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Budapest, 20–24 September 2022

Edited by
Dávid BARTUS – Zsolt MRÁV – Melinda SZABÓ

Budapest, 2024

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Roman bronze amphoras from the Sarmatian burials of Eastern Europe

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Abstract: In the Sarmatian burials six intact or fragmented bronze amphoras and one separate handle of Tassinari types A3212 and A3220 were found. The peculiarities of shape, details and sizes discussed. The clear majority of large vessels (mainly from 40 to 44 cm high) in Thrace and Asian Sarmatia contrasts with the finds from Pompeii or Western and Central Europe. A significant number of amphoras from Sarmatia originate from the so-called ‘princely’ burials in the Lower Don region of the second half of the 1st – early 2nd century AD. There is a correlation of the finds with the remains of the funeral feasts associated with central female burials in the mounds. The penetration of amphoras to the nomads gives reason to assume that such vessels were in some demand among them and it was not by chance that large amphoras were brought to Thrace and Sarmatia. If this is so (and I cannot find another explanation), then such large vessels could have been specially made with a view to the Thracian and Sarmatian aristocracy. Of course, this was not the only way of penetration of large bronze amphoras to the Sarmatians. There are grounds to suggest that the large bronze amphoras could be acquired by the Sarmatians also during the Bosporan–Roman war in 45–49 AD.

Keywords: Roman bronzeware, amphoras, Thrace, North Pontic area, Asian Sarmatia, Bosporan–Roman war

Introduction

In the Sarmatian burials of Eastern Europe, six intact or fragmented bronze amphoras and one separate handle were found (Fig. 1). Passages in monographs and articles by D. B. Shelov, B. A. Raev, I. I. Marchenko and N. Yu. Limberis, as well as the author of these lines, were devoted to the finds of bronze amphoras in the Sarmatian burials of Eastern Europe.¹ A new find, not included in the classifications, a fragmented vessel from the burial mound no. 1/2003 of the Gorelyy-I cemetery,² will be discussed in detail here. At the same time, we do not know exactly the origin of the bronze

1 The work is part of a project funded by the German Science Foundation titled “Forms and Ways of Cultural Contacts of the Nomads of Asian Sarmatia: Imports in the Sarmatian Monuments of the Second Century BC–Third Century AD” (FL-334/15-1). For the opportunity to work at museums that store the items considered in this article, I express my sincere gratitude to M. E. Filimonova and I. R. Gusach (Azov, Historical-Archaeological and Paleontological Museum-Reserve), A. G. Yazovskikh (Rostov-on-Don, Regional Local Lore Museum), I. P. Zasetkaya, E. F. Korol’kova, and S. V. Voronyatov (Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage), E. N. Plakhova (Engels, Local Lore Museum). This is an updated version of the article, published in Russian: [RAEV 1977a](#), 622–624, Beil. 4.18–19; [SHELOV 1983](#), 59–61; [RAEV 1986](#), 35–36; [MARČENKO – LIMBERIS 2008](#), 281; [RAEV 2013](#), 164; [TREISTER 2018a](#), 10–30; [TREISTER 2021](#).

2 [BALANOVSKIY – TIKHONOV 2009](#), 14, no. 1, Fig. 3.

vessels, including the amphora of the Eggers 129 type, acquired at the beginning of the 20th century by N. I. Veselovskiy from the Saint Petersburg antiquarians. V. V. Kropotkin suggested that the vessels could come from the looter's excavations in the Don or Kuban regions.³ B. A. Raev has divided the amphoras into two types.⁴



Fig. 1. Roman bronze amphoras in Sarmatia (Map by M. Treister, 2018). Map base – G. P. Garbuzov. Squares – amphoras of Tassinari A3212 type, circles – amphoras of Tassinari A3220 type. 1 – Konchukokhabl', 2 – Valovyy I, 3 – Khkohlach, 4 – Kudinov, 5 – Gorelyy I.

Amphoras of Tassinari A3212 type

B. A. Raev attributed to the first type the vessels with a rounded body, sloping shoulders and a narrow neck, expanding upwards and turning into a wide bent edge, including amphoras from the Bagaevsky burial mound no. 13/1960 (Fig. 2.2)⁵ and the Khokhlach tumulus (Fig. 2.1).⁶ Since the researcher singled out two variants within this type, differing in the design of the handles (variant A includes handles with relief decoration, with attachments representing female protomes or scenes; variant B includes plain ones with square attachments with concave sides), these amphoras are classified as variant A.

3 KROPOTKIN 1970, 23, no. Aa.5; 98, no. 859.

4 Type 1 (RAEV 1986, 35–36) or Type 18 (RAEV 1977a, 622–624, Beil. 4.18), after the classification of B. A. Raev, corresponds to type Tassinari A3212: Type 2 (RAEV 1986, 35–36) or Type 19 (RAEV 1977a, 622–624, Beil. 4.19) – to the type Tassinari A3220.

5 KAPOSHINA 1967a, 209, 210, Fig. 1.1, 2.1; KROPOTKIN 1970, 23, no. 3; 92, no. 788; RAEV 1977a, 623; RAEV 1977b, 144, 145, Fig. 7; SHELOV 1983, 59–60, Fig. 1.1; RAEV 1986, 35, Pl. 26.1–2.

6 KROPOTKIN 1970, 23, no. 4; 93, no. 797; RAEV 1977b, 144; RAEV 1978, 91–92; RAEV 1979, 236, Figs 10–11; SHELOV 1983, 60; RAEV 1986, 35, Pl. 27; ZASETSKAYA 2011, 228–231, Figs 121–122; 267, no. 26.

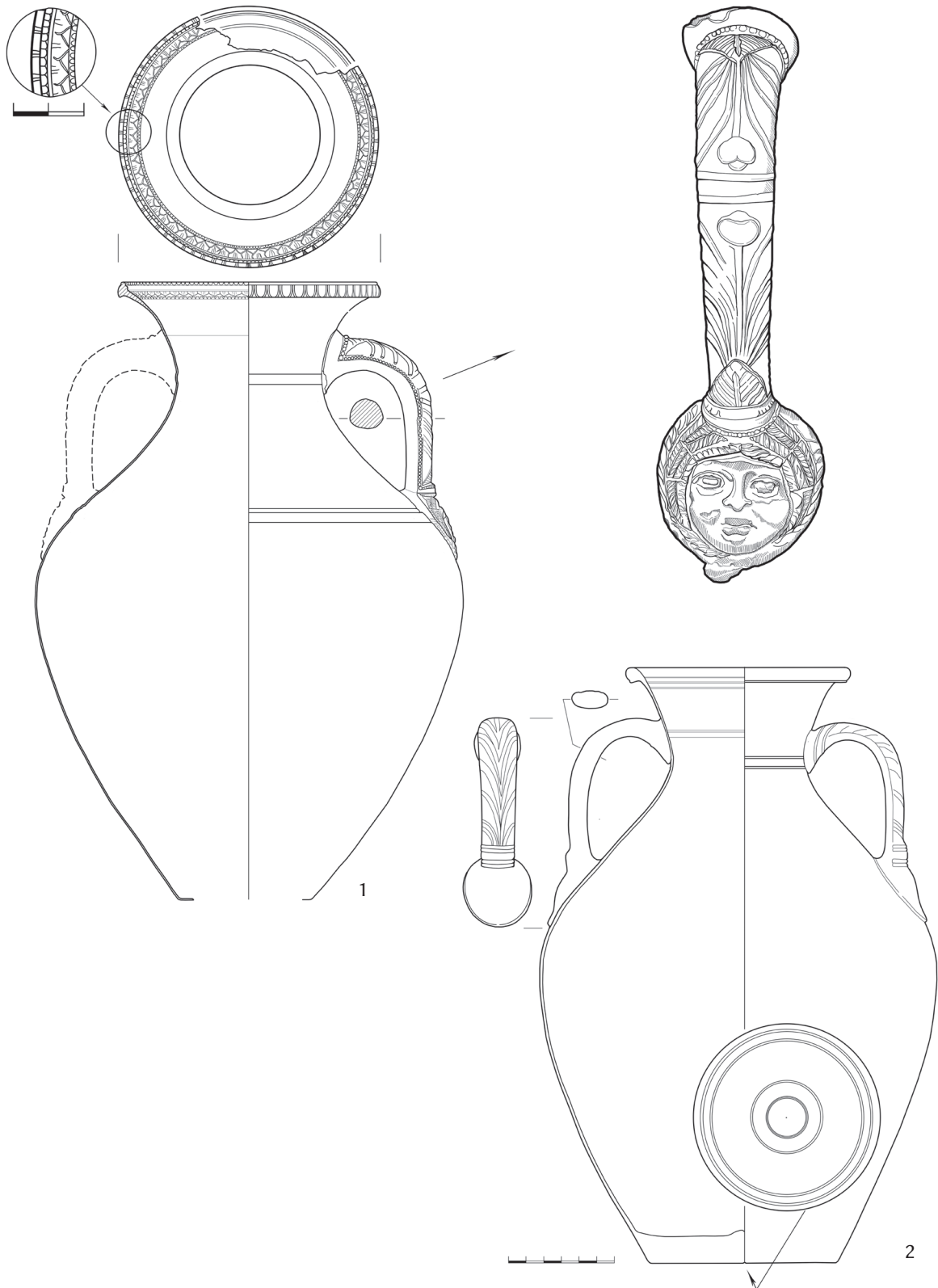


Fig. 2. Bronze amphoras of Tassinari A3212 type. General views and details. 1 – Khokhlach burial mound, Novocherkassk. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, inv. no. 2213/39, 2 – Kudinov Farmstead. Burial mound no. 13/1961. Burial no. 1. Rostov-on-Don, Regional Local Lore Museum, inv. no. 2170/4 (Drawings by N. E. Bespalaya).

Let us also pay attention to the already mentioned by B. A. Raev⁷ parallels to amphoras of this type, originating from Luklum in Braunschweig⁸ and Tulovo in Thrace.⁹ The vessel from Luklum is actually a jug of the Kjerungard type (Eggers 122), and not an amphora, as H.-J. Eggers, followed by B. A. Raev suggested.¹⁰ This fact explains the joint discovery with a vessel of coins of the third quarter of the 2nd century BC.¹¹ Repeating the wrong parallel given by B. A. Raev, also D. B. Shelov¹², and I. P. Zasetzkaya¹³ make a mistake. Images of amphoras from Tulovo were not published in the article by G. Tabakova-Tsaneva and L. Getov, only the similarity of the amphora from the burial no. 1 with the finds from the Chataalka cemetery also in Thrace¹⁴ was stated and a handle with the attachment decorated with the head of Maenad of one of the two amphoras with a rounded body from the burial no. 2 was published.¹⁵

Of the thirteen bronze amphoras found in Chataalka (4) and other cemeteries in the vicinity of Augusta Traiana, nine, according to the publishers, belong to type 1 (18), according to the classification of B. A. Raev.¹⁶ K. Kalchev following B. A. Raev distinguished two variants (A and B) of these amphoras based on the decoration of the handles, while all four amphoras from Chataalka belong to variant A. At the same time Kalchev changed the designation to the opposite (amphoras of variant A – with plain handles, B – with those decorated in relief). The problem is that, by adopting these typological studies into the currently accepted classification system, we find that all the amphoras classified as type 1 (18) by B. A. Raev, in fact, differ from the A3212 type, according to the classification of S. Tassinari. They have different proportions, an almost spherical body with a low cylindrical neck and looped handles. In addition to the finds published by K. Kalchev, this group includes an amphora from the burial mound no. 8/1994 (Mantar tepe) near the village of Isperikhovo in the Pazardzhik region.¹⁷ Outside of Thrace, such amphoras are rare and find correspondence in rare finds from Pompeii of types A1000¹⁸ (= variant A, according to K. Kalchev¹⁹) and A3121–3122²⁰ (variant B, after K. Kalchev²¹). In addition to Pompeii and Thrace, finds of amphoras with a spherical body dating from the beginning of the 1st to the early 2nd century AD, are also known in Gaul, Germany, including the Lower Rhine region, in Moesia, as well as in the Middle East: in Syria and Palestine, as well as in Kush in Nubia.²²

Among the amphoras from Asian Sarmatia type A3212 is represented by the finds from the Lower Don region: Bagaevskiy burial mound no. 13/1960 and Khokhlach burial mound (Figs 2–5). They may be compared with seven amphoras from Pompeii.²³ Besides, the finds of such amphoras are

7 RAEV 1977a, 623; RAEV 1978, 92; RAEV 1986, 36.

8 WILLERS 1907, 19, Abb. 14.

9 TABAKOVA-TSANEVA – GETOV 1969, 30, no. 2; RAEV 1977a, 622, 641, Nr. 86.

10 EGGERS 1951, 171, Beil. 55; ULBERT 1984, 85; BOUBE 1991, 38, Liste 5, no. 11.

11 WILLERS 1907, 14.

12 SHELOV 1983, 60.

13 ZASETSKAYA 2011, 228.

14 TABAKOVA-TSANEVA – GETOV 1969, 30, no. 2.

15 TABAKOVA-TSANEVA – GETOV 1969, 32, Fig. 9; 33, no. 10.

16 BUJUKLIYEV 1986, 35; KALČEV 1994, 229–232. Burial mound no. 1 – Roshava Dragana: BUJUKLIYEV 1986, 35, 70, no. 88, Pl. 7. – Chataalka. Burial mound no. 6 (with the coin of Vespasian, 69–79 AD): BUJUKLIYEV 1986, 85, no. 293–295, Pls 19, 23; KALČEV 1994, 229–230, Abb. 5–6.

17 DELEV et al. 2002, 128, no. 1.

18 TASSINARI 1993, 1, nos 3211, 2495, 2415.

19 KALČEV 1994, 229–230, Abb. 5–7.

20 TASSINARI 1993, 3, nos 1875, 1031.

21 KALČEV 1994, 230–232, Abb. 8–10.

22 DUNHAM 1957, 99, no. 74, Fig. 67; HAYES 1984, 95–97, no. 152; KOSTER 1997, 43, no. 32; BIENERT 2007, 10–11, Form 1; 12, Nr. 1.

23 TASSINARI 1993, 5–6, A3212; BANGHARD – GORECKI 2004, 147–148, Abb. 18,1. See also TARBELL 1909, 123, nos 135–137, Pl. 77.



Fig. 3. Khokhlach burial mound, Novocherkassk. Bronze amphora. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, inv. no. 2213/39 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).



Fig. 4. Khokhlach burial mound, Novocherkassk. Bronze amphora. Details. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, inv. no. 2213/39 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).

known also in the Lower Rhine area: from the Rhine near the village Maurik²⁴ and from Rheinkamp-Berl near Moers.²⁵

One of the amphoras from Pompeii of the type under discussion,²⁶ as well as the amphora with a spherical body, which allegedly originates from Siouf in Syria,²⁷ show comparable design of the handle stem and attachments, similar to those of the piece from Bagaevsky burial mound no. 13/1960

24 GERHARTL-WITTEVEEN – KOSTER 1992, 22–23, no. 8; KOSTER 1997, 41–42, no. 30.

25 HINZ 1963, 152–154, Nr. 2, Abb. 2.

26 TASSINARI 1993, 5, no. 3128, Tav. 49.1–2.

27 HAYES 1984, 95–97, no. 152.



Fig. 5. Kudinov Farmstead (Bagaevskiy). Burial mound no. 13/1961. Burial no. 1. General views and details. Rostov-on-Don, Regional Local Lore Museum, inv. no. 2170/4 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).

(Fig. 2.2, Fig. 5.1–3). In addition, the stems of A3211 amphora handles with drop-shaped attachments,²⁸ as well as C1221 type jugs, as a rule, in the shape of a grape leaf,²⁹ are decorated in a similar way.

The shape of the amphora from Khokhlach and the decoration of the edge of the neck with Ionian cymatium on the outside, and the Lesbian cymatium—on the inside (Fig. 2.1, Fig. 4.2–3) find parallels on amphoras from Pompeii³⁰ and from Rheinkamp-Berl.³¹ The stem of the handle of the ampho-

28 TASSINARI 1993, 4, no. 3618, Tav. 49.5–6.

29 TASSINARI 1993, 55–57, C1221, Tav. 12.1, no. 12689; 13.2, no. 6799.

30 Cf. TASSINARI 1993, 4, no. 3618.

31 HINZ 1963, 152–154, Nr. 2, Abb. 2.

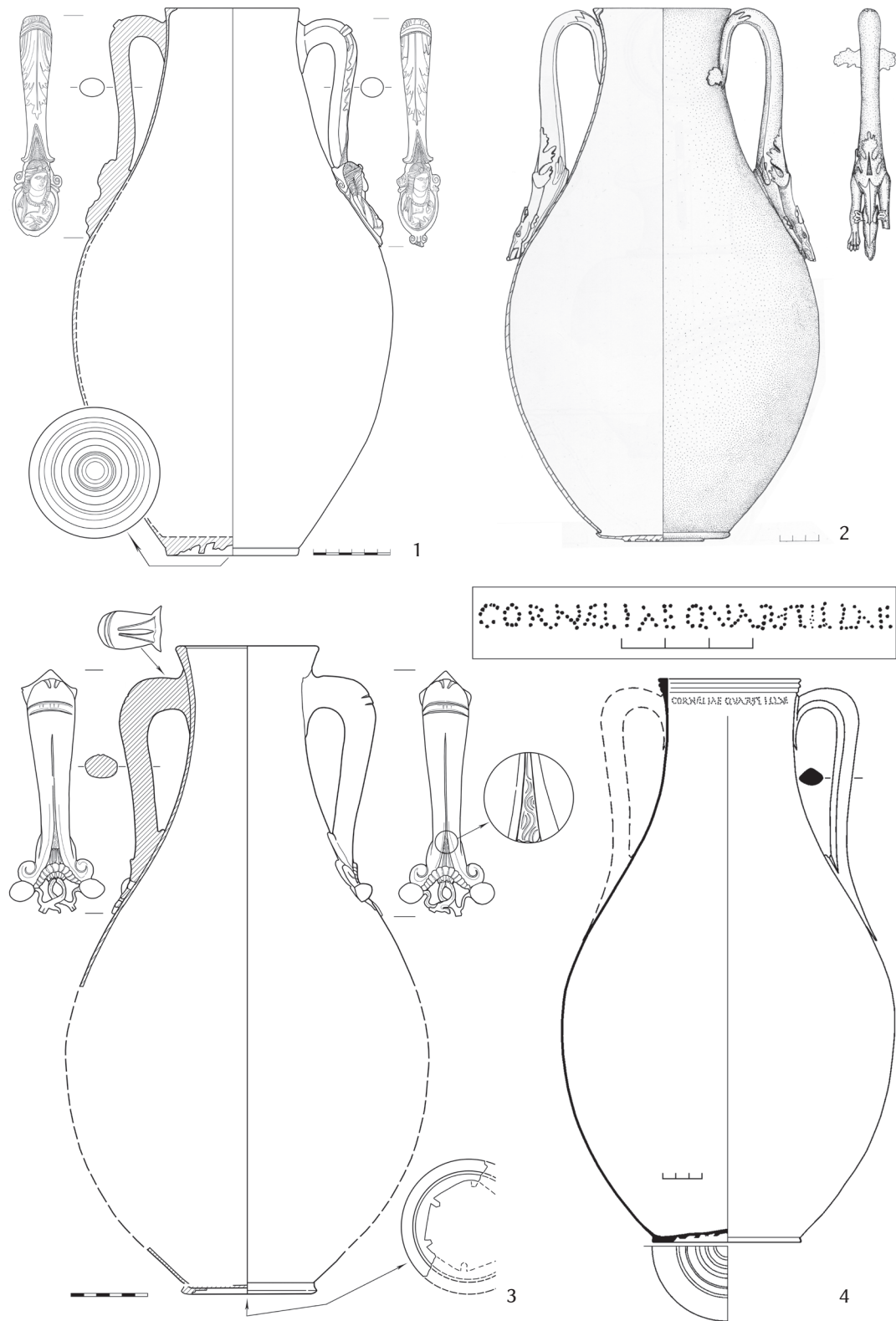


Fig. 6. Bronze amphoras of Tassinari A3220 type. General views and details. 1 – Kudinov Farmstead (Bagaevskiy). Burial-mound no. 14/1961 (Krasnyy / Red). Burial no. 1. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, list to act no. 158, no. 69, 2 – Konchukokhabl⁵, chance find of 1960. Maykop, National Museum of Republic Adygeya, inv. no. Bp-68/1, 3 – Gorelyy-I. Burial-mound no. 1/2003. Engels, Local Lore Museum, inv. no. 15884/1, 2, 4 – Valovyy-I. Burial-mound no. 9/1987. Azov, Historical-Archaeological and Paleontological Museum-Reserve, inv. no. 25309/239 (1, 3, 4 – drawings by N. E. Bepalaya, 2 – after: MARČENKO – LIMBERIS 2008, Taf. 108).

ra from Khokhlach (Fig. 2.1, Fig. 4.1,4) resembles that of the handle of the amphora from Bagaevskiy burial mound no. 13/1960 (Fig. 2.2, Fig. 5.1–3) (although exact parallels to the decoration of the stem of the handle of the amphora from Khokhlach is not known to me). The handles of both amphoras are brought together by the fact that the attachments are separated from the handle by horizontal ridges. On the rounded attachment of the amphora from Khokhlach a head in low relief, which in previous publications was defined as the head of Medusa, framed by four combed thin strands of hair, each of which is decorated with oblique parallel rollers (Fig. 2.1, Fig. 4.1), is shown. The exact parallel to it is unknown to me on the attachments of the bronze vessels, although the head of Medusa or Maenad was occasionally used as a motif for the decoration of the handle attachments of bronze vessels.³² For a rather sketchy depiction of the head of a female person on the handle attachment of the amphora from Khokhlach, it is also unusual that there are no wings on the head (and) or a protruding tongue, which would be expected if this was an image of Medusa. In addition, this image contrasts both due to the rich decoration of the handle stem and the design of the edge of the neck of the vessel—with rows of the Ionian cymatium on the outside, and the Lesbian cymatium—on the inside (Fig. 2.1, Fig. 4.2–3). Relatively similar, also quite sketchy images of the heads of Medusa/Maenad decorate much more often attachments of situlas³³ and loops attached to ladles;³⁴ the motif was also used to decorate the lids of vessels.³⁵ The closest parallel to the hairdo of the female head on the handle attachment of the amphora from Khokhlach is the female head on the handle attachment of the Eggers 125 oinochoe from Pomerania.³⁶

Amphoras of Tassinari A3220 type (Eggers 129, Raev 2)

Most of the amphoras originating mainly from the Lower Don region (Figs 1, 6) (Bagaevsky burial mound no. 14/1961 (so-called ‘Red Kurgan’) [Fig. 6.1, Figs 7–8; Fig. 10.1]);³⁷ Valovy-I, burial mound no. 9/1987 (Fig. 6.4, Fig. 9);³⁸ a separate handle from the Khokhlach burial mound (Fig. 10.2, Fig. 11),³⁹ but also from the Kuban region (Konchukokhabl, chance find of 1960 [Fig. 6.2, Fig. 10.3]⁴⁰) and the Lower Volga region (Gorely-I, burial mound no. 1/2003 [Fig. 6.3, Fig. 10.3, Fig. 12]⁴¹), belong to

32 See: e.g., HÖCKMANN 1972, 39, Nr. 96, Taf. 28; BOUCHER – OGGIANO-BITAR 1993, 129, no. 206; BOLLA 1994, no. 82, Tav. 78.

33 See: e.g., NUBER 1988, 84, Abb. 108; 118; PETCULESCU 2003, 153, no. 244.

34 KAUFMANN-HEIMANN 1994, 177–178, Nr. 301, Taf. 118; KAUFMANN-HEIMANN 1998, 21–22, Abb. 3; SEDLMAYER 1999, 86, Anm. 560, Taf. 34.5–6; KAPPELLER 2003, 87–88, no. 36, Fig. 2; Pl. 6; 134, no. 36 with parallels.

35 NUBER 1988, 56, Abb. 46; 102 (relatively similar due to the rounded contours and treatment of hair strands, executed in a low relief).

36 KASPRZAK 2016, 324, Abb. 4.c.e.

37 KAPOSHINA 1965, 51, Fig. 18; KAPOSHINA 1967a, 212, Fig. 1.2; Fig. 2.2–3; KAPOSHINA 1967b, 146; KROPOTKIN 1970, 23, no. 2; 92, no. 788; RAEV 1977b, 144, 145, Fig. 8; RAEV 1986, 35, Pl. 28; SHELOV 1983, 59–60, Fig. 1.2; GLUKHOV 2005, 17; TREISTER 2018b, 10–30.

38 SHELOV–KOVEDYAEV 2001, 119–122; BESPALYY et al. 2007, 33, no. 45, 126, Pl. 37.1; BEZUGLOV et al. 2009, 31, Fig. 14, Fig. 45; Figs 82–83; RAEV 2013, 164, 165; KRIVOSHEEV 2014, 109, Fig. 2.13; TREISTER 2019a, Fig. 4.4; TREISTER 2019b, 177, Fig. 19.2, Fig. 4.

39 RAEV 1986, 35, Pl. 26.3; ZASETSKAIA 2011, 232, Fig. 125; 268, no. 29.

40 KROPOTKIN 1970, 23, no. 1; 90, no. 769, Fig. 59.7; SHELOV 1983, 60; LESKOV 1987, 45, Pl. 31; 157, no. 228; NABATSHIKOV et al. 1989, 166, Nr. 228, Taf. 27; MARČENKO – LIMBERIS 2008, 281, 356, Nr. 74.1, Taf. 108; ERLIKH 2010, 462, Fig. 25 (here is a curious photo—probably the handles of the amphora were soldered off and it was taken with handles, the upper ends of which are inserted into the neck—MT); RAEV 2013, 163–166 (with lit.), Fig. 2, Fig. 4.1–2.

41 BALANOVSKIY–TIKHONOV 2009, 14, no. 1, Fig. 3.

the type 2 (with egg-shaped body), after B.A. Raev's classification, types Radnóti 78,⁴² Eggers 129,⁴³ Tassinari A3220,⁴⁴ and Form 2, after the typology of B. Bienert,⁴⁵ the most common in Pompeii.

Similar bronze amphoras are also known after the finds in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire,⁴⁶ as well as in the Western,⁴⁷ Southern⁴⁸ and Eastern⁴⁹ Black Sea regions. In order to establish the chronology of such amphoras, the finds on the Lower Rhine and in Magdalensberg on the Danube are fundamental, which allow us to date the appearance of vessels of this shape no later than in the Augustan period, and their use until the 3rd century AD.⁵⁰

While the shapes, proportions, and sizes of the vessels are similar, the amphoras from Sarmatia differ in the details of the treatment of necks and handles with attachments.

The handles with attachments of then amphora from Konchukokhabl in the form of a sea monster with a protome of a dog (lower attachment) and a dolphin tail (upper) (Fig. 6.2, Fig. 10.3) were described and analysed in detail by B. A. Raev, who pointed out parallels from Pompeii and the National Archaeological Museum in Naples—only two vessels in total.⁵¹ Let us note in this connection that also a small amphora, 24 cm high, kept in Naples, also comes from Pompeii.⁵² As for the amphora with the height of 37.4 cm from the western insula of Regio VII in Pompeii, then it would probably make sense for B. A. Raev to look at the photo of the attachments in order to point out the difference in their design—here the forelimbs of the dog are rendered as wings.⁵³ Two more parallels to the amphora from Konchukokhabl remained unknown to Raev. One, which is close in size (44.5 cm high) with similar handles and attachments, originate from the shipwreck of Arles-Rhone 3 (cluster A).⁵⁴ Another is kept in the collection of the University of Kent.⁵⁵ As regards attachments, I cannot but mention a parallel in the design of the dog protome with paws spread to the sides on the handle of a bronze patera from burial mound B in Vize.⁵⁶

42 RADNÓTI 1938, 156–158, Taf. 14.78.

43 EGGERS 1951, Taf. 11.129; 171, Beil. 55.

44 TASSINARI 1993, I, 7–18; BANGHARD – GORECKI 2004, 147–148, Abb. 18.2. – See also a similar amphora from Boscoreale: GORECKI 1993, 231, no. A6; 238, Abb. 1.6; 243, Taf. 3.

45 BIENERT 2007, 13–18, Nr. 2–4.

46 See an uncomplete survey: RAEV 2013, 163–164. See also: BOUCHER – TASSINARI 1976, 143–144, nos. 182–183; D'ANDRIA 1979, 223–224, no. 1, Tav. 124.1; Tav. 125.1; BREŠČAK 1982, nos. 107–108, Pl. 11; Pl. 24; FAUDET – RABEISEN 1993, 149–150, 156–157, Figs 3–4; BOLLA 1994, 72–74, nos 81–82, Tav. 77–78; KAPPELLER 2003, 89–90, 99–100, 136–137, nos 87–91 (handles), Pls 11–12; BIENERT 2007, 13–14, Anm. 26 with the most complete survey; LUNDOCK 2015, 55, 59, 163, no. EX0019; 169, no. HAM0021; 171, no. K0003; PFISTERER-HAAS 2019, 138–139, Abb. 9.71–72; 304–307, Nr. 220–224.

47 DYAKOVICH 1907, 31, Fig. 28.2–3; Fig. 32; RAEV 1977a, 623–624, 639, Nr. 56, Taf. 9.6–7; BUJUKLIEV 1986, 35; ONURKAN 1988, 70–71, nos 68–69, Figs 32–33, Pl. 41.b,d; KALČEV 1994, 227–229, Abb. 1–4. Most likely, two amphoras, earlier in the collection of V. Bojkov, also come from the territory of Bulgaria: MARAZOV et al. 2005, 185–187, nos 231, 234.

48 Unknown provenance, in the Museum of Amasra (ancient Amastris): LAFLI 2021, 193, no. 25. Fig. 25.2 (without handles).

49 Dedoplis Gora: LÖHR 2008, 155–156, 160, no. 1, Pls 60, 64.

50 See in detail: BIENERT 2007, 14–15.

51 RAEV 2013, 165. See also a similar handle found in Vitudurum: DESCHLER-ERB 1996, 31, 278, Nr. ME 36 with parallels; Taf. 4 (also the amphora from Konchukokhabl is mentioned); from the layer with the pottery of ca. 70s AD.

52 STEFANELLI 1990, 223, Tav. 205; 281, no. 107. The reference to this amphora given by B. A. Raev, is inaccurate.

53 TASSINARI 1993, I, 16, 501, no. 13955, II, 186, no. 60, Tav. 52.2–3.

54 BILAN SCIENTIFIQUE 2007, 61–62, Fig. 44.

55 https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/lloydbosworth/bronze_0023/

56 MANSEL 1939, 169, Nr. 23, Abb. 214b; MANSEL 1941, 180, Nr. 23; NUBER 1972, 47, 193, E.IIIa.2; ONURKAN 1988, 50, no. 46, Fig. 13, Pl. 27.



Fig. 7. Kudinov Farmstead (Bagaevskiy). Burial mound no. 14/1961 (Krasnyy / Red). Burial no. 1. Bronze amphora. General views. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, list to act no. 158, no. 69 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).



Fig. 8. Kudinov Farmstead (Bagaevskiy). Burial mound no. 14/1961 (Krasnyy / Red). Burial no. 1. Bronze amphora. Details. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, list to act no. 158, no. 69 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).

Details of vessels from other complexes were considered by the researcher in much less detail. Attachments of the amphora from burial mound no. 1/2003 of the Gorely-I necropolis (Fig. 6.3, Fig. 10.3, Fig. 12) probably represent a composition of two heads of herons devouring snakes, similar to the handle of the jug no. 13392 from Pompeii.⁵⁷ We also find similar image of snakes on the at-

57 TASSINARI 1993, I, 38, B1222, no. 13392; 499; II, Tav. 52.1.



Fig. 9. Valovyy-I. Burial mound no. 9/1987. Bronze amphora. General views and details. Azov, Historical-Archaeological and Paleontological Museum-Reserve, inv. no. 25309/239 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).

tachments of the handles of two other amphoras from Pompei: nos 12461⁵⁸ and 12462.⁵⁹ The motif of a heron devouring a snake was widely used in decorative sculpture, glyptic, and especially in the silver and bronze plate of the Early Empire.⁶⁰

58 TASSINARI 1993, I, 11, A3220, no. 12461.

59 TASSINARI 1993, II, A3220, Tav. 51.1–3.

60 See in detail: TREISTER 2020b, 594–595.

The amphora from Valovyy-I cemetery (Fig. 6.4, Fig. 9) shows a dotted inscription below the rim (Fig. 6.4, Fig. 9.1). Horizontal ridges and grooves under the horizontally cut edge of the vessel (Fig. 6.4, Fig. 9.2–4) find parallels on some amphoras of this type from Pompeii⁶¹ and Thrace.⁶² Typical for the amphoras of that type are also leaf-shaped, elongated attachments pointed at the end. They can be additionally decorated with a rib, as on the amphora from Valovyy, while the attachments may be separated from the stem of the handle with ridges, or they can smoothly overgo into the stems, as on the amphora from Valovyy (Fig. 9.2,4).⁶³ A separate handle of this type without a rib, oval in cross-section, was found in the Khokhlach burial mound (Fig. 10.2, Fig. 11).⁶⁴

The amphora from Bagaevsky burial mound no. 14/1961 deserves special attention (Fig. 6.1, Figs 7–8; Fig. 10.1). The author of the first publication suggested that the vessel found its way into the burial complex at the turn of our era.⁶⁵ Neither B. A. Raev, nor D. B. Shelov agreed with this. Raev noted that the amphora was earlier than the amphoras from the Khokhlach and Bagaevsky burial mound no. 13 and dated it to the first half of the 1st century AD,⁶⁶ whereas D. B. Shelov, pointing to the finds of such amphoras in Pompeii and Chataalka in Thrace, assumed that the vessel could not have reached the Don region before the 70s AD.⁶⁷ The handles of the amphora are cast, the upper attachments are shaped as rounded leaves without relief decoration, the lower attachments are adorned with female busts in high relief with remains of silver inlays in the recesses of the eyes. Below there is a figure of a half-curved panther with tucked-in paws. (Fig. 6.1, Fig. 8, Fig. 10.1). A characteristic feature of the hairstyle are thick intertwined curls that fall over the shoulders, the so-called corkscrew-shaped curls (*Korkenzieherlocken*). This hairstyle, sometimes called ‘Libyan curls’ or ‘Isis curls,’ became widespread in Egypt during the Hellenistic period, especially from the 2nd century BC.⁶⁸ A detailed analysis of the attributes allowed us to conclude that the attachments depict not a Maenad, as previously thought, but a personification of Africa (less probable, of Egypt or Alexandria). It is hardly possible to consider the images on the attachments as a portrait image of Cleopatra VII or her daughter Cleopatra Selene II, as some researchers suggest in relation to the typologically similar image on the medallion of the silver-gilt cup from Boscoreale.⁶⁹ In any case, the circle of parallels, both to the shape of the amphora and the decoration of the handles with attachments, hardly gives grounds to date the vessel later than the first half of the 1st century AD.⁷⁰

61 Cf. TASSINARI 1993, I, 8, nos 1179, 2231; 10, no. 3273; 11, no. 1396; 13, no. 12460.

62 For instance, Vize, tumulus E: ONURKAN 1988, 70–71, no. 68, Fig. 32, Pl. 41, b.

63 Cp. TASSINARI 1993, I, 7, no. 12462; 8, no. 1179; 9, no. 10551, 1839; 10, no. 1107; 11, nos. 3024, 1396, 7259, 6540; 12, no. 18746; 16, no. 10655. Also, separate finds of such handles are known: TASSINARI 1993, 18–19, nos 2431, 18975, 2140, 13535A, 18973, 18974, 13192D, 3653, 2197–2198, 5927. See also a separate find of this type of handle in Vitudurum (DESCHLER-ERB 1996, 31, 278, Nr. ME 37, Taf. 4; the pottery from the layer is dated to 20/30–50 Ad); the handles of amphora from Siscia: RADNÓTI 1938, 156, Taf. 42.4. The handle attachments of two amphoras from a tomb discovered in 1905 in Plovdiv are decorated in a similar way: DYAKOVICH 1907, 31, Fig. 28.2–3; Fig. 32; RAEV 1977a, 639, Nr. 56; Taf. 9.6–7.

64 RAEV 1986, 35, Pl. 26.3; ZASETSKAYA 2011, 232, Fig. 125; 268, no. 29.

65 KAPOSHINA 1965, 50; KAPOSHINA 1967a, 213; KAPOSHINA 1967b, 148.

66 RAEV 1977a, 623; RAEV 1977b, 144.

67 SHELOV 1983, 61.

68 STANWICK 2002, 37–38; ALBERSMEIER 2002, 67–75; ALBERSMEIER 2005, 254–255; TREISTER 2012, 475–476; TREISTER 2013, 91–92.

69 HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE 1899, 39–43, Pl. 1; STRONG 1966, 151, Pl. 36.B; LINFERT 1984, 351–358, Taf. 63; BARATTE 1986, 77–81; 90; BARR-SHARRAR 1987, 142, no. H27 with lit., Pl. 72; STEFANELLI 1991, 134–135, Pls 99–100; 260, no. 37; WALKER – HIGGS 2001, 312–313, no. 324; ROLLER 2003, 141–142, Fig. 16; DOMES 2007, 100–108, 182, Nr. To.1, Taf. 24,1; DRAYCOTT 2012, 48–60, Figs 2–6.

70 TREISTER 2018c, 10–30.

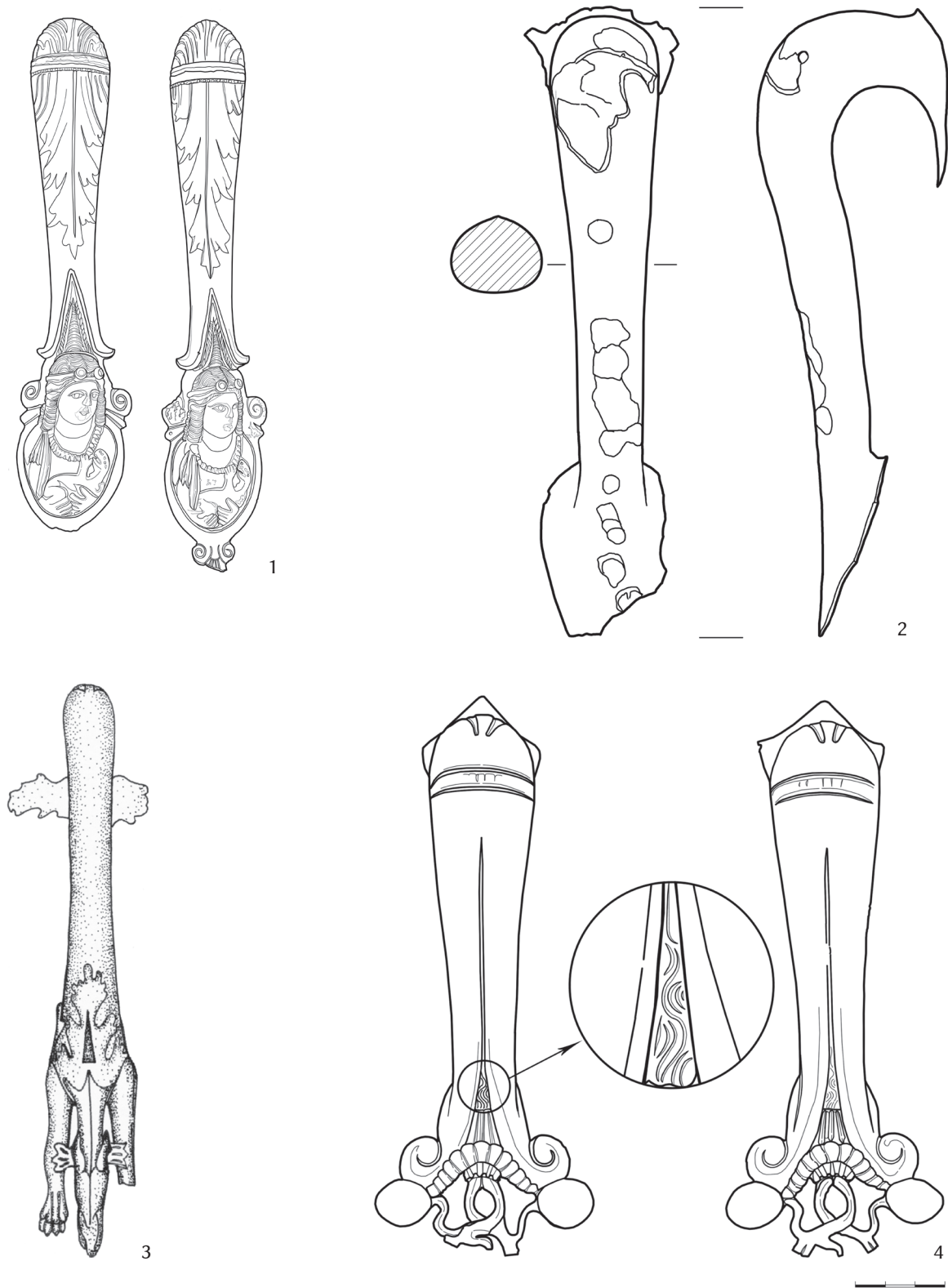


Fig. 10. Bronze amphoras of Tassinari A3220 type. Handles. 1 – Kudinov Farmstead (Bagaevskiy). Burial mound no. 14/1961 (Krasnyy / Red). Burial no. 1. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, list to act no. 158, no. 69, 2 – Khokhlach burial mound, Novochoerkassk. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, inv. no. 2213/41, 3 – Konchukokhabl⁵, chance find of 1960. Maykop, National Museum of Republic Adygeya, inv. no. Bp-68/1, 4 – Gorelyy-I. Burial mound no. 1/2003. Engels, Local Lore Museum, inv. no. 15884/1, 2 (1, 2, 4 – drawings by N. E. Besspalaya, 3 – after: [MARČENKO – LIMBERIS 2008](#), Taf. 108).

Inscription on the amphora from Valovyy-I cemetery

Under the rim of the amphora from the Valovyy-I cemetery, there is a dotted inscription, supposedly owner's⁷¹ or owner's or donative:⁷² CORNELIAE QVAR(tae) RVTILLAE (reading by F. V. Shelov-Kovedyaev⁷³) or Corneliae Quartillae (reading by A. Yu. Vinogradov, E. I. Bespaly and co-authors,⁷⁴ S. I. Bezuglov and co-authors⁷⁵) (Fig. 6.4, Fig. 9.1).

Unlike the inscriptions on the Roman imperial silver vessels, which are quite numerous, the inscriptions on the bronze vessels are relatively rare. This is largely due to the significant difference in the cost of bronze and silver, because a majority of the inscriptions on silver, including on the vessels of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD,⁷⁶ contained the names of the owners and weight data.⁷⁷ It is assumed that such inscriptions (there could be several of them) could have been made during the re-accounting, overweighting of vessels during their transfer from one owner to another.⁷⁸

As for the Roman bronze vessels from the North Pontic region, the Latin dotted inscription under the rim can be found only on a bronze bowl of the Eggers 70 type from a Sarmatian burial in a burial mound no. 10/1985 near the village of Cazaclia in Moldova: T(itus) Salv(ius) Caec(?), dated to 60s–70s AD.⁷⁹ Other examples of Latin inscriptions on bronze vessels from this region are not known to me.

At the same time, they are found on bronze vessels found in the territory of the Empire. A significant part of these inscriptions are votive—the vessels were dedicated to the sanctuaries of Mars, Mercury, Apollo and other deities.⁸⁰ The female names in these inscriptions are rare. So, the inscription on the lid of the vessel from Curdioara in the Cluj region MARTI CORNELIA*L*F*OSSA*V*S* means that a certain Cornelia Lucius, daughter of Ossa, dedicated the vessel in the 1st century AD in the sanctuary of Mars.⁸¹ It is also noteworthy to mention the inscriptions on the handle of a casserole from Aqua Helvetica: MERCVRIO / T.CAMMIANIVS BACCHVS and V.S.L.L.M.⁸² Punched inscriptions of craftsmen are also known, in particular, on bronze strainers from Boscoreale (PERTVDIT POMPEIS FELICIO) and Pompeii (PERTVDIE EX OFFICINIA M BADI HERMAES).⁸³

71 Opinion expressed by A. Yu. Vinogradov (see [BESPALYY et al. 2007](#), 33, note 2).

72 Opinion expressed by F. V. Shelov-Kovedyaev ([SHELOV-KOVEDYAEV 2001](#), 120).

73 [SHELOV-KOVEDYAEV 2001](#), 119–120.

74 [BESPALYY et al. 2007](#), 33.

75 [BEZUGLOV et al. 2009](#), 82.

76 Tivoli Treasure: [OLIVER 1977](#), 100, nos 56–58; 103, no. 60; 106–107, nos 63–68. Hildesheim Treasure: [BOETZKES – STEIN 1997](#), nos 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 19, 27–31, 35, 40, 45–50, 54, 57–60, 62. Hermoupolis Treasure: [GALSTERER 2001](#), 55–58.

77 [MARTIN 1984](#), 382–392; [MARTIN 1988](#), 211–225; [MUNDELL MANGO 1994](#), 37–54; [PAINTER 2001](#), 27; [IGL 2002](#), 102–104; [TREISTER 2009](#), 45–47.

78 [LIEB – SPEIDEL 2003](#), 182; [CHAMAY et al. 2007](#), 144.

79 [AGULNICOV – BUBULICI 1999](#), 288, no. 3; 301, Fig. 5.3 (inscription); Figs. 4–5 (bowl); [DZIGOVSKIY 2003](#), 100, Fig. 20.4–5; [BÂRCĂ 2001](#), 342–343, 351, Fig. 4.1; [BÂRCĂ 2006](#), 174, 302, no. 45.12, Figs. 43.1, 189, 2; [BÂRCĂ 2009](#), 88, Fig. 7.1; [BÂRCĂ – SIMONENKO 2009](#), 190, 191, Fig. 70.1. The authors of the first publication attributed the bowl to Eggers 70–71 types ([AGULNICOV – BUBULICI 1999](#), 292) (the definition is more than strange, given the difference in the form of these types). A. V. Simonenko at first believed that this was a basin of the Eggers 99 type ([SIMONENKO 1995](#), 350), the attribution which could cause nothing but amazement, and later he attributed it to the Eggers 72 type ([SIMONENKO 2011](#), 145). According to V. Bârcă's opinion ([BÂRCĂ 2001](#), 342, 351; [BÂRCĂ 2009](#), 88; [BÂRCĂ – SIMONENKO 2009](#), 190), with which I am agree, it belongs to Eggers 70 type.

80 [FLÜGEL 1994](#), 207, Anm. 4; [MUSTAȚĂ 2017](#), 119.

81 [MUSTAȚĂ 2017](#), 118–120, no. 49, Pl. 29; Pl. 77.

82 [HOLLIGER – HOLLIGER 1989](#), 64, Nr. 10, Taf. 1.

83 [GORECKI 2000](#), 448–449, 461–467, Abb. 6.1–3; Abb. 8; [MUSTAȚĂ 2017](#), 72–73.

Among the inscriptions, mostly incised, on the bronze vessels found in the Rhine near Neupotz, there are also two punched ones, which are considered as the names of the owners, including the *tria nomina* inscription, indicating that the vessel belonged to a Roman citizen.⁸⁴



Fig. 11. Khokhlach burial mound, Novocherkassk. Handle of a bronze amphora. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage, inv. no. 2213/41 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).

The practice of applying owner punched inscriptions to weapons, armour, belt sets and horse harness became widespread in the Roman army, especially in the Flavian period and confirms the fact that the Romans acquired them on their own.⁸⁵ The inscriptions on the bronze vessels discovered in the Rhine at Doorwerth in the province of Gelderland (here in 1924 twenty-six bronze vessels were found; the find dates back to ca. 80 AD) are considered to be the owner's ones.⁸⁶ On two vessels (a pan and a ladle) there are inscriptions: C. Valerius Bellicus, C. Enterius Liber,⁸⁷ which give ground to doubt their interpretation as the property of one officer.⁸⁸ One cannot but agree with J. Holwerda in treating the inscription after the analogy with the punched inscription on a bronze key from the Roman military

84 KÜNZL – KÜNZL 1993, 395, Nr. D9; 396, Nr. D29; 397.

85 MACMULLEN 1960, 33–40; WIEGELS 1992, 383–396; HANEL 2004, 989–996; BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 43–45, Fig. 18; NICOLAY 2007, 166–171, Fig. 5.4, with lit.; NEGIN 2015, 257–266; ECK – PANGERL 2015, 118–121, Abb. 11–17.

86 HOLWERDA 1931, 1–26; NUBER 1972, 89–90; KUNOW 1983, 74; AKKERMANS et al. 1992, 80–82, no. 33; FLÜGEL 1994, 211.

87 HOLWERDA 1931, 21, Nr. 11, Taf. 12.29; Nr. 16, Taf. 12.15; KUNOW 1983, 74, Anm. 618.

88 NUBER 1972, 90.



Fig. 12. Gorelyy-I. Burial mound no. 1/2003. Bronze amphora. General views and details. Engels, Local Lore Museum, inv. no. 15884/1, 2 (Photos by M. Treister, 2015).

cash desk, found in the legion camp in Neuss, with the name of the standard-bearer Lucius Fabius from the *centuria* of Bassus Claudius (CIL XIII, 10027, 217).⁸⁹ It is worth noting that on some bronze vessels found in the Lower Rhine area, not only the name of the owner is punched, but also an indication of the military unit in which he serves.⁹⁰ Inscriptions on the outer or inner side of the casseroles, belonging to the standard set of Roman soldiers, were especially common.⁹¹ Some vessels bear two inscriptions.⁹²

Against this background, the peculiarity of the inscription on the amphora from the Valovyy-I necropolis is that it is a female name.

Thus, there are much more grounds to consider the inscription on the amphora from the Valovyy-I necropolis as an owner's rather than a donative inscription, also due to the absence of a mention of the donor, as in the donative inscription of the master to his slave or prostitute on a gold bracelet found to the south of Pompeii: DOMNVS. ANCILLAE. SWAE.⁹³ The inscription on the bronze cup from Cazaclia is also considered as owner's one.⁹⁴

The suggestion expressed by F. V. Shelov-Kovedyaev,⁹⁵ that Cornelia was a Roman citizen is very likely. In this context, it can be noted that this name with a cognomen is not recorded in Latin inscriptions, although Domitia Quartilla is known, for example, in an inscription on the statue base from Tarragona,⁹⁶ erected by her parents, presumably wealthy freedmen.⁹⁷

Dimensions of amphoras and their functional use

Amphoras of the Tassinari type A3212 from Sarmatia are 33.6 and 35.0 cm high. The largest number of known amphoras of this type comes from Pompeii. The height of seven specimens varies from 21.0 to 40.7 cm,⁹⁸ while vessels 21.0–27.1 cm high predominate, and only two vessels have a comparable height: 34 and 41 cm. An amphora of this type, stored in Nijmegen,⁹⁹ also has a height of 41 cm, 32.3 cm high is an amphora, possibly acquired in Rome in 1696, now in Berlin.¹⁰⁰

Amphoras of the Tassinari type A3220 from Sarmatia are larger, their height varies from 40.6 to 44.0 cm (according to B. A. Raev—ca. 40 cm¹⁰¹) with a maximum body diameter of 24–25 cm, and a rim diameter of 10.1–11.5 cm. Perhaps the amphora from the Gorelyy-I cemetery was larger. Since a significant part of its body has not been preserved, the graphic reconstruction by N. E. Bepalaya with a height of approx. 51.4 cm is possibly not entirely accurate; at the same time, this amphora has the largest rim diameter of all of them—11.5 cm.

89 JOHNSON 1987, 133.

90 KOSTER 1997, 58, no. 67, 62–63, no. 78.

91 See also: STUPPERICH 1993, 285, Abb. 2; BREŠČAK 1995, 15, 17, Fig. 2.3; FLÜGEL 1994, 207–208, Abb. 1.4; HOLZNER – WEBER 2008, 198, Nr. 141; ECK – PANGERL 2015, 122–125, Abb. 18–22; DONEUS et al. 2018, 153, 181, Anhang Nr. 1. See also the inscriptions on the rear of the handle of the silver casserole from Vindonissa: TRUMM 2009, 28, Abb. 1; 31–32, Abb. 6.

92 KOSTER 1997, 65, no. 85; 84–85, no. 114; KOSTER 2013, 72, no. 16; 151, Fig. 67; 155, Pl. 66.

93 GUZZO – SCARANO USSANI 2001, 981–997; BERG 2017, 33; LUGINBÜHL 2017, 63.

94 BÂRCĂ 2009, 88.

95 SHELOV-KOVEDYAEV 2001, 120.

96 CIL II 4359 (p. 973); RIT 459; NAVARRO CABALLERO 2017, 345, 604–605; CIL II²/14, 1332; CIDONCHA REDONDO 2020, 325, no. 19.

97 CIDONCHA REDONDO 2020, 317.

98 TASSINARI 1993, 29.

99 GERHARTL-WITTEVEEN – KOSTER 1992, 22–23, no. 8; KOSTER 1997, 41–42, no. 30.

100 FRIEDERICH 1871, 355, Nr. 1653; VAIANI 2002, 120, no. 12.

101 RAEV 2013, 164.

The largest number of known amphoras of A3220 type comes from Pompeii. The height of sixty pieces varies from 15.7 to 44 cm.¹⁰² As the histogram which I made shows, the overwhelming majority of amphoras from Pompeii were small in size with the height in the range of 17–33 cm, within which two peaks with values of 19–23 cm and 25–27 cm, stand out. Amphoras higher than 33 cm in Pompeii are extremely rare and among them the vessels 37–39 cm high prevail (Fig. 13). Amphoras from Boscoreale are generally larger than those from Pompeii. Two vessels stored in Berlin have a height of 34.5–35.0 and 35 cm,¹⁰³ another one, acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum—45.7 cm.¹⁰⁴ An amphora from a burial at Montalbano Jonico Matera in the province of Basilicata in Southern Italy is ca. 18 cm.¹⁰⁵

The amphoras found in Central and Northern Europe are small and fit into the frames of the ‘small’ amphoras from Pompeii. These are the vessels: from the valley of Saône—17.4,¹⁰⁶ 17.7¹⁰⁷ and 20.8 cm,¹⁰⁸ from Optevoz (Isère)—24.7 cm,¹⁰⁹ Vindonissa—18 cm,¹¹⁰ Triery—6.0 and 26.4 cm,¹¹¹ Doorwerth—20, 21.5 and 22.5 cm,¹¹² Nijmegen and vicinities—19,¹¹³ 21.5, 28 cm,¹¹⁴ Hesselby in Uppland (Sweden)—29.2 cm,¹¹⁵ as well as from Slovenia—21.5 and 27 cm.¹¹⁶

Most of the vessels of unknown provenance in European¹¹⁷ and American¹¹⁸ museums fit into the framework of ‘small’ amphoras, although large vessels also occur among them.

Much larger, 44–46 cm high, are the amphoras of this type from the shipwreck near Arles (44.5 cm),¹¹⁹ from Alesia (46.2 cm¹²⁰) in France, as well as from Reinkamp-Berl (45 cm¹²¹) in the Lower Rhine region.

So, the finds from the Moselle and Lower Rhine regions show a distribution very similar to that from Pompeii (Fig. 13). The percentage of large amphoras is higher among the finds from France and Switzerland, but here, too, small amphoras, 17.4 to 24.7 cm high, prevail.

Large amphoras of the A3220 type, found in Thrace (Fig. 13), are in general close in size to those from Sarmatia, where they predominate among amphoras of this type. These are the vessels from Chatalka:

102 TASSINARI 1993, 29.

103 PERNICE 1900, 184–185, Nr. 9–10, Fig. 10; OETTEL 1991, 24, 43, Nr. 5–6, Taf. 7.

104 GORECKI 1993, 232, Nr. A6, Taf. 3, Abb. 1.

105 D’ANDRIA 1979, 223–224, no. 1, Tav. 124, 1; Tav. 125, 1.

106 TASSINARI 1975, 71, no. 187, Pl. 37.

107 BARATTE et al. 1984, 84, no. 118, Pl. 40; Pl. 49.

108 BOUCHER – TASSINARI 1976, 144, no. 183.

109 BOUCHER – TASSINARI 1976, 143, no. 182.

110 HOLLIGER – HOLLIGER 1986, 31, Nr. 156; 33, Taf. 26.

111 BIENERT 2007, 16–17, Nr. 2–3.

112 HOLWERDA 1931, 19, Nr. 2–4, Abb. 12.8–10.

113 KOSTER 1997, 42–43, no. 31.

114 DEN BOESTERD 1956, 72, nos. 260–261, Pl. 11; Pl. 16.

115 KUNOW 1983, 25, 62, 74; LUND HANSEN 1987, 91, 463, E458; MALMÖ MUSEER 1997, 156–157, no. 423.

116 BREŠČAK 1982, nos 107–108.

117 Munich: 22.0; 22.8; 24.0; 24.0; 35.0 cm: PFISTERER-HAAS 2019, 303–306, Nr. 219–223. Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv.-no. Fr. 1650: 23.3 cm: FRIEDERICH 1871, 355, Nr. 1650. Paris, Louvre: TASSINARI 2018, 30–33, nos 15–17: 38.0, 33.0, and 25.7 cm.

118 New York: 17.8 cm: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252922>

119 BILAN SCIENTIFIQUE 2005, 61–62, Fig. 44.

120 FAUDUET – RABEISEN 1993, 149–150, 156–157, Fig. 3.

121 FAUDUET – RABEISEN 1993, 149–150, 156–157, Fig. 3.

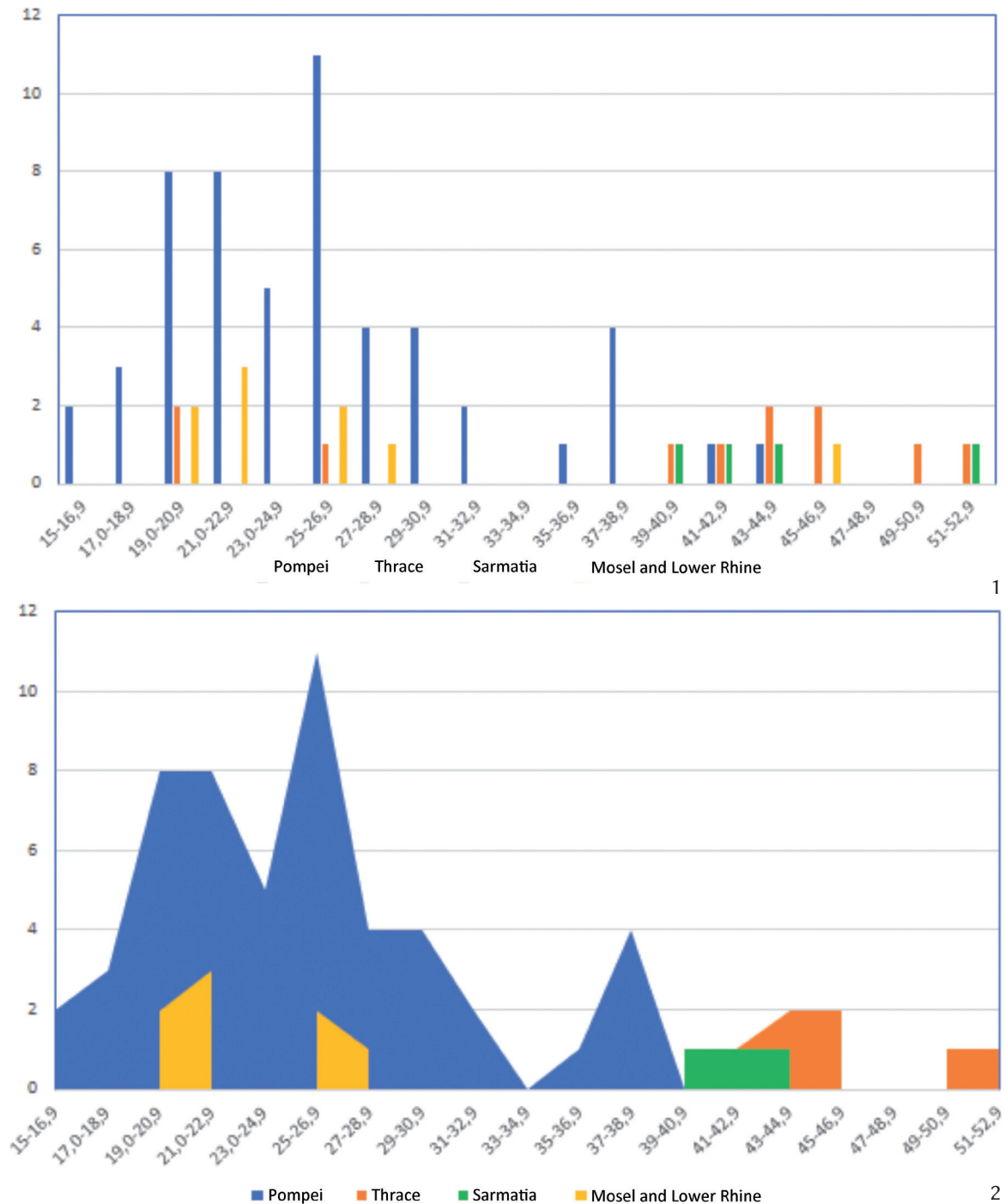


Fig. 13. The height of the amphoras of Tassinari A3220 type: the finds from Pompei, basins of Mosel and Lower Rhine, Thrace and Sarmatia. Bar chart (1) and area chart (2) (M. Treister, 2021).

burial mounds no. 2: height 40 cm¹²² and no. 7¹²³—height 43.5 and 44.0 cm, from the tomb in the tumulus excavated in Plovdiv in 1905 (two amphoras)—46.5 cm,¹²⁴ from Midye (Kiyiköy)¹²⁵ and burial

122 BUYUKLIEV 1986, 70, no. 89, Pl. 8; KALČEV 1994, 228, Abb. 2; 232, Nr. 3.

123 RAEV 1977a, 636, Nr. 20, Taf. 40.1,6; BUYUKLIEV 1986, 88, no. 345, Pl. 26; KALČEV 1994, 227, Abb. 1; 232, Nr. 1-2.

124 DYAKOVICH 1907, 31, Fig. 28.2-3; Fig. 32; RAEV 1977a, 639, Nr. 56; Taf. 9.6-7. Although the photographs show that the amphoras are of slightly different heights, Dyakovich gives only one size.

125 ONURKAN 1988, 71, no. 69, Fig. 33, Pl. 41.d.

mound E in Vize¹²⁶ in the Turkish Thrace—42 and 51 cm, correspondingly. One of the amphoras in the V. Bojkov collection, with an attachment with the head of Ammon, has a height of 49 cm.¹²⁷ However, from Thrace come also ‘small’ amphoras of this type, albeit much less frequently: from burial mound no. 1 in Chatalka—19.0¹²⁸ and 19.4¹²⁹ cm high, from the V. Bojkov collection—25.0 cm.¹³⁰

From the Eastern Black Sea region, I know of a find of one type A3220 amphora, originating from Dedoplist Gora—ca. 48 cm high (with a reconstructed diameter of about 28 cm, because part of the vessel body has not been preserved).¹³¹

J. Gorecki suggested that the dimensions of the amphoras could be tied to the Roman foot.¹³² S. Pfisterer-Haas notes that, judging by the size, amphoras of this type had two standards: small one with a height of ca. 24 cm and large one—approx. 35 cm.¹³³ B. Bienert defines these standards as a small one—less than 20 cm and a large one—20–45 cm.¹³⁴ Our observations allow us to call into question the conclusion about the two standards of amphoras of the type A3220 and to doubt that the standards of vessels could be tied to one linear dimension, their height. Most likely, nevertheless, if we are to try to single out some standard sizes, then it is obvious that they should be associated not with the height, but with the volume of the vessels.

The sizes comparable with the finds from Sarmatian burials (mainly in the range from 40 to 44 cm) have only 4 (from 60) finds from Pompeii. Therefore, it can be argued that such large amphoras were not typical for Pompeii. With rare exceptions, such large amphoras are not typical of Western and Central Europe either. On the contrary, they predominate in Thrace, although some ‘small amphoras’ have been found here. Thus, it is obvious that finds of the type A3220 amphoras from Sarmatia are represented by the largest specimens of this type (Fig. 13). Given the significant variation in their size, this fact can hardly be considered a coincidence. As it was the case with the basins¹³⁵, the largest specimens were acquired here. Given the distribution of amphoras, there are serious arguments against attributing them as ‘Italian’ imports. Otherwise, it should be recognized that it was a special, ‘export’ version of the amphoras.

Joint finds and contexts

Most often, amphoras of the types under discussion in the Sarmatian burials were found together with basins of various types¹³⁶ and *Blechkanne*.¹³⁷

In the funeral feast III of the Khokhlach, together with intact and fragmented amphoras of types A3212 and 3220, two *Blechkanne* were found, as well as a silver jug with a lid.¹³⁸ In the funeral feast

126 ONURKAN 1988, 70–71, no. 68, Fig. 32, Pl. 41.b.

127 MARAZOV et al. 2005, 186–187, no. 234.

128 RAEV 1977a, 636, Nr. 16a, Taf. 36.1; BUJUKLIEV 1986, 70, no. 87, Pl. 8; KALČEV 1994, 229, Abb. 4; 232, Nr. 4; REHO 2015, 46, no. 33.

129 RAEV 1977a, 636, Nr. 16b, Taf. 37.1; BUJUKLIEV 1986, 65, no. 18, Pl. 2; KALČEV 1994, 228, Abb. 3; 232, Nr. 5.

130 MARAZOV et al. 2005, 185, no. 231.

131 LÖHR 2008, 155–156, 160, no. 1, Pl. 60; Pl. 64.

132 GORECKI 1993, 231, Anm. 12.

133 PFISTERER-HAAS 2019, 138.

134 BIENERT 2007, 13.

135 TREISTER 2020d, 34, Fig. 15.

136 TREISTER 2020d, 28–29.

137 TREISTER 2018a, 228, 229, Pl. 1.

138 *Blechkanne*, see: ZASETSKAYA 2011, 230–231, Fig. 124a; 234, Pl. 7; 266, no. 27; TREISTER 2018a, 218–219, 221–223, Figs 3–5. Jug with a lid: RAEV 1978, 90; RAEV 1979, 236; RAEV 1986, 15, Pl. 10; TREISTER 2004,

of the Bagaevsky mound no. 14/1961, together with an amphora of the A3220 type (Eggers 129), a casserole of the Eggers 136 / Tassinari G1110 type (lost)¹³⁹ and a basin of Eggers 97/ Tassinari S3100 type¹⁴⁰ were found.

Against this background, a set of vessels from Kunchukokhabl stands out, where, together with an amphora of the A3220 type (Eggers 129) a basin of the Eggers 99–106 type,¹⁴¹ and a jug of Eggers 127 type,¹⁴² were found, as well as the set from the funeral feast in the destroyed burial in the burial mound of Gorelyy-I cemetery, which included besides amphora a *Blechkanne*¹⁴³ and a basin of Eggers 99 type.¹⁴⁴ In the burial no. 1 of the burial mound no. 9/1987 of the Valovyy-I necropolis, the amphora was accompanied by a bronze oinochoe¹⁴⁵ and a casserole of the Eggers 143 type.¹⁴⁶ Finally in the funeral feast of burial no. 1 of the Bagaevsky kurgan no. 13/1960 together with an amphora, a basin of the Eggers 96 / Tassinari S2121 type¹⁴⁷ and an askos of the Late Republican type¹⁴⁸ were found.

The circumstances of the find do not allow us to determine accurately the position of the amphora and the sex of the buried in the ruined burial in the burial mound near the aul of Konchukokhabl.

In four cases, bronze amphoras were found in burial mounds in the Lower Don and in the Lower Volga region. In all cases, these were remains of funeral feasts associated with the central burial, which, in at least two cases, was female (Khokhlach, Gorelyy). Probably, judging by the finds of glass and gold beads, a woman was also buried in Bagaevsky mound no. 13/1960.

Only in one case—the amphora was found directly in the grave—of a young woman in burial no. 1 of the burial mound no. 9/1987 of the Valovyy-I cemetery.

Thus, an obvious connection between the finds of bronze amphoras and female burials and, especially, the funeral feasts associated with them can be traced. Similar distribution—mainly from graves (but not funeral feasts) with female burials dating from the middle of the 1st to the early 2nd century AD, also show bronze casseroles of early types 131, 136, 137, 140, 144, according to the classification of H.-J. Eggers, while later casseroles of types 142, 143 and imitations of casseroles of type 140 are found both in female and male Late Sarmatian burials.¹⁴⁹

It is worth noting that, with rare exceptions, in cases where the sex of the buried is known, bronze imported basins of types Eggers 99–106, which begin to reach nomads no later than second half of the 1st century AD, i.e. almost simultaneously with amphoras, were found in male burials.

455–458, Fig. 4; ZASETSKAYA 2011, 226–227, Fig. 120; 267, no. 25.

139 KROPOTKIN 1970, 25, no. 55; 92, no. 788; RAEV 1986, 28–29, Pl. 22.1; GLUKHOV 2005, 16, Fig. 11.2; TREISTER 2020b, 6.

140 KAPOSHINA 1965, 50; KAPOSHINA 1967b, 147; KROPOTKIN 1970, 92, no. 788, Fig. 55.1; RAEV 1986, 21–22, Pl. 16; GLUKHOV 2005, 17, Fig. 13.1.

141 KROPOTKIN 1970, 90, no. 769a, MARČENKO – LIMBERIS 2008, 279, 356, Nr. 74.3, Taf. 109.2; RAEV 2013, 165, Fig. 3.3; 168–170.

142 KROPOTKIN 1970, 90, no. 769b, Fig. 59.5; MARČENKO – LIMBERIS 2008, 356, Nr. 74.2, Taf. 109.1; RAEV 2013, 166–168, Fig. 3.2; Fig. 4.3.

143 BALANOVSKIY – TIKHONOV 2009, 14, no. 3, Fig. 6; TREISTER 2018a, 219, 224–225, Figs 6–7.

144 BALANOVSKIY – TIKHONOV 2009, 14, no. 2, Figs 4–5; TREISTER 2020d, 9, no. 3, Fig. 4.2; Figs 5–6.

145 BESPALYIY et al. 2007, 33, no. 46, Pl. 34.2; BEZUGLOV et al. 2009, 30, Fig. 13.3; Fig. 45; Fig. 83; TREISTER 2019a, Fig. 4.2; TREISTER 2019b, 177, Fig. 19.2,5.

146 BESPALYIY et al. 2007, 31, no. 34, Pl. 33.4; BEZUGLOV et al. 2009, 30, Fig. 13.4; 38; TREISTER 2020a, 13, 31.

147 KAPOSHINA 1967a, 210–211; KAPOSHINA 1967b, 147; RAEV 1977b, 141, Fig. 3; RAEV 1986, 18–21, Pls 13–14; WAMERS – STUTZINGER 2003, 107, Nr. 70.

148 KROPOTKIN 1970, 24, no. 42; 92, no. 788; RAEV 1977a, 624, Anm. 111; TREISTER 2019c, 149–150, Fig. 3; TREISTER 2020a, 71–74, Fig. 17.

149 TREISTER 2020b, 36–38.

The exception is the find in a female burial with numerous bronze vessels in Chuguno-Krepinka (burial mound no. 2/1984, burial no. 1).¹⁵⁰ Only in one case, fragments of the basin were found in the funeral feast of the barrow with a female burial (Kobyakovo cemetery, burial mound no. 10/1987¹⁵¹). *Blechkanne*¹⁵² were found both in female burials (Chuguno-Krepinka, burial mound no. 2/1984, burial no. 1¹⁵³) and feasts associated with them (Khokhlach¹⁵⁴), and in male ones.

The dating of the complexes with amphoras in Eastern Europe

The finds in the funeral feast of the Bagaevsky kurgan no. 14/1961 of three light-clay narrow-necked amphoras of type Shelov A, or CIVA, after the classification of S.Yu. Vnukov, allow us to date this complex within the broad framework from the second quarter to the end of 1st century AD.¹⁵⁵ A subvariant of amphoras found in this mound, CIVA₂, dates from the 60s AD until the end of the century,¹⁵⁶ which, according to Leo Klein, may testify in favour of the dating the burial to the 80s AD.¹⁵⁷

The proximity of the sets of appliqués in the cache in the burial mound at the settlement of Dachi near Azov, the complex, which is fairly reliably dated to the last quarter of the 1st century AD, also basing on the finds in the remains of the funeral feast of light-clay amphoras of type B,¹⁵⁸ and from the Khokhlach burial mound, in which two bronze jugs of the *Blechkanne* type were found, allows to date the complex from Khokhlach to the same¹⁵⁹ or somewhat later period of the late 1st – early 2nd century AD.¹⁶⁰

In the burial mound no. 1/2003 of the Gorelyy-I cemetery, the amphora was found together with a narrow-necked light clay amphora of the CIVC type,¹⁶¹ dated to the end of the last third of the 1st – the first half of the 2nd century AD (after D. B. Shelov) or from the second quarter to the late 2nd century AD (after S. Yu. Vnukov). A red-glazed cup¹⁶² of the Form 30,¹⁶³ belongs to the middle of the 2nd century AD.¹⁶⁴ Thus, there are good reasons for dating the burial to the middle of the 2nd century AD at the earliest.

Thus, the data at our disposal indicate that bronze amphoras of the types under consideration begin to arrive in Sarmatia, primarily being widespread in the Lower Don area, no later than the second half of the 1st century AD, while they were found in the complexes dating from the middle of the second half of the 1st to the middle of the 2nd century AD.

150 SIMONENKO 2008, 19, 66, Nr. 70.4, Taf. 60; BĂRCĂ 2009, 107, Fig. 7.3; SIMONENKO 2011, 57, 59, Fig. 36; 170, no. 5.4; VELIČKO 2013, 419, 423, Nr. 20.4; TREISTER 2020b, 19, no. 14, Figs 12–13; Fig. 26; Figs 28–29; Fig. 31.

151 TREISTER 2020d, 30.

152 TREISTER 2018a, 216–238.

153 SIMONENKO 2008, 66, Nr. 70.3, Taf. 59; SIMONENKO 2011, 63–65, Fig. 42.1, color photo 9; VELIČKO 2013, 419, 423, Nr. 20.3; TREISTER 2018a, 218–219, note 8: no. 6; 228.

154 ZASETSKAYA 2011, 230–231, Fig. 124a; 234, Pl. 7; 266, no. 27; TREISTER 2018a, 218–219, 221–223, Figs 3–5.

155 VNUKOV 2016, 40–41.

156 VNUKOV 2006, 157–158.

157 KLEIN 2016, 194.

158 VNUKOV 2006, 167; VNUKOV 2016, 41; TREISTER 2018b, 153.

159 TREISTER 2018b, 153.

160 ZASETSKAYA 2011, 254.

161 BALANOVSKIY – TIKHONOV 2009, 14–15, no. 4, Fig. 7.

162 BALANOVSKIY – TIKHONOV 2009, 10, no. 1, Fig. 8.

163 ZHURAVLEV 2010, Form 30.

164 Attribution by D. V. Zhuravlev.

Results of metal analyses

The walls of the amphoras are made of tin bronze with tin concentrations in the range of 8–14%. It is somewhat higher in the rim of the amphora from Khokhlach (13–16%). The handles of this amphora and the amphora from Bagaevskiy Kurgan no. 14/1961 are cast from tin-lead bronze with different concentrations of tin: in the first case—11–14%, in the second—5–7% at rather low concentrations of lead: 1–3 and 2–4%, respectively (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1. The results of X-ray fluorescence analysis (%) of bronze amphoras of the types A3212 and A3220. Brüker spectrometer analysis (analyst S.V. Khavrin, 2016).

Sample no.	Inv. no.	Origin	Cu	As	Sn	Pb	Sb	Ag	Zn	Fe	Ni
Amphoras of Tassinari A3212 type											
<i>Khokhlach burial mound. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage</i>											
04-1	2213/39	Rim	base	–	13–16	traces	–	–	–	<0,2	–
04-2	2213/39	Body	base	traces	10–12	<0,3	–	traces	–	<0,3	–
04-3	2213/39	Handle	base	–	11–14	1–3	–	–	traces	<0,4	–
04-4	2213/39	Rivet on the handle	base	–	traces	<0,4	–	traces	–	<0,2	–
Amphoras of Tassinari A3220 type											
<i>Gorelyy-I. Burial mound no. 1/2003. Engels, Local Lore Museum</i>											
BR33	15884/1, 2	Wall near the bottom	base	traces	10–14	–	–	–	–	<0,2	–
<i>Khokhlach burial mound. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage</i>											
01-1	2213/41	Handle	base	traces	10–12	traces	–	–	<0,6	сл.	
<i>Bagaevskiy burial mound no. 14/1961. Burial no. 1. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage</i>											
10-1		Rim	base	traces	8–10	traces	traces	–	–	<0,3	–
10-2		Wall	base	traces	8–9	traces	traces	traces	–	<0,3	–
10-3		Handle	base	–	5–7	2–4	–	–	traces	traces	–
10-4		Bottom	base	traces	9–11	traces	traces	–	–	<0,3	–

A separate handle from Khokhlach has tin admixtures of 10–12% in the absence of lead additives and a rather high zinc content (less than 0.6%) (See: Tab. 1, analysis no. 01-1).

We have at our disposal a rich comparative material of metal analyses of amphoras of types A3212 and A3220 from Pompeii,¹⁶⁵ which shows the following.

The walls of amphoras of A3212 type are made of very homogeneous tin bronze with stable tin concentrations of about 9.5%, which roughly corresponds to the accepted at that time recipe for alloys with a ratio of copper to tin of about 91:9.¹⁶⁶ Amphora handles were cast from tin-lead bronze with relatively stable tin concentrations from 7.4 to 12.4% and highly variable lead impurities: from 1.7 to 22%.¹⁶⁷

165 RIEDERER 2008, 144–151; GORECKI et al. 2014, 192, 218–222.

166 RIEDERER 2008, 145–146; GORECKI et al. 2014, 192, 218.

167 RIEDERER 2008, 145–146; GORECKI et al. 2014, 192, 218.

The walls of amphora of A3220 type from Pompeii are made of tin bronze, with tin concentrations varying from 6.5 to 10.5% and their average values lower than in amphoras of A3212 type.¹⁶⁸ The alloys from which the handles are cast are also tin–lead bronzes, which are also characterized by highly differing lead contents (2.1–27.2%), however, the tin concentration varies within wider limits (4.7–12.2%), than in amphoras of A3212 type.¹⁶⁹ Among the micro impurities, the relatively stable and high iron content—0.16%, which is characteristic both for the walls and the bottoms and handles of vessels, attracts attention.¹⁷⁰

The analyses of amphoras from Sarmatia, despite the difference in their accuracy due to the X-ray fluorescence analysis, generally show similar alloy recipes, for both walls and handles. Noteworthy are the relatively low concentrations of lead in the metal of the handles from Khokhlach and Bagaevskiy kurgan no. 14/1961 and the fact that a separate handle of the amphora from Khokhlach was cast from tin bronze without admixture of lead, which is absolutely not typical for amphoras from Pompeii.

Conclusion

There are no separate statistics on the distribution of finds of Roman bronze amphoras in Italy and the provinces of the Roman Empire. In the recently published calculations made by J. Gorecki, amphoras are not singled out (probably they were included in the ‘jugs’ category, and in German literature they are usually called not amphoras, but two-handed jugs—*Doppelhenkelkrüge*), but even in this case, with the jugs being the most common find in Pompeii (approx. 19%),¹⁷¹ they were practically unknown (approx. 1%): among the finds from Roman legionary camps of the Julius–Claudian period¹⁷² and among the bronze vessels of the 1st – early 2nd centuries AD found in the Barbaricum,¹⁷³ where the bronze amphora with lost handles from Hesselby in Uppland (Sweden),¹⁷⁴ included in the list of amphora of type 129 still by H.-J. Eggers, remains the only rare example.

In general, in the territory of Western Europe, the amphoras under discussion, in addition to Italy, were relatively widespread in Eastern and Southern Gaul and in the Lower Rhine region. In the territory of Eastern Europe, their finds are concentrated in two regions: Thrace and Asian Sarmatia, and only one amphora was found further to the east—in Transcaucasia.

The overwhelming majority of amphoras from Pompeii were small in size with the height in the range of 17–33 cm, within which two peaks with values of 19–23 cm and 25–27 cm, stand out. Amphoras higher than 33 cm in Pompeii are extremely rare. Finds from the Moselle and Lower Rhine regions show a distribution very similar to that from Pompeii. The percentage of large amphoras is higher among the finds from France and Switzerland, but here, too, amphoras with a height from 17.4 to 24.7 cm prevail. The sizes comparable with the finds from Sarmatian burials (mainly in the range from 40 to 44 cm) have only 4 (from 60) finds from Pompeii. Therefore, it can be argued that such large amphoras were not typical of either Pompeii or Western and Central Europe. On the contrary, they predominate in Thrace, although a small number of ‘small amphoras’ have been found here.

168 RIEDERER 2008, 146–148; GORECKI et al. 2014, 219–222.

169 RIEDERER 2008, 148; GORECKI et al. 2014, 219–222.

170 RIEDERER 2008, 150.

171 GORECKI 2016, 202, Abb. 13.

172 GORECKI 2016, 203, Abb. 14.

173 GORECKI 2016, 204, Abb. 15.

174 MALMÖ MUSEER 1997, 156–157, no. 423.

Attention is drawn to a rather significant number of bronze amphoras found in the burials of the nomads of Asian Sarmatia, more than half of which originate from the so-called ‘princely’¹⁷⁵ burials in the Lower Don region of the second half of the 1st – early 2nd century AD and a clear correlation of the finds with the remains of the funeral feasts associated with central female burials in the mounds. Only in Thrace a larger number of bronze amphoras was found (also in relation to the total number of the Roman bronze vessels).¹⁷⁶ To compare—in Dacia only two fragments related to the amphoras were found¹⁷⁷). In the Bosporan Kingdom, as well as in the cemeteries of the South-Western Crimea of the first centuries AD, no bronze amphoras were found. They were also not found in the burials of the nomads to the west of the Don.

It is obvious that the distribution of amphoras in Asian Sarmatia differs from other categories of imported bronzeware, including those of the same period, for example, casseroles¹⁷⁸ or basins.¹⁷⁹

Most researchers assume that bronze amphoras were used as parts of sets for drinking (water or wine)¹⁸⁰ or for ablution.¹⁸¹ Also the point of view that small amphoras with a rounded body could be used as table vessels, while large ones (to which practically all amphoras from Sarmatia belong)—for storing water for washing deserves attention.¹⁸²

The penetration of a relatively large number of amphoras to the nomads gives reason to assume that such vessels were in some demand among the latter. This partly explains the acquisition of the largest amphoras by the Sarmatians. One gets the impression that it was not by chance that large amphoras, which were probably not in demand either in Italy or in the provinces, although they were occasionally found there, were brought to Thrace and Sarmatia. If this is so (and I cannot find another explanation), then such large vessels could have been specially made with a view to the Thracian and Sarmatian aristocracy.

Of course, this was not the only way of penetration of large bronze amphoras to the Sarmatians.

If we consider the Latin inscription on the neck of the amphora from the Valovyy-I necropolis, as the owner’s inscription, and there is every reason for this, then the question arises as to how a large bronze vessel, dating, most likely, within the mid–third quarter of the 1st century AD and belonging to Cornelia Quartilla, probably a Roman citizen, found its way in the burial of a young nomadic woman in a Sarmatian Burial-mound near Tanais, dating to the first half–mid-2nd century AD?

F. V. Shelov-Kovedyaev assumed that either the amphora could have been captured by the Alans during their raids into Asia Minor, or it first came to the Bosphorus (either with the owner herself, or with one of the Bosporan Greeks who brought it from Asia Minor) and already in the Kingdom of Bosphorus was given to the nomads as a gift or tribute.¹⁸³

In my opinion, any connection of the amphora in question with Asia Minor is unlikely, considering the fact that such amphoras are almost unknown there so far. In my opinion, remaining for the deduction of ‘Asia Minor versions,’ the assumption that Cornelia Quartilla herself, along with her

175 ZASETSKAYA 2011, 256, note 48.

176 See RAEV 1977a, 622–624; ONURKAN 1988, 69–71, Figs 29–33; Pls 39–41; KALČEV 1994, 227–232; BOJKOVA 1997, 73, Fig. 15; KOÇEL ERDEM 2009, 214, no. 1; 218–220, Drawing 1, Figs 7–8; 221; NENOVA-MERDJANOVA 2011, 116–117, Fig. 4.

177 MUSTAȚĂ 2017, 116–117.

178 TREISTER 2020b, 5–60.

179 TREISTER 2020d, 5–48.

180 KOSTER 1997, 41.

181 SELDMAYER 1999, 39; NENOVA-MERDJANOVA 2002, 201.

182 BANGHARD – GORECKI 2004, 199; MUSTAȚĂ 2017, 117.

183 SHELOV-KOVEDYAEV 2001, 120–121.

amphora, could, for example, as the wife of a Roman officer, have ended up in the Bosphorus, has more grounds for existence.

I suppose that Cornelia Quartilla herself, along with her amphora, could have ended up in the Bosphorus as the wife of one of the senior Roman officers and this could happen only during the stay of the troops of Didius Gallus in the Cimmerian Bosphorus during the Bosporan–Roman war of 45–49 AD.

It is well known that wives and even children accompanied their husbands (fathers) not only to live with them in the forts, but also during military expeditions—the restrictions on accompanying their husbands for senior officers were lifted in 21 AD.¹⁸⁴ A close example, both chronologically and geographically, is a woman with a son who accompanied Caesennius Paetus to Armenia in 61–62 AD during the campaign against the Parthians. As reported by Tacitus (Tac. Ann XV.10,6): “His wife and son found concealment in a fortress known as Arsamosata, to which he allowed a cohort by way of garrison; thus dispersing a force which, if concentrated, might have coped more effectively with its shifting adversary.”¹⁸⁵

According to the Roman law, getting married, a woman did not lose the right of ownership to her inherited or acquired items.¹⁸⁶ In this case, taking into account the dating of the amphora, its way to the nomads could take place only during the stay of the troops of Didius Gallus in the Cimmerian Bosphorus during the Bosporan–Roman war, and the amphora itself could, for example, were given to the Aorsi led by the King Eunon, during the embassy, which was sent to him by Gaius Julius Aquila and Cotys (Tac. Ann. XII, 15.2). In the course of these events, as we assumed on the basis of the data available to us, bronze casseroles of the Eggers 131, 136, 137 and 140 types also fell to the nomads.¹⁸⁷

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184 STOLL 2006, 264–270; ALLISON 2011, 164, 169–170, 177.

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