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MEDITERRANEAN AND NORTH PONTIC GREEK IMPORTS IN THE NOMADIC BURIALS OF THE LOWER VOLGA REGION AND FOOTHILLS OF SOUTH URALS OF THE 4th — FIRST THIRD OF THE 3rd CENTURY BC

The analysis of archaeological sources shows that in the second half of the 4th century BC imported beads and pendants made of glass, frit and amber reach the nomads of the Lower Volga and South Urals, and a little later, at the turn of the 4th and in the first third of the 3rd century BC — in addition, Greek pottery and possibly vessels made of precious metals, alabaster and onyx. Olbian bronze «borystheni» of the late 4th—3rd centuries BC also were found into the Lower Volga region.

If for the 5th and most part of the 4th century BC imports that entered the South Urals were mainly represented by products of the Achaemenid circle, then after the fall of the Achaemenid state and the resulting geopolitical changes in the Lower Volga region and the South Urals imports began to be distributed from (via) the North Pontic region.

Keywords: *Lower Volga region, South Urals, Early Sarmatian culture, Mediterranean and Pontic imports, amphoras, black-glazed pottery, beads, pendants.*

1. Introduction. In the Archaic period, Mediterranean and Greek North Pontic imports, rather well represented in Early Scythian burials on the Lower Don (Копылов 2003, с. 131—140; Русаков 2019, с. 604), are practically unknown in the burials of the nomads in the Lower Volga and South Urals regions. An exception is a table amphora of the first half of the 6th century BC, found in the burial 3 of the Burial-mound 3 of Aksai I necropolis in the Volga-Don interfluvium (Дьяченко и др. 1999, с. 96, 108, рис. 5: 1; Копылов 2003, с. 135; Гречко 2016, с. 34, 47). In the territory of the Lower Volga region proper and the South Urals in the complexes of the 6th—5th centuries BC the finds of such imports are unknown. Of course, before categorically asserting the absence of other imported items of «truly Greek antique origin», one should pay attention to the distribution of glass beads among the nomadic population of the regions

in question. Some types of beads, including eye-beads¹, are widely represented in the assemblages of the 6th—5th centuries BC, although special studies of this category of finds do not exist, just as there is still no database of the finds of the glass beads in the European Scythia, and the ways of their penetration here are not specially examined. In elite burials of the late 5th — third quarter of the 4th century BC in the South Urals, there is a significant number of imports of the Achaemenid circle originating from Asia Minor, Iran, Central Asia (Chorazmia, Bactria), as well as from India (eds. Treister, Yablonsky 2013; Yablonsky, Treister 2019, p. 79—161). There are no evident finds of Mediterranean and Greek North Pontic objects in these burials.

2. Imports in the burials of the second half of the 4th — first half of the 3rd century BC.

2.1. Beads and pendants of glass, frit and amber. A certain number of glass and frit beads, the origin of which was not specially studied by anyone (in the publications by O. V. Anikeeva, the only source for attribution of beads is the article by G. Eisen published in 1916; Eisen 1916, p. 1—27; cf. Аникеева 2015, с. 37—47; 2016, с. 24—25, табл. I: 25—39; 2017, с. 21—22, рис. 2; 2019, с. 258—260, рис. 1: 13—20), could and certainly did get to the South Urals from the North Pontic area, which is not surprising, also considering the finds of items of horse-harness of the Kuban type in the Filipровка I necropolis (Канторович, Яблонский 2009, с. 81—83). From this burial ground originate a

1. K. F. Smirnov (Смирнов 1964, с. 151) suggested, that such beads could reach the Sauromatians from the North Black Sea region. Eye-beads are found already in the assemblages dating to the late 6th — early 5th century BC, for example, in the Burial-mound 6/2012 of the Taksai I Burial-ground (Сдыков, Лукпанова 2013, с. 141, 203, № 3.2.5).

fairly significant number of glass beads, including eye-beads (Яблонский 2013, с. 97, № 359—360; с. 103, № 423; с. 146, № 1708—1712; с. 163, № 1979, 1982; с. 167, № 2005—2008 etc.; ed. Мухаметзянова-Дуггал 2018, с. 98, № 72; с. 115, № 146; с. 116, № 154), the parallels to which coming from the Scythian funerary contexts, as well as from the Balkan Peninsula and from the Eastern Black Sea region, I have already listed (Трейстер, Яблонский 2012, с. 282—284).

Glass and frit beads, which may originate from the North Pontic area or reach the Lower Volga region and the South Urals via it, come mainly from burials which can be dated to the mid — second half of the 4th century BC. We have already pointed attention to such beads: from black opaque glass of biconical shape, flared at the ends (cf. Аникеева 2016, с. 25, type 26, with reference to the origin from the Mediterranean area, here and hereinafter without any arguments), of rounded or almost parallelepiped-shaped made of frit, covered with black glaze with zigzag yellow stripes (cf. Аникеева 2016, с. 25, type 32, with reference to the origin from Slovenia and Croatia)¹, of rounded shape of opaque blue glass with blue-white «eyes» (cf. Аникеева 2016, с. 25, type 28, with reference to the origin from Italy)² from the following tumular burial-grounds: Novyi Kumak, Nikol'skii I, Mechetsai, Pokrovka 2, Perevolochan I, as well as a separate Burial-mound Yakovlevka II (Равич и др. 2012, с. 75—76; Трейстер 2012b, с. 268—269, прим. 4). Eye-beads became widespread in the Early Sarmatian burials of the Lower Volga region (Клепиков 2002, с. 92, group 1, рис. 31: 6—13; Мошкова 2008, с. 23—33).

Eye-beads were in general widespread in the ancient world and in particular, were manufactured and used in Egypt (Lightfoot 2017, p. 311, fig. 18; Thomas, Acosta 2018, p. 18—19, figs. 41—42), in the Near East (Moorey 1980, p. 118; Rehm 1992, S. 94—95, 108: D.13, Abb. 67)³, in Cyprus

(Lightfoot 2017, p. 311, 324—325, nos. 508—509) and Asia Minor (Hogarth 1908, p. 203—204, pl. XLV: 8—18; ed. von Seipel 2008, S. 194—198, Nr. 203—206), where from they could theoretically easily reach Iran (although they were not found in Pasargadae, they originate from Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, p. 76, pl. 43: 11—12; Rehm 1992, S. D.13.b, Abb. 67) and in more substantial quantities — from the grave 5/1964, dated to the 5th—4th century BC of Galekuti I Burial-ground in the Gilyan province in the south-eastern coast of the Caspian Sea (Sono, Fukai 1968, p. 48, 55, pl. L: 3, 6a) or Chorasmia (they were not found in Kalaly-Gyr 2 fortified settlement, cf. Вайнберг 2004, с. 163) to the nomads of South Urals, and this way may be not excluded for the frit beads with black glaze and yellow zigzag pattern, which were in use in Asia Minor already in the 7th century BC: Ephesos (ed. Seipel 2008, S. 193—194, Nr. 201—202), Sardis (Van Ham-Meert et al. 2019, p. 23, fig. 1) and are also represented by the finds from Naucratis (Thomas, Acosta 2018, p. 19—20, figs. 43—44).

A different distribution pattern is demonstrated by amphora-shaped pendants of blue, greenish and colorless glass (fig. 1), single finds of which, as noted by O. V. Anikeeva, come from the Novyi Kumak, Pobeda and Filippovka 2 burial-grounds (Аникеева 2016, с. 24, табл. I: 25; 2019, с. 259, рис. 1: 1). The same group should include similar pendants made of transparent glass that remained unknown to O. V. Anikeeva: from burials 1 and 2 in Burial-mound 8/1961 of the Mechetsai Burial-ground (Смирнов 1975, с. 131—133, рис. 31Б: 1—2 — three pendants of blue / yellow glass in each burial; Horváth 2017, p. 54—55), Burial-mound 3 near Matveevskii (Мошкова 1963, с. 45, табл. 30: 30—31; Смирнов, Петренко 1963, табл. 27: 30 — a white glass pendant), Burial 7 in Burial-mound 20/1988 of the Chernyi Yar necropolis (Мещеряков 1996, с. 52, рис. 13: 12 — two pendants of white glass), Burial 1 in Burial-mound 6/1969 of the Chelkar III Burial-ground (Мошкова, Кушаев 1973, с. 263, рис. 4: 5; с. 265 — three pendants), and from Burial 2 in Burial-mound 4/1995 of Pokrovka 10 cemetery (Яблонский и др. 1996, с. 48, рис. 70: 7 — three pendants), as well as from the Lower Volga and Trans-Volga regions: Burial 10 in Burial-mound 5 near the village of Lyatoshinka, Burial 3 in Burial-mound 3 near Moshkov Farmstead and Burial 2 in Burial-mound 85 of the Berezhnovka II Burial-ground (Железчиков, Фалалеев 1995, рис. 16: 5—6; Клепиков 2002, с. 92—93, group 3a, рис. 31: 17—20; 2007, с. 40, рис. 8: 1).

These pendants, most likely arriving in the Lower Volga region and the Southern Urals from (or via) the North Pontic region, were rather widespread from the late 5th, at least to the early of the 3rd century BC in the Balkans and in the Carpathian basin and were made presumably in Mediterranean or Black Sea workshops. Al-

1. Such beads originate also from Burial no. 1 in Burial-mound 14/1989 of Filippovka 1 necropolis (ed. Мухаметзянова-Дуггал 2018, с. 350—351, № 957, 964), from Burial 2 in Burial-mound 6/1969 of Chelkar III Burial-ground in Western Kazakhstan, dated to the 4th century BC (Мошкова, Кушаев 1973, с. 263, рис. 4: 9; с. 265). Comparaneous beads were also found in Burial 5 in Burial-mound 3 of Kichigino cemetery (Аникеева 2017, с. 21, рис. 2: 3, 7, 10; с. 22, with the reference to the finds of similar beads in Pokrovka 2, Novoorskii, Lebedevka V burial-grounds). Similar beads are reported to be found at least in six Early Sarmatian burials of the Lower Volga region (Клепиков 2002, с. 92, group 2, рис. 31: 15).
2. Similar bead comes also from Burial 5 in Burial-mound 3 of Kichigino cemetery (Аникеева 2017, с. 21, рис. 2: 11).
3. See, for example, such finds from the burials of Kāmid el-Lōz necropolis in Lebanon, dated to the 6th—4th centuries BC (Poppa 1978, S. 40—41, 65—66; Rehm 1992, S. D.13: a—d, Abb. 67; Hachmann, Penner 1999, S. 162—163, Taf. 36: 3: 5—7; 15: 17. 20) and from Ur (Woolley 1962, p. 103, 130, U.18268).

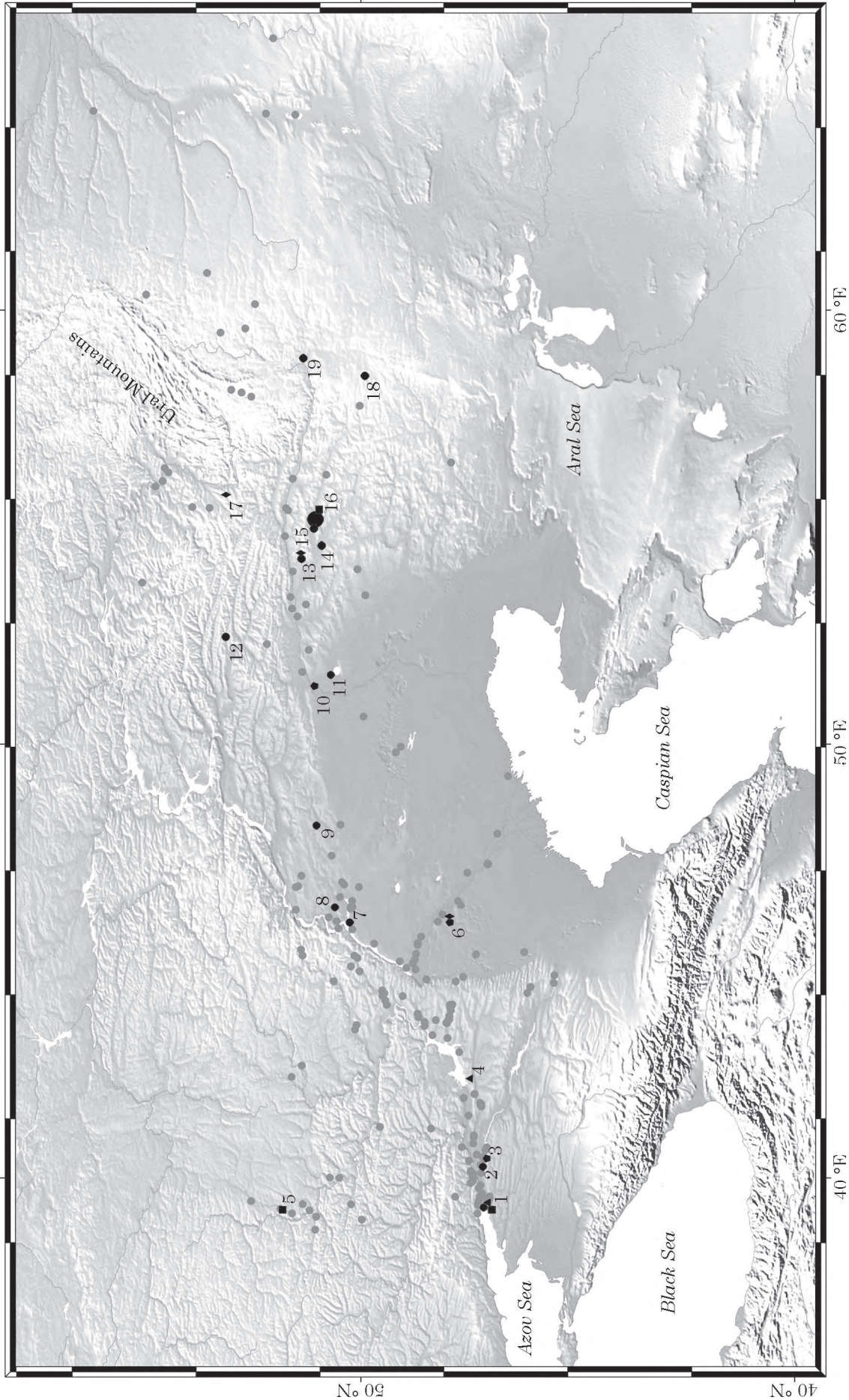


Fig. 1. Mediterranean and North Pontic Greek imports in the burials of the nomads of the second half of the 4th – first half of the 3rd centuries BC, map: 1 – Elizavetovskoe; 2 – Tuzluki; 3 – Koldyri; 4 – Popov; 5 – Chastye Burial-mounds; 6 – Krivaya Luka VI; 7 – Berezhnovskii II; 8 – Lytoshinka; 9 – Moshkov; 10 – Zayik I; 11 – Chelkar III; 12 – Pobeda; 13 – Filippovka; 14 – Pokrovka; 15 – Chernyi Yar; 16 – Mechetsai; 17 – Novomusinskii; 18 – Matveevskiy; 19 – Novyi Kumak. Circles – amphora-shaped pendants, squares – beads with masks, triangles – pendants in form of male heads; pentagons – black-glazed bowls, rhombuses – amphoras. Map-base – G. P. Garbuzov, map – M. Yu. Treister, 2021

though they were occasionally found in the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus (Tatton-Brown 1990, p. 113—114, pl. XXII: d—f), they were especially widespread in the north-western part of the Balkan peninsula, in the Carpathian basin and in the Danube region (Popović 1997, p. 165—171; Schönfelder 2007, S. 307—309, Abb. 1—2; S. 318—321; ed. Adam-Veleni 2010, p. 409—410, nos. 504—506; Rustoiu 2015, p. 365—377; Horváth 2017, p. 54—55, fig. 3: 1; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017, p. 98—109, with distribution map fig. 4 on p. 107), as well as in the Greek settlements and necropoleis of the North (Алексеева 1978, с. 74, тип 193, табл. 34: 40; Столба 2009, с. 123; Stolba 2012, p. 348, 351, no. N3.E, pl. 78; Puklina 2010, p. 487, 493, nos. Re-49—52, pl. 370) and East (Turmanidze 2007, pl. I: 6—8) Pontic area, and in Scythian burials of the Dniester, Dnieper and Don basins¹, where they were found, as the study done by V. F. Stolba shows (Столба 2009, с. 125; Stolba 2012, p. 350), in the contexts dating «to the second quarter of the 4th century BC or somewhat later».

The dating by O. V. Anikeeva (Аникеева 2019, с. 259) of such pendants, found in the South Urals, to the late 5th — early 4th century BC raises therefore serious doubts. Much closer to the truth was, in our opinion, V. M. Klepikov, who, on the basis of an analysis of the complexes from the Lower Don, the Lower Volga and South Urals regions proposed their dating within the frames of the 4th — early 3rd centuries BC (Клепиков 2002, с. 94—95). Recent finds of such pendants from the Scythian burials in Lower Transnistria originate from the complexes of the second half of the 4th century BC (Синика, Тельнов 2017, с. 290, № 6, рис. 2: 8; Синика и др. 2019, с. 829, № 14—15, рис. 4: 8; 6: 2). The Burial-mound 1/1977 near Kashcheevka Farmstead on the Lower Don, in which such pendants were found, dates no later than the second half of the 4th century BC (Максименко 1983, с. 93.; Смирнов 1984, с. 154, 156). Obviously, the finds of such pendants in the South Urals can hardly date back to an earlier period, and most likely such beads begin to be distributed in this region around the middle — third quarter of the 4th century BC (it is worth noting that there are no such pendants in the burials of Filippovka I Burial-ground). The fact that they could have been in use in the 3rd—2nd centuries BC is evidenced by their finds in the Maiotian burial-grounds of Psenafa (Эрлих 2014, с. 89, № 146—147; 2015, с. 5, рис. 1: 8—9) and Tenginskaya (Беглова, Эрлих 2018, с. 164, рис. 190: 22. 25) in the Trans-Kuban area.

In Burial 5 in Burial-mound 8/1961 of the Mechetsai cemetery, which most likely dates from

the last quarter or the end of the 4th century BC, a wide variety of beads have been found (Смирнов 1975, с. 139, рис. 31Б: 3—12; Фирсов 2012, с. 47—48, № А8.1.1.9: 12—13, 15, цв. табл. II.11: 3—6; рис. II.32: 2—10) (here, as mentioned by A. M. Horváth (2017, p. 54), «almost the whole repertoire of the glass beads from the Central- and Southeast European Celtic graves can be found»), among them the co-called beads with masks (Смирнов 1975, с. 139, рис. 31Б: 3. 7; Фирсов 2012, с. 47, № А8.1.1.9, 12.Б, цв. табл. II.11: 6; рис. II.32: 7—8), including a complete cylindrical blue glazed bead with two masks, which are usually attributed as Punic (fig. 2: 1—2).

There are known several variants of such beads, to one of which the find from Mechetsai belongs (Haevernick 1977, S. 161, 200—207, Nr. 378—462, Abb. 3. Taf. 42: group 6; Seefried 1982, p. 11, 32, 145—150, pl. 4 — type F1; Ščeglov 2002, p. 217—220; Teleaga 2008, S. 286—289, 461—462, Nr. 1100—1110, Taf. 202: 3—12; Dan 2011, p. 220—221). I have already dwelled on the discussion of this find (Трейстер 2012b, с. 269, прим. 4), therefore I will stress here only the following observations. Noteworthy is the fact that the beads under consideration are practically unknown in Asia Minor and in the Eastern Mediterranean and prevail in the Western and Northern Black Sea regions (see Ščeglov 2002, p. 217—218, tables 1—2; see also the distribution map: Teleaga 2008, S. 287, Karte 54), which gives ground to assume that the Mechetsai find, most likely, came to the South Urals via the North Pontic area in the second half of the 4th century BC.

Beads, very similar in decoration to the piece from Mechetsai, were found in the main burial in Burial-mound 133/2002 of the Elizavetovskoe Burial-ground in the Lower Don region, together with imported Greek pottery of the second half of the 4th century BC (fig. 2: 5) (Копылов 2006, с. 70—71, 73, рис. 1: 4). A similar bead, but with bulges of turquoise color and white faces on a dark blue background, was found in Burial-mound 1/1910 of the Chastye group in the Middle Don region (fig. 2: 6) (Замятин 1946, с. 14, 15, рис. 2: 5; 16, № в; Либеров 1965, табл. IX; 37: 31; Гуляев 2010, с. 283)².

Glass mask pendants of the «Punic» type in the form of a bearded male head (see in general: Seefried 1979, p. 17—26; 1982, p. 15—19, 25—

2. It is worth noting that also in the burial in the Middle Don region, but in an earlier one, dating to the late 5th — first half of the 4th century BC in a Burial-mound 6/1993 near the village of Ternovoe a pendant was found, probably also of Punic workmanship, in the shape of a ram's head: Гуляев, Савченко 1995, с. 87, 90, рис. 3: 20; Гуляев 2010, с. 98, 109, рис. 10: 13; с. 112, рис. 16. On such pendants in detail, see Egg 2010, S. 525—543 with note 41 on p. 540. Similar pendants in the North Pontic are represented by the finds from Olbia and Phanagoria: Алексеева 1982, с. 42, types 469—470; табл. 57: 31, 33.

1. Столба 2009, с. 120—125 with detailed analysis of similar finds from Scythia and their chronology; Stolba 2012, p. 349—350. See also: Болтрик, Финалко 2010, с. 231, рис. 11: 10; 236, № 4.



Fig. 2. Beads with masks and pendants with male faces from the Don region and the foothills of South Urals: 1, 2 — Mechetsai, Burial-mound 8/1961, Burial 5; 3 — Elizavetovskoe fortified settlement; 4 — Popov Farmstead, Burial-mound 58/26/1951, Burial 14; 5 — Necropolis of Elizavetovskoe fortified settlement, Burial-mound 133/2002; 6 — Chastye group, Burial-mound 1/1911 (1, 2 — Moscow, State Historical Museum, inv. no. 99564: 1 — list Б 1421/95, 2 — Б 1421/93, photos M. Yu. Treister, 2010; 3, 5 — after Копылов 2006; 4, 6 — Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage: 4 — after Мошкова 1963, 6 — after Замятин 1946)

29, 100—118; Tatton-Brown 1981, p. 143—151, figs. 11—15), represented by various variants in the North (Алексеева 1982, 41, типы 462—463, табл. 47: 10—23. 29; Гороховская, Цыркин 1982, с. 209—210; Кунина 1997, 63, рис. 23—24; 252 (илл.), 254, № 41—44; Dan 2011, p. 221—222) and Eastern (Turmanidze 2007, pl. I: 1; II: 1) Pontic area, were found in particular in the complex of the 4th century BC at the Elizavetovskoe fortified settlement, the so-called jewel-

ler's shop (fig. 2: 3) (Яковенко 1987, 85, рис. 2: 2; Марченко и др. 2000, 112, 226, табл. 24, рис. 48: 2; Копылов 2006, 70, рис. 1: 3а—б). A pendant of this type, albeit difference in the details of the hairstyle (curls, cf. Алексеева 1982, с. 41, type 463 dating to the 4th century BC, табл. 47: 20, 29, and not intertwined threads), which M. G. Moshkova, in my opinion, without grounds dates the 3rd—2nd centuries BC (Мошкова 1963, с. 45, табл. 31: 17) originates from Burial 14 in

Burial-mound 58/26 (excavated by A. I. Iessen in 1951) near the Popov Farmstead in the Volga-Don interfluvium (fig. 2: 4) (Иесен 1954, с. 78; Мошкова 1963, с. 15, № 3). Such pendants, allegedly manufactured in the workshops of the Near East and Cyprus (Seefried 1979, p. 18, fig. 1; 8; 1982, p. 18, 28, тип С.I/II, pl. 1, figs. 8, 10, 15, 19; Tatton-Brown 1981, p. 147—148, type A.II.f, no. 421, fig. 14)¹, in the 4th century BC became widespread both as well in Italy, in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, as in the West and North Pontic regions (Teleaga 2008, S. 284—287, Nr. 6.2, Karte 54; 461, Nr. 1095—1099, Taf. 202: 13—18).

Glass amphora-shaped pendants (Яковенко 1987, с. 85, рис. 2: 1), which we discussed above, were also found in above mentioned jeweler's shop at the Elizavetovskoe settlement. E. V. Yakovenko noted that none of the amphora stamps found in this complex goes beyond the middle of the 4th century BC, V. F. Stolba, who briefly examined the finds, suggests the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century BC as the time when the complex was destroyed (Столба 2009, с. 124—125; Stolba 2012, p. 350). Similar pendants originate from the burials, dated to the 4th—3rd centuries BC in the Lower Don region (Максименко 1983, с. 93, рис. 17: 13а; 31: 10).

It is very likely that rare finds of coral adornments in the burials of the Lower Don nomads, primarily pendants in gold frames from the «Royal» 8th Five Brothers Burial-mound, dated to ca. mid-4th century BC (ed. Schiltz 2001, p. 127, nos. 95, 97—98; ed. Wamers, Stutzinger 2003, S. 81, Nr. 38) could have come from the Mediterranean via the trading post of the Elizavetovskoe settlement. However, the earliest complexes, in which beads and pendants, made from coral sprigs, were found in the South Urals and the Lower Volga region date back to the 3rd—2nd centuries BC (Трейсеп 2021, с. 340—393). Somewhat earlier, already in the 4th century BC the earliest items of amber jewelry arrive in the South Urals (Filippovka). In the burials dating back to a somewhat later period, to the late 4th — first half of the 3rd century BC, in the burial-mounds near the village of Prokhorovka there are more amber beads, and at least some of them are made of the Baltic amber. Our study has shown that most likely it was distributed via the North and East Black Sea regions, further through the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea and along the old channel of the Uzboy (see Трейсеп 2020, с. 148—123).

2.2. Transport amphoras and table pottery. If for the complexes of the 5th—4th centuries BC we do not know of a single find of Greek pot-

tery in the Lower Volga region and in the South Urals, the situation certainly changes in the last third of the 4th century BC (fig. 1) due to the general geopolitical changes after the fall of the Achaemenid state in 331 BC. In the nomadic burials of the Lower Volga region, Southern Urals and Western Kazakhstan at the turn of the 4th and the first third of the 3rd century BC Greek pottery is present, albeit rare.

The scholars have already paid attention to the finds in the Lower Volga region of an amphoriskos and an ariballic lekythos — in the Suslovskii Burial-ground, as well as a fragmented ariballic lekythos — in the Kalinovskiy Burial-ground (Зеест 1960, с. 59—60; Брашинский 1980, с. 105). Unfortunately, only a photograph without the scale of an amphoriskos (Рыков 1925, 18, 19, рис. 45; Провоторова, Рубцов 2016, с. 52, илл. внизу) and a drawing of a lekythos from Kalinovka (Шилов 1959, с. 469, № 3; с. 479, рис. 53: 2, considered by the publisher as Late Hellenistic) have been published. I. B. Zeest, dated the lekythos and amphoriskos from the Suslovskii Burial-ground to the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC, respectively (Зеест 1960, с. 59). The pointed amphoriskos (miniature amphora) from Suslovskii Burial-mound no. 44/1924² was found in a male burial together with 45 cm long iron sword (Рыков 1925, с. 42—43) — according to P. S. Rykov (Рыков 1925, с. 23) the grave dates to the 2nd—3rd centuries AD, and taking into account that the sword was most probably of the type with ring-shaped pommel (Рыков 1925, с. 9), there are hardly grounds to date the burial earlier than the 1st century BC. The shape of the miniature amphora, to my mind, is comparable with the finds from Athenian Agora from the context, which is dated by S. Rotroff to ca. 110—50 BC (Rotroff 2006, p. 160—161, 300, nos. 530—531, pl. 68; especially similar is no. 530), and not with the earlier pointed amphoriskoi of the late 4th—3rd century BC from Rhodes (see about them: Rotroff 2006, p. 160, note 135; see, e. g.: Filimonos, Giannikouri 1999, p. 208—209, pl. 29; p. 209, pl. 32; p. 211, pl. 49).

In contrast to the nomadic burials of the late 4th — early 3rd centuries BC in the Lower Don region, where finds of Greek pottery, especially amphoras, are quite common (Лукьяшко 2000, с. 167—180; Беспальй, Лукьяшко 2018, с. 7—9, рис. 1: 3, 4; 2: 1—3, 6, 7, 10, 48, 50; 28: 2), the finds of Greek pottery in burials in the Volga and Don interfluvium, as well as in the Lower Volga and Southern Urals regions are very rare.

There are known finds of black-glazed bowls with stamped ornamentation in the form of concentric circles composed of oblique notches

1. See the finds of pendants in the West Pontic region: Чачева 2015, с. 49—61. See the pendants with hairdo with scrolls and in a similar combination of colours: Grose 1989, p. 71, ill; 89, no. 44; 399 (fig.); Stern, Schlick-Nolte 1994, S. 186—187, Nr. 33.

2. Saratov, Regional Local Lore Museum, inv. no. 58408. Ht. 20 cm, dm. of the rim 4.0 cm, of the body max. 10.5 cm. My sincere gratitude to the curator of the collection, K. Yu. Morzherin. The whereabouts of the lekythos unknown, not in the collection of Saratov Museum.



Fig. 3. Greek pottery of the late 4th — first quarter of the 3rd century BC from the Manych, Lower Volga basins and the foothills of South Urals: 1, 2 — Novo-Musinskii cemetery, Burial-mound 3/1999, Burial 1; 3, 4 — Krivaya Luka VI, Burial-mound 1/1973, Burial 14; 5, 6 — Koldyri Group, Burial-mound 25/1983, Burial 1; 7 — Zhaiyk I, Burial-mound 1/2019, Burial 1. 1, 3, 5 — Amphorae; 2 — the view of the burial; 4, 6, 7 — Black-glazed bowl. 1 — Sterlitamak, The Branch of the Bashkirian State University. Repository of the Educational and methodological Cabinet of Archeology of the Department of World; 3, 4 — Astrakhan' State Joint Historical-Architectural Museum-Reserve: 3 — acq. no. 19358, A-9999, 4 — acq. no. 22694, A-10334; 5—7 — Ural'sk, West-Kazakhstan Regional Center of History and Archaeology. *Photos:* 1 — V. N. Vasil'ev, 1999; 2 — S. V. Sirotin, 2016; *Drawings:* 3, 4 — after: Дворниченко и др. 1977; 5, 6 — after: Лукьяшко 2000; 7 — after: Лукпанова 2020

and with four palmettes in the center: Krivaya Luka VI, Burial-mound 1/1973, Burial 14 (fig. 3: 4) (Дворниченко и др. 1977, с. 67, рис. 71; Брашинский 1980, с. 105; Клепиков 2007, с. 41, рис. 15; Шинкаръ 2012, с. 194, рис. 2: 2; с. 195); Zhaiyk I, Burial-mound 1/2019, Burial 1, with holes along ancient cracks — traces of ancient repairs (not mentioned by the author of the publication, but clearly visible in the drawing published

and the photograph (figs. 3: 7; 4)¹ (Лукпанова 2020, с. 113, 115, рис. 4: 1)). It is worth noting, that a similar black-glazed bowl also with four embossed palmettes in the center and also with traces of ancient repair (fig. 3: 6) (Лукьяшко 2000, с. 177—178, рис. 9: 5) was found in Burial 1 in

1. My sincere gratitude to Ya. A. Lukpanova for the photographs of the bowl from Zhaiyk I cemetery.

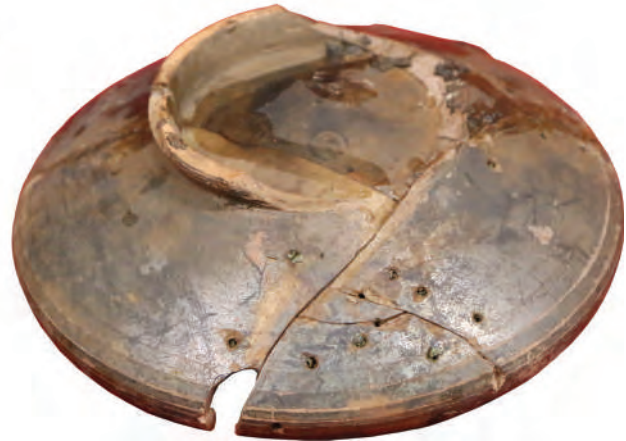


Fig. 4. Zhaiyk I. Burial-mound 1/2019, Burial 1, Black-glazed bowl (Ural'sk, West-Kazakhstan Regional Center of History and Archaeology, photo Ya. A. Lukpanova)

Burial-mound 25/1983 of the Koldyri group near the village of Krasnoe Znamya on the left bank of the Manych river together with the Chersonesian amphora of type IB, according to S. Yu. Monakhov's classification, dating to the last quarter of the 4th century BC (fig. 3: 5) (Лукьяшко 2000, с. 177, рис. 9: 4).

In the Burial no. 14 in Burial-mound 1/1973 of the Krivaya Luka VI Burial-ground, along with a black-glazed bowl (fig. 3: 4), a Heracleian amphora with the stamp of the manufacturer Dionysios was found, which was dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC by I. V. Yatsenko (fig. 3: 3) (Яценко 1977, с. 78; Брашинский 1980, с. 105; Клепиков 2007, с. 41, рис. 15; Шинкарь 2012, с. 194, рис. 2: 2; с. 195). As noted by S. Yu. Monakhov (Монахов 2002, с. 175; 2003, с. 139), who attributes the amphora to the variant II-A-3, several such amphoras were found in the layer of destruction of the 70s years of the 3rd century BC of the complex U7 of the Panskoe I settlement. Accordingly, there is every reason for dating the amphora from Krivaya Luka VI to the first third of the 3rd century BC (Монахов 2006, с. 91—92).

The black-glazed bowl from the complex (fig. 3: 4), which M. A. Ochir-Goryaeva dated to 380—350 BC (Лукпанова 2020, p. 122 with the refer-

ence to the of Ph D thesis by Ochir-Goryaeva), was attributed by I. B. Brashinskiy; a specialist in Greek pottery in contrast to Ochir-Goryaeva, to the late 4th century BC (Брашинский 1980, с. 105). O. A. Shinkar (Шинкарь 2012, с. 195), compares it with the finds from Chersonesos and Scythian burial-mounds of the Dnieper and Lower Don regions, dating from the second half of the 4th to the early 3rd century BC¹.

Both bowls from the Lower Volga region (dm. 14.7 cm) and Western Kazakhstan (dm. 15.5 cm) belong to the type of small medium-sized *echinus bowls*. The peculiarities of the profile of the foot-ring, the decoration of the floor of the bowls with four stamped palmettes, the center, highlighted with a circle and the framing in the form of concentric rows of oblique notches allow, basing on the parallels with the finds from the Athenian agora, to date the bowl from Krivaya Luka VI (fig. 3: 4) to the time after 325 BC, most likely the last decade of the 4th century BC, because a circle at the center of the floor was abandoned after

1. It is hardly correct, as O. A. Shinkar does (Шинкарь 2012, с. 195), to cite as a parallel a find from Burial-mound 492 near the village Ositnyazhki with five stamped palmettes without a circle in the center of the floor. Cf. Галанина 1977, табл. XV: 1.

about 300 BC (Rotroff 1997, p. 161—162, 339—340, fig. 62, nos. 965—984, especially, 966—967; cf. a seven-petal palmette with volutes at the basement — no. 973, pl. 146). To the same period is dated a comparable bowl from the monumental building U6 of Panskoe I settlement (Hannestad et al. 2002, p. 129, 140, no. B121; pls. 65; 72). Also a similar bowl from the excavations of Pantikapaion is dated to the end of this century (Егорова 2015, с. 66, рис. 6: 5). Comparable bowls are recorded also among the finds on the settlements of the North-Western Crimea (Егорова 2009, с. 35—36, 115—120, рис. 20, 21; especially № 290—298). T. V. Egorova suggests that most probably the bowl from the Lower Volga region is of Attic workmanship¹.

N. E. Berlizov dates the burial from the Krivaya Luka VI Burial-ground basing on the glass beads of various types to the early 3rd century BC (Берлизов 2011, с. 188), the scholars from Volgograd researchers — to c. 270 BC, linking it even with the Sauromatian burial practice (Клепиков 2007, с. 41; Клепиков и др. 2008, с. 51). I can only note the proximity of one of the types of the beads found in the burial — those with black glaze with yellow zigzag pattern (Дворниченко и др. 1977, с. 66, рис. 100) — to the above discussed beads from the South Urals, originating from complexes dated no later than the turn of the 4th century BC, thus rather supporting the dating by N. E. Berlizov.

Given the profile, the shape of the stand-ring and the metallic luster of the glaze, the bowl from the Zhaiyk-I Burial-ground (figs. 3: 7; 4) is clearly later than the find from Krivaya Luka VI (fig. 3: 4) and cannot be dated earlier than the first quarter of the 3rd century BC. Rounded relief embossed «palmettes», rather circles are decorated inside with bulged-in element composed of a triangle with a circle on top and separate circles. I was unable to find parallels to such stamps neither among the finds from the Athenian Agora, nor from the North Pontic region.

In Burial 1 in Burial-mound 1/2019 of the Zhaiyk I Burial-ground, which is dated by the excavator to the late 4th — early 3rd century BC (Лукпанова 2020, с. 121—122), along with a black-glazed bowl, there were found flat jet beads in form of rhombuses (Лукпанова 2020, с. 113, 114, рис. 3: 2) of type 37, after the classification by Е. М. Алексеевой, especially characteristic to the 2nd century BC, which appeared already in the 3rd century BC (Алексеева 1978, с. 9, рис. 7; 15—16, тип 37, табл. 22: 30—31). Flat rhomboid jet beads decorated incised concentric circles formed part of a necklace from Burial 10 in Burial-mound 3/1995 of Nizhnepavlovsk I Burial-ground (Богданов 2018, с. 115, 117, рис. 8: I: 3, 6). Similar beads (but without decoration) from

burial D in a Burial-mound in the vicinity of Gorgippia, excavated in 1881, formed a necklace with gold shields and small biconical beads (ОАК за 1882—1888 гг., с. 39—40, табл. II: 5; Калашник 2014, с. 240—241, with 3rd century BC dating). A similar bead originates from the Early Sarmatian burial 1 in Burial-mound 5 near the village of Grushevka on the right bank of the Dnieper, which, according to K. F. Smirnov, dates no later than the 3rd century BC (Смирнов 1984, с. 62, 63, рис. 25: 7д). Beads comparable in shape with and without decoration were found in Burial 1 in Burial-mound 1/2012 of the Staroizobilnenskii 2 Burial-ground in the Stavropol region, dated to the 2nd century BC (Калмыков, Прокопенко 2018, с. 60, 61, рис. 10: 3).

Taking into account the above proposed dating of the black-glazed bowl, as well as the traces of repairs on it (figs. 3: 7; 4), the burial from the Zhaiyk I Burial-ground cannot be dated earlier than the second quarter — the middle of the 3rd century BC.

One more Heracleian amphora, but belonging to the variant II-A-1 or II-A-2 (Монахов 2003, с. 138), originates from Burial no. 1 in Burial-mound 3/1999 of the Novomusinskii Burial-ground in Bashkiria (fig. 3: 1) (Васильев 2001, с. 169—179; Васильев, Сиротин 2004, с. 175, № 3; 176, рис. 2: 3; с. 179—180; Монахов 2006, с. 91—92; Клепиков 2007, с. 41, рис. 13; Балахванцев 2016, с. 123, рис. 1; Зуев 2020, с. 385—388, рис. 1: 5) and is dated by S. Yu. Monakhov to the late 4th — first decades of the 3rd century BC (Монахов 2006, с. 91—92).

I will deliberately not consider the base of the Heracleian amphora of the third quarter of the 4th century BC, not listed in the field inventory and unknown to the head of the expedition L. T. Yablonskii, which, according to the publisher, was found during the survey of the territory of the Filippovka 2 Burial-ground (Балахванцев 2016, с. 123—124, рис. 2; ср. Зуев 2020, с. 385, 386, рис. 1: 3). The reliability of the find in the Novomusinskii Burial-ground is also put under the question (Зуев 2020, с. 385—388)², although there is simply no grounds for this. The amphora was found in the course of regular excavations; the find was photographically recorded *in situ* with a photograph included in the report (fig. 3: 2), which is held in state custody in the Archive of the Institute of Archeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow (Васильев 1999, рис. 17—18). It is worth noting that in all cases these are exclusively the amphoras (almost intact or fragmentary) of Heracleia.

2.3. Stone and silver vessels. Most likely to the post-Achaemenid period belongs a series of alabas-

1. My sincere gratitude to T. V. Egorova for the consultation.

2. The «history» of the find of the amphora described / constructed by V. Yu. Zuev is, in my opinion, worthy of publication in the «yellow press», but not in a scientific study.

ter and onyx alabasters found in burial 3 in Burial-mound B/2003 in Prokhorovka, dating no later than the first half of the 3rd century BC and two later burials in the Volga-Don interfluvium (burial 3 in Burial-mound 34/1965 in Zhutovo in the Volga-Don interfluvium and in Burial 1 Burial-mound 3/1983 of the Chkalovskiy Burial-ground in the South Urals; Трейстер 2012а, с. 102—104 with bibliography, рис. I.47—48; цв. табл. I.14). Since there are no grounds for localizing their workshops, it can be assumed that there are different ways of their distribution, including that via the North Pontic region.

Also, one cannot exclude the possibility of the same way of distribution of a silver cup with gilding and chased decoration found along with alabaster and amber beads in Burial 3 in Burial-mound B/2003 in Prokhorovka. As we have already shown, despite the similarity in shape and proportions of the cup from Prokhorovka to the so-called Achaemenid cups of the Macedonian type, the size and decoration of the vessel under discussion probably testify to its manufacture in another center. We do not have data for a more accurate localization of the place of manufacture of the cup from Prokhorovka, given the specifics of its decoration. It cannot be ruled out that it was made in one of the workshops located in the territory of the Seleucid state, in Asia Minor or in Syria, in the late 4th — first half of the 3rd century BC (Трейстер 2012с, с. 81—84 with bibliography, цв. табл. I.8—10; I.12: 3; II.16: 3; табл. I.42; рис. I.30; II.48: 2). A find in the necropolis of Tanais of a cup, similar in shape (Балахванцев и др. 2019, с. 38—45), the dimensions of which indicate that it occupies an intermediate position between the find in Prokhorovka and Achaemenid cups of the Macedonian type (but the decoration of the bottom of which corresponds to that of the Macedonian cups; Балахванцев и др. 2019, с. 44—45, рис. 5; 10) is peculiar. The cup was reworked, probably in the Bosporan workshop, in the 3rd or early 2nd century BC in a kantharos (Трейстер 2016, с. 218—219). On the one hand, in spite of a strong desire of one of the authors of the publication (cf. Балахванцев и др. 2019, с. 40), the piece from Tanais yields no proof of the groundlessness of the difference I have expressed between the cup from Prokhorovka and the Achaemenid cups of the Macedonian type, and on the other hand, makes it possible to assume that the cup found in Prokhorovka reached the South Urals via the North Pontic region (Cimmerian Bosporus).

3. Conclusion. The analysis of archaeological sources shows that in the second half of the 4th century BC imported beads and pendants made of glass, frit (fig. 2) and amber reach the nomads of the Lower Volga and South Urals (fig. 1), and a little later, at the turn of the 4th and in the first third of the 3rd century BC — in addition, Greek pottery (figs. 3—4) and possibly vessels made of precious metals, alabaster and onyx. Olbian bronze «borystheni» of the late 4th—3rd cen-

turies BC also were found into the Lower Volga region (Шелов 1969, с. 296—299).

If for the 5th and most part of the 4th century BC imports that entered the South Urals were mainly represented by products of the Achaemenid circle, then after the fall of the Achaemenid state and the resulting geopolitical changes in the Lower Volga region and the South Urals imports began to be distributed from (via) the North Pontic region. It is worth noting that in the burials on the Manych river and in the Lower Volga region, finds of transport amphorae were combined with similar, though not identical, black-glazed *echinus bowls* (fig. 3), and the find of another such bowl in the South Urals (fig. 4) suggests that they enjoyed particular popularity among the nomads, even if they did not penetrate Sarmatia within the same batch.

The above discussed observations rather convincingly support the hypothesis put forward by D. V. Shelov (Шелов 1969, с. 298—299) and I. V. Brashinskii (Брашинский 1980, с. 105—106). There are grounds reason to suggest that beads and pendants, as well as amphorae, black-glazed pottery and coins could have reached the nomads of the Lower Volga and South Urals precisely via the Elizavetovskoe settlement at the mouth of the Don: probably, beads and pendants — even through the Scythian settlement, on which various industrial complexes and shops existed, allegedly destroyed in the 340s BC (Копылов, Коваленко 2020, с. 196—197), whereas amphorae, black-glazed pottery and coins — already through the so-called Bosporan colony, founded on the site of a settlement in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, which existed until the mid-70s of the 3rd century BC (Копылов, Коваленко 2016, с. 37; 2020, с. 200—202).

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M. Yu. Treister

MEDITERRANEAN AND NORTH PONTIC GREEK IMPORTS IN THE NOMADIC BURIALS OF THE LOWER VOLGA REGION AND FOOTHILLS OF SOUTH URALS OF THE 4th — FIRST THIRD OF THE 3rd CENTURY BC

In the Archaic period, Mediterranean and Greek North Pontic imports, rather well represented in Early Scythian burials on the Lower Don, are practically unknown in the burials of the nomads in the Lower Volga and South Urals regions.

The analysis of archaeological sources shows that in the second half of the 4th century BC imported beads and pendants made of glass, frit and amber reach the nomads of the Lower Volga and South Urals, and a little later, at the turn of the 4th and in the first third of the 3rd century BC — in addition, Greek pottery and possibly vessels made of precious metals, alabaster and onyx. Olbian bronze «borystheni» of the late 4th—3rd centuries BC also were found into the Lower Volga region.

If for the 5th and most part of the 4th century BC imports that entered the South Urals were mainly represented by products of the Achaemenid circle, then after the fall of the Achaemenid state and the resulting geopolitical changes in the Lower Volga region and the South Urals imports began to be distributed from (via) the North Pontic region. It is worth noting that in the burials on the Manych river and in the Lower Volga region, finds of transport amphorae were combined with similar black-glazed echinus bowls, and the find of another such bowl in the South Urals suggests that they enjoyed particular popularity among the nomads, even if they did not penetrate Sarmatia within the same batch.

The above discussed observations rather convincingly support the hypothesis put forward by D. B. Shelov and I. B. Brashinskii. There are grounds reason to suggest that beads and pendants, as well as amphorae, black-glazed pottery and coins could have reached the nomads of the Lower Volga and South Urals precisely via the Elizavetovskoe settlement at the mouth of the Don: probably, beads and pendants — even through the Scythian settlement, on which various industrial complexes and shops existed, allegedly destroyed in the 340s BC, whereas amphorae, black-glazed pottery and coins — already through the so-called Bosporan colony, founded on the site of a settlement in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, which existed until the mid-70s of the 3rd century BC.

Keywords: Lower Volga region, South Urals, Early Sarmatian culture, Mediterranean and Pontic imports, amphorae, black-glazed pottery, beads, pendants.

М. Ю. Треїстер

АНТИЧНІ ІМПОРТИ У КОЧІВНИЦЬКИХ ПОХОВАННЯХ НИЖНЬОГО ПОВОЛЖЯ ТА ПІВДЕННОГО ПРИУРАЛЛЯ КІНЦЯ ІV — ПЕРШОЇ ТРЕТИНИ ІІІ ст. до н. е.

В архаїчну епоху античні імпорти, досить непогано представлені в ранньоскіфських похованнях на Нижньому Дону, а у похованнях кочовиків Нижнього Поволжя та Південного Приуралля практично невідомі.

Аналіз археологічних джерел показує, що у другій половині ІV ст. до н. е. до кочовиків Нижнього Поволжя та Південного Приуралля надходили імпорتنі намистини та підвіски зі скла, фритти та бурштину, а трохи пізніше, на рубежі ІV—ІІІ ст. до н. е. та у першій третині ІІІ ст. до н. е. надходили й античний керамічний імпорт, а можливо і окремі посудини з коштовних металів, алебастру та оніксу. До Нижнього Поволжя потрапляли також ольвійські бронзові «борисфени» кінця ІV — ІІІ ст. до н. е.

Якщо у V і більшій частині ІV ст. до н. е. імпорتنі вироби, що потрапляли в Південне Приуралля, були представлені, головним чином виробами ахеменідського кола, то після падіння держави Ахеменідів і геополітичних змін, що відбулися в результаті цієї події, в Нижнє Поволжя і на Південний Урал починають надходити імпорتنі вироби з (через) Північне Причорномор'я. Цікаво, що у похованнях на р. Маніч і в Нижньому Поволжі, знахідки транспортних амфор поєднувалися з однотипними чорнолаковими мисками, а знахідка ще однієї такої миски в Південному Приураллі дозволяє припускати, що вони користувалися особливою популярністю серед кочовиків, навіть якщо вони не проникали в Сарматію у межах однієї партії.

Наведені нами спостереження досить переконливо підтверджують гіпотези Д. Б. Шелова та І. Б. Брашинського — та дають підстави припускати, що намисто та підвіски, а також амфори, чорнолаковий посуд та монети могли надходити до кочовиків Нижнього Поволжя та Південного Приуралля саме через Єлизаветівське городище у гирлі Дону, ймовірно, намисто та підвіски — ще через скіфське городище, на якому функціонували різні виробничі та торгові комплекси, зруйноване приблизно в 340-х рр. до н. е., кераміка та монети — вже через так зв. боспорську колонію, засновану на місці городища в останній чверті ІV ст. до н. е. яка проіснувала до середини 70-х рр. ІІІ ст. до н. е.

Ключові слова: Нижнє Поволжя, Південне Приуралля, ранньосарматська культура, античні імпорти, амфори, чорнолакова кераміка, намисто, підвіски.

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