

Imports and Local Imitations of Hellenistic Pottery in the Northwest Black Sea Area: Hadra and Pseudo-Hadra Wares

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The aim of this paper is to give a brief overview of the imports and local imitations of Hellenistic painted pottery in the Hadra style found in the northwest Black Sea area. Study of the imitations in connection with the imports from the South Mediterranean reveals important differences that emerged as local traditions modified the imported prototypes. The manufacture of such imitations is fairly well attested in the northwestern part of the Black Sea, in particular in the colonies of the littoral, from Olbia and Chersonesos to the north, to Kallatis, Tomis and Histria to the west. At these sites, alongside Hellenistic wares with painted decoration in the canonical Hadra style, less orthodox pieces of careless manufacture interpreted as local imitations are found, too. Subsequently, regional variants developed in the indigenous hinterland, not always clearly reminiscent of the new colonial models. Such imitative vessels from different regions and chronological periods and reflecting various technologies are gathered here under the flexible term Pseudo-Hadra pottery.

Previous researchers, in rare instances, have identified these Pontic vessels with painted decoration as imitations of Hadra style, but no general study of the broader group has been undertaken. In 1941, T.N. Knipovič published a comprehensive study of Hellenistic painted vases from Northern Black Sea sites (Olbia, Chersonesos), referring to local imitations of Hadra hydriai and providing a better picture of their manufacture and painted patterns than had previously existed.¹ Since Knipovič's publication, some pieces related to the Hadra style have received further study by K.I. Zajceva² and I.G. Šurgaja,³ and useful batches of material from North Pontic sites have been published. In the literature on Western Pontos, papers on Hadra vases are scarce, and the few scholars who attempted to identify their fabric did not dwell on the problems of their origin.⁴ Instead, they focused their attention on the presence of Hellenistic painted pottery in archaeological excavations and found it hard to trace their origin. Nevertheless, the technical features, the range of shapes and decorative patterns observed on this kind of pottery make it possible to distinguish the products of individual Pontic centres and allow us to draw some preliminary conclusions.

A group of 16 fragments of painted pottery from Histria, most of them de-

rising from M. Lambrino's excavations in 1927-1942, was published long ago by P. Alexandrescu,⁵ who believed the fragments to be Late Geometric Rhodian. J. Boardman later classified them as part of the 4th-century BC Histrian group of white-slip pottery.⁶ More recently, we identified some pieces of this group as representing Pontic versions of the Hadra pottery most often associated with the southern Mediterranean.⁷ Thirty-four small fragments of pots of various shapes imitating Hadra vessels were thus identified in our publication from 2003 based on finds from Histria and other sites in Romania. This number has since increased. Identification is based on technical and stylistic similarities with those in buff or reddish buff clay associated with the Mediterranean Hadra style. In some cases a complete shape was tentatively reconstructed.

Hadra style pottery: definition

Hadra style pottery is commonly defined by its decorative technique.⁸ Typically, the Hadra style makes use of added colour – usually red, brown, reddish brown, and white, which was applied over the white (*White-Ground Class*) or clay ground of the vases (*Clay-Ground Class*).⁹ The red-on-white technique appears to be more typical of Alexandrian fabrics; other colours applied on the clay ground are more common in Cretan production.¹⁰ In general, both techniques occur on closed shapes of larger sizes, e.g. water- or honey-containers of the hydria shape, especially intended as cinerary urns in the well-known eponymous cemetery in Alexandria as well as elsewhere, but also on kraters, pyxides, and jugs.

According to current research, besides the main centres of Alexandria and Crete, this pottery was imitated in various Aegean centres, the most active of which seem to have been Rhodes,¹¹ Lesbos,¹² and Western Anatolia.¹³

The *Clay-Ground Class* of the Hadra style originated in Crete rather than in Egypt, and most examples seem to date between ca. 260 and 190 BC or later.¹⁴ Crete in particular produced Hadra vessels, usually of a quite good quality, made of fine clay, well-finished, sometimes with a fairly lustrous surface. The archaeological evidence suggests Knossos and Phaistos as major centres of manufacture.¹⁵ Some imported vessels found on Pontic sites, especially hydriai from the Northern Black Sea,¹⁶ or a pyxis from Tomis (Fig. 1),¹⁷ appear to be very close in fabric to the Cretan specimens.

The *White-Ground* vases, made in Alexandria as well as Knossos, have been found in small quantities in the Black Sea area in some of the necropoleis of Hellenistic date. One Hadra hydria made of red, friable clay and decorated with polychrome ornamentation painted *a tempera* on a white-slipped ground, which was found in the Hellenistic necropolis of Kallatis (Fig. 2),¹⁸ is clearly of Egyptian manufacture. The wall fragment of a hydria painted with laurel garland in red on white ground (Fig. 3), published by Zajceva,¹⁹ belongs to the Laurel group, dated ca. 260-230 BC. It is very similar to another fragment found in Hadra Station.²⁰



Fig. 1: Pyxis, Tomis. (photo by V. Lungu).



Fig. 2: Alexandrian Hadra hydria, Kallatis. (photo by V. Lungu).

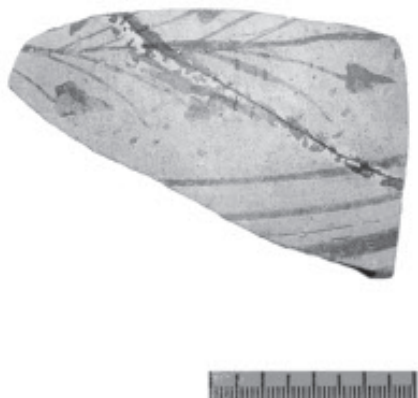


Fig. 3: Hadra hydria, Olbia. (photo by P. Dupont).

The number of southeastern Mediterranean/Aegean Hadra products identified on sites of the Black Sea region is not very high, but was sufficient to induce the manufacture of local imitations. Technical similarities between South Mediterranean Hadra vessels, Cretan or Alexandrian, and Histrian sherds are noteworthy. Fine brush painting on white- or clay-ground found on pottery made in light-coloured Pontic clay should be understood as imitating Mediterranean Hadra pottery. Such light-coloured surface with fine dark painting for matt-painted vases could just as well be seen as imitating 'dark on light-ware', 'lustrous decorated ware', or other types of contemporaneous

categories of painted pottery in the Aegean. The contact zones were most probably the coastal Greek colonies, which have provided the most significant finds. Seemingly, the identification by some scholars of local fragments from Olbia as locally made imitations under the influence of Cretan imports in Ptolemaic times was based on technical criteria. Similarly, the derivation of Pontic White-Ground pottery is seen in close association with lagynoi and associated painted white-ground wares. Thus, they could explain the spread of the White-Ground class in the Aegean in connection with the continuous development of Ptolemaic influence in these regions.

The extent and nature of imitative practice arising in the Pseudo-Hadra pottery, however, is much more complex. An analysis of shapes, decorative schemes and chronology reveals the diversity of paths taken by imitation of Mediterranean Hadra pottery in late Hellenistic Greek and indigenous centers in the Pontic region.

Shapes and fabrics

Early imports from the South Mediterranean to the Black Sea were dominated by Hadra hydriai of Crete and Alexandria, but when Pseudo-Hadra ware production was developed most local products took the form of kraters, jugs, lagynoi or amphorae. The locally made specimen most closely related to its imported prototype is a hydria from Tomis (Figs. 7-8), which is characterized by elongated proportions without a sharp transition between body and shoulder. The body is completely covered by various motifs, widespread in the Hadra style, distributed in successive friezes. At Histria and Tomis, the most significant features are the particular shape of kraters in middle size or miniature, as well as evidence of a local manufacture of hydriai. The Histrian krater appears as an original creation of the 2nd century BC and as an *unicum* within the corpus of Northwest Pontic Pseudo-Hadra style. It has a carinated profile of the mouth, with outcurving rim underlined by scraped grooves, rounded shoulder, ring base and twisted handles. This type is not common among the Black Sea imports but is attested in considerable quantities among the Histrian and Tomitan local products. Certain sites in the Northern Black Sea have provided original variants of classical shapes, such as a column krater from the Crimea decorated in Pseudo-Hadra style.²¹ Higher up the Danube valley is a different pattern of Hellenistic painted ceramics. There, jugs prevail along with some exceptionally decorated amphorae. Some jugs from Olbia, Taman' and Myrmekion²² indicate that the shape with large proportions was well-established there by the 3rd-early 2nd century BC, and it was very popular throughout the North Pontic basin. A Pseudo-Hadra shape, which rarely appears in the Southern Mediterranean,²³ was borrowed from transport amphorae. Painted amphorae of standard or fractional types are present in Chersonesos,²⁴ Kerinitis²⁵ and Olbia (Odessa Museum).²⁶ The standard shape manufactured by the workshops of Chersonesos bears painted decoration of

vegetal motifs in brown over the clay ground, and finds at Kerkinitis indicate that it was exported to the region of Northern Black Sea. Conversely, the amphora in Odessa is a fractional form in white-ground style with red painted decoration: olive garland with dots on the neck, simple scroll garland on the shoulder and bands on the body, similar to a jug of Taman' Tuzla and to another in Olbia.²⁷ The fabric, style and colours of these vases are remarkably close. Despite these important similarities, it is still difficult to establish that they all come from the same centre placed most probably at Olbia, although this suggestion is indirectly supported by present evidence. Moreover, it was assumed, long ago, that Chersonesos was one of the most important centres of the Hellenistic painted pottery in Northern Black Sea, which was involved in a regional trade.²⁸ But the exact relationship between the small painted amphora of Olbia and the Chersonesian type remains unclear.

Pseudo-Hadra vases are made of various clays, generally fine, smooth buff, light brown or reddish, neatly-breaking, occasionally containing mica or lumps of lime. The painted field appears fairly lustrous and sometimes shows a pronounced metallic shine. The vases are carefully decorated on both neck and body with florals such as leaves, spiral tendrils, ivy garland, or geometrical friezes and fillets of variable width, especially distributed on the lower part of the body. This general description, however, covers a wide range of local variation. Histria has also produced some fragments of vases in gray fabric (Fig. 19, the third from left on the first row and the second from left on the bottom row), on which the motifs are similar to those on certain buff or reddish buff clay vases, so there is good reason to claim that the same workshop executed both despite the different colours of the fabric. At Tomis, the brown paint is darker and both design and compositional syntax differ from those attested in Histria, Olbia and Chersonesos. At Olbia some vegetal motifs are treated in a very original style, without parallels at any other Pontic site.²⁹

Decorative motifs

The occurrence in Pontic decorated pottery of many motifs, which are commonly found on both the White- and the Clay-Ground classes of genuine Cretan Hadra style, should be interpreted as an imitation of them. Similarities extend beyond simple decorative motifs (olive branches, waves, myrtle garland, palmettes etc.). Instead, the Pontic imitations follow the complex compositional schemes of the Mediterranean prototypes in both the structure of patterns and the syntax. Generally, the range of decorative schemes is fairly limited and repetitive, but compositions do vary from one region to another, from one period to another. These variations can involve the motifs of myrtle crown, scroll or large-scale garland, ivy garland, floral garland, large leaf garland, running waves, bead and reel (astragal), hanging beads (necklace), net pattern, cross-in-square with arrowhead filler (or schematic boucrania?),

bands in different variations, all of which appear far more frequently in Cretan Hadra pottery.

Myrtle crown

Popular around the neck of the orthodox Hadra style hydriai, the myrtle crown is also attested on local Pontic shapes such as amphorae, jugs, hydriai and krateriskoi. This very characteristic motif finds counterparts on a hydria in Kallatis.³⁰ It shows a simplified stage of ornamental composition of a myrtle crown, which usually appears on the vases of the *Peintre du Laurier sans Branches*, ca. 260-225 BC.³¹ The myrtle crown on the hydria in Kallatis has small leaves and loses the middle leaf of the groups of three leaves; it also receives more white dots as berries. A similar representation appears on a large jug from Belozerskoe.³²

This kind of garland on local products is rather simple, with small leaves, appearing mostly around the neck of jugs at Olbia, Myrmekion, Taman', Tyras, and Kalos Limen,³³ but occasionally also on larger vessels like amphorae of the 3rd-2nd century BC in Chersonesos.³⁴ Examples from Olbia, Myrmekion, Taman', Tyras, and Chersonesos share stylistic similarities. On vessels from these sites, the same garland is arranged between two pointed lines, but the colour is red on the Olbian vase and brown on the Chersonesean one, a difference which indicates that there were probably two different contemporary productions. Related specimens from the Crimea, Kerkinitis³⁵ and Theodosia,³⁶ with long thin leaves in a careless execution, might be interpreted as showing a degenerated variant of this motif.

Scroll or large-scale garland

One of the patterns most commonly found on the vessels of the 3rd-1st century BC consists of a scroll or large-scale garland with long, multiple, undulating stems in red or brownish-red, which runs along the shoulder of the vase. It occurs on various shapes but most commonly on hydriai, jugs and amphorae (e.g., the hydria from Kallatis, Fig. 4 and 4a).³⁷ A large jug from Belozerskoe³⁸ shows a very similar representation of the same garland, alternating with a laurel wreath on the neck. There are many common features in shape, style and decoration, which invite us to place this jug within the same workshop as the hydria from Kallatis. A close variant of the same motif is found again on another large jug of the first half of the 3rd century BC from Nikolaevka in the Northern Black Sea area.³⁹ It also occurs on several small fragments from different 3rd-2nd century BC sites of the Crimea,⁴⁰ and on one complete jug in Taman'.⁴¹ On a large amphora from Chersonesos, only partially preserved, the same motif appears on the shoulder.⁴² A new, local, more simplified version of the motif consists in simple curling tendrils; it appears on a few pieces in two rural settlements Borduşani and Vlădiceasca in Southern Romania,⁴³ certainly as imports, in Chersonesos,⁴⁴ Tyras⁴⁵ and in Taman'⁴⁶ on the North Pontic coast, all dating from the turn of the 2nd to the 1st century BC.



Fig. 4: Hydria, Pseudo-Hadra style, Kallatis (photo and drawing by V. Lungu).

Ivy garland

A shoulder fragment of a large jug from Histria (Fig. 5),⁴⁷ shows a combination of an ivy garland with a simple scroll or large garland in brown. Close parallels link this ivy garland to a series of Histrian kraters (Fig. 6).⁴⁸ On some Hellenistic pieces from the Northern Black Sea (e.g., from Olbia and Myrmekion⁴⁹), the motif appears in a more elaborate design, with large leaves



Fig. 5: Jug (fragment of the shoulder with neck) in Pseudo-Hadra style, Histria (photo by P. Dupont).

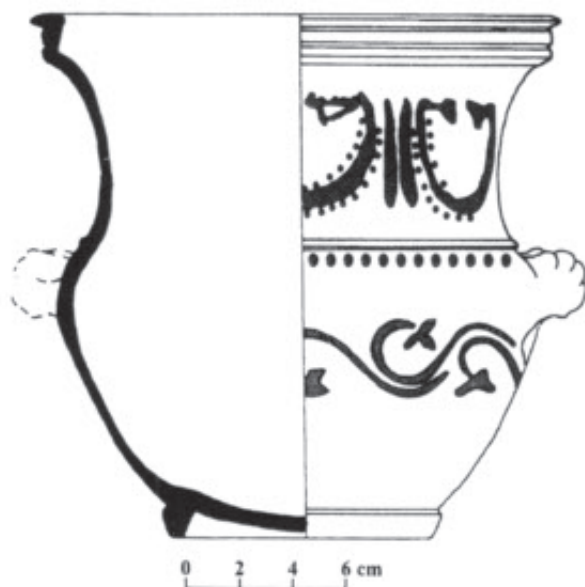


Fig. 6: Krater in Hadra style, Histria (Drawing after Alexandrescu 1993, fig. 12a).

carefully painted. The motif is attested in a similar style on a complete trefoil jug in Gorgippia⁵⁰ made in the same fabric and with a polished surface; all seem to belong together as the production of the same workshop. They are similar to some fragmentary pieces from Chios suggested by J.K. Anderson to have been manufactured on the coast of Asia Minor.⁵¹ The shapes with round shoulder and the style of the ivy garland with large leaves connect these pieces to a Hadra hydria of ca. 235-220 BC in Athens.⁵² The motif appears also on an Olbian bell-krater with small, well-formed leaves alternating with dot rosettes,⁵³ and on the shoulder of a jug from Nymphaion.⁵⁴ Similar decoration occurs on genuine Hadra hydriai⁵⁵ and on Rhodian and Cretan kraters,⁵⁶ displaying the same pattern as on white lagynoi from Delos,⁵⁷ on metallic cylindrical pyxides,⁵⁸ and on a gold diadem in Olbia.⁵⁹ They follow contemporary decorative patterns found on West Slope, Hadra vases and metal objects, where this motive was extremely popular.

Floral garlands

Floral garlands are exemplified on a hydria from Tomis (Figs. 7, 8). Here the motif is combined with other motifs distributed in successive friezes: dots and ribbons, alternating with schematic waves, *kymation* and other motifs painted in dark brown. Flowers linked by oblique rows of dots appear on the hydriai of the *Peintre du Laurier sans Branche* within the workshop of the same name, identified by A. Enklaar and dated to ca. 260-225 BC.⁶⁰ The hydria in Tomis differs somewhat in the style from vases attributed to this workshop; however, it may be one of the later products.

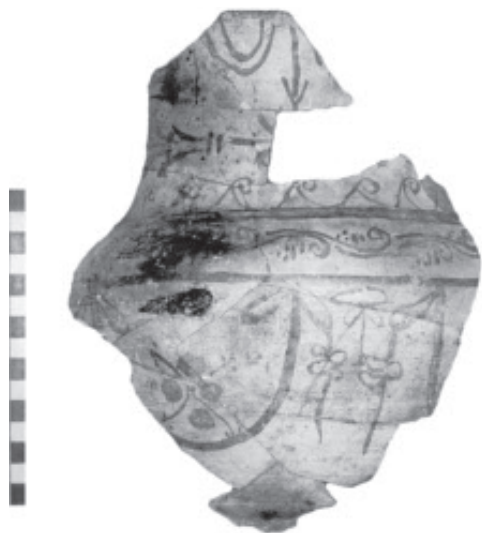


Fig. 7: Hydria in Pseudo-Hadra style, Tomis (photo by P. Dupont).

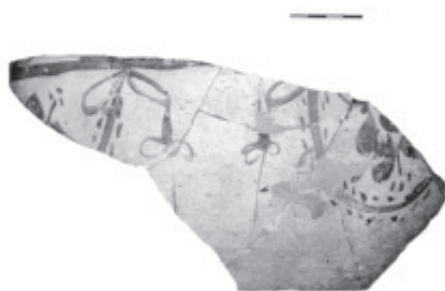


Fig. 8: Hydria in Pseudo-Hadra style, Tomis (photo by P. Dupont).

Large leaf garland

The large leaf garland appears in other decorative arts and on different types of pottery.⁶¹ This motif consists of either a simple garland with two or more long leaves, or an elaborate one enhanced with flowers of three dots. It is particularly common, sometimes in a very stylized manner, on the neck of kraters made in Histria (Figs. 9, 19).⁶²

Running waves

The motif of running waves, sometimes enhanced with dots over-painted in reddish-brown, was usually placed on the shoulder of the decorated vases. It

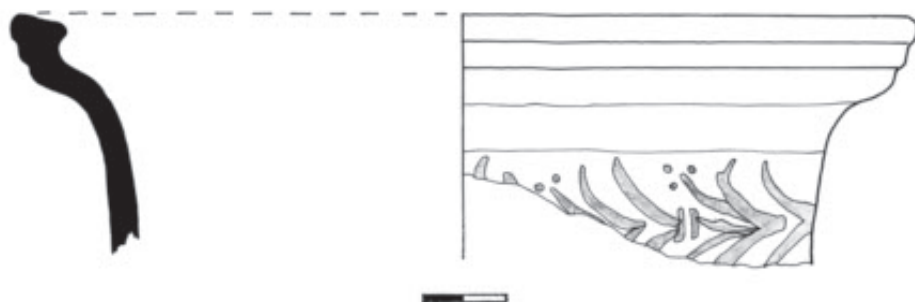


Fig. 9: Krater in Pseudo-Hadra style, Borduşani (Drawing by V. Lungu).



Fig. 10: Shoulder fragment (of lagynos, jug or hydria?) in Hadra style, Popești (photo by V. Lungu).



Fig. 11: Lid? (fragment undetermined) in Pseudo-Hadra style, Histria (photo by P. Dupont).

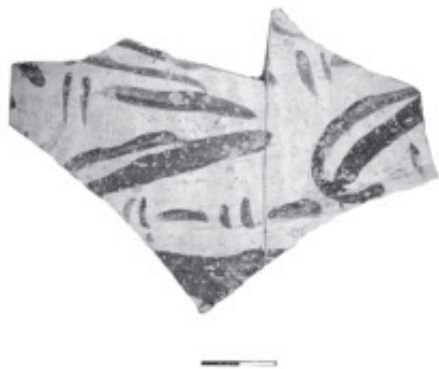


Fig. 12: Hydria in Pseudo-Hadra style, Tomis (photo by V. Lungu).

seems to have been introduced towards the end of 3rd century BC, appearing mostly on large closed vessels such as a hydria found in Popești (Fig. 10),⁶³ dated later in the 2nd century BC; on a jug (? or lid, this is unclear) from Histria (Fig. 11);⁶⁴ and on jugs from Olbia⁶⁵ and from Kara-Tobe in Crimea.⁶⁶ Exact counterparts in terms of ornamental composition with dots in combination can be observed even on some Cretan Hadra hydriai of the end of the 3rd cen-

ture BC from the necropolis of Alexandria.⁶⁷ Sometimes quite well-designed, it seems to be one of the most common motifs on Histrian pseudo-Hadra pottery of the 2nd-1st century BC.⁶⁸ At the same time, it was very popular on West Slope amphorae of Pergamene manufacture found in Histria and Tomis. The same motif appears in a very schematic manner on the neck of a hydria from Tomis (Fig. 7),⁶⁹ attributed to the local production of Tomis. A similarly schematic style was used on a Hadra hydria of Athens attributed to the *Peintre des Coureurs* (*Pittore dei Corridori de Guerrini*),⁷⁰ dated to ca. 240-200 BC.

Bead and reel (astragal)

A simple abstract motif is formed by beads and reels (Figs. 12-14),⁷¹ common on the Hadra hydriai of Alexandria,⁷² and usually employed by the Alikí Painter at Knossos.⁷³ On the Pontic coast, it was particularly used on the Histrian kraters as a spacing device or as a subsidiary ornament in combination with waves and other motif.⁷⁴ It also appears in schematic variants on vases

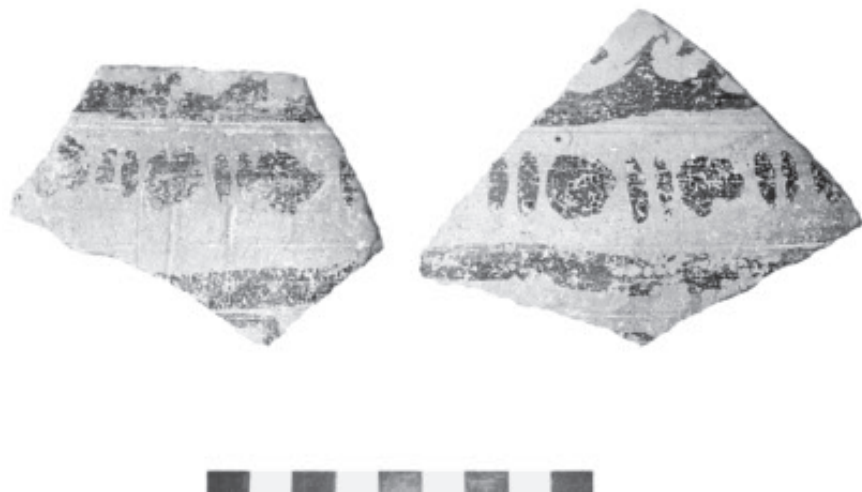


Fig. 13: Krater in Pseudo-Hadra style, Histria (photo by P. Dupont).

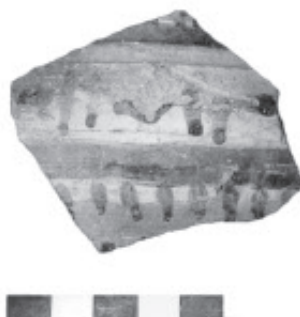


Fig. 14: Krater in Pseudo-Hadra style, Histria (photo by P. Dupont).

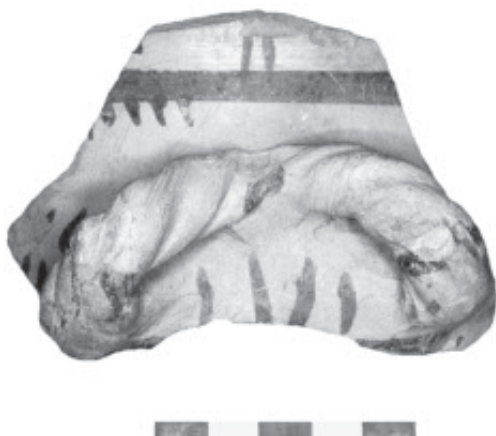


Fig. 15: Krater in Pseudo-Hadra style, Bordușani (photo by P. Dupont).

made in Tomis (Fig. 12),⁷⁵ as well as on the hydriai of the *Peintre des Bandes Diagonales*, ca. 230-210 BC.⁷⁶ This motif is frequent, too, in the contemporary West Slope pottery.⁷⁷

Hanging beads (necklace)

The repertory of Hellenistic painted pottery of the Black Sea also includes the motif of beads hanging from a circular band usually placed at the base of the neck of Hadra hydriai of the last quarter of 3rd century BC.⁷⁸ On the Pontic series, it appears around the neck or the shoulder of Histrian kraters of the 2nd-1st century BC (Figs. 6, 13, 15), and even on the base.⁷⁹ The Pontic painters developed variants with larger beads around the shoulder of jugs with cylindrical neck identified at Olbia⁸⁰ and Tomis (Fig. 16). Jugs of this same



Fig. 16: Jug in Pseudo-Hadra style, Tomis (photo by P. Dupont).

Fig. 17: Hydria? in Pseudo-Hadra style, Histria (photo by P. Dupont).



type have a long tradition in the Greek colonies in the 4th century BC, and these two examples seem to have been made in the same workshop. On the northern coast, the motif occurs on jugs of the 2nd century BC in Neapolis.⁸¹

Net pattern

The net pattern is a characteristic motif on Hadra vessels used particularly as a spacing motif on the wall of hydriai; it is likewise already present on Pontic painted vessels (Fig. 19, top left corner, the first row).⁸² It is also very popular on the Geto-Dacian painted pottery of the 1st century BC-1st century AD in both polished and painted techniques.⁸³

Cross-in-square with arrowhead fillers

The motif of a cross-in-square with arrowhead fillers appears twice in combination with net pattern on the wall of large vessels like a hydria in Histria (Fig. 17).⁸⁴ It could be interpreted as a Pontic variant of the cross-in-square with drops as seen on Cretan Hadra hydriai, some of which are attributed to the *Peintre du Laurier sans branches*.⁸⁵

In addition to the above-mentioned motifs, Zajceva reports a palm frond pattern on a neck of a jug from Olbia;⁸⁶ it appears only on this vessel, occurring twice or three times. Similar representations are common on the neck of Hadra hydriai from Phaistos in Crete, dated around 240 BC.⁸⁷

Accordingly, the forerunners of some of these motifs documented on pottery fragments from Histria, Tomis, Kallatis, Olbia and elsewhere, mentioned above, can be traced to the Cretan Hadra-painting tradition. It was also possible to connect the Hadra style with a series of local Northwest Pontic vessels, mostly kraters but also jugs, lids, and hydriai decorated with various motifs and using techniques characteristic of the Hadra hydriai group in general.

Chronology of the Pseudo-Hadra vases

The Pontic Pseudo-Hadra pottery starts with the evidence of the chronologically oldest groups, which appeared prior to the earliest preserved South Mediterranean imports in the region. Judging from the results from Kallatis and Belozerskoe, the earliest known imports seem to date to the second quarter of the 3rd century BC. However, local manufacture in Kallatis, where one clay-ground hydria related to the Cretan tradition and dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC appears, is very poorly reported by archaeological discoveries. The group from Tomis is better documented. If the date assigned by the excavator to the contexts of the specimens in the city of Tomis (Figs. 7, 8, 12) is correct,⁸⁸ the Tomitan Pseudo-Hadra vases were in production in the 3rd century BC, but the duration of the painted clay-ground pottery in the group of Tomis cannot be determined as yet. Judging by the style of Floral Garlands motif, this fragment seems to be much later, probably dating to the late 3rd century BC and continuing to the beginning of the 2nd century. At Chersonesos, the chronology seems to be the same. At Olbia, this kind of pottery is generally dated between the 4th and the 2nd century BC, but I think that it should be dated starting with the second half of the 3rd century BC.⁸⁹ Some of the earliest identified pieces in Histria could be related to deposits H 14 and H 28 at Knossos, dated between 230-220 BC and respectively 175-150 BC.⁹⁰ They must be among the earliest pieces so painted, dating perhaps just to the beginning of the 2nd century BC. The Histrian group shows a continuous and uninterrupted development of clay-ground painted pottery in the Late Hellenistic period, at least down to the end of the 2nd-1st century BC, with clear links to earlier prototypes.

Many pieces from Histria appear to have been issued from local (colonial Greek) workshops, but from the second half of the 2nd century BC onwards manufacture seems to have started on some indigenous settlements as well, as suggested by isolated examples from Borduşani, Vlădiceasca and Popeşti in the vicinity of Bucharest.⁹¹ The last example offers the association with a Rhodian amphora stamp naming Linos, a Rhodian fabricant which appeared in the Middle Stoa fill of Athens associated with the eponym Nikandros I,⁹² dated ca. 172-170 in the period IIIId of Finkielsztejn.⁹³ This stamp assures the existence of an indigenous production to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC. Moreover, this example points to a late beginning of clay-ground painted pottery at such settlements. In Southern and Eastern Dacia, too, local production of wheelmade vessels of Greek type was initiated on several indigenous centres by skilled Geto-Dacian potters rather than by migrant Greeks. In the same manner, some indigenous settlements, such as Sarmisegetuza, Răcăţău, and Poiana, in the Transylvanian and Moldavian regions of Romania, also developed a large-scale manufacture of painted ware long after the first imports of colonial pottery to Geto-Dacian territory.⁹⁴ There are some correspondences in technique but many differences in style and typology, which may reflect

local particularities. The differences in shape and in the whole compositional syntax of the ornaments can be best demonstrated in examples of early indigenous painted pottery. Most of them involve shapes commonly found in the indigenous repertoire, but they are decorated with horizontal bands, a row of pendant leaves at the base of the neck or even zoomorphic motifs painted in dark paint on buff ground. Sometimes, painted pottery appears on Geto-Dacian fortified settlements (*davae*) alongside local mouldmade pottery, especially bowls, some of them decorated with similar motifs. It seems possible that both painted Pseudo-Hadra and mouldmade bowls were used together as wine vessel sets on the table of the indigenous people: the painted group is formed especially of pouring shapes, and the mouldmade bowls are used for serving. Both groups of vessels, mostly found in fragments in habitations, were made under the influence of the imported vessels in Dacia, and they have no connection with local pottery of Iron or Bronze Age traditions. The originality of indigenous painted pottery appears particularly striking, as influenced jointly by Celtic traditions and Hellenistic Greek traditions, thus presenting a real challenge for stylistic analysis. The chronological limits of the indigenous painted group, too, are difficult to determine precisely. Stylistic links suggest that it must have circulated between the second half of the 2nd and the 1st century BC. An important batch of fragmentary pieces belongs to the 1st century BC-1st century AD and coincides with the period of Dacian royalty, the so-called Classical period in Dacia. The minimal evolution of painted shapes within this group suggests a brief period of manufacture.

Pontic responses to Hadra hydriai

The wide range of motifs just surveyed, often echoing motifs found on Mediterranean or Aegean counterparts, stands in contrast to the lack of dependence on Mediterranean Hadra pottery in terms of vessel shape. The main Hadra style product, the hydria, was nearly abandoned in favour of other shapes, which may have been based on metal prototypes, in light of the robust forms some with *rotelles* and *pastilles* on the handle. Much of this pottery has been found in Greek settlements abroad or in indigenous ones (Getai, Scythians). The Hadra hydriai are essentially funerary. Depositing such vessels in graves either by the Greek settlers, who probably travelled in the South Mediterranean, by traders, or by other foreigners surprised by death in these places might merely suggest a repetition of the practices of the cities from which they travelled or originated. Imported funerary hydriai are rather rare in the Black Sea, perhaps because the use of such special vessels was not accepted in colonial necropoleis by the native population. If the Pontic vase painters adopted some of the decorative techniques, motifs and style of these special pots, it is because they had taken some new practices *en vogue* from observation of these imports. They adjusted these decorative schemes to local ceramic traditions but rarely copied the prototypical shapes.

This process of response to imported pottery may be considered in three major stages from the 3rd to the 1st century BC. First, among the finds, the hydria from Kallatis and the jug from Belozerskoe seem to be the oldest specimens of the group dated from the first half to middle of the 3rd century BC and both pieces seem to derive from the Early Hellenistic Cretan tradition. Moreover, these vases have ring bases of a type canonical for Cretan hydriai of the second half of the 4th century and possibly known even earlier.⁹⁵ Second, the bulk of local painted pottery from Olbia, Histria and Chersonesos is dated later than the 3rd century BC, namely in the early 2nd and the 1st century BC. At Histria, the distinctive features of the decoration as well as of shapes confirm a direct chronological link with the same type of pottery at indigenous settlements (Bordușani, Popești). These indigenous sites then provide the third stage in the process of Pontic response to Hadra pottery. From the second part of the 2nd century BC onwards, manufacture seems to have spread to indigenous centres of the hinterland.⁹⁶ Only rarely did the colonial shapes penetrate beyond Dacia. By contrast, a wide range of late Dacian painted pottery was decorated with zoomorphic and floral motifs made in a very original style in dark decoration on a buff ground. This decoration does not find any parallels among the colonial Hellenistic pots. Their distribution exclusively in the inland of Transylvania and Moldavia, far from Greek colonies of the littoral, shows clearly that these vessels were manufactured in different workshops of these regions. The distribution of motifs and the quality of paint as well as original innovations differentiate these products from the Hellenic or Celtic traditions with which they are usually connected. However, this type of pottery, fairly different from that of Greek colonies on the coast and of the local products in South plain of Romania, is remarkable.

The Pontic Pseudo-Hadra pottery also offers evidence of an apparently continuous contact with the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period. The response to these imports among both Greek and indigenous potters, however, is not simply direct imitation of form and decoration, but the complex, elaborate performance of a bicultural experience. The imported material is shown here to have inspired a new, diverse, and rich Pontic pottery tradition.

Archaeometry (P.D.)

In order to check the validity of the hypothesis of local imitations of Hellenistic painted wares at Histria, we have submitted to chemical analysis (X-ray fluorescence) a batch of 24 samples of sherds from the 1927-1942 Lambrino excavations, all bearing a painted decoration of Pseudo-Hadra type, assumed to be Pontic imitations, i.e. not randomly selected.

In the dendrogram of the hierarchic classification (cluster analysis), the preliminary results obtained clearly show that, except two marginal pieces (DUP 708 and 689), most samples display a chemical pattern fitting quite well with those of Istro-Pontic colonial products, mostly using the same loessic

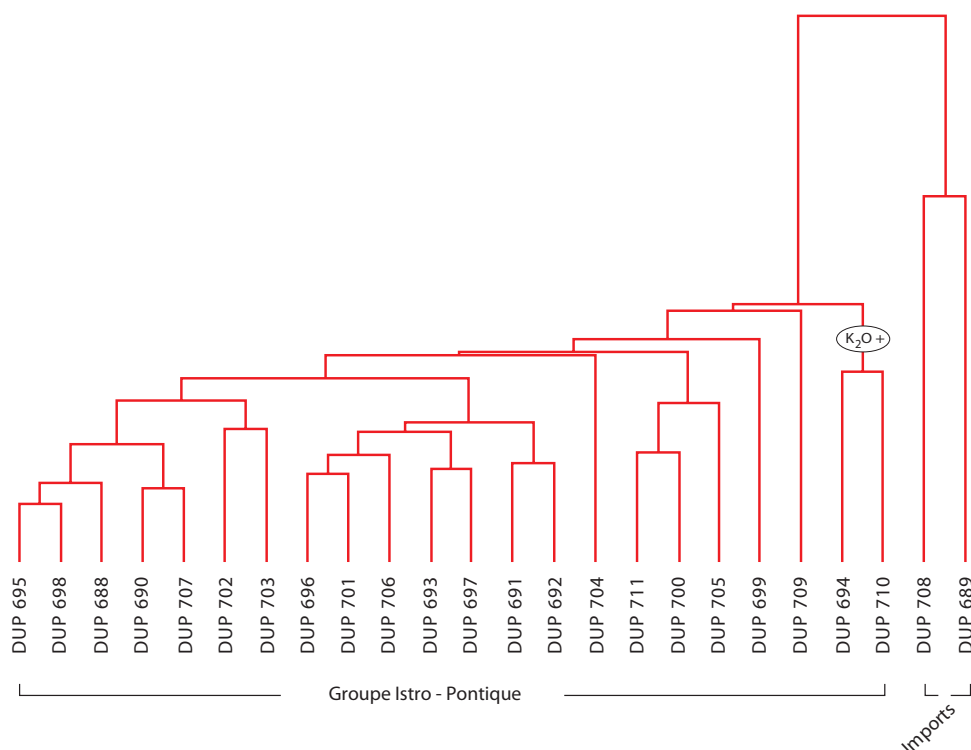


Fig. 18: Histria. Hellenistic painted pottery samples. Dendrogram of cluster analysis.

clay material covering the greater part of Dobroudja and beyond (Fig. 18).⁹⁷ In order to refine the regional differentiation between Histria and neighbouring settlements such as Tomis and Kallatis to the South and Orgame and Olbia to the North, more comparative tests have been made, which revealed that the chemical pattern of the Istro-Pontic branch of the dendrogram (Fig. 18) differs at the same time from the main local groups of Histria, Orgame, Olbia and Kallatis, but fits to a group of peculiar interest attested both in Histria and Tomis. At Histria, this group appears as a secondary one, including fragments of a distinctive type of Hellenistic jug or oinochoe with pale clay and rivet-like plastic ornament on top of handle, as well as some Hellenistic and, mainly, Roman terracotta figurines. At Tomis, a group with the same chemical pattern gathers one half or so of our batch of samples, i.e. a much more important share than in Histria. Until now, it was assumed as local with the denomination 'Tomis A'. But from now on, we are faced with an acute problem of differentiation between Histria and Tomis as to decide which one was the real centre of manufacture of these various wares. On the one hand, the Roman statuettes from Histria (14 complete pieces plus numerous fragments



Fig. 19: Istro-Pontic Group. Hard core grouping. Upper row: samples DUP 695, 698, 690, 707; middle row: DUP 696, 701, 706, 693; lower row: DUP 697, 691, 692.



Fig. 20: Imports. DUP 708 and 689 (photo by P. Dupont).

corresponding to some 150/200 others) are reported to have been discovered near a workshop of coroplasts and consequently assimilated to local products (however, the excavator's report⁹⁸ is not clear and, even if the find place is located in the vicinity of pottery workshops, indisputably clearly misfired piece are seemingly not to be found among the excavated batch of fragments); on the other hand, the fact that our sub-group 'Tomis A', including common ware, black glaze and two sherds of Pseudo-Hadra, forms almost one half of our batch of samples also suggests a local origin.

As for the two isolated marginal samples to be interpreted as imports on the diagram (Figs. 18 and 20); the samples are from Fouilles Lambrino, His 1927-1942, inv. V8316 and undetermined. Their chemical pattern does not fit satisfactorily with any local reference of the network of the Lyon Laboratory either for Eastern Greece or for Alexandria. In the same manner, it seems to differ from the fragmentary data published by R. Jones for Crete.⁹⁹ Of course, these preliminary results are still to be refined; they also require further comparisons within the Black Sea area, where similar imitations of Hadra ware are also to be found either in the autochthonous hinterland or in more littoral regions – e.g. the Crimea with the local products of Chersonesos – for which local references are still lacunary.

Notes

- 1 Knipovič 1941. The study of Hadra style has a long history on the coast of the Black Sea, see Rostovcev 1912; one complete Cretan Hadra hydria of the Collection Goleniščev is preserved in Moscow, Pushkin Museum, see Pagenstecher 1913, 42, fig. 47, pl. I; Guerrini 1964, 10, no. 7, pl. I, group A; *Peintre des Coureurs*, shape D, ca. 260-240 BC, cf. Enklaar 1985, 140-141, ca. 240-200; Sidorova et al. 1985, 76 (144), and 77 (145); Litvinenko 1991.
- 2 Zajceva 1982, 50-69.
- 3 Šurgaja 1965; 1972.
- 4 Cf. Lungu & Trohani 2000; Lungu 1999-2000(2003) 2003 as exceptions to this tendency.
- 5 Alexandrescu 1962, 58-62, figs. 4-5; 1993, 249, note 64; 1994, 199.
- 6 Boardman 1962-1963, 37, note 11.
- 7 Lungu 1999-2000 (2003) 2003, 43-88.
- 8 Guerrini 1964; Callaghan 1980; 1983; Forti 1984; la Rosa 1984; Enklaar 1985; 1986.
- 9 Cook 1966.
- 10 P.J. Callaghan and R.E. Jones have proposed a Cretan place of manufacture for these vessels (1985, 1-17). See also Enklaar 1985; 1986.
- 11 Giannikouri 1994, 302-310, pls. 233-245.
- 12 Williams & Toli 1990, 102-103, pl. 61b; Kombou & Ralli 1997, 241-246, pl. 164a,b.
- 13 Meriç 2004, 129; it is a particularly small hydria.
- 14 Callaghan 1983, 124. Enklaar 1985, 116, proposed the end of Hadra hydriai in the first half of 2nd century BC; he has proposed some corrections to Cook's chronology.
- 15 Englezou 2005.

- 16 von Stern 1910, 165 and 181, pl. 4.6 (Olbia 1900, inv. III/3700); Šurgaja 1965, fig. 3 (assigned to the *Peintre des Méandres*, ca. 215-200 BC, cf. Enklaar 1985, 136); von Stern 1910, 168 and 184, pl. 4.11 (Olbia 1900, inv. III/3781; Šurgaja 1965, fig. 2). See also Lungu 2007b, 151-152, fig. 1.1, 1.5 and 2a,b, and 3. This vessel is made of fine buff clay and decorated with red on white and relief style leave on the foot. Its attribution is more problematic: on grounds of fabric; it could be identified as Cretan; on morphological ground we can place that in the group of type "L", see Englezou 2005, no. 642, pl. 120 (first half of 2nd century BC); based on the style of its ornaments, it may be placed very close to a Cretan oinochoe, see Englezou 2005, no. 409, pl. 93 (second half of 2nd century BC). The Olbian hydria seems to have been made in Knossos.
- 17 Bucovală 1967, 70, fig. 44-M. XIVb; Forti 1984, 226, note 30, dated of the middle of the 1st century BC, but the production started in the second half of the 2nd century BC.
- 18 Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1980, 218, fig. 2; Lungu 2007a, fig. 6.
- 19 Zajceva 1982, 54, fig. 4.1.
- 20 Enklaar 1998, 17, fig. 9.
- 21 Daševskaja 1967, 163, fig. 1.
- 22 von Stern 1910, pl. IV.10; Knipovič 1941, 142, fig. 4 and fig. 5; Zajceva 1982, 53, fig. 3, 1-2; Šurgaja 1972, 20, fig. 1.12-2; Lungu 2007b, 154, fig. 4.2.
- 23 Dunham 1957, fig. 136, XX, 16-2-449, Bar. 3.
- 24 Borisova 1958, 150, fig. 7; Šelov 1984, 169, pl. LXII, 10.
- 25 Daševskaja 1967, 165, fig. 3.
- 26 OGIM 24902. 2853, The Archaeological Museum in Odessa: H = 37 cm; diam. mouth = 8.8 cm; max. diam. = 18.5 cm.
- 27 Knipovič 1941, 142, fig. 4. Both vases seem to have been made in the same centre. From the Olbian deposits comes a big jug equipped with a cylindrical handle and collared rim, and decorated in the same style, see Knipovič 1941, 141, fig. 3.
- 28 Borisova 1958, 150; Daševskaja 1967, 168, with further bibliography.
- 29 Zajceva 1982, 57, fig. 8.
- 30 Preda 1961, 298-299, fig. 17; Lungu 2007a, 24, 27-36, figs. 2-3.
- 31 Enklaar 1985, 138, fig. 19 b. 22692.
- 32 Bylkova 2007, 59, fig. 49, 4.
- 33 Levi 1940, pl. 39.9; Knipovič 1941, 141, fig. 3; 142, fig. 4 and 5; 143, fig. 6.1; 144, fig. 7; Knipovič 1955, 379, fig. 19a; Daševskaja 1967, 161-168, fig. 2, 1-2.C; Zajceva 1982, 55, fig. 5, 2-3; Samojlova 1988, pl. 14.4; Užencev 2006, 208, fig. 73.1.
- 34 Borisova 1958, 150, fig. 7; Šelov 1984, 169, pl. LXII, 10.
- 35 Daševskaja 1967, 164, fig. 2, 1-2 and 165, fig. 3.
- 36 Gavrilov 2004, fig. 51, no. 22 (jug).
- 37 Preda 1961, 298-299, fig. 17; Lungu 2007a, 24, 27-36, figs. 2-3.
- 38 Bylkova 2007. The chronology at the end of 4th-middle of 3rd c. BC proposed by Bylkova seems too high. It is more likely of the second quarter of the 3rd century BC.
- 39 Meljukova 1967, 59, fig. 17.1.
- 40 Daševskaja 1967, 164, fig. 2, 6, 7, 8b, c, d.
- 41 Knipovič 1941, 142, fig. 4.
- 42 Borisova 1958, 150, fig. 7.
- 43 Lungu 2003, 85-86, fig. 6, no. 31a, fig. 7, nos. 31b and 32a; Knipovič 1941, 144, fig. 7.
- 44 Belov & Strželeckij 1953, 45, fig. 13.

- 45 Samojlova & Strokin 1982, 146, fig. 2, 3 (Chersonesos).
- 46 Knipovič 1941, 142, fig. 4.
- 47 Lambrino 1927-1942, inv. V 8315-1.
- 48 Alexandrescu 1993, 262-3, fig. 11a-12a; Alexandrescu 1994, 199, 212, figs. 11a-12a; Lungu 2003, 47-48, 81, fig. 2, 1; Oppermann 2004, pl. 59, 2.
- 49 Knipovič 1941, 142, fig. 5 (Myrmekion) and 143, fig. 6,3 (Olbia); Zajceva 1982, 53, fig. 3, 2; 54, fig. 4, 4-6; 55, fig. 5, 1; Šurgaja 1972, 20, fig. 1; a jug painted in red on a white slip, dated later than the turn of the 3rd-2nd century BC.
- 50 Zajceva 1982, 54, fig. 4, 4 and 5; Alekseeva 1997, 347, pl. 65, no. 6a,b; 2002, Alekseeva 2002, 98, fig. 9.
- 51 Anderson 1954, 154-155, nos. 257-265, pl. 12.
- 52 Guerrini 1964, B33, pls. III and XIII.
- 53 Knipovič 1941, 145, fig. 8; Zajceva 1982, 56, fig. 7; Šurgaja 1972, 21, fig. 2; Vinogradov & Kryžckij 1995, 107, fig. 104, no. 1; Lungu 2007b, 155, fig. 5, 1, and 159, fig. 8a-b.
- 54 Chudjak 1962, pl. 14, 3.
- 55 Ballet et al. 2001, 275-76, 284-87, figs. 7.4, 7, 8.
- 56 Giannikouri et al. 1990, fig. 102g; la Rosa 1984, fig. 3.8-9; Kranz 1999, fig. 6.
- 57 Hatzidakis 2003, pl. 69, b2.
- 58 Zappeiropoulou 2000, pl. 164st.
- 59 Mirošina 1983, fig. 1b.
- 60 Enklaar 1985 139, no. 21; Hayes 1992, 161-162, no. 201.
- 61 It is, for example, a late Hellenistic motif on Attic West Slope pottery, see Rotroff 1997, 78, dated 120-86 BC.
- 62 Lungu 2003, 87, figs. 5, 16, 18, from Bordușani, and 17, from Tomis. The latter is also included in Bucovață 1967, 95, 59j and Oppermann 2004, pl. 82, 3. A simple representation of double leaves can be seen on a lagynos from Tomis, cf. Bucovață 1967, 103, XLIIIb; Oppermann 2004, pl. 82, 2.
- 63 Popești 2000, fosse 12, c. 4; MNIR inv. 142b; Trohani 1997, pl. 32.2; Lungu & Trohani 2000, 151, pl. III. 11; Lungu 2003, 87, fig. 8, 29.
- 64 Histria, Lambrino 1927-42, inv. V 8323; Alexandrescu 1962, fig. 4.39; Lungu 2003, 87, fig. 4, 34.
- 65 Zajceva 1982, 53, 55, figs. 5, 6.
- 66 Daševskaja 1967, 164, fig. 2.5.
- 67 Ballet et al. 2000, 282, no. 8, fig. 7.18. The motif succeeded by a range of dots is present on the vases of the *Peintre des Lines Ondulées*, cf. Guerrini 1964, E13, pl. VIII, ca. 219 BC.; Enklaar 1985, 134-135. One complete Hadra hydria found in 1930 in Egypt (National Museum, Copenhagen, inv. 9074), shows a very similar representation of running waves with added dots like on the fragment from Popești, cf. CVA, Copenhagen pl. 183.2; Diehl 1964, 158, no. 229; Cook 1966, 7, no. 3. The motif is common in different arts of Hellenistic period, see, Hatzidakis 2003, fig. 741 (mosaic), or Neapolis, Zaytsev 2004a, 99, fig. 43 and 105, fig. 60, no. 8 (frescoes).
- 68 Lungu 2003, 87, fig. 4, 13, 19, 34, from Histria, and fig. 7, 30, from the indigenous settlement of Bordușani on the Danube.
- 69 Fig. 7, Primaria Marcus Aurelius.
- 70 Guerrini 1964, 10, no. 8, pl. I and XII, group A; Enklaar 1985, 140-141, no. 2.
- 71 Fig. 12, MINAC 20951-2; Fig. 13: Fouilles Lambrino 1927-42, inv. V8324; Fig. 14: Fouilles Lambrino 1923-1942, inv. 8323. Alexandrescu 1962, fig. 4.34; Lungu 2003, fig. 4.11.

- 72 Forti 1984, 230, pl. XLII, 5; Enklaar 1990, pl. 84.
73 Callaghan & Jones 1985, 11, pl. 2.
74 Alexandrescu 1962, fig. 4.34, 35, 36, 37; Lungu 2003, 83, fig. 4 nos 11 (34), 12 (35), 13 (36), 14 (37).
75 A. Rădulescu et al., 1973, 335, fig. 2; Rădulescu & Scorpan 1975, 48, fig. 35; Buzoi-anu 2004-2005, 221, fig. 7.
76 Enklaar 1985, 132-133, e. 24869.
77 Rotroff 1997, nos. 451-452 (miniature amphora) fig. 33, no. 1517, white-ground lagynos, pl. 116; Kolia 2006, 183, Z6, fig. 123, shoulder of amphora of the last quarter of the 2nd-1st century BC. For other examples, see Lungu 2003, 57, note 58.
78 Ballet et al. 2000, 280, 282, fig. 7.14-15, 18.
79 Alexandrescu 1962, fig. 4.43; Lungu 2003, 87, fig. 8.26 (43): reversed.
80 Parović-Pešikan 1974, 127, fig. 102.1
81 Zaytsev 2004a, fig. 88, no. 7 and fig. 91, no. 5. The last one comes from section 7 with fragments of the mouldmade bowls of the 2nd century BC.
82 Alexandrescu 1962, fig. 4.28, 29, 30; Lungu 2003, fig. 4.5, 6, 7.
83 Florea 1998, 189-191.
84 Fouilles Lambrino, Histria 1927-1942, inv. V8328. Alexandrescu 1962, fig. 4.31-32; Lungu 2003, fig. 4. 8-9.
85 Enklaar 1985, 107, fig. 1b (Alexandria).
86 Zajceva 1982, 60, fig. 10. The massive jug with a strong handle dotted by circular ceramic ornaments is common in different fabric in the area of Olbia, see Bylkova 1994, 26, fig. 5, 5 (in gray fabric).
87 Englezou 2004, 336, pl. 132 and 138a.
88 Excavations made by T. Cliante of the Archaeological Museum in Constanta.
89 Zajceva 1982, 61. For the later chronology of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, Knipovič 1941, 140-155,
90 Lungu 2003, 65.
91 Lungu & Trohani, 2000, 137-162; Lungu 2003.
92 Grace 1985, 1.
93 Finkielsztejn 2001, 192.
94 Florea 1998; Vulpe & Teodor 2003, figs. 227-231. There does, indeed, seem to have been a certain importance in the evolution of the relationship between Greek Pontic colonies and Getai in the 2nd century BC, see Pippidi 1975, 31-55.
95 Callaghan 1978, 12.
96 Lungu & Trohani 2000, 137-162.
97 Conea 1970.
98 Suceveanu 1967, 243-268.
99 Jones 1986, 900-902 (Appendix III).