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Article title: On the History of Trade Relations of Knidos with the
North Black Sea Area (According to the Materials of
Ceramic Stamps) [K istorii torgovykh svyazei Knida s
severnym Prichernomor'em (Po materialam keramicheskikh
kleim)]

Volume title: <i>Greek Amphoras [Grecheskie amfory]</i>

Published: 1992 Saratov University Press, Saratov

Pages: 254-265

nve-knid.t92

[Translation by PMWM and OB April 1995. Completed]

On the History of Trade Relations of Knidos
with the North Black Sea Area
[K istorii torgovykh svyazei Knida
s severnym Prichernomor'em]

(According to the materials of ceramic stamps)

[p254]

In the trade of the ancient world Hellenistic Knidos played a quite significant role. Among the goods which the city produced for exterior markets, authors mention vinegar,^{fn1} vegetables, in particular onions,^{fn2} reeds for the preparation of writing pens,^{fn3} oil for the needs of pharmacists,^{fn4} and probably fish.^{fn5} However without doubt the main article of Knidian export was wine, which earned its fame by its high quality and special curative properties.^{fn6}

- ==== 1. Athen. 2.76.
- ==== 2. Pliny *N.H.* 14.74; Athen 1.59
- ==== 3. *Ibid.* 16.154; Ausonius *Epist.* 14 (4) 77, 15 (7) 50.
- ==== 4. Pliny *N.H.* 12.132.
- ==== 5. Ovid *Metam.* 10.537.
- ==== 6. Strabo 14.637; Pliny *N.H.* 14.75; Athen. 1.59

Oi"nou kni"dia and *kni"dion kera"mion* (the latter as a measure of capacity for wine) occur in papyri and on ostraka from Ptolemaic Egypt,^{fn7} bearing witness to the good knowledge of the local inhabitants of this product. Among the epigraphic materials from the island of Delos there is a group of inscriptions in which mention is made of purchases of Koan and Knidian wine for the annual festival of Poseidon with indication of the prices for the jars.^{fn8} With the unsteadiness of prices, which probably depended on the specific nature of the market,^{fn9} Knidian wine was steadily more expensive than Koan (1.4--2.8 times as expensive). The quantitatively lower recurrence of Knidian jars in the inscriptions probably is also to be explained by its high price.^{fn10}

- ==== 7. *Zen. Pap.* 1.59033; *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 428; *Pap. Oxy.* 1158; Wilcken, U. *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien.* Leipzig-Berlin 1899 Bd 1 p756f. nrs 764-767.
- ==== 8. Kent, J. "Delian Temple Estate," *Hesperia* 17 1948 p128
- ==== 9. Broughton, T.R.S. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1938 IV p394.
- ==== 10. *Ibid.*

With these, unfortunately, our facts from the written and epigraphic sources on the trade of Knidos come to an end. For this

reason, in fact, the basic material of choice for scholars is ceramic epigraphy. As a category of sources, ceramic [p255] stamps permit us to elucidate not only a broad circle of centres, the goods of which were imported to this or that region, but also in many cases they give the possibility of studying the basic flow of imports from various centres, its chronological development and fluctuations, and also, in certain measure, the comparative volume.<fn11> Thanks to their sheer mass, the stamps are highly accessible for processing.

==== 11. Brashinskii, I.B. "Methods of Studying the Standards of Ancient Greek Ceramic Containers [Metodika izucheniia standartov drevnegrecheskoi keramicheskoi tary]", <i>SA</i> 3 1973 [sic tr.] p87.

The identification of Knidian stamps on the whole is not complex due to the ethnic contained in their reading. However it is not always present.<fn12> Usually the stamps of Knidos preserve the following elements: name of a magistrate, sometimes with the title *damourgos* or *phourarchos*; name of a fabricant; ethnic. In the "duovir" period (on which more detail below) there are added the names of two officials, sometimes with the title "andron". All these elements may be placed on one handle of the amphora, more rarely on two. There are cases where the same stamp is impressed on both handles at the same time, although this manner of stamping bears an episodic nature, and in evaluation it may be disregarded, as in the cases of Thasos and Sinope.<fn13> In addition to the mentioned varieties, in recent years significant success has been achieved in localizing the stamps which were earlier doubtful, unidentified, or incorrectly treated -- the stamps with a "prow", the groups "Zenon A and B" and a few others, as the production of Knidian workshops.<fn14>

==== 12. In the opinion of V. Grace, the ethnic begins to be used only around 188 BCE (Grace, V, "The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps," <i>Hesperia</i> 51 (1985) p18). In the meantime many magistrate stamps,

dated before that time are known with the ethnic. On this see note 30.

==== 13. Brashinskii, I.B. <i>Methods of Studying Ancient Trade [Metody issledovaniia antichnoi torgovli]</i>, Leningrad 1984 p56.

==== 14. Bo\"rker, Chr., "Die Herkunft der Schiffsbug-Stempel," <i>BCH</i> Suppl 13 1986 p473--478; Empereur J.-Y., Picon, M. "A la recherche des fours d'amphores," <i>Ibid.</i> p123; Empereur J.-Y., Picon, M., Doger E., "Rapport pre\liminaire de la prospection arche\logique turco-franc\aise des ateliers d'amphores de Resadije-Kiliseani, sur la pe\ninsule de Datc\&a" <i>Anatolia Antica</i> 1 1987 p47--52; Empereur

J.-Y., "Producteurs d'amphores dans les ateliers de Resadije," *BCH* VI (1988) p159--163; Empereur J.-Y., Tuna, N., "Ze'non de Caunos et l'e'pave de Serc'e Limani," *BCH* CXII (1988). On the stamps of the Zenon groups, see: Grace, V. "Notes on the Amphoras from the Koroni Peninsula," *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p321, 331 note 25; *eadem*, "The Middle Stoa ..." p19 nt46; *eadem*, "Some Amphoras from a Hellenistic Wreck," *BCH* Suppl 13 (1986) p558--560; Grace, V., Empereur J.-Y., "Un groupe d'amphores ptole'maiques estampille'es," *BIFAO* 81 (1981) p426 nt 3; Criscuolo L., "I bolli di Zenone e il vino 'buono' egiziano," *ZPE* 70 (1987) p111--115.

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The chronological identification of the stamps presents greater complexity. The sole existing classification was worked out by V. Grace and has been made more precise by her repeatedly in a series of articles. Pointing to the closeness of the tradition of stamping in Rhodes and in Knidos, she proposes a similar periodization for both these groups. For Knidos the following periods are distinguished:

- II 275--220 (early monograms)
- III 220--188 (to the beginning of the period of the phourarchs)
- IVA 188--166 (period of the phourarchs)
- IVB 166--146 (up to the time of the razing of Carthage and Corinth)
- V 146--108 (up to the beginning of the "duoviri" period)
- VI 108--78? ("duoviri" period)
- VII 78--end 1c BC (postduoviri period).

=== 15. Grace V., "Timbres amphoriques trouve's a` De'los," *BCH* 76 (1952) p518; *eadem* "Pnyx. Stamped Wine Jar Fragments," *Hesperia* Suppl 10 (1956) p145ff; Grace, V.R., Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, M., "Les Timbres amphoriques grecs," *EAD* XXVIII [sic tr.] Paris 1970 p286; Grace, "The Middle Stoa ...," p31.

=== 16. Grace, "The Middle Stoa ...," p31

The important stages of her classification, confirmed by historical events, are the periods of the phourarchs and the "duoviri". In connection with the former, in particular, the following may be noted: a) the phourarchs were representatives of the Rhodian administration in the period of occupation of Knidos (188--166); b) the term of fulfillment of this magistracy, as at Priene, was not a full year but 4 months, which follows from the fact that the total number of phourarchs is almost three times higher than the quantity of years of the Rhodian domination at Knidos; b') the names of the

phrourarchs are not more Rhodian than Knidian, which forces us to suppose that they recruited from outside.<fn17>

=== 17. Grace, Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, <i>op.cit.</i> p318; Grace "The Middle Stoa ...," p13.

First of all, the occupation of Knidos after the Apamean peace is taken as something incontestable, although there are other points of view, for example, that Knidos was merely dependent upon Rhodes,<fn18> or was wholly independent.<fn19> There are insufficient [p257] grounds for the comparison of the phrourarchs in Knidos and in Priene, since in the latter case the restriction of the term of their activity was dictated by extraordinary circumstances, and the phrourarchs themselves at that time (together with the subordinate garrison) did not have the right to leave the fortress or to enter the town.<fn20> It is all the more doubtful that foreigners could have undertaken the duties of phrourarch.<fn21> Finally it is known that in Ptolemaic Egypt (in whose domain in the 3c BC Knidos found itself)<fn22> in the last third of 3c BC the functions of strategos and phrourarchos were extended to include legal and police powers,<fn23> approaching the duties of the agoranomes and astynomes.

=== 18. Meyer E., <i>Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien</i> Zu"rich-Leipzig (1925) p74, 140; Rostovtzeff M., <i>Gesellschaft und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der hellenistischen Welt.</i> Darmstadt (1955) p1256f. nt109.

=== 19. Niese, B. <i>Geschichte der griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia</i> III, Gotha (1903) p63; Friedrich Lu"bkens <i>Reallexicon des klassischen Altertums</i> Leipzig-Berlin (1914) p554; Magie D. <i>Roman Rule in Asia Minor</i> Princeton (1950) p958 nt75.

=== 20. Hiller von Gaertringen F., <i>Inscriptionen von Priene</i> Berlin (1906) p xiii.

=== 21. In Miletos, for example, persons who had received the right of citizenship could act as replacements in the duties of phrourarch and strategos only 20 years afterward. See Kawerau, G., Rehm, A., <i>Das Delfinion von Milet. Milet</i> 3, Berlin (1914) p200.

=== 22. Rostovtzeff, <i>op.cit.</i>. p261; Magie <i>op.cit.</i>. p926.

=== 23. Kortenbeutel H., "Phrourarchos," <i>RE</i> 20.1 1921 p779.

What has been said permits us to regard the institution of the phrourarchs at Knidos as an ordinary, yearly, intra-city magistracy connected with ceramic production.<fn24>

=== 24. A more detailed argument will be laid out in the article: Efremov H.B., "The Period of the Phrourarchy in Knidos" (in press).

In the opinion of V. Grace, the time of the "duoviri" in Knidos was connected with the Roman apparatus of collecting taxes in the province of Asia, and the cessation of this system of marking amphoras is attributed to the period of the capture of Knidos by Mithridates VI and lasted for a few years after that.<fn25> The latter, however, is hardly plausible. Military action against Mithridates in Asia was accompanied by the destruction and pillaging of the cities of the province, Knidos among them.<fn26> In this connection the tax system of the province was reorganized around 85 BC<fn27> which may serve as one of the bases for the transition to a new type of stamp. For the beginning of the period around 114 BC, in addition to the total number of magistrates, there is archaeological confirmation from the North-West Crimea, on which more below.

==== 25. Grace V., "Standard Pottery Containers ...," p184 nt35; Grace, "Pnyx ...," p145f; Grace, Savvatianou-Petropoulakou <i>Op. cit</i>. p318f, 320f; Grace, "The Middle Stoa ...," p22, 31.

==== 26. Magie <i>op.cit.</i> p240

==== 27. Gray, E.W.M. "Aquilus and the Organization of the Roman Province of Asia" <i>The Proceedings of the X International Congress of Classical Archaeology. Ankara-Ismir 23--30 IX 1973</i> Ankara (1978) p975. At that time Asia received a whole series of innovations. There they took on a new method of calculating years, a new territorial division was executed, etc (<i>ibid.</i>. p972f).

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Thus it is possible to propose a somewhat different chronology of the ceramic stamps of Knidos:

- I 305--280 (stamps with "prow").<fn28>
- II 280--255/50 (individual letters, monograms, ligatures).<fn29>
- III 255/50--215 (appearance of names of magistrates, fabricants, the ethnic).<fn30>
- IV 215--166 (period of the phrourarchs).
- V 166--146 (up to the time of the destruction of Carthage and Corinth).
- VI 146--114 (up to the beginning of the "duoviri" period)
- VII 114--88 (period of the "duoviri")
- VIII 85--30 (postduoviri period).<fn31>

==== 28. It is most likely that this group coincides with the time of independence of Knidos, when the state emblem of the city was used as the device of the stamps

==== 29. Here should be placed the stamps of Zenon group A and B. The finding of one such stamp in the Pergamon complex (see Schuchhardt C., <i>Inscripfen von Pergamon. Alttertum</i>mer von

Pergamon. VIII.2 Berlin 1890 N. 1278) does not really represent proof of their later date, since it could by chance have entered into the number of the stamps of the complex, as, for instance, a few others (Grace, Savvatianou-Petropoulakou *op.cit.* p291 nt2.

=== 30. The ethnic appears already in stamps of this group, but not around 188 BC as V. Grace hypothesizes (see note 12). Here probably, as in the case of the months on the stamps of Rhodes, not all the fabricants or their die-cutters began to use the new type of stamp at the same time. See: Grace, Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, *op.cit.* p293.

=== 31. One may hypothesize that the cessation of magistrate stamping at Knidos is connected with the new tax system of Julius Caesar (45 BC). The likelihood of this is confirmed also by the total number of magistrates of the "postduoviri" period. After this stamping continued still for some time (up to Augustus?), but bore a different character (individual letters, monograms, devices).

As has been repeatedly emphasized by scholars, the basic mass of Knidian import arrived at Athens, in continental Greece, on the island of Delos, and, to a lesser degree, in Egypt. [p259] At the same time, on the islands of the Aegean Rhodian import completely predominates. In regard to the North Black Sea Area the question of its trade with Knidos has not been specially examined. The stamps of this centre have found reflection only in the published material of archaeological excavations. A considerable role in this has been played by the complete absence of epigraphic evidence for any sort of contacts, and also the established opinion that the stamps of Knidos on the whole are not numerous. In the meantime, the true localization of the stamps with "prow" belongs to the merit of Soviet scholars.

=== 32. Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.* p1274 nt 10; Dumont, A., *Inscriptions ce\ramiques de Gre\ce* Paris (1872) p125f.; Pridik, E. "Amphorenstempel aus Athen" *AthMitt* 21 (1896) p127, 138f.; *idem* "Neue Amphorenstempel aus Athen," *AthMitt* 22 (1897) p148; Grace, V., "Stamped Amphora Handles Found in 1931--1932" *Hesperia* 3 (1934) p202f; *eadem* "Pnyx", p119; Lenger, M.-Th.

"Timbres amphoriques trouve\`s a\` Argos," *BCH* 81 (1957) p165--175.

=== 33. Roussel, P., *De\`los colonie athe\nienne* Paris (1916) p29, nrs 4; Grace, "Timbres amphoriques trouve\`s a\` De\`los" p517; Empereur J.-Y. "Les anses d'amphores timbre\`s et les amphores: aspects quantitatifs," *BCH* 106 (1982) p221 Table 1.

=== 34. Grace, V. "Proper Housing in the Alexandria Museum for the Benachi

- Collection of Amphora Handles," *YBAPhS* (1964) p519.
- === 35. Grace, V. "Ancient Jars of Commercial Amphoras," *YBAPhS* (1959) p476
- === 36. Shelov, D.B., *Ceramic stamps from Tanais* Moscow 1975 p128.
- === 37. Pridik, E.M. "Ceramic Inscriptions from the Excavations of Tiritaki and Mirmeki in 1932--1934 [Keramicheskie nadpisi iz raskopok Tiritaki i Mirmekiia v 1932--1934 gg.]," *MIA* 4 (1941) p178; Shelov, D.B., "Stamps on Amphoras and Tiles, Found in the Excavations of Pantikapeia in 1945--1949 [Kleima na amforakh i cherepitsakh naidennykh pri raskopkakh Pantikapeia v 1945-1949 gg.]," *MIA* 56 (1957) p215.

By my count, there are 1078 Knidian stamps from the North Black Sea Area, 1047 of which can be identified. Their chronological distribution appears in the following way:

Table 1

Group	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VII
Dates	305-- 280	280-- 250	250-- 215	215-- 166	166-- 146	146-- 114	114-- 88	88-- 30
Qty	167	56	224	205	126	223	45	1
%	16%	5.3	21.5%	19.5%	12%	21.3%	4.3%	0.1%

From this it is evident that Knidian export to the North Black Sea Area arrived continuously throughout the course of the whole Hellenistic period. The beginning of the export of Knidian goods in pointed amphoras is dated to the end 4c BC. In the 2/4 3c BC there is observed a reduction continuing to the middle of the century, after which begins a sharp increase with some weakening in the middle of 2c BC; at the end 2c--beginning 1c BC an intensive cutting back and diminishing of trade contacts takes place. Particularly remarkable is [p260] the quite large number of stamps of chronological group I. On the evidence of V. Grace and Chr. Bo'rker, the total number of known specimens of stamps of this type comprises approximately 160. Half of them were found in Alexandria and in the rest of lower Egypt, and 1/6 [sic tr.] in the North Black Sea Area. Taking this data into consideration, we conclude that at this time, more than half of the Knidian export went to the North Black Sea Area, predominantly to the European Bosphoros (Table IV). This is not surprising because the Bosphoros and Egypt at that time were the main suppliers of grain for Greece.

North Black Sea Area	165 56 214 205 114 223 45 1
Delos	- 27 19 (496) 765 2037 28

It is necessary to note that Table 1 does not give the picture of Knidian import in the North Black Sea Area, because the periods of time corresponding to the chronological groups are unequal. In order to figure out the import of Knidian amphoras to the North Black Sea Area in different epochs it is necessary to divide the number of stamps in each chronological group by the approximate number of years embraced by the corresponding period.<f43>

I Group	167/25 = 6.7	V Group	126/20 = 6.3
II Group	56/30 = 1.8	VI Group	223/32 = 7
III Group	224/35 = 6.4	VII Group	45/26 = 1.7
IV Group	205/49 = 4.2	VIII Group	1/58 = 0.01

=== 43. Shelov <i>op.cit</i>. 26.

However, even these figures do not fully reflect the real dynamics of economic relations. To elucidate this, it is necessary to examine Knidian import by individual centres of the North Black Sea Area. The application of the annual co-efficient does not answer the purpose, because its quantity will be affected by the difference in the total number of stamps found in one or the other point.<f44> In this connection it is reasonable to limit ourselves to the number of stamps and the percentage (Table 4).

=== 44. <i>Ibid</i>. Iu.S. Badal'iants does it differently, indicating the annual co-efficient for individual centres. See Badal'iants, Iu.S., "Trade and Economic Relations of Rhodes with the North Black Sea Area in the Hellenistic Period [Torgovo-ekonomicheskie sviazi Rodosa s Severnym Prichernomor'em v epokhu ellinizma]", <i>VDI</i> 1986.1 p92.

The division into regions in Table 4 is given according to the scheme suggested by [p261] by I.B. Brashinskii.<fn45> The North-West Crimea is indicated separately from Khersonesos due to the fact that in 2/2 2c BC, which comprises the main portion of Knidian import into this region, the North-West Crimea no longer formed a part of the Khersonesan state.<fn46>

=== 45. I.B. Brashinskii, "An Experiment in an Economic-Geographical Division by Regions of the Ancient Black Sea Area [Opyt ekonomiko-geograficheskogo raionirovaniia antichnogo Prichernomor'ia]" <i>VDI</i> 1970.2 (1970) 129--138.

==== 46. Shcheglov, A.N., <i>The North-West Crimea in the Ancient Era [Severo-Zapadniy Krym v antichnuuiu epokhu]</i>, Leningrad 1978.

Table 4

Grps	European Bosphoros*		Asian Bosphoros		Ol'via Tira		Kherso-nesos		N-W Crimea		Rest**	
	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%
I	105	62.9	1	0.6	45	26.9	4	2.4	2	1.2	10	6
II	-	-	-	-	20	35.7	6	10.7	-	-	30	53.6
III	61	27.2	17	7.8	114	50.8	18	8	3	1.3	11	4.9
IV	48	23.4	6	2.9	112	54.6	15	7.3	4	2	20	9.8
V	25	19.8	4	3.2	71	56.3	13	10.3	1	0.8	12	9.6
VI	51	22.9	11	4.9	35	15.7	39	17.5	73	32.7	14	6.3
VII	14	31.2	6	13.3	5	11.1	5	11.1	-	-	15	33.3
VIII	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-

* with Tanais and Elizavetovskoe Ancient Town Site

** including uninventoried [or unassigned? "passportless" tr]

The distribution of stamps from different chronological groups among the ancient centres of the North Black Sea Area indicates that the import of Knidian goods in stamped amphoras differed from place to place. For visual clarity I provide a graph which reflects the dynamics of this process (Table 5). At first a large part of the Knidian import came to the Bosphoros. Then during 3c BC and up to mid 2c BC it was most intensive in the North-West Black Sea Area. From 2/2 2c BC [the import] declines there, but no change takes place in the Bosphoros. At the same time one can see a clear and sharp increase in the arrival of Knidian goods to Khersonesos and the North-West Crimea which had previously played a secondary role in trade with Knidos. It is not likely to be accidental. It is known that from end 3c-beg 2c BC the North-West Black Sea Area enters a period of prolonged crisis which worsened in 2c BC when export from the region and [p263] import into it had practically ceased.<fn47> During this period, no crisis phenomena are observed in the Bosphoros. They can be seen only from the 2/2 2c BC.<fn48> And finally in Khersonesos, in spite of its loss of a larger part of its <i>khora</i>, which included vast territories in the North-West Crimea, by mid 2c BC and until the period of Diophantos' wars, there can be observed some political stability; probably this period of time is characterized by peaceful relations with Scythians.<fn49> It is quite probable that, with the weakening of Ol'via and the beginning of the crisis phenomena in the Bosphoros, in 2/2 2c BC Khersonesos could for some time take their place as a trade partner of Knidos, although it is

still only a hypothesis.

- === 47. Kryzhitskii, S.L., *Ol'via. Historiographic Research of Architectural Construction Complexes* [Ol'viia. Istoriograficheskoe issledovanie arkhitekturno-stroitel'nykh kompleksov] Kiev 1985, p172.
- === 48. Shelov, D.B. "The History of Ancient States of the North Black Sea Area [Istoriia antichnykh gosudarstv Severnogo Prichernomor'ia] *Ancient States of the North Black Sea Area* [Antichnye gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomor'ia] Moscow 1984, p15.
- === 49. Shcheglov *op.cit.* p172f.

[Table 5 omitted] *See next page.*

Dynamics of the entry of goods in Knidian amphoras into the North Black Sea Area.

----- Ol'viia, Tira - - - Bosporos West Crimea

[p263]

Knidian stamps from the North-West Crimea indicate stable entry of import during the period of the existence of stamps of VI chronological group. It reaches a particular intensity in the second half of the group. Stamps of all the Knidian eponyms (with one exception) are represented, and in a rather considerable quantity for the North Black Sea Area. At the same time, not a single stamp of the duoviri period (group VII) was found there, which is hardly accidental. Such a sharp drop, such a sudden cessation of Knidian import into the region, should be most likely connected with the destruction of the settlements during the first expedition of Diophantos in 114 BC. This supposition is supported as well by the Rhodian stamps from these settlements. Of course, there is no foundation to talk about the entire *khora* of Khersonesos, but in application to the region of Kerkinitis it is quite acceptable.

=== 50. *Black Sea Area in the Era of Hellenism: Materials of III All-Union*

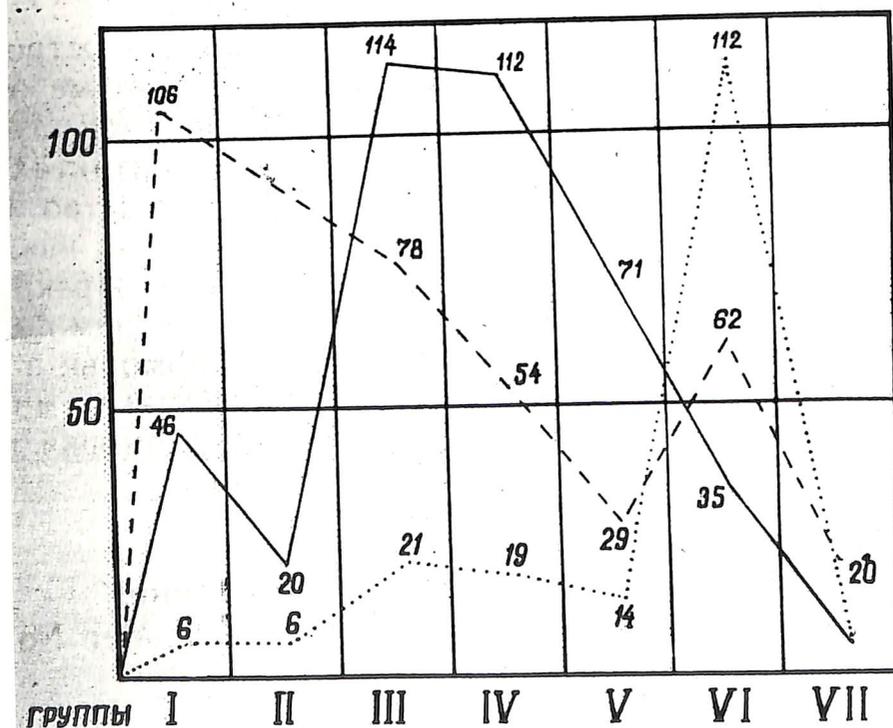
Symposium on the Ancient History of the Black Sea Area [Prichernomor'ia v epokhu ellinizma: Materiali III Vsesoiuznogo Simpoziuma po drevnei istorii Prichernomor'ia] Tbilisi 1985, p645 (presentation of Iu.G. Vinogradov).

Comparison of the dynamics of the entry of goods in pointed amphoras from Rhodes with that from Knidos shows considerable difference, particularly as applicable to 2c BC. Meanwhile it seems to

me it would be more correct to speak not of direct trade contacts of Knidos with the Black Sea Area but via the intermediary of Rhodes, although one cannot also exclude the possibility of direct contacts, particularly at the end 4c BC--beg 3c BC. The end of Knidian import is doubtless connected with the change in the political situation in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea Area in the period of the Mithridatic Wars, which became a turning-point both for Knidos and for the North Black Sea Area, and marked the beginning of a new period in their history.

=== 51. On the trade of the North Black Sea Area with Rhodes, see Badal'iants <i>op.cit.</i> p87-99.

Таблица 5.



Динамика поступления товаров в книдских амфорах в Северное Причерноморье:

— Ольвия, Тира. — — — Боспор. Западный Крым

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(According to the materials of ceramic stamps)

by N.V. Efremov (Greifswald)

Translated from: Greek Amphoras [Grecheskie amfory], ed. S.Iu.
Monakhov, Saratov 1992. Pages 254--264.

[p254]

In the trade of the ancient world Hellenistic Knidos played a sufficiently significant rôle. Among the goods which the city produced for exterior markets, authors mention vinegar,¹ vegetables, in particular, onions,² reeds for the preparation of writing pens,³ oil for the needs of pharmacists,⁴ and probably fish.⁵ However without doubt the main article of Knidian export was wine, [? its pride and glory], which was furthered by its high quality and the special characteristics aimed at.⁶

ΟΥΝΟΥ ΚΥΣΙΔΑ and ΚΥΣΙΔΟΥ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΔΩΝ (the latter as measures of capacity for wine) occur in papyri and on ostraka from Ptolemaic Egypt,⁷ bearing witness to the good knowledge of the local inhabitants of these products. Among the epigraphic materials from the island of Delos there is a group of inscriptions in which mention is made of purchases of of Koan and Knidian wine for the annual festival of Poseidonius with indication of the prices for the jars.⁸ With the unsteadiness of prices, which probably depended on specific markets,⁹ Knidian wine was steadily more expensive than Koan (1.4--2.8 times as expensive). Its high value view to all appearances is shown in the quantitatively lower repetitiveness of Knidian jars in the inscriptions.¹⁰

With these, unfortunately, facts from the written and epigraphic sources on the trade of Knidos come to an end. For this reason in fact the basic material of choice for scholars is ceramic epigraphy. As a category of sources, ceramic [p255] stamps permit us to elucidate not only a broad circle of centres, the goods of which were

1. Athen. 2.76.
2. Pliny N.H. 14.74; Athen 1.59
3. Ibid. 16.154; Ausonius Epist 14 (4) 77, 15 (7) 50.
4. Pliny N.H. 12.132.
5. Ovid Metam. 10.537.
6. Strabo 14.637; Pliny N.H. 14.75; Athen. 1.59
7. Zen. Pap. 1.59033; Pap. Soc. Ital. 428; Pap. Oxy. 1158; Wilcken, U. Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien, Leipzig-Berlin 1899 Bd 1 p756 f. nrs 764-767.
8. Kent, J. "Delian Temple Estate," Hesperia 17 1948 p128
9. Broughton, T.R.S. An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, Baltimore 1938 IV p394.
10. Ibid.

imported to this or that region, but also in many cases they give the possibility of studying the basic flow of imports from various centres, its chronological development and fluctuations, and also, in certain measure, the comparative volume.¹¹ Thanks to their sheer mass, the stamps are highly accessible for processing.

The definition of Knidian stamps in general is simply from the preservation in them of the ethnic. However it is far from always present.¹² Usually the stamps of Knidos preserve the following elements: name of a magistrate, sometimes with the title demicourgos or phourarchos; name of a fabricant; ethnic. In the "duovir" period (on which more detail below) there are added the names of two officials, sometimes with the title "andron". All these elements may be placed on one handle of the amphora, more rarely on two. There are cases where one or other stamp is impressed on both handles at the same time, although this manner of stamping bears an episodic nature, and in evaluation it may be disregarded, as in the cases of Thasos and Sinope.¹³ In addition to the mentioned varieties, in the last years significant success has been achieved in localizing the stamps which were earlier doubtful, undefined, or incorrectly treated --- the stamps with a "prow", the groups "Zenon A and B" and a few others as the production of Knidian masters.¹⁴

[p256]

The chronological definition of the stamps presents great complexity. The sole existing chronology was worked out by V. Grace and has been made more precise by her repeatedly in a series of articles.¹⁵ Pointing to the closeness of the tradition of stamping in

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11. Brashinskii, I.B. "Methods of Studying the Standards of Ancient Greek Ceramic Containers", SA 3 1973 p87.
 12. In the opinion of V. Grace, the ethnic begins to be used only around 188 BCE (Grace, V., "The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps," Hesperia 51 1985 p18. In the meantime many magistrate stamps, dated before that time, are known with the ethnic. On this see note 30.
 13. Brashinskii, I.B. Methods of Studying Ancient Trade, Leningrad 1984 p56.
 14. Börker, Chr., "Die Herkunft der Schiffsbug-Stempel," BCH Suppl 13 1986 p473--78; Empereur J.-Y., Picon, M. "A la recherche des fours d'amphores," Ibid. p123; Empereur J.-Y., Picon, M., Doger E., "Rapport préliminaire de la prospection archéologique turco-française des ateliers d'amphores de Resadije-Kiliseani, sur la péninsule de Datça" Anatolia Antica 1 1987 p47--52; Empereur J.-Y., "Producteurs d'amphores dans les ateliers de Resakije," Arastirma sonuclari Toplanizi VI 1988 p159--163; Empereur J.-Y., Tuna, N., "Zénon de Caunos et l'épave de Serçe Limani," BCH CXII 1988. On the stamps of the Zenon groups, see: Grace V. "Notes on the Amphoras from the Koroni Peninsula," Hesperia XXXII 1963 p321, 331 note 25; Eadem. "The Middle Stoa ..." p19 nt46; Eadem. "Some Amphoras from a Hellenistic Wreck," BCH Suppl 13 1986 p558--60; Grace, V., Empereur J.-Y., "Un groupe d'amphores ptolémaïques estampillées," BIFAO 81 1981 p426 nt 3; Criscuolo L., "I bolli di Zenone e il vino 'buono' egiziano," ZPE Bd 70 1987 p111--115.
 15. Grace V., "Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos," BCH LXXVI 1952 p518; eadem "Pnyx. Stamped Wine Jar Fragments," Hesperia Suppl X 1956 p145ff; Grace V.R., Savvatianou-Petropoulakou M., "Les Timbres amphoriques grecs," EAD XXVIII

Rhodes and in Knidos, she proposes a similar periodization for both these groups. For Knidos the following periods are distinguished:

- II 275--220 (early monograms)
- III 220--188 (to the beginning of the period of the phrourarchs)
- IVA 188--166 (period of the phrourarchs)
- IVB 166--146 (up to the time of the razing of Carthage and Corinth)
- V 146--108 (up to the beginning of the "Duoviri" period)
- VI 108--78? ("duoviri" period)
- VII 78--end I c BC (postduoviri period).¹⁶

16. Grace, "The Middle Stoa ...," p31

In the important moments of her classification, confirmed by historical events, the periods of the phrourarchs and the "duoviri" are revealed. In connection with the former, in particular, the following may be noted: a) the phrourarchs were representatives of the Rhodian administration in the period of occupation of Knidos (188--166); b) the term of fulfillment of this magistracy, as at Priene, was not a full year but 4 months, which follows from the fact that the common number of phrourarchs is almost three times higher than the quantity of years of the Rhodian domination at Knidos; b') the names of the phrourarchs are not more Rhodian than Knidian, which forces us to suppose that they recruited in the country.¹⁷

First of all, the occupation of Knidos after the Apamean peace is taken as something incontestable, although there are other points of view, for example, that Knidos only found herself at enmity with Rhodes,¹⁸ or was wholly independent.¹⁹ There are insufficient grounds for the comparison of the phrourarchs in Knidos and in Priene, since in the latter case the restriction of the term of their activity was dictated by extraordinary circumstances, and the phrourarchs themselves at that time (together with the subordinate garrison) did not have the right to leave the fortress or to walk through the town.²⁰ It is all the more doubtful that foreigners could have undertaken the duties of phrourarch.²¹ Finally it is known that in Ptolemaic Egypt (in whose domain in the 3c BC Knidos found itself²²)

[sic] Paris 1970 p286; Grace, "The Middle Stoa ...," p31.

- 17. Grace, Savvatianou-Petropoulakou. Op. cit. p318; Grace "The Middle Stoa ...," p13.
- 18. Meyer E., Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien Sürich-Leipzig, 1925 p74, 140; Rostovtzeff M., Gesellschaft und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der hellenistischen Welt. Darmstadt 1955 p1256f. Anm. 109.
- 19. Niese B., Geschichte der griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeronea III, Gotha 1903, p63; Friedrich Lübkers Reallexicon des klassischen Altertums. Leipzig-Berlin 1914 p554; Magie D., Roman Rule in Asia Minor Princeton 1950 p958 nt75.
- 20. Hiller von Gaertringen F., Inschriften von Priene B. 1906 p xiii.
- 21. In Miletos, for example, persons who had received the right of citizenship could act as replacements in the duties of phrourarch and strategos only during the course of 20 years. See Kawerau G., Rehm A., Das Delfinion von Milet. Miletus 3 B, 1914 p200.

in the last third of 3c BC the functions of strategos and phrourarchos were carried out by lawful and "of the police" [or "citizen"?] commissioners,²³ approaching the duties of the agoranomes and astynomes.

What has been said permits us to regard the institution of the phrourarchs at Knidos as an ordinary, yearly [sic! tr], intra-city magistracy connected with ceramic production.²⁴

In the opinion of V. Grace, the time of the "duoviri" in Knidos was connected with the Roman apparatus of collecting taxes in the province of Asia, and the embellishment of this system of marking amphoras is attributed to the period of the capture of Knidos by Mithridates VI and lasted even some years after that.²⁵ The latter, however, is hardly plausible. Military action against Mithridates in Asia was accompanied by the destruction and pillaging of the cities of the province, Knidos among them.²⁶ In this connection the tax system of the province was reorganized around 85 BC²⁷ which may serve as one of the bases for the transition to a new type of stamp. For the beginning of the period around 114 BC, in addition to the common number of magistrates, there is archaeological confirmation from the North-West Crimea, on which more below.

[p257]

(No)

Thus it is possible to propose a somewhat different chronology of the ceramic stamps of Knidos:

- I 305--280 (stamps with "prow").²⁸
- II 280--255/50 (individual letters, monograms, ligatures).²⁹
- III 255/50--215 (appearance of names of magistrates, fabricants, the ethnic).³⁰

22. Rostovtzeff, Op. cit., p261; Magie Op. cit. p926

23. Kortzenbeutel H., "Phrourarchos," RE 20.1 1921 p779.

24. A more detailed argument will be laid out in the article: Efremov H.B., "The Period of the Phrourarchy in Knidos" (in press).

25. Grace V., "Standard Pottery Containers ...," p184 nt35; Grace, "Pnyx ...," p145f; Grace, Savvatianou-Petropoulakou Op. cit. p318f, 320f; Grace, "The Middle Stoa ...," p22, 31.

26. Magie Op. cit. p240

27. Gray E.W.M. "Aquilus and the Organization of the Roman Province of Asia" The Proceedings of the X International Congress of Classical Archaeology. Ankara - Ismir 23--30 IX 1973 Ankara 1978 p975. At that time Asia received a whole series of innovations. There they took on a new method of calculating years, a new territorial division was executed etc (Ibid., p972f).

28. It is most likely that this group coincides with the time of independence of Knidos, when the state emblym of the city was used as the device of the stamps

29. Here should be placed the stamps of Zenon group A and B. The find of one such stamp in the Pergamon complex (see Schuchhardt C., Inschriften von Pergamon. Altertümer von Pergamon. VIII.2 Berlin 1890 N. 1278) does not yet represent proof of their later date, since it could by chance have entered into the number of the stamps of the complex, as, for instance, a few others (Grace, Savvatianou-Petropoulakou Op. cit. p291 nt2.

30. The ethnic appears already in stamps of this group, a not around 188 BC as V.

- IV 215--166 (period of the phrourarchs).
- V 166--146 (up to the time of the destruction of Carthage and Corinth).
- VI 146--114 (up to the beginning of the "duoviri" period).
- VII 114--88 (period of the "duoviri")
- VIII 85--30 (postduoviri period).³¹

As has been repeatedly underlined by researchers, the basic mass of Knidian import arrived at Athens, in continental Greece,³² on the island of Delos,³³ and, to a lesser degree, in Egypt.³⁴ [p259] At the same time, on islands of the Aegean Rhodian import completely predominates.³⁵ In practice in regard to the North Black Sea Area the question of its trade with Knidos has not been specially examined. The stamps of this centre have found reflection only in the published material of archaeological excavations. Not the last role in this is played by the complete absence of evidence for any sort of contacts, and also the expressed opinion that the stamps of Knidos on the whole are not numerous.³⁶

In the meantime, the true localization of the stamps with "prow" has been shown by the merit of Soviet scholars.³⁷

By my count, there are 1078 Knidian stamps from the North Black Sea Area, 1047 of which yield to definition [chk i.e., can be read?]. Their chronological distribution appears in the following way:

- Grace hypothesizes (see note 12). Here probably, as in the case of the months on the stamps of Rhodes, not all the fabricants or their die-cutters began to use the new type of stamp at the same time. See: Grace, Savvatiyanou-Petropoulakou Op. cit. p293.
31. One may hypothesize that the cessation of magistrate stamping at Knidos is connected with the new tax system of Julius Caesar (45 BC). The likelihood of this is confirmed also by the total number of magistrates of the "postduoviri" period. After this stamping continued still for some time (up to Augustus?), but bore a different character (individual letters, monograms, devices).
 32. Rostovtzeff Op. cit. p1274 Ann. 10; Dumont a., Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce Paris 1872 p125f.; Fridik E. "Amphorenstempel aus Athen" AthMitt XXI 1896 p127, 138f.; Idem. "Neue Amphorenstempel aus Athen," AthMitt 22 1897 p148; Grace V., "Stamped Amphora Handles Found in 1931--1932" Hesperia 3 1934 p202f.1 Eadem. "Pnyx". p119; Lenger M. Th. "Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Argos," BCH LXXXI 1957 p165--175.
 33. Roussel P., Délos colonie athénienne Paris 1916 p29 nrs 4; Grace "Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos" p517; Empereur J.-Y. "Les anses d'amphores timbrées et les amphores: aspects quantitatifs," BCH 106 1982 p221 Table 1.
 34. Grace V. "Proper Housing in the Alexandria Museum for the Benachi Collection of Amphora Handles," YBAPhS 1964 p519
 35. Grace V. "Ancient Jars of Commercial Amphoras," YBAPhS 1959 p476
 36. Shelov D.B., Ceramic stamps from Tanais Moscow 1975 p128.
 37. Fridik E.M. "Ceramic Inscriptions from the Excavations of Tiritaki and Mirmeki in 1932--1934," MIA 4 1941 p178; Shelov D.B., "Stamps on Amphoras and Tiles, Found in the Excavations of Pantikapea in 1945--1949," MIA 56 1957 p215.

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Table 1

Group	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VII
Dates	:305-- : 280 :	:280-- : 250 :	:250-- : 215 :	:215-- : 166 :	:166-- : 146 :	:146-- : 114 :	:114-- : 88 :	:88-- : 30 :
Quant.	:167	:56	:224	:205	:126	:223	:45	:1
%	:16%	:5.3	:21.5%	:19.5%	:12%	:21.3%	:4.3%	:0.1%

From this it is evident that Knidian export to the North Black Sea Area arrived gradually throughout the course of the whole Hellenistic period.³⁸ The beginning of the export of Knidian goods in sharp-pointed amphoras is dated to the end IVc BC. In the 2/4 3c BC there is projected a spate [? "spad"] continuing to the middle of the century, after which begins a sharp increase with some weakening in the middle of the 2nd c BC; at the end 2c--beginning 1c BC there proceeds an intensive cutting back and quieting down of trade contacts. Particularly remarkable is [p259] the sufficiently large number of stamps of chronological group I. On the evidence of V. Grace and K. Börker, the total number of known examples of stamps of this type consists of approximately 160.³⁹ Of these half were found in Alexandria and in the remainder of lower Egypt, 1/6 in the Black Sea Area.⁴⁰ Calculating this data, we conclude that more than half of Knidian export at that time goes to the Northern Black Sea Area, mainly to the European Bosphoros (Table 4). This is not surprising, since the Bosphoros and Egypt at that time were the principle suppliers of bread to Greece.

In order to define the place of the North Black Sea Area in Knidian trade, it is interesting to compare the total number of Knidian stamps found in various parts of the ancient world, although the facts not very complete and such a comparison will be very relative (Table 2).

Table 2

Centres of Import	Quantity of stamps	%
Athens	13,500	61.08
Alexandria	4,143	18.75
Delos	3,372	15.26
North Black Sea Area	1,078	4.88
Palestine	8	0.03
Total	22,101	100.00

38. I know altogether of only one handles, coming from the North Black Sea Area which can be date to chronological group VIII.

39. Grace V. "Samian Amphoras," *Hesperia* 40 1971 p83 nt 81; Börker *Op. cit.* p476 Ann. 11.

40. Börker, *Op. cit.*

No. ^{no signature} stated in this article (?) as to what Knidian stamps he includes in his periods II, III

2.07

Naturally, it is not right to compare the whole Black Sea Area or Palestine with Delos alone, in addition to which, other regions where Knidian export arrived (West Black Sea Area, Aegean, Italy etc.) are not represented in the table, but the resulting figures permit us to compare Knidian import for the indicated regions and they give an idea of its approximate correlations. For a comparison according to chronological groups we have sufficient materials only for Delos (Table 3).⁴² Up to the beginning [p261] of the period of the phourarchs Knidian import into Delos was insignificant, as it probably was in the whole of the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, groups IV--V⁴³ are shown in summary in the work of J. Amperer which does not permit us to compare them with the stamps of analogous groups from the North Black Sea Area. Judging on the data of Table 3, up to the end of the 3c BC Knidian import into the North Black Sea Area surpasses that into Delos.

(*) *Delos has Delos*

Table 3

Centres	Chronological Groups							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
N Black Sea Area	: 165	: 56	: 214	: 205	: 114	: 223	: 45	: 1
Delos	: --	: 27	: 19	: (496)		: 765	: 2037	: 28

It should be noticed that Table 1 does not give a representation of Knidian import to the Black Sea Area, inasmuch as the segments of time, constituting the chronological groups, are not identical. For the elucidation of the entering of Knidian amphoras into the North Black Sea Area in different epochs it is necessary to divide the number of stamps for each chronological group by the approximate number of years taken by the corresponding period.⁴³

I group	167	: 25 = 6.7	V	126	: 20 = 6.3
II	56	: 30 = 1.8	VI	223	: 32 = 7
III	224	: 35 = 6.4	VII	45	: 26 = 1.7
IV	205	: 49 = 4.2	VIII	1	: 58 = 0.01

However these figures also do not reflect the actual dynamics of the economic relations. For the elucidation of these, it is necessary to observe Knidian import according to individual centres of the North Black Sea Area. Application of a yearly coefficient is not worth while, since the difference in the total number of finds at any given point of stamps will have an effect on the size of the coefficient.⁴⁴ In this connection it is reasonable to restrict ourselves to the number of stamps and the percentage index (Table 4).

42. Empereur J.Y. "Les Anses d'amphores et les amphora ...," p224 Table 1.
 43. Shelov Op. cit p26 *on year 1985? what is the Shelov? dit?*
 44. Ibid Iu.S. Badal'iants treats it differently, indicating a yearly coefficient by individual centres. See: Badal'iants Iu.S., "Trade-economy Connections of Rhodes with the North Black Sea Area in the Hellenistic Period," VDI 1 1986 p92.

The division by region given schematically in Table 4 was proposed by [p262] I.B. Brashinskii.⁴⁵ In it, the North-West Crimea is shown separately from Khersonesos on the basis that, in the 2/2 2c BC, to which the principle part of the Knidian import into that region belongs, it had not yet come into the structure of the Khersonesian state.⁴⁶

Table 4

Group:	Eur.Bos-	Asiatic	Olbia	Kherson-	C-3	Remain-
:	poros*	Bosporos	Tyras	esos	Crimea	der**
:	Nr. %	Nr. %	Nr. %	Nr. %	Nr. %	Nr. %
I :	105 62.9	1 0.6	45 26.9	4 2.4	2 1.2	10 6
II :	-- --	-- --	20 35.7	6 10.7	-- --	30 53.6
III :	61 27.2	17 7.8	114 50.8	18 8	3 1.3	11 4.9
IV :	48 23.4	6 2.9	112 50.8	15 7.3	4 2	20 9.8
V :	25 19.8	4 3.2	71 56.3	13 10.3	1 0.8	12 9.6
VI :	51 22.9	11 4.9	35 15.7	39 17.5	73 32.7	14 6.3
VII :	14 31.2	6 13.3	5 11.1	5 11.1	-- --	15 33.3
VIII :	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	1 100	-- --

* With Tanais and the Elizavetovskoe ancient town cite

** Including unidentified

The distribution of the stamps of the early chronological groups in the ancient centres of the North Black Sea Area shows that the import of Knidian goods in stamped amphoras was equal in the various places. For a visual presentation I cite a graph reflecting the dynamics of this process (Table 5). Primarily the largest part of Knidian imports arrived at the Bosporos. Afterward in the course of the 3c BC to mid 2c BC it was more intensive in the North-West Black Sea Area. With 2/2 2c BC a spate [? chk] takes place there, while in the Bosporos no change takes place [?chk]. At that time there follows a clear sharp increase in the arrival of Knidian goods in Khersonesos and the North-West Crimea, which previously played a secondary role in the trade with Knidos. This was hardly accidental. It is known that from end 3c -- beg 2c BC The North-West Black Sea Area entered into a zone of lingering crisis, aggravated in the 2c BC when export practically ceased from the region, and import into it.⁴⁷ In the Bosporos at this period no signs of crisis are observed, one can speak of them only as beginning with the 2/2 2c BC.⁴⁸ And, finally, in Khersonesos, despite their loss of the major part of the land, which was included in the extensive territory of the North-West Crimea

45. Brashinskii I.B., "An Attempt at an Economic-geographical Regionalization of the Ancient Black Sea Area [Opyt ekonomiko-geograficheskogo raionirovaniia antichnogo Prichernomor'ia]," *VDI* 2 1970 p129--138.

46. Shelov A.N., *North-West Crimea in the Ancient Era* Leningrad 1978 p130f.

47. Kruzhitskii S.L., *Olvia. Historiographical Study of Architectural/Construction Complexes*. Kiev 1985 p172.

48. Shelov D.B., *History of the ancient States of the North Black Sea Area* AGSP Moscow 1984 p15.

[?chk], in mid 2c BC and up to the period of the Diofantov wars, a certain political stability took place, and, probably, this interval of time is characterized by peaceful relations with the Scythians.⁴⁹ It is highly probable that with the weakening of Olbia and the incipient crises appearing in the Bosporos, Khersonesos in 2/2 2c BC was able for some time to take their place in the matter of the trade partner Knidos, although that is for the present too hypothetical.

Table 5

[graph]

Dynamics of the arrival of goods in Knidian amphoras
into the North Black Sea Area:

----- Olbia, Tyras. -- -- -- Bosporos. West Crimea.

[p264]

Knidian stamps from the North-West Crimea show a stable arrival of import in the period of the existence of stamps of the VI chronological group. It reached a special intensity in the second half of the group. For that time are represented stamps of all the Knidian eponyms (with one exception) and in a quite significant quantity for the North Black Sea Area. Together with these, there was not found there even one stamp of the period of the duoviri (group VII), which can hardly be accidental. Such a sharp falling off, the sudden cessation of Knidian import to the region above all most probably is connected with the destruction of settlements in the first campaign of Diofantos [Diofanos?] in 114 BC.⁵⁰ The Rhodian stamps from these settlements confirm this hypothesis. Of course, there is no basis to speak of the whole land of Khersonesos, but applied to the region of Kerkinitis it is fully acceptable.

Comparison of the Dynamics of the arrival of goods in sharp-pointed amphoras from Rhodes⁵¹ and from Knidos yields existing differences, particularly applicable to 2c BC. In the meantime, it is thought, it is more correct to speak not of direct trade contacts of Knidos with the Black Sea Area, but through the intermediary of Rhodes, although the possibility of direct contacts also cannot be ruled out, particularly at the end 4c--beg 3c BC. The cessation of Knidian import is doubtless connected with the change in the political situation in the Mediterranean and Black Sea in the period of the Mithridatic wars, which became a moment of crisis both for Knidos and for the North Black Sea Area and marked the beginning of a new period of their history.

49. Shelov Op. cit. p172 f.

50. The Black Sea in the Era of Hellenism: Materials of the III ALL-Union Symposium on the Ancient History of the Black Sea, Tbilisi 1985 p645 (publication of Iu.G. Vinogradov).

51. On the trade of the North Black Sea Area with Rhodes, see Badal'iants Op. cit. p87--99.

BLACK SEA AREA - USSR : EFREMOV

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