrated).

Cup

Black-Glaze

- Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.2.3 Type C or Castulo rim and body section (there is a marked interior offset visible, but the angle of the photograph does not show the profile).
T1872.62 Foot of stemless cup. Two-tier grafitto: upper = ΑΠ, lower = ΚΠΙ which Tolstoi 1953, 144, cat. 249, reads as Α' κρι[θαί]. Fifth century.
- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.21. Large stemless, delicate class, base sherd. Impressed three-tier ray decoration. Third quarter of the fifth-second quarter of the fourth century. South city.
T1870.17 Large stemless, delicate class, base sherd. Last quarter of the fifth-early fourth century. Graffiti ΜΑΜΗΣ and ΣΙΟΣ Μ . . . read by Tolstoi 1953, 145–146, as a dedication by Dionysios.

Black-Figure

- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.2. Body sherd with satyr, dated late sixth/early fifth century. Caught in the upper part of the drain in house 5, south city, fifth century settlement.
- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.10 (caught in the upper part of the drain in house 5, south city). Fifth century context. Palmette cup.

Red-Figure

- Kobylina 1969, fig. 34.1 (also Kobylina 1989, fig. 25), one of two cup sherds from fifth century settlement layers in the south city. Mounted Amazon riding to left, looking back to right with arm outstretched and pointing crop(?) back to right. Early Classical, *ca.* 470–460.
- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.16. two joining sherds, tondo only illustrated; part of border (meander and cross), male figure to left brandishing staff (staff, arm and edge of head preserved), kal[os] inscription. Early Classical — *ca.* second quarter of the fifth century or slightly earlier. From the upper part of the drain in house 5, south city, fifth century.
- CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 44.4, 6 (= Lossewa [Loseva] 1967, 482, pl. 51.3). Stemless: a) 3 joining sherds, rim to upper edge of foot, b) lower body sherd. A: mounted Amazon to left, head turned back and left arm extended back, holding reins of a second horse. B: legs of Amazon striding to right. Group of Polygnotos? (Sidorova). Fifth century, third quarter. Kerameikos, 1965 excavation, F-1005.

Kantharos*Black-Glaze*

- Kobylina 1969, fig. 33.2. Classical kantharos, moulded rim; fourth century, pre 330. Kobylina notes that this was found with a black fishplate, but does not specify the origin of the fabric. From a well in the south city, fifth–fourth century.

Red-Figure

- CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 68.3, F53 Ker. I + IV/no. 101. Kerameikos 1953. St Valentin group VII. Fifth century, third–fourth quarter.

6. SMALL OPEN VESSELS

Stemless/bolsal*Black-Glaze*

T1869.38 Base sherd. Interior stamped. Grafitto MEFA: Tolstoi 1953, 142, cat. 246, suggests that this may relate to a name, the size of the vessel, or to a deity. Fifth century, second half.

One-handler/bowl*Black-Glaze*

T1869.39 Grafitto IEPH: Tolstoi 1953, 147, cat. 253. Probably fourth century.

7. SERVING DISHES

Plate*Red-Figure*

- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 40.3–4 (= Loseva 1968, 88–90, fig. 2.1). Female driving chariot which also holds a second draped figure; legs of running figure beneath. Circle of the Meidias Painter (Loseva, who also notes its relationship to the Europa Group). End of the fifth/first quarter of the fourth century. From a fourth century level in the north city, 1955 excavation, F-883.

Fishplate*Red-Figure*

- Painter of the Larisa Fishplate. CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 42.6 (= Loseva 1968, 87–90, cat. 6, fig. 2.4; McPhee and Trendall 1987, 41, cat. 86. [F60 K XXVIII+XXX/15 no. 732, two fragments]). Early fourth century. From a low level in the Kerameikos, south city, 1960 excavations, F-995.
- Kobylina 1967a, fig. 48.6. Rim sherd with ovulo edge and wave pattern. South-east area, 1964. Kobylina mentions, but does not illustrate, a further plate fragment from the same context and dates both to the second half of the fifth century (although an early fourth century date seems more likely).

Lekanis

Black-Figure

- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.1. South city, trench XLVI/11. As **386**.
- Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, fig. 9.20. Lid, as *Agora* XII, cat. 1234, *ca.* 480. Cf. **382, 386**.

Red-Figure

- See under askos above (Loseva 1968) — small reversible lid?
- Loseva 1968, 90–91, cat. 7, fig. 4.4 (F60 K XXVIII + XXX/15 no. 734 = CVA Moscow 5 [Russia 5], pl. 16.3–4). Noted as the best quality example of a range of such lids. Two females with thymiaterion between: attributed by Loseva to the Circle of the Meidias Painter and dated to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century. From lower levels in the Kerameikos, south-east city, 1960 excavations, F-993.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 16.6, F-992 (= Loseva 1968, 90–91 discussed under cat. 7, fig. 4.6). At left to right, head of youthful Dionysos with garland and thyrsos, facing maenads(?) at right. Circle of the Meidias Painter. Dated as the previous example, although with a preference for an early fourth century date. From the Kerameikos, south-east city, 1960 excavations, F-992.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 17.1 (= Kobylina 1969, fig. 34.3). Lid, two joining sherds. Ovulo border. At left to right, standing Eros; at right to left lower body only of draped female. Circle of the Meidias Painter (Sidorova and Tugusheva). Late fifth century. From a fifth century house in the south city, 1965 excavation, F-1007.
- Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 4.5 (F62 BR II pod. no. 170). Lid. Plain central knob; head of Amazon at left to left occupies full outer register with, at right to right, back of griffin head. Small circle and spot (rosette) between them. Fourth century, second quarter. North city, 1962 excavations.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 21.4 (= Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 5.4). Lid: four joining sherds. At left, arm outstretched to right, woman to right head turned back, flying Eros at right to right. Painter of Salonica 38.290 (cf. *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 29 (provenance unknown). Fourth century, perhaps as late as second quarter. Northern, coastal, area, 1955 excavations, F-884.
- Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 5.3 (F49X <G> V–VI/25 no. 391). Lid with same composition as the preceding example, but not by the same hand: woman at left, running to right and looking back, carrying draped box, palmette beneath, edge of further figure at right break. Fourth century, probably second quarter.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 21.2. Lid sherd; edge of reserved band at flange top preserved. At left to right, flying Eros; double scroll with leaf at right. Painter of

Salonica 38.290 (Sidorova and Tugusheva). Fourth century, second quarter. 1965 excavation, F-1010.

- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 23.1. Lid sherd, reversible type. Group of the Vienna Lekanis (Sidorova and Tugusheva). At left, head of Amazon to left; dotted circle; edge of griffin wing to right. Fourth century, second quarter. Northern, coastal area, 1962 excavation, F-996.

Krater

Red-Figure

- CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 24.2 (= Loseva 1968, 85, fig. 1.1 (F-886). On lip double row of laurel; ground line of meander and cross; two females (i.e. two pairs of feet) to right, before an altar: Loseva describes them both as Nikai on uncertain grounds. *Ca.* 470. Circle of the Altamura Painter. Kerameikos, south-east city, 1955 excavation.
- CVA Moscow 4 (Russia 4), pl. 26.4; two joining rim and neck sherds with handle scar (bell krater). Single laurel wreath. Group of Polygnotos (Sidorova). *Ca.* 440–430. F-892.
- Kobylina 1956, 22, fig. 5.3; body sherd. Seated figures, one male at right and female in front of him, both to left; hydria on ground beside female; at left, two-stepped platform with foot and lower drapery of male standing on it to right, leaning towards the female. *Ca.* 430 onwards.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 6.1 (= Kobylina 1967a, fig. 48.6). Bell-krater, joining rim sherds. Woman at right to right (head and upper body mostly preserved); glazed handle zone at left. End of the fifth century. From the Kerameikos, 1964 excavations, F-64 K XXXII/12 no. 362.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 5.1 (= Onaiko 1955). Bell krater, body sherd: at left, seated maenad (with thyrsos?) to right; centre, satyr offers a tray of fruit to seated female at right, to left but facing right. Onaiko identifies the centre and right figures as Dionysos and Ariadne, but the central figure plainly has a tail. Graffiti between heads of figures include a primitive sketch of a human head. Dinos Painter (Onaiko). Fifth century, last quarter. Northern area, 1938 excavation, F-275.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 1.3, calyx krater(?). Standing female to right, right hand on hip, left holding thyrsos upright. Attributed to the Circle of the Meidias Painter by Sidorova and Tugusheva. Late fifth or early fourth century. Kerameikos, 1964 excavations, F-64 KXXXVII/3 no. 295.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 7.4. Bell krater, body sherd. Head of youth to left. Circle of the Telos Painter(?) (Sidorova and Tugusheva). Early fourth century. Kerameikos, 1959 excavation, F-942.

- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 11.2. Bell krater lower body sherd. Circle of the Herakles Painter? (Sidorova and Tugusheva). At left, legs of seated youth to right, Nike hovering above; in centre, legs of youth to right, left leg bent forward, right stretched back; at right, part of a leg with an unidentified object before it. Start of the second quarter of the fourth century. Kerameikos, 1965 excavation, F-1009.
- Kobylina 1967, 125, notes but does not illustrate a krater fragment with a laurel wreath round the lip and a female figure below. Fourth century, first half. From the Kerameikos, south-east city.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 13.5. Bell krater, body sherd. At right to right, striding male with drapery flying behind. At left, fragment of hovering Eros in added white. Fourth century, second half. Kerameikos, 1964 excavation, F-64 KXXXVII/11 no. 447.

8. LAMPS

Black-Glaze

- Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.2.2. Nozzle and body section; photograph suggests a fifth century lamp, probably *Agora* IV, Type 22, but no profile is published. Central 'agora' area.

B. FINDS FROM THE CEMETERY

1. STORAGE

Amphora

- Kobylina 1989, fig. 34. Black-glaze amphora of Classical shape with applied necklace on neck and ovulo on rim. Late fourth century. From a child grave.

Hydria

Red-Figure

T1859.2 ARV², 1187 (2), listed as St2189. CR 1959, xiii–xiv (also noting an amphora from the same excavations, not illustrated); drawing CR 1860, pl. 5, reproduced in Roscher 1884, s.v. Kadmos, 839. Manner of the Kadmos Painter. From burial mound 28 (acropolis area).

- Pha1869.52 CR 1870–71, pl. VI.6, 10; Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 14. Eros with two women. Sub-Meidian. Late fifth century. From the tomb of the polychrome vases.

Pelike

Red-Figure

- T1860.1 ARV², 1346.2; CR 1861, 129–138, pl. VI.2. Birth of Helen; satyr and two youths. Kiev Painter. Burial mound 1.
- T1869.18 Group G. Protome group; two draped youths. Fourth century, second or third quarter.
- T1874.1 CR 1874, xvi, pl. 4.4, 5; ARV², 1477; Schefold 1934, 445 (listed as Leningrad KAB 25n). Seated Dionysos with maenad and satyr: two draped youths. Painter of Athens 1472.
- Williams and Ogden 1994, 172 (citing Goertz 1898, 141–142) note the existence of an unpublished red-figure pelike in a ‘pyre grave’ excavated in 1855 on the Semenyakov farm. The whereabouts of this vessel are unknown.
 - CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 28.1–3, F857. (= Kobylina 1956, fig. 15.1; Marchenko 1960, 22–23 [1424]). Burial mound in Western Necropolis ‘V’. Protome group of griffin, Amazon; two draped youths, altar. Amazon Painter? *Ca.* 340–20.
 - CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 22.1–3, F856 (= Marchenko 1960, 22–24 [1423]). Burial mound in Western Necropolis ‘V’. Protome group of griffin, Amazon, horse; two draped youths. *Ca.* third quarter of the fourth century.
 - CVA Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 20.1–2, F64 M1 no. 564 (= Korovina 1987, 79). Phanagoria Necropolis, grave 1, 1964. Fourth century, third quarter.

Shape Unknown

Black-Figure

- Kobylina 1983, fig. 3.2.4. Palmette with band at left. From the central ‘agora’ area.

2. POURING VESSELS

Oinochoe*West Slope*

- Marchenko 1966, pl. IV.11 ((Φα)Pha1959, no. 925). Olive garland on neck; on body, group of torches, grapes etc. Grave finds, 1959 excavations. Second quarter of the third century, *ca.* 260.

Chous*Red-Figure*

- Pha1869.47 (Φα) CR 1870–71, pl. VI.1; Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 13; Trendall and Webster 1971, 119, pl. IV.3; Green 1971, 212 (with bibliography). Children in comic dress and masks. Class of Athens 1227, circle of the Meidias Painter. From the tomb of the polychrome vases.

3. OIL CONTAINERS ETC.

Lekythos*Black-Figure*

- Blavatskii 1951, 213–214, fig. 15.2 Little Lion shape. Blavatskii dates this to the end of the sixth century, but the type continues into the second quarter of the fifth. From Grave 106 on Hill D, by the west boundary of Phanagoria not far from the Semenyakov farm, 1939 excavations (grave dated to the end of the sixth/early fifth century on the basis of amphorae).

Red-Figure

- Pha1869.48 (Φα) CR 1870–71, pl. VI.2; Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 12 (Hermitage 87b): Schefold 1934, cat. 294. Two women and Eros (added blue). End of the fifth century. From the tomb of the polychrome vases (as all lekythoi listed here below) excavated in Sennoi in 1869 (published in Farmakovskii 1921, who proposes [42] a late fifth or early fourth century date for the tomb complex).

- Pha1869.49 (Φα) *CR* 1870–81, pl. VI.4. Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 10 Seated woman plus Eros. End of the fifth/early fourth century. From the tomb of the polychrome vases. Comparable to the Agrinion Group (McPhee 1979, see especially nos. 18, 26, pl. 20), but the fabric seemed to me Attic.
- Pha1869.50 (Φα) *CR* 1870–81, pl. VI.5; Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 11. Seated woman plus Eros. End of the fifth/early fourth century. From the tomb of the polychrome vases. See (Φα)Pha1869.49.
- Pha1869.51 (Φα) *CR* 1870–81, pl. VI.6; Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 9. Seated woman plus Eros. End of the fifth/early fourth century. From the tomb of the polychrome vases. See (Φα)Pha1869.49.
- Farmakovskii 1921, 29–40, pl. 1, 2. Polychrome moulded lekythos in the form of a sphinx.
 - Farmakovskii 1921, 6–19, pl. 3. Polychrome moulded lekythos in the form of Aphrodite.
 - Farmakovskii 1921, 20–28, pl. 2. Polychrome moulded lekythos in the form of a siren.
 - *CR* 1870–71, pl. II.6; Farmakovskii 1921, 4, 3, note 7. Polychrome moulded lekythos in the form of a bird.
 - *CR* 1870–71, 165, pl. II.4; Farmakovskii 1921, 4, note 8. Polychrome moulded lekythos in the form of a woman wearing a chiton and himation and holding in her left hand a chest.
 - Farmakovskii 1921, 4, note 9. Polychrome moulded lekythos in the form of a dancing winged demon in oriental dress (not a Boread, *pace* Stefani).

Squat lekythos

Red-Figure

- Kobylina 1951b, 249, reports a red-figured palmette lekythos (fabric not specified) from the east cemetery (1948 excavations), not in a grave context.
- Blavatskii 1951, 217. Bulas Group squat lekythos from Grave 116 in the cemetery on Hill D (1939 excavations).
- *CVA* Moscow 6 (Russia 60 pl. 51, 6.10, F1285. Bulas Group, palmette decoration. Fourth century, first quarter. Phanagoria Necropolis, 1964.
- *CVA* Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 47, 3.6 (= Loseva 1989, 86, discussion under cat. 3, fig. 3.4 (F123); *cf.* Blavatskii 1951, fig. 44). Last quarter of the fifth century. From Cemetery B (west cemetery), 1938 excavations, grave 91.
- Blavatskii 1951, 208, notes but does not illustrate a red figure squat lekythos from Grave 28 (coastal area excavations, 1939), and also mentions a sherd of a fourth century red-figure vessel (shape unspecified) from the same grave.
- *CVA* Moscow 6 (Russia 6), pl. 47, 4.7 F208 (= Blavatskii 1951, 215, fig. 15.7).

Red-figure; head of Hermes to right, wearing petasos. Late fifth/(early fourth?) century. From the cemetery on Hill D (1939 excavations), non-grave context.

Alabastron

Red-Figure

- Farmakovskii 1921, 5 lists three Bulas Group alabastra (State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1869.53, (Φα)Pha1869.54 and (Φα)Pha1869.55) with the contents of the tomb of the polychrome vases. Fourth century.

Amphoriskos

Black-Glaze

- Kobylina 1951b, 241, fig. 2.2. Stamped decoration of central band with two rows of palmettes, *ca.* 430–early fourth century. Grave 7, east cemetery (1948 excavations). Academy Group: Kapetanaki 1973; Gill 1986a, 174–177.

Red-Figure

- Farmakovskii 1921, 5 lists a Bulas Group amphoriskos (State Hermitage (Φα)Pha1969.56) with the contents of the tomb of the polychrome vases. Fourth century, first half.

4. TOILET VESSELS

Pyxis

- Kobylina 1989, fig. 34. West Slope Type B pyxis and lid. Ivy plus spearhead necklace(?) Third century, first quarter. Child grave.

5. DRINKING VESSELS

Skyphos*Black-Glaze*

- Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 19 lists a small cup among the contents of the tomb of the polychrome vases. The sequence of State Hermitage inventory numbers suggests that this is either (Φα)Pha1869.59, a skyphos of Corinthian form, probably dating to the mid-fifth century or slightly later, or the saltcellar (Φα)Pha1869.60, though both are likely to come from this tomb.

Cup-skyphos*Black-Glaze*

- Kobylina 1951b, 241, fig. 2.4. Photograph suggests a heavy walled-cup skyphos (as *Agora* XII, cat. 612) rather than a ribbed stemless, although no profile is published and the two are closely linked. *Ca.* 420–380. From Grave 7, east cemetery (1948 excavations).

Red-Figure

- As Loseva 1968, 91, fig. 5.1, noted above (F.38 H Bl 4/1–6 no. 14). From the east cemetery.

Stemless Cup*Red-Figure*

- Loseva 1948; Blavatskii 1951, fig. 4.3 (F38 HB IV/IX 188); *CVA* Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 28.1–2. Restored from sherd. In tondo, two male revellers to right (Dionysos at left and at right, holding a thyrsos, a Bacchante?); on exterior, palmettes, legs of draped man and woman to right. On floor underside, grafitto ΓΡΟΓΙΠΠΟ. Jena Painter (Paul-Zinserling 1994, 34–35; Sidorova and Tugsheva). Fifth century, end. West cemetery (necropolis B), close to the amphora dump, 1938 excavations, F-98.

Kantharos*West Slope*

- Korovina 1982, 79–80, fig. 8. Hellenistic kantharos, baggy. Rectangle motif at rim. Mid-third quarter of the third century. Grave 90, in area of Taman Station close to Sennoi.
- Marchenko 1966, 33–34, pl. IV.12 ((Φα)Pha1960, no. 122, found before excavation of burials in 1960). Bowl kantharos, Classical type; grapevine with grapes, inscription (Hygieia?). First quarter of the third century.

6. SMALL OPEN VESSELS

Saltcellar*Black-Glaze*

- Farmakovskii 1921, 5 note 19 lists a small cup among the contents of the tomb of the polychrome vases. The sequence of State Hermitage inventory numbers suggests that this is either the concave walled saltcellar ((Φα)Pha1869.60, second-third quarter of the fourth century) or the skyphos ((Φα)Pha1869.59) listed above, though both are likely to come from this tomb.

7. SERVING DISHES

Fishplate

- Kobylina 1951b, 241, notes but does not illustrate the rim of a fishplate (fabric unspecified) found in Grave 7, east cemetery (1948 excavations).

Lekanis*Black-Glaze*

- Pha1869.58 Farmakovskii 1921, 5, note 20. Lidded lekanis with ribbon handles (as (Φα) Agora XII, cat. 1220, but smaller). *ca.* 425–400. From the tomb of the polychrome vases.

West Slope

- Korovina 1982, 79–80, fig. 9. Reversible lid. On knob, star. On lid surface, on inner edge ovulo band, on outer, panels of dolphin and wave complex (style close to that of the Dikeras Group) and iunx? (two rows with bands between).

Krater*Red-Figure*

- Marchenko 1968, 9, 12, fig. 12. Bell krater (reverse only illustrated). Dionysos and Ariadne; three draped youths on reverse. Dated by Marchenko to the early fourth century. 1963 excavations, from a burial close to the sea at Sennoi.
- CVA Moscow 5 (Russia 5), pl. 9.1–5. Bell krater; restored. Three draped youths. Palmette below handle. At left to right, two maenads, right-most bearing thyrsos, facing at right to left, Dionysos with satyr behind him. Early fourth century. From burial mound 2, 1963 excavations, F-1324.

Tumulus on the Shapirov Farm, close to Sennoi

(*CR* 1875, xiv–xvii; *CR* 1880, xii, noting much more pottery without details of date or origin).

1. STORAGE VESSELS

Amphora

- *CR* 1880, xii reports a large red-figure amphora from a disturbed grave.

Pelike*Red-Figure*

- T1870.63 *CR* 1870, xv. Rape of Europa. Fourth century, second quarter (or slightly later?). From warrior burial.

3. OIL CONTAINERS ETC.

Squat lekythos*Red-Figure*

- *CR* 1875, xiv–xvii, noting three further palmette or net (Bulas Group) lekythoi in Tomb 7 and 1 ‘checked’ (i.e. Bulas Group?) in Tomb 6.

7. SERVING DISHES

Fishplate*Red-Figure*

T1872.1–16, 18–21 Europa Group sherds. McPhee and Trendall 1987, 29–33, cats. 6–24, 27.

T1872.17 Sherd with ‘decorated’ fish: McPhee and Trendall 1987, 49 cat. 150.

3. OTHER FINDS

Pelike*Black-Glaze*

- *Temryuk Museum*, cat. 4 (TKM 973/1) Lidded; as *Agora* XII, cat. 25. Late fifth century. From Sennoi (chance find, 1960), and therefore likely to come from a grave associated with Phanagoria (or perhaps Kepoi).

APPENDIX 2

CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION

Note: all Trench designations are rendered in Arabic numerals, and Russian terms translated as follows:

Kvadrat: trench

Ploshchad: area.

Shchtyk: layer (an artificial excavation level).

Sloi: level (an archaeological stratum).

Transcheya: cutting.

Yama: pit.

Upper city:

1971 Central Trench, Trench 14, Pit B: **332**

Trench 4, layer 30: **346**

1974 Trench 9, layer 11: **220**

1975 Pit B: **246**

Pit D: **2, 49, 50, 55, 241**

Pit D, lower: **55, 115, 223, 234**

Pit G: **101**

Pit 2: **235**

Pit 3: **203**

Pit 9: **127**

Room 1, upper level: **5, 202, 214, 240**

Room 1, lower level: **248**

Layer 2: **395**

Layer 14: **120**

Trench 2, layer 15: **117, 184**

Layer 15, lower: **7, 153, 196, 202, 311**

Layer 15, under paved area 2: **239**

Layer 16, lower: **27, 125, 215, 308**

Layer 17, lower: **8, cf. 26, 228, 247**

Layer 19: **198**

Layer 20: **30, 38**

Context unknown: **6, 216, 236**

1976 Trench 1, layer 17: **26, 237**

Trench 2, paved area 13: **17, 18, 20, 23, 47**

- Trench 2, under paved area 13: **148**
- Trench 2, paved area 16: **310**
- Trench 2, paved area 17: **140**
- Trench 2, Pit N: **79**
- Trench 2, layer 12: **193, 416**
- Trench 2, layer 16: **95**
- Trench 2, layer 17: **39, 41, 114, 139, 155**
- Area 2, layer 18: **73, 107, 109, 111, 133, 137, 142, 144, 188, 204, 212, 217, 219, 243**
- Trench 3, layer 4: **304**
- Trench 3, layer 10: **206**
- Trench 3, layer 16: **122**
- Trench 3, layer 17: **3, 143, 238, 385**
- Trench 3, layer 20: **121, 134**
- Trench 3, layer 22: **119, 200**
- Trench 4, layer 10: **147**
- Trench 5, layer 9: **388**
- Area 7, layer 13: **244**
- BN 16: **56**
- Context unknown: **379**
- 1977 Trench 2: **21**
- Trench 2, room 1: **99**
- Trench 2, room 6: **268, 380**
- Trench 2, room 7: **210, 242, 251**
- Trench 2, room 7, under floor: **16, 211, 229**
- Trench 2, room 7, on floor 4: **230**
- Trench 2 layer 19: **1, 201, 261, 265, 393**
- Trench 2, layer 20: **253**
- Trench 3: **192, 309**
- Trench 3, room 7: **307**
- Trench 3, Pit 19: **260**
- Area 4, layer 20: **77**
- Area 4, layer 21: **35**
- Area 4, layer 22: **14**
- Area 9, layer 20: **333**
- Context unknown: **135**
- 1978 Area 7, layer 15: **12, 104**
- Area 7, layer 18 (after cleaning): **25**
- Area 7, layer 19: **28**

Area 7, room 2(?): **197**
 Area 7, room 2 (layer 6?): **4**
 Area 7, room 2 (layer 8?): **154**
 Area 7, room 5, layer 4: **266**
 Area 7, room 6, layer 3: **386**
 Area 7, Pit E: **383**

Context unknown: **267**

1979 Area 9: **10, 70, 146**
 Area 9, layer 1: **18**
 Area 9, substructure **43**
 Area 9, substructure, level 2: **136, 152**
 Area 9, substructure, level 3: **9, 40**
 Area 9, layer 8: **227**
 Area 9, loose soil, level 10: **374**
 Area 9, layer 11: **105, 108, 195**
 Area 9, layer 12: **62, 105, 410, 418**
 Area 9, layer 15: **397**
 Area 9, layer 15, inside room: **90**
 Area 9, Building 7: **199**
 Area 9, layer 16: **112**
 Area 9, layer 20: **11, 222**
 Area 9, Pit 110: **15**
 Area 9, loose soil: **48, 100**
 Context unknown: **232**

1980 Trench 1, layer 16: **31**
 Trench 1, layer 19: **145**
 Trench 2, layer 18: **306**
 Trench 2, layer 19: **22, 103, 208**
 Trench 2, layer 20: **126**
 Trench 3, layer 2: **384**
 Trench 9, layer 2: **305**
 Area 10: **183**
 Area 10, cutting: **394, 412**
 Area 10, layer 11: **249**
 Area 10, substructure: **51, 88, 118, 123, 151, 370, 372**
 Area 10, cistern 58: **233**
 Area 10, Pit 156: **370, 371**
 Area 10, Pit 167: **205, 209, 259**
 Level 9: **106**

Level 17: **172**

Level 19, north room 1: **221**

Pit 7: **207**

Pit 58?: **128**

1st floor surface, Archaic building: **199**

3rd floor of the Archaic building: **218**

Cleaning of floor 4, 3: **258**

Trench 19 B: **370**

Cutting 21: **19**

1996 Trench 32, topsoil: **187, 213, 270, 389**

Trench 32, layer 5: **29, 353**

Trench 33, topsoil: **316, 331, 358, 387**

Trench 33, layer 3: **131, 347**

Trench 33, layer 4: **67, 185, 344**

Trench 33, layer 5: **34, 312, 352**

Trench 33, near Pit 57: **44, 254, 361**

Trench 33, Pit 57: **350**

Trench 33, Pit 65: **64, 68, 69, 421**

Trench 34, topsoil: **37, 75, 110, 129, 381, 390, 420**

Trench 34, layer 3: **94, 186, 324, 342, 354**

Trench 34, layer 4: **63**

Trench 35, topsoil: **93, 130, 292, 323, 334, 396**

Trench 35, Pit 48: **36**

Trench 35, Pit 68: **343**

Trench 36, topsoil: **91, 92, 96, 98, 132, 158, 263, 264, 271, 272, 275, 294, 330, 337, 355, 378, 382, 417, 419**

Trench 36, layer 2: **231, 321**

Trench 36, layer 4 : **33, 255**

Trench 36, Pit 50: **293**

Trench 36, Pit 51: **66, 71, 97**

Trench 36, Pit 53a: **279**

Trench 36, cleaning: **256**

Cleaning 1996: **274, 313, 329**

Context unknown: **57**

South city:

1979 Context unknown: **124**

1981 Trench 18: **287**

Trench 18, layer 4: **181**

Trench 34, layer 12: **376**

- 1982 Trench 12, layer 11: **157, 159, 179**
 Trench 17: **156**
 Trench 17, layer 9: **160, 170, 297, 348, 408**
 Trench 17, layer 10: **85, 170, 182, 302, 348**
 Trench 17, layer 11: **165, 169, 290, 373, 414**
 Trench 17, layer 12: **74**
 Trench 17, layer 13: **282**
 Trench 17, layer 14: **362**
 Trench 18, layer 3: **174, 180, 285, 298, 349**
 Trench 18, layer 4: **82, 83?, 162–164, 167, 175–178, 276, 286, 300, 303, 409, 413**
 Trench 18, layer 6: **365**
 Trench 18, layer 9: **411**
 Trench 18, layer 10: **289**
 Trenches 18 + 34, layer 9: **402**
 Trenches 18 + 34, layer 10: **32, 58, 72, 80, 281, 283, 284, 288, 291, 296, 398, 401**
 Trench 18, 19.3: **277**
 Trench 33, layer 18: **150**
 Trench 34: **295**
 Trench 34, trench wall: **319**
 Trench 34, layer 8: **189, 320**
 Trench 34, layer 10: **182**
 Trench 34, layer 11: **13**
 Trench 35, layer 8: **61, 322**
 Context unknown: **59, cf. 82**
- 1983 Trench 18, layer 14: **250**
 Trench 18, layer 15: **86, 314**
 Trench 18, layer 15, Pit 18.7: **46, 166, 301**
 Trench 25, layer 11: **171**
 Context unknown: **81**
- 1985 Trench 21: **375**
 Trench 30, layer 76: **138**
 Trench 32, layer 18: **403, 405**
 Trench 33, layer 14: **194, 404**
 Trench 33, layer 15: **87, 149**
 Trench 33, layer 16: **102, 399, 400, 406, 407**
 Trench 56, basement 7: **257**
 Pit 18.3: **161**

Phanagoria Cemetery

1980 Grave 46 find no. 86. **226**

1993 Context unknown. **52–54.**

Unknown Grave 1. **357**

Context unknown

**24, 42, 45, 60, 65, 76, 78, 84, 89, 113, 116, 141, 168, 173, 190, 191, 224, 225,
245, 252, 262, 269, 273, 278, 280, 299, 315, 317, 318, 325–328, 335, 336,
338–341, 345, 351, 356, 359, 360, 363, 364, 366–369, 377, 391, 392, 415**

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ABBREVIATIONS

Journals and Periodicals

Abbreviations of Western journals and periodicals are those in common usage.

- ArkhPam* *Arkheologichni Pamyatki URSR* (Archaeological Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR), Kiev (in Ukrainian).
- CR* *Compte-rendu de la Commission impériale archéologique* (from 1882 onwards titled only in Russian, *Otchet* = *Otchet Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komissii*), St Petersburg.
- KSIA* *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Brief Reports of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the USSR), Moscow (in Russian).
- MIA* *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* (*Materials and Studies on the Archaeology of the USSR*), Moscow (in Russian).
- Otchet* *Otchet Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komissii* (= *CR Compte-rendu de la Commission impériale archéologique*), St Petersburg.
- RA* *Rossiiskaya Arkheologiya* (*Russian Archaeology* = *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*), Moscow (in Russian).
- SA* *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* (*Soviet Archaeology* = *Rossiiskaya Arkheologiya*, *Russian Archaeology*), Moscow (in Russian).
- SoobGMII* *Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Muzeya Izobrazitelnykh Iskusstv imeni A.S. Pushkina* (Reports of the Pushkin State Museum), Moscow (in Russian).
- TGE* *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* (Proceedings of the State Hermitage), St Petersburg (in Russian).
- VDI* *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (*Journal of Ancient History*), Moscow (in Russian).

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