

GRAFFITI AND DIPINTI

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In addition to the large quantity of artefacts considered in other sections of this volume, excavations in house U6 yielded a representative collection of scratched or painted inscriptions and marks of various kinds, amounting to 81 items in all. The vast majority of these inscriptions were examined by me *de visu*; however, in those cases where they were inaccessible or lost, the descriptions and the graffiti and dipinti themselves are presented according to the field inventory list. With the exception of two graffiti on astragali (**H 27**, **H 29**) and a single mark on the handle of a stone louterion **H 17** all the inscriptions appear on tableware or transport amphorae.

The chronological range of the inscriptions is rather narrow and covers the period from the middle of the 4th century B.C. to the 70s of the 3rd century B.C. when the whole settlement suddenly ceased to exist. However, in each case the date has been assigned not only on the basis of the context of the find but also with the regard to the dating and possible reuse of the object bearing the inscription; and, where possible, or applicable – *e.g.* for containers or vessels such as amphorae – the relevant catalogue entry gives details of the measured or reconstructed volume or capacity. Palaeographic data played an auxiliary role here.

Taking into consideration the general chronology of the building, we may suppose that slight variations in the form of certain letters were due to individual peculiarities of the handwriting and the material, as well as to the implements used by each writer. Only in a few isolated instances (*theta* and *omicron* equal in their size to other letters – **H 24**, *pi* with a short right *hasta*, and squat *omega* with the wide ‘gates’ – **H 31**), and when, moreover, there is no doubt of the vessel having been reused, can these peculiarities be considered as a chronological indication. But in general, the characters in most of the inscriptions are typical to their time. The one point worthy of special note is that the lunate sigma, though totally dominant in the dipinti (**H 52-53**, **H 56-60**, **H 69**), occurs only in the final position in the graffiti (**H 32**).

The material available characterises various aspects of the life of a remote rural district of Chersonesos; however, it does not show any great diversity of types, and can be subdivided into just four categories of varying size. These categories are presented as follows in the catalogue below.

1. *Dedications*
2. *Owners' marks*
 - 2A. Private ownership
 - 2B. Public ownership
3. *Numerical and Commercial marks*
 - 3A. Indications of Capacity
 - 3B. Price Marks
 - 3C. Client Names
4. *Varia*

Except for the very large group of 'Client names' (items **H 42-72**), the reasons for distinguishing which will be explained in the relevant introduction, all the other categories are fairly traditional for publications of this kind. Within each group the inscriptions are ordered alphabetically.

1. DEDICATIONS (**H 1-2**)

Both of the two inscriptions that make up this group were found in the western corner of house U6 – in rooms 14 and 12. Judging by the material found here, these rooms had the status of domestic sanctuaries, and were accordingly connected with the worship of Herakles as the patron of the Chersonesean territory as well as with the worship of deities in the agricultural sphere (Demeter and Sabazios). Evidence of the special role played by the cult of Herakles in the life of the rural population of Chersonesos is represented in quite a number of reliefs depicting the hero and in dedication graffiti found at several different settlements. One such dedication to Herakles Soter from house U7 at Panskoye I, along with various aspects of the corresponding cult in the territory of the Chersonesean state I have already discussed in detail elsewhere.¹

Of special interest is graffito **H 2** on a black-glazed cup-skyphos which, to my knowledge, is the earliest evidence of the cult of Sabazios not only in Chersonesos but in the Black Sea area in general. According to A.M. Gilevič, also to be connected with the cult of Sabazios are the two figured pendants representing a multi-faced bearded head from the same assemblage, as well as the coiled snake made of silver wire² found in the courtyard of U6 near the entrance to room 27.

H 1. U6 room 14. Find list 7/2. 1971. Pl. 150.

Bell-shaped ritual vessel (**G 14**). Typical Chersonesean clay with white lime inclusions. Size: H. 28.0, D. of rim 23.8, D. of body 23.2, D. of base 1.9 cm. Traces of repair. Dipinto in red on upper part of body. Height of letters: *c.* 5.5 cm.

c. 300 B.C.: Ἡρ(ακλει vel -άκλειος) (ligature, retrograde).

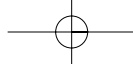
As mentioned above, the vessel comes from a cult assemblage where it was found *in situ* along with a limestone relief representing the standing Herakles (see **G 1**). The latter fact enables us to take the ligature as the abbreviated name of this hero. Possibly, the reason for the retrograde writing in this case was to stress the difference between the abbreviation of hero's name and the similar abbreviations of personal names frequent on amphorae. Moreover, the inscription under discussion is done in paint, which may indicate its having already been executed before the vessel was brought to the settlement, like the dipinti on amphorae.

H 2. U6 room 12. Find list 6/29. 1971. Pls. 150 and 156.

Black-glazed thin-walled cup-skyphos (**B 98**), base not preserved. H. *c.* 8.5, D. of rim 15.8 cm. Graffito on upper part of body, starting at the handle and ending at the another one. Height of letters varies from 1.0 to 1.7 cm. Publications: Ščeglov 1976, 139, 142, fig.; Ščeglov 1987, 266, fig. 17, 7; Čtcheglov 1992, 177, fig.; Solomonik 1984, 11; Gilevič 1989, 71 ff., 128, fig. 1; Hannestad 2002, 148, fig. 8. Find-spot: northern part of the room, under handmade vessels.

c. 325-300 B.C.: ἱερὰ Σαβαζίου

i.e.: 'The sacred (kylix) of Sabazios'. Although ware of such a type has been given the name 'cup-skyphos' in the literature, the *gen. fem.* ἱερὰ indicates that the inmates of the house possibly used less specialised terms in the everyday life *e.g.* ἡ κύλιξ or – ἡ κοτύλη – which in ancient times may have collectively signified vessels that, though different in type, were similar in shape and use.



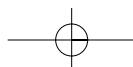
2. OWNERS' MARKS (H 3-32)

2A. PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

This group of inscriptions is one of the most representative, yielding first place in terms of number to 'Client Names' alone. In addition to graffiti on ceramic objects of various different types, two marks on astragali (H 27 and H 29) and an inscription on the handle of a stone louterion (H 17) are also included in this group. The marks under discussion are, as a rule, just single letters or the initial syllables (up to four symbols) of personal names (PN). Fairly common are ligatures (A and Π (H 8-9), A and P (H 10, H 12), A and N (H 18), E and Υ (H 18), H and P (H 20-21), N and E (H 28), Π and P (H 30)), as well as monograms (H 7, H 26). Although our collection contains no example of an owner's name given in its full form, the frequent repetition of the same initials on different kinds of ware from a single room, or from a group of adjacent ones, enable us to identify these symbols as nothing other than owner's marks. The actual location of the majority of the inscriptions serves as further proof for this conviction. With the exception of H 16 and H 17, where the marks are on the handles, all owners' graffiti on tableware are on the bottom or underside of the article (H 3-4, H 10, H 15, H 18-19, H 22, H 24-25, H 30-31). Amphorae by contrast, as a rule reused as storage jars at the settlement, invariably bear their marks of ownership on the lower part of the neck or on the shoulder (H 5-9, H 11-14, H 20-21, H 23, H 26, H 33(a)). Several non-verbal graffiti in the form of simple crosses on amphora necks from Herakleia and Chersonesos which are included in the 'Varia' category (H 77-78, possibly also H 38(a)) can probably also be interpreted as owners' marks. The cross, being one of the most elementary and widespread signs, served to meet the need of an owner for individualisation of his vessel at a fairly early period. Well-known examples are the vessels of the late Bronze Age from Bogazköy³ marked with crosses. In the 6th-4th centuries B.C. the cross, as an owner's mark, is represented in abundance *e.g.* on Phrygian ware from Gordion.⁴ As L. Roller states, the practice of using signs and symbols as owners' marks was at its most widespread in Gordion during the period of the hegemony and independence of the Phrygian and Lydian kingdoms, as well as during the Achaemenid domination in Anatolia, while the decreases of this practice, from the second half of the 4th century B.C., coincided with the rise of Greek influence here.⁵ In this connection, it seems tempting to propose that crosslike marks on amphorae from U6 may have served as the marks of ownership of an illiterate or a non-Greek. We may compare here the 'signatures' of illiterate Russians in the first years of the Soviet government. It is also of interest to note that both the crosslike marks (H 77-78) were found within the area near the gate. However, it need hardly be said that these marks may well have had some quite different origin.

It is of course natural to suppose that the overwhelming majority of the owner's graffiti (except for the marks H 27 and H 29 on the above-mentioned astragali, which served for spooling threads) contain abbreviations of masculine personal names. However, notwithstanding the fairly large number of graffiti included in the present group, the actual total of names represented by them is rather small. The names, of varying degrees of completeness, enable us to identify the following individuals: 'Απη(), Αρ(), Β(), Εϋ(), 'Ηρο(), 'Ηρακ(), Θα(), Θεοκ(), Θευ(), Κρα(), Λ(), Νε(), Π(), Πρω(), of which Εϋ(), Β(), 'Ηρακ() are the most frequent. Taking into account the fairly long period of occupation of the house, these names must have belonged to at least two generations of inmates.

Mapping of the inscriptions that make up the group under consideration shows that their distribution throughout the area of the building is extremely irregular. The main concentra-



tion of graffiti is in the rooms of the south-western range, which is cut by the gate into two almost symmetrical household blocks. Moreover, the contiguous rooms 13, 16, 17, and 18, located to the north-west of the gate, are given a certain special unity by the find there of three inscriptions (**H 15**, **H 17**, and **H 33(a)**) all bearing the same initial 'E', under which the name of the master of this household is undoubtedly concealed. Two dipinti (**H 61** and **H 63**) with the same abbreviation and also from room 13, offer additional evidence in favour of this supposition. On the other hand, the almost total absence of inscriptions from the rooms in the rest of the house is striking. The only exception is room 3 in the north-western range. It probably served as a storeroom for collective use.⁶ In the store there were 37 amphorae of which 30, including 15 with stamps, were from Chersonesos. Six amphorae-graffiti, showing abbreviations of at least three different owners' names, come from this room (**H 5**, **H 7-9**, **H 21**, and **H 23**).

See also **H 33(a)**, **H 36**, **H 40(a)**, **H 77-78**.

H 3. U6 room 20. Find list 4/37. 1972. Pl. 150.

Fragment from salt-cellar and foot of fish-plate (**B 233**). Grey clay, containing lime, quartz, and feldspar particles. Dull, dark grey slip. Graffito on underside of ring foot.

Late 4th cent. B.C.: A()

H 4. U6 room 12. Find list 6/28. 1971. Pls. 150 and 156.

One-handed cup (**B 146**), glazed inside and out, except under foot. Glaze with graphite tint. Graffito on bottom. Height of letter: 1.1 cm. Find spot: in the debris of hearth.

320-300 B.C.: A()

H 5. U6 room 3. Find list 6/23. 1969.

Shoulder fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora with graffito. *Non videt*; represented here according to drawing in the find list. Find spot: among the debris.

320-270 B.C.: A()

H 6. U6 well, no. 11. 1977. Pl. 150.

Fragment from neck and shoulder of Chersonesean transport amphora. Graffito on shoulder: faint and carelessly executed. Height of mark: 2.5 cm.

320-270 B.C.: A()

H 7. U6 room 3. Find list 6/2. 1969.

Chersonesean transport amphora **Ad 10** stamped with the mark of the astynomos *Dioskouridas* (**Ae 52a**). The jar belongs to the type Monachov 1989, I-B. V.I. Kac places stamps of *Dioskouridas* in group 1B,⁷ which enables us to date the vessel to 300-285 B.C. Publication of the jar: Kac and Monachov 1977, 99, fig. 2, 6; Monachov 1980, no. 30; Brašinskij 1984, 202, no. 14; Monachov 1989, 147, no. 26, pl. 6; Monachov 1999a, 498, pl. 211, 7. Graffito on lower part of neck.

300-270 B.C.: 'Απη() (monogram)

Of the names so beginning, only 'Απήμαντος found twice in inscriptions of the 4th-early 3rd century B.C. from Chersonesos (*NEPCh* II 135, 172 = *IOSPE I*² 710. Cp. *GACH* 241)

need be considered. The amphora, of which the measured capacity was 19.25 l, contained grain, cf. Appendix IV.

H 8. U6 room 3. Find list 6/21. 1969. Pl. 150.

Fragment from neck of Chersonesean transport amphora (**Ad 18**), preserving one handle with a stamp ΣΩΠΟΛΙΟΣ | ΑΣΤΥΝ[ΟΜΟΥ] (**Ae 73**). Graffito on lower part of neck. *Non videt*; represented here according to drawing in the find list. Findspot: among the debris.

325-270 B.C.: 'Απ() (ligature)

The same individual as in **H 7**. The earliest date of the inscription results from the dating of the stamp, which belongs to group 1A according to V.I. Kac's classification.⁸ Because of the possible reuse of the amphora, it cannot be ruled out that the graffito was made much later than the vessel itself.

H 9. U6 room 3. Find list 6/22. 1969. Pls. 150 and 156.

Neck sherd of Chersonesean transport amphora. Graffito deep and carefully incised on lower part. Height of letters: 2.3 cm. Findspot: among the debris.

325-270 B.C.: 'Απ() (ligature)

This graffito is not only similar to **H 8** but also comes from the same room. This fact allows us to suppose here an abbreviation of the name of the same individual, and to date both inscriptions accordingly.

H 10. U6 well, no. 201. 1977 + U6 courtyard, V-2. 1973. Pls. 150 and 156.

Two adjoining sherds from foot of brown-glazed kantharos (**B 75**). Graffito on underside. Height of letter: 1.0 cm.

300-270 B.C.: 'Αρ() (ligature)

Cf. **H 12** and **H 44(a)**.

H 11. U6. 1972. Pls. 150 and 156.

Neck fragment of a transport amphora with traces of greasy soot on the surface. Incised deeply and carefully. Height of letter: 1.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B()

Cf. **H 12**, as well as a series of BIC-dipinti.

H 12. U6 gate. Find list 3/25. 1972. Pl. 150.

Upper part and foot of Amastrian transport amphora (**Ad 77**) with an englyphic stamp on neck: AMACT|P[IO]C and 'ivy-leaf' (**Ae 115**). Estimated capacity of the jar is *c.* 21-23 l. Publications of the amphora: Ščeglov 1986, 367, fig. 1, 7; Kac, Pavlenkov and Ščeglov 1989, 24, 16 fig. 1, 3, catalogue no. 3. Graffito on lower part of neck. Height of letters: 2.6 cm.

300-270 B.C.: BAP (A and P in ligature)

Presumably, initial letters of two personal names (name and patronymic?): B() and 'Ap(). *Cf.* graffito AP (in ligature) on the kantharos foot from the well (**H 10**), as well as an analogous dipinto on a Chersonesean amphora neck (**H 44**).

H 13. U6 courtyard, DE-6. Find list 17/26. 1972. Pl. 150.

Upper part of I-A-3 type Chersonesean transport amphora (**Ad 2**) with a stamp B]AΘYΛΛ[OY]|A]ΣTYNOM[OY (**Ae 32**). Estimated capacity of the amphora is *c.* 29.6 l.⁹ Graffito on neck. Height of letter: 1.5 cm. Publications: Kac and Monachov 1977, 96, fig. 2, 2; Monachov 1989, pl. III, 75; 1999a, 498, pl. 211, 2; Gilevič and Ščeglov 1996, 104, fig. 2, 2, 105.

c. 325-300 B.C.: E()

V.I. Kac includes stamps of *Bathyllos* in group 1A and dates them to 325-315 B.C.¹⁰ This dating therefore gives the chronological range for the graffito too. A.N. Ščeglov, pointing out the presence of traces of greasy soot on the inner surface of the vessel, considers the inscription to be an abbreviation of ἔλαιον.¹¹ However, on second examination of the amphora I was not able to discern any traces of soot, either on the outer or the inner surfaces. And, the frequent repetition of the graffito 'E' on both amphora and tableware, as well as on the stone louterion **H 17**, all found in this part of the house, suggests rather an abbreviation of the householder's name.

H 14. U6 courtyard, DE-6. Find list 17/36. 1972. Pls. 150 and 156.

Neck and shoulder of Chersonesean transport amphora. Typical Chersonesean clay with lime particles. Light yellowish green engobe. Graffito on shoulder. Height of letter: 1.5 cm.

320-270 B.C.: E()

H 14a. U6 room 12. Find list 6/10a. 1971. Pls. 150 and 156.

Fragmentary transport amphora (**Ad 87**). Mediterranean atelier. Clay light brown, micaceous. Main dimensions: H 82.0 cm; H₀ 8.0 cm; H₁ 33.0 cm; H₃ 22.0 cm; D 43.0 cm; d₁ 8.4 cm. The capacity of the jar is 38.16 l. Fragmentary graffito on shoulder. Height of letter: *c.* 3.5 cm.

320-270 BC: E()

Owner's mark. Perhaps the same individual as **H 13-17**, **H 33(a)**.

H 15. U6 room 17. Find list 15/17. 1972. Pls. 151 and 156.

Fragment from salt-cellar of fish-plate (**B 231**). Clay light brown. Dull, dark grey slip. D. of base 8.5 cm. The edges of the salt compartment are covered with soot, which suggests reuse as lamp, *cf.* **H 31**. Graffito on underside. Height of letter: 1.2 cm.

Second half of 4th cent. B.C.: E()

H 16. U6 from the courtyard. Pl. 151.

Handle of a black-glazed kantharos (**B 63**). Graffito on upper surface. Height of letter: 0.6 cm.

325-270 B.C.: E[

H 17. U6 room 16. Find list 10. 1971. Pl. 174.

Massive limestone louterion (**L 28**). Mark on upper surface of handle. Height of letter: 4.0 cm.

325-270 B.C.: E()

The numerous repetitions of the sign both on tableware and on amphorae from different production centres found only in this part of the building leave no doubt that it is an abbreviation of the owner's name.

H 18. U6 courtyard, V-3. 1971. Pl. 151.

Black-glazed plate with stamped decoration on the upper surface (**B 153**). Dull glaze. Graffiti on underside of ring foot. Height of letters: 1.2 cm.

325-270 B.C.: (a) Eὐ() (ligature)
(b) 'Av() (ligature)

Possibly (b) was scratched by a different hand. Probably these are the names of two successive owners (father and son?).

H 19. U6 courtyard, B-2. 1972. Pl. 151.

Fragment of deep bowl with ring foot (**C 233**). Graffito on underside. Height of letters: 1.2 cm.

320-270 B.C.: 'Hp()

Cf. graffito **H 20**, which resembles this one. However, in view of the fact that the horizontal of the *eta* is not complete and the semicircle of *rho* is incised less deeply than the vertical lines, it is possible that the inscription is an adaptation of a price mark, FI, *i.e.* 1 drachm and 1 obol.

H 20. U6 room 3. Find list 6/71. 1969.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora with graffito. *Non vidi*; represented here according to drawing in the find list.

320-270 B.C.: 'Hpa() (H and P in ligature)

Cf. dipinti **H 65-67**.

H 21. U6 room 3. Find list 6/70. 1969. Pl. 151.

Fragment from neck of Chersonesean transport amphora. Graffito on lower part. Height of letters: 1.8 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Ἡρακ() (H and P in ligature)

The *kappa* is drawn so lightly that it is wholly discernible only under a binocular magnifier.

H 22. U6 courtyard, DE-6. Find list 17/87. 1972. Pls. 151 and 157.

Foot of a black-glazed kantharos (**B 21**). D. 5.2 cm. Rose clay; lustrous black glaze. Graffiti on underside – in the centre of the base and on the vault of the foot. Height of letters: 0.4-1.4 cm. The *omicron* is less than half the size of the other letters.

320-270 B.C.: (a) [...]I
(b) Η
Ἡρο()

The graffito (a) undoubtedly comprised the initial letters of the former owner's name which were later thoroughly scratched out. Judging by the dimensions of the final *iota* the initial inscription consisted of approximately 3-4 letters. When re-marking the vessel (b) the new owner intended to begin the inscription at the very centre of the bottom. Having noted, however, that there was not enough space he crossed out the initial *eta* and executed the signature in complete form nearby.

H 23. U6 room 3. Find list 6/76. 1969. Pls. 151 and 157.

Fragment of Sinopean (?) transport amphora. Graffito on neck. Height of letters: 0.5-1.2 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Θα()

Cf. dipinto **H 68**. Similar anlaut in the Chersonesean onomasticon is known only in Θάσιος (patronymic, mid-3rd century B.C.: Kac 1994, 109, no. 98), and Θάγων (patronymic, late 3rd cent. B.C.: Kac 1994, 93, no. 39; *NO* 26, 5),¹² as well as in graffiti Θα() on the bases of black-glazed vessels from Chersonesos (late 4th century B.C.: *GACH* 906; Jajlenko 1987, 240) and the settlement of Chaika (late 4th cent. B.C.: find list Ch. 66/583; unpublished).

H 24. U6 room 22. Find list 6/10. 1972. Pls. 151 and 157.

Profiled foot of a black-glazed kantharos (**B 67**). Dull glaze. A hole of truncated-cone shape in the middle of the foot indicates its reuse as a spindle whorl. Graffito on underside of foot. Height of letters: 0.7-1.1 cm.

c. 320-310 B.C.: Θεοκ()

Judging by the large size of the *omicron*, the inscription was made while the vessel was still complete. For the personal name *cf.* the Chersonesean compounds Θεο-κλής and Θεο-κύδης (*IOSPEI*² 403 A, 8, 10 = *SEG XL* 615 A, 12-13; third quarter of 3rd cent. B.C.).

H 25. U6 room 12. Find list 6/30. 1971. Pl. 151.

Brown-glazed salt-cellar (**B 129**). H. 4 cm, D. of rim 5.8 cm.

Graffito on underside of ring foot. Height of letters: 0.5-0.7 cm. Find spot: beside **H 2**.

300-270 B.C.: Θευ()

H 26. U6. 1972. Pls. 151 and 157.

Neck sherd of a transport amphora with graffito. Height of mark: 1.9 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Κρα() (monogram)

H 27. U6 room 3. Find list 6/59. 1969.

Astragalus with graffito. *Non videt*; represented here according to drawing in the find list.

300-270 B.C.: Λ()

Probably an abbreviation of owner's name (a child?).

H 28. U6 courtyard, D-2, 3. 1975. Pls. 151 and 157.

Fragment from neck of Chersonesean (?) transport amphora. Graffito on lower part of neck. Height of letters: 1.0-1.2 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Νε() (ligature)

Abbreviation of personal name (PN), such as Νευπόλιος, Νευμήνιος, *et sim.*, which are well known *inter alia* in the Chersonesean onomasticon.

H 29. U6 room 3. Find list 6/63. 1969.

A large astragalus with ground surfaces; used as a spooling reel. *Non videt*; represented here according to the find list.

300-270 B.C.: ΙΙ()

Perhaps an abbreviation of owner's name (a woman?).

H 30. U6 courtyard, D-6. Find list 17/91. 1972. Pls. 151 and 157.

Pierced fragment from floor of a black-glazed open vessel, decorated with stamped palmettes (**B 165**). Graffito on underside. Height of letter: 0.9 cm.

320-270 B.C.: ΙΙρ() (ligature)

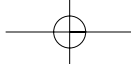
Cf. **H 31**.

H 31. U6 room 12. Find list 6/50. 1971. Pls. 75, 151 and 157.

Salt-cellar and ring foot from massive fish-plate (**B 232**). Dull, grey slip. The fragment was reused as a lamp (see **E 11**). A socket for the wick has been cut into the wall of the salt compartment; the edge is covered with soot. Graffito on underside of ring foot. Height of letters varies from 0.3 to 1.4 cm. Find spot: on the floor.

350-325 B.C.: ΙΙρω()

The fact of the vessel's reuse and the squat shape of the *omega* with its broad 'gate' seem to justify the early dating of the inscription. Possibly, the PN is of the type of Πρώτιππος (*cf.* Anochin 1977, no. 95; early 3rd cent. B.C.), or something similar beginning with ΙΙρωτ-.



2B. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Here there is only one inscription (**H 32**) to be commented upon. As in the case of numerous graffiti in the preceding section, the reconstruction of a PN, of the type Δαμοσθένης, Δαμόστρατος, *et sim.*, might be considered a possibility. However, the unusually large size of the dish suggests, rather, its use for public feasts – making it similar to numerous finds of tableware with the abbreviation δε(μόσιον) from the Athenian Agora.¹³ I would also refer to an example from Korinth where the inscription δαμόσιον appears on an oinochoe shoulder;¹⁴ a similar graffito (ΔΕΜΟΣΙΕ) on a kylix base from excavations at Polychrono in the Chalcidice¹⁵ is dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C. In the northern Black Sea area in general, graffiti designating public property dating to the 6-5th centuries are known from Berezan'.¹⁶ In 1968-1970 a series of inscriptions ΠΟ, ΠΟΛΕ, and ΠΟΛΕΟΣ on *polis*-owned black-glazed pottery dating to 525-475 was found during excavation of the *gymnasion* in Olbia.¹⁷ But among the entire assemblage of Chersonesean epigraphy, the graffito from Panskoye published here is as yet the only inscription of its kind – though in the 'public domain' one can point to stamps ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΝ on amphorae from Chersonesos dated by V.I. Kac to the end of 4th – beginning of the 3rd century B.C.;¹⁸ probably these amphorae were produced in public *ergasteria*.¹⁹ Recently Yu.G. Vinogradov related one other graffito to this group – an example on the foot of a black-glazed kantharos found in grave MO 47 in the necropolis of Panskoye I. On studying the photograph of this graffito he read it as δάμο ἐκ πόλε(ος) – '(Gefäss) des Volkes aus der Stadt'.²⁰ However, a *de visu* examination of the inscription, which is preserved in IIMK RAS, leaves no doubt that Vinogradov misread as an 'inverted' *kappa* what is actually an *upsilon* with the glaze peeled off to the left of its vertical *hasta*. Hence, the graffito should be read as the *gen.* of a personal name with patronymic: Δαμο() Εὐπολέ(μου).

H 32. U6 courtyard, VG-2. 1971. Pls. 41, 152 and 157.

Large black-glazed plate with rolled rim (**B 147**). Four lines of rouletting. Grooved resting surface. Dull glaze. D. 34.0 cm, D. of base 19 cm. Graffito on underside of ring foot. Height of letters: 0.4-0.7 cm.

c. 300 B.C.:

δαμόσ(ιον)

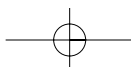
The *sigma* is of the lunate shape well attested in amphora stamps of Chersonesos dated to the same period.²¹ The Doric vocalism of the inscription should also be noted.

3. NUMERICAL AND COMMERCIAL MARKS (**H 33-72**)

3A. INDICATIONS OF CAPACITY

Only six inscriptions have been included in this group. All the marks of this type are found on amphorae, and are represented exclusively by graffiti executed at the base of the neck or on the shoulder of the vessels. For the most part, we have nothing more than small fragments; however, in just two cases (**H 33** and **H 34**) completely preserved amphorae of Chersonesean and Rhodian manufacture *are* available to us, and the actual capacity of these two specimens was of course measured and used for interpretation of all the graffiti.

Although various methods of marking have been identified in our inscriptions, they are all based on the acrophonic-numeric system. In one case (**H 33**), we encounter a recording method that combines acrophonic numerals with simple strokes to designate the number of unit-measures fewer than five and their fractions. Another method is represented by a com-



bination of acrophonic numerals (with an indication of the number of basic unit-measures) and acrophonic signs of the fractional units. Of these fractional units, possibly *aryster* (H 35) and *oxybaphon* (?) (H 36) may be reconstructed.

A comparison of the true capacity of the completely preserved amphorae with the marks inscribed on them shows that the capacity of these vessels was calculated up to the rim, using dry measures – *choinikes* – as the main units. This fact possibly indicates that the capacity inscriptions were made in connection with the secondary use of the amphorae: that is, for storing grain – as confirmed by the find of a Chersonesean amphora containing rye and wheat in *room 3* (H 7, find list 6/2; see also Appendix IV). And this supposition would also explain the fact that, notwithstanding the known engagement in agricultural production at house U6, pithoi, which were traditionally used for storing grain are practically absent from the material from the house.²² Moreover, the measuring of a great quantity of ware carried out by S.Yu. Monachov²³ seems to confirm the use of the *choinix* in calculating amphora-capacity standards in Hellenistic Chersonesos.²⁴ This fact would find its logical explanation in the supposition that amphora production in the city was directed not only towards the needs of the wine trade but also towards the transportation of grain.

H 33. U6 room 13. Find list 8/2. 1971. Pls. 152 and 157.
Chersonesean transport amphora **Ad 1** with a stamp BA]ΘYAA[OY] | AΣTYN[OMOY (**Ae 33**). Type: Monachov 1989, I-A-3. Light brown engobe. Graffiti on lower part of neck (a) and on opposite shoulder (b). Publications: Ščeglov 1974a, 49; Kac and Monachov 1977, 95 f.; Monachov 1980, 164, fig. 8, cat. no. 37; 1989, no. 12; 1999, 498, pl. 211, 7; Brašinskij 1984, 201, no. 2; Gilevič and Ščeglov 1996, 104, fig. 2, 105.

c. 325-300 B.C.: (a) E()
(b) ΔΔΠ||| =

For the date cf. **H 13**. The vessel was found along with 17 other amphorae from a burnt-down foodstore originally located above *room 13*. It is in this part of house U6 that the fire was at its fiercest. This circumstance as well as the runnels of greasy soot discernible on the inner surface of most of the pots have led to the inference that 'E' in the present case designates their contents: ἔλαιον.²⁵ Accordingly, the second graffiti was interpreted as indicating either the price²⁶ or the volume of the stored stuff;²⁷ and, taking into account that the capacity of the amphora is 31.43 l., the numeric mark (b) most probably indicates the capacity of the vessel: 29 *choinikes* and 2 *kotyles*. If this supposition is correct then we have for the Chersonesean *choinix* a value of about 1.065 l.: that is, slightly less than the volume of the corresponding Attic unit. However, the supposition that there existed a local standard of capacity in Chersonesos demands further verification on the basis of a much larger body of material which, for the present, is not available to us.

Moreover, the isolated *epsilon* on the opposite side of the vessel is quite probably *not* an indication of its contents. Repetition of this mark not only on amphorae but also on tableware and stone objects found in this part of U6 suggests an abbreviation of the name of a single individual, *i.e.* the householder.

H 34. U6 room 13. Find list 8/14. 1971. Pl. 48.
Rodian transport amphora (**Ad 84**). Main dimensions:

H. 63.0 cm; H. of upper part 32.0 cm; D. of body 42.0 cm; D. of rim (estim.) 9.0 cm. Graffito on shoulder. Publication of the jar: Monachov 1999, 501, pl. 214, 5.

300-270 B.C.: ΔΔΔ

Like graffiti **H 33(b)** this is probably an indication of the vessel's capacity: 30 *choinikes*. If we are justified in proposing that a *choinix*, or some related local unit of about 1.065 l. was the basis of the measuring system, then the capacity must have been 32 l. The capacity of the amphora calculated on the basis of its reconstructed parameters according to Heron's formula for 'pithoide' ($11/14 \times H \times ((D_{\text{body}} + d_{\text{rim}})/2)^2$) is 32.18 l. This value is close to the similar standard capacity established for 'proto-Rhodian' amphorae²⁸ and considerably exceeds that of later Rhodian amphorae.²⁹

H 35. U6 courtyard. 1971. Pls. 152 and 158.
Small fragment from neck of southern Pontic transport amphora. Graffito on lower part of neck. Height of marks: 1.0 cm.

c. 325-300 B.C.:]ΔΔΔΑ

The mark designated 20, or if there is in fact one character missing at the break, 30, *choinikes* and 2 smaller units of which the name is concealed under abbreviation 'A': this should possibly be understood as a term ἀρυστήρ, attested by Herodotus (Hdt. II, 168) and Alcaeus (Alc. fr. 58, 9 Voigt. Cf. Callim. fr. 178, 17 Pfeiffer; EM 151, 2) as a liquid measure. It seems from Herodotus that *aryster* was the East Greek or Ionian equivalent of the Attic *kotyle*.³⁰ Hesychius also relates it to *kotyle* (Hesych. A 7564: ἀρυστήρ· οἴνου ἀρυστήρ· κοτύλη). In addition to certain previously identified examples,³¹ *aryster* as a measure of volume may be reconstructed in the case of several numerical marks on pithoi from the settlement of Chaika: Δ||| Α (complete? Č-89/969; Jefremow 1998, 74 and note 12); Δ||| Α [- -] (GChCh 274, 3rd cent. B.C.); [- -] ΑΔΠ (GChCh 271); ΔΔ|| ΑΔΠ|| (GChCh 278); Ρ ||| Α [- -] (GChCh 285); Ρ Π| Α ΥΔ

(*GChCh* 287, 3rd cent. B.C.). As may be judged from the comments of E.I. Solomonik, who published these graffiti, the repeated abbreviations A, *Α*, *ΑΥ*, undoubtedly designating the same unit in all cases, remained unclear to her. Cf. now also Jefremow 1998, 71-92, who argues that the monogram *Α* stands here for ἀμφορεύς, and reads *GChCh* 287 respectively: ΠΔΙ ἀ(μφο)ρ(έων) ὕδ(ατος). However, the comparison with *GChCh* 271 and 278 clearly indicates that the last Δ is a numeral, not a letter. In this case the Υ seems more likely to be part of the same unit name starting with an A. But what could explain appearance of the term *aryster* in inscriptions from Chaika and Panskoye and its complete absence from the epigraphy of the city of Chersonesos? The possible reason is that even after the seizure of the western Crimea by Chersonesos, a total replacement of population did not occur at either of the settlements (Chaika and Panskoye), which had been founded by Ionian Greeks at the turn of 5th-4th century B.C.

H 36. U6 room 12. Find list 6/8. 1971.

Upper part of Chersonesean transport amphora of the type IB according to Monachov 1989 (**Ad 33**). Graffito on shoulder. *Non vidē*; represented here according to drawing in the find list.

320-270 B.C.: ΔΟ

It is unclear if the inscription is complete or broken off at the left or right. If the inscription did continue at the left, then it could have been a capacity mark, e.g. ΔΔ]ΔΟ i.e. 30 *choinikes* and 1 *oxybaphon* (for O as abbreviation of *oxybaphon* cf. Lang 1956, 13 no. 59).³² It is, however, possible that the inscription is incorrectly reproduced in the field inventory and that it was an abbreviation of the owner's name, e.g. Δτο.

H 37. U6 courtyard, VG-2. 1971. Pls. 152 and 158.

Shoulder fragment of southern Pontic transport amphora, with graffito. Height of marks: c. 1.5 cm.

320-270 B.C.:]ΔΠ[

Judging by the proportions of the vessel we may suppose the loss of a further delta, i.e. Δ]ΔΠ[.

H 38. U6 courtyard, D-3. 1974. Pls. 152 and 158.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean amphora. Graffiti on lower part of neck. Height of marks: (a) 1.5 cm; (b) c. 3.5 cm. A deep slanting line crosses the sherd, about 5 cm to the left of these marks.

320-270 B.C.: (a) cross
(b) Δ[

3B. PRICE MARKS

As well as graffiti **H 39-41** listed below as price marks, this group can be taken to include **H 44(b)** and possibly **H 19**, which are discussed in other sections. The extremely small amount of material considered here naturally precludes us from any possible general conclusions. Unfortunately, it is not certain in every case whether the price indicated is that of the single vessel on which it appears or that of a whole consignment of similar ware. Therefore I shall limit myself to comments within the individual catalogue entries.

H 39. U6 courtyard, Zh-2. 1975. Pls. 152 and 158.

Fragment of fish-plate (**B 226a**). Grey clay; dull, dark grey slip on upper surface. Graffito on underside, lightly incised. Height of marks: 1.2-1.5 cm.

c. 325-300 B.C.: (a) I (outside of ring foot)
(b) H]H (inside of ring foot, nearby (a))

The position of the single stroke (a) as well as its dimensions and thickness of line indicate that it was not only drawn at the same time as inscription (b) but was also connected with the latter in sense. In that case the mark on the inside of the base could designate the (rather high) price of a single plate: half a drachm and 1 obol (i.e. 4 obols in total). The numerous finds of ceramic objects repaired at home with lead clamps provide further confirmation of the high cost of imported ware.

H 40. U6 courtyard, V-4. Find list 1/9. 1973. Pls. 152 and 158.

Foot of a black-glazed kantharos (**B 71**). Graffiti on underside. Height of marks: 0.7 cm.

300-270 B.C.: (a)]A (at one side)
(b) F (at other side)

As in all the graffiti of this type from house U6 the drachm sign is incised lightly but legibly. However, 1 drachm could not have been the price of a single kantharos, which must have cost much less.³³ Possibly, the mark indicates the price of a consignment of similar vessels; their number, in contrast to the graffito published by M. Lang (1976, E13), is not specified. Cf. F ΔΔ on the base of a red-figured skyphos dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C. from Chersonesos³⁴ and the graffito on a black-glazed saucer from Theodosia.³⁵ In the light of a series of graffiti presented by Johnston,³⁶ where the price starts with *alpha*,³⁷ it might be supposed that in our case too *alpha* was associated with the drachm sign, e.g. as the Doric form of the symbol used for designating the half denominations, i.e. ἡμίσεια δραχμά, cf. Lesbian αἰμισέων, αἰμιθέων, αἰμιτόνοις for ἡμι-.³⁸ Cf. **H 39(b)**. However, the fact that the letter is carved some distance away from (b) and somewhat deeper suggests that it may have been added later, as an abbreviation of the owner's name.

H 40a. U6 courtyard, V-4. Find list 1. 1973. Pl. 152.

Fragmentary, probably Attic, black-glazed plate with thickened rim and ring foot (**B 152**). Restored with plaster. Traces of ancient repair. Graffito on outer surface near the foot. The incision is neat and easily legible. Height of mark: 0.5 cm.

320-300 B.C.: F

As in **H 40** it is difficult to accept the drachma sign on the plate as a price for an individual piece. Most likely we should see it as a price indication for a fixed set of probably similar shapes.

H 41. U6 room 3. Find list 6/72. 1969. Pl. 152.

Fragment from neck of Chersonesean transport amphora.

Traces of fierce burning on inside of neck. Graffito on neck. Height of marks: 2.0-2.5 cm.

320-270 B.C.: CI

The peculiar semicircle frequently reported as the hemiobol sign would suggest that the graffito was a price mark. The vertical line to its right probably corresponds to a smaller denomination, *i.e.* chalcon. Such a low price – 1 hemiobol and 1 chalcon – can hardly be related to any contents but is rather the cost of the empty jar intended for reuse. In urban centres with their own established ceramic production, the price of such goods must have been considerably lower. Thus, *e.g.* in Athens in the late 5th century, 21 empty amphorae, though possibly smaller and of poorer quality than the specimen represented by our fragment, were sold at a total price of 3 obols.³⁹

3C. CLIENT NAMES

'Client names' constitute the third and most numerous group within our category of Numerical and Commercial Marks. Although one never meets a section so called in any of the existing classifications of Greek ceramic inscriptions, a series of facts revealed through comparison of various items in the epigraphic collection from U6 suggest the proposed interpretation of the material grouped together here.

All inscriptions in this group are dipinti on amphorae. And most of these (**H 42-59**, **H 63-65**, **H 68**, **H 70-71**) appear on pottery of Chersonesean manufacture. Two of the marks, however, were found on amphorae from Sinope (**H 66** and **H 69**); one on each of the amphora from Thasos (**H 61**) and that of the Solokha-I type (**H 60**); and three on vessels of unidentified origin (**H 62**, **H 67**, and **H 72**).

The location of the inscriptions on the vessels does not show much diversity. In all cases the dipinti are drawn on the lower part of the neck or occasionally on the shoulder of amphorae, but, since there is no marked transition between these two areas, they may be taken as the same position. The direction of writing is always parallel to the rim. The dipinti are mostly extremely laconic, being intended for persons who were anyway perfectly familiar with their purpose. Only in one case (**H 60**) does the record consist of more than three signs. As with owners' marks, the letters often form ligatures: A and P (**H 44**), H and P (**H 65-67**), Π and P (**H 71**). The paint used for writing varies from light to dark red in colour. The height of the letters as well as the breadth of the lines (*i.e.* the brush-strokes) also vary from inscription to inscription in the range 1.3 to 5.0 cm and 1.5 to 4.0 mm respectively. In some cases these objective criteria, along with the style of writing, enable us not only to identify certain groups of marks associated by time of execution and author but also to distinguish the work of at least three or four different writers overall.

The lack of studies on amphora dipinti from other sites⁴⁰ and, in our case, the additional problems created by the fragmentary state or simple brevity of the texts (often consisting of just one letter) are factors that make their interpretation difficult and open the way for widely differing explanations. Thus B. Böttger and D. B. Šelov⁴¹ having studied more than 3000 dipinti of the late antique period from Tanais proposed the following list of information which may have been inserted in the inscriptions:

1. For transportation and sale:
 - a) the nature of the amphora contents;
 - b) the quality and/or origin of the contents;

- c) the volume and/or weight of the contents;
 - d) capacity and/or weight of the empty amphora;
 - e) name of the owner or seller of the goods.
2. For storing:
- a) owner's name;
 - b) the volume and/or weight of the contents;
 - c) enumeration of the stored goods;
 - d) designation of contents substituted for original contents of the amphora;

In our case the range of possible interpretations must be much narrower. Firstly, the possibility of any connection between the marks and contents of the vessels is to be rejected. As mentioned above, the overwhelming majority of the marked ware comes from ceramic workshops in Chersonesos. Even boldest imagination would hardly suppose that the range of goods imported in this ware could have been so great as to explain the diversity of the inscriptions preserved. The same may be said concerning the possible indication of the provenance, volume, or age of the goods (most often wine). Considering the rather strict standardisation of transport amphorae, which often bear the stamps of successive, annually-serving *astynomoi*, any additional record of that kind would seem superfluous. Our arguments are confirmed in particular by the presence of identical marks on vessels of different capacity and contents (H 61 and H 63-64, H 65 and H 66), and by the absence of parallels to our dipinti at other settlements in the *chora* or in Chersonesos itself. Still less tenable would be a proposal that the dipinti constitute some kind of numerical record.

A key to understanding the inscriptions of this group is the supposition that they are abbreviations of the personal names of inmates of house U6. A comparison of the dipinti with the list of owners' graffiti (H 3-31, above) seems to corroborate this hypothesis. The painted inscriptions in fact point to the same circle of individuals already known to us from the owners' marks: 'Αρ() (H 44), Β() (H 45-55), Εὐφ() (H 61-64), 'Ηρ() (H 65-67), Θα() (H 68), Πρ() (H 71), *etc.* Identical marks, albeit made by different means, are found sometimes in the same room or household unit (Εὐ() – Εὐφ() in *room 13*; Θα() – Θ() in *room 3*). Moreover, as in the case of the graffiti, it can hardly be mere chance that Β(), Εὐφ(), and 'Ηρ() are represented in the majority of the inscriptions.

However, it would be a mistake to lump together both these groups according to their function and to see the difference only in the technique. Dipinti, which by their nature would have been thought of as only temporary, were intended for merely utilitarian purposes. Unlike graffiti, they would not have been sufficiently effective and durable as owners' marks, being easily removed; and it is for that reason that we do not find dipinti being used in this, or any other, way on the table- and household ware from U6. What, then can explain the same repertory of names in inscriptions on both of the groups?

The only interpretation consistent with the facts seems to be to consider the dipinti as commercial records, and the abbreviations and *sigilli* appearing on amphorae as a means of labelling the goods according to the customers' names. That wine came to Panskoye not only as a retail item but also in wholesale lots has already been convincingly proved by A.N. Ščeglov on the basis of amphora stamps from two storerooms in U6.⁴² One further argument in favour of our hypothesis is the series of dipinti of the same type, executed by the same hand and possibly at the same time. It must be said, however, that the commercial transaction identified in connection with house U6 is the first instance of a sale based on remote ordering of goods that we know of.⁴³ Depending on the extent to which the trading network had developed, the consignments of wine or other goods (including imports) transported in amphorae could be collected both from Chersonesos proper and from the neighbouring seaports such as Kalos Limen or Kerkinitis.

H 42. U6 room 13. Find list 8/8. 1971.

Fragments of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red on lower part of neck. *Non videt*; represented here according to drawing in the find list.

320-270 B.C.: A()

H 43. U6 courtyard, V-6. 1973. Pl. 153.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red. Height of letter: 2.5 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3 cm.

320-270 B.C.: A()

H 44. U6 courtyard, B-5. Find list 16/4. 1972. Pls. 153 and 158

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora. Light brown clay; lime and pyroxene particles. Dipinto in red on lower part of neck (a). To right, nearby, graffito (b). Height of dipinto: 4.5 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.5 cm.

320-270 B.C.: a) 'Ap() (ligature)

b) <

The repetition of this ligature as a graffito too suggests here the initials of some inmate of the farmhouse. Cf. **H 10** and **H 12**. Less tenable seems the supposition that the abbreviation indicated the quality of the wine: ἄριστος – 'the best', 'first-rate', or ἀρχαῖος – 'old', seasoned wine.

Mark (b) is of later origin and possibly indicates the price of the empty amphora: 1 ½ obols (?). For a horizontal stroke as an obol sign cf. Lang 1976, 22 E 4; Johnston 1978, 222 f.; 1979, Type 14 F, 15 E, fig. 12c; Scheibler 1995, 147, Abb. 129.

H 45. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (0). 1971. Pls. 153 and 158.

Fragment from neck of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red on lower part. Height of letter: 3.1 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B()

The handwriting differs from that of similar letters made with a broad brush on other vessels. For the mark as well for all the whole series of B/BIC dipinti compare **H 11-12**.

H 46. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (10). 1971. Pls. 153 and 158.

Neck sherd of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red. Height of letter: 3.4 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3-0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B()

H 47. U6 courtyard, DE-6. Find list 17. 1972. Pl. 153.

Neck fragment of small Chersonesean amphora. Presumably similar to Monachov 1989, Type II. Dipinto in red on lower part of neck. Height of letter: c. 5.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: c. 0.8 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B[

H 48. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (3). 1971. Pl. 153.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipin-

to in red on lower part of neck. Estimated height of letter: c. 3.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B[

H 49. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (4). 1971. Pl. 153.

Fragment of small Chersonesean amphora. Presumably similar to Monachov 1989, Type II. Remains of dipinto in red on lower part of neck. Estimated height of letter: c. 4.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.6 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B[

H 50. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (6). 1971. Pl. 154.

Small fragment from neck of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red. Height of letter: c. 4.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3-0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B[

H 51. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (7). 1971. Pl. 154.

Neck sherd of Chersonesean transport amphora. Remains of dipinto in red. Estimated height of letter: c. 3.5 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: B[

H 52. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (2). 1971. Pl. 154.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red. Height of letters: 2.2-3.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3-0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: BIC

The inscription may be read as an abbreviation either of a single name (cf. e.g., Chersonesean Βισθῆς⁴⁴) or of a name with patronymic – i.e. B() 'Ισ(). However, the rarity of names beginning with Βισ-, as well as the example of **H 69**, in which 'Ισ() is indubitable, inspire more enthusiasm for the latter reading.

H 53. U6 courtyard, V-4. 1973. Pl. 154.

Small fragment from neck of Chersonesean transport amphora. Remains of dipinto in red. Breadth of brush-stroke: c. 0.6 cm.

320-270 B.C.: BIC

See **H 52**.

H 54. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (1). 1971. Pls. 154 and 158.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora, with dipinto in red on lower part. Height of letters: 4.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: BI[

This dipinto seems to be analogous to **H 53-54** – as suggested by the colour of the paint, the breadth of the brush-stroke, and the shape of the letters. Presumably an abbreviation of a name with patronymic, i.e. B() 'Ισ[(). For 'Ισ() compare **H 69**.

H 55. U6 room 3. Find list 6/73. 1969. Pls. 154 and 159.

Fragment from shoulder and neck of Chersonesean transport amphora. Remains of dipinto in red. Height of letters: *c.* 4.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.6 cm.

320-270 B.C.: BI[

H 56. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (5). 1971. Pls. 154 and 159.

Neck fragment of small Chersonesean amphora like **H 47** and **H 49**. Dipinto in red on lower part of neck. Height of letters: *c.* 3.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3 cm.

320-270 B.C.:]IC

Cf. **H 52-55**, also **H 69**.

H 57. U6 room 12. Find list 6/13 (1). 1971. Pl. 154.

Neck sherd of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red. Estimated height of letters: *c.* 2.0-2.5 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3-0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.:]IC

Cf. **H 52-55**, also **H 69**.

H 58. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (8). 1971.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora. Remains of dipinto in red. Height of letter: *c.* 2.0 cm.

320-270 B.C.:]C

Cf. **H 52-55**, also **H 69**.

H 59. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3 (9). 1971. Pl. 154.

Fragment from neck of Chersonesean transport amphora. Dipinto in red. Height of letter: *c.* 2.5 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3 cm.

320-270 B.C.:]C

Cf. **H 52-55**, also **H 69**.

H 60. U6 courtyard, DE-6. Find list 17/50. 1972. Pls. 154 and 159.

Fragmentary transport amphora with the mushroom-shaped rim (**Ad 89**). Upper part with both handles is preserved. Dimensions: H. preserv. 24.3 cm; H. of upper part *c.* 25.0 cm; H. of neck 13.5 cm; D. of body *c.* 34.0 cm; D. of rim 8.5 cm. Clay yellowish with many inclusions of mica. Dipinto in red on neck. Height of letters: 2.0-3.0 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.2 cm.

325-270 B.C.:]ONCI

The inscription starts from near the handle and can thus hardly be a mistake for Δι]ονυσι. *Cf.* **H 36**. If the inscription is preserved completely, then an abbreviation of a name and patronymic: *e.g.* 'Ον() Σι() is possible. Of names with similar anlaut only 'Ονασικλῆς ('Ακίς Γέροντος 'Ονασικλέος γυνά, gravestone, *IOSPE I*² 504, 4th or 3rd cent. B.C.) is attested in Chersonesos.

Brašinskij 1980, 26, 122, no. 134; 1984, 138 f. dates trans-

port amphorae of this type (the so-called Solocha-I type) to the middle or third quarter of the 4th century B.C. However, amphorae with a characteristic mushroom-shaped rim which evidently came into fashion during that period were manufactured in a quite a number of centres including Samos, Rhodos, Naxos, Paros, Knidos *et al.*⁴⁵ They are common in ceramic container assemblages dated to the last quarter of the 4th and first quarter of the 3rd century B.C. See Monachov 1999a, 427-531; 1999b, 161-172.

H 61. U6 room 13. Find list 8/13. 1971.

Neck fragment of Thasian transport amphora. Dipinto in red. *Non vidi*; represented here according to drawing in the find list.

320-270 B.C.: E()

H 62. U6 courtyard, D-6. Find list 17/84. 1972. Pl. 155.

Neck fragment of transport amphora. Greyish brown clay with lime and mica particles. Dipinto in red. Height of letter: 1.8 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.15-0.2 cm.

320-270 B.C.: E[

H 63. U6 room 13. Find list 8/9. 1971. Pl. 155.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora. No engobe. Brown clay; lime particles. Runnels of greasy soot on surface of the jar. Dipinto in red. Height of letter: 1.5 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.15 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Eù()

Of the second letter only the lower part of the vertical *hasta* is preserved. *Cf.* the next item and graffiti **H 13-18**.

H 64. U6 room 3. Find list 6/75. 1969. Pl. 155.

Fragment of Chersonesean (?) transport amphora. Dipinto in red on lower part of neck. Height of letters: 0.8-1.1 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.15 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Eùφ()

Most probably this represents a client's name, *e.g.* Εὐφρόνης, Εὐφρόνιος, not infrequently attested in Chersonesos, or Εὐφάνης, *vel sim.* with the second element beginning with φ-. In the light of Hesychius' gloss: εὐφρων ἡδύς... (Hes. *s.v.*), we might also suppose this abbreviation to indicate that the amphora contained sweet wine. *Cf.* II. 3, 246: εὐφρων οἶνος. However, in view of absence of any parallels at other sites in the Chersonesean *chora*, the later hypothesis seems less tenable.

H 65. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3. 1971. Pl. 155.

Neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora. Light brown clay; no visible temper. Dipinto in red. Height of letters: 2.7 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3-0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: 'Ηρ() (ligature)

H 66. U6 courtyard, D-6. Find list 17/43. 1972.

Neck fragment of Sinopean transport amphora. Light brown slip. Dipinto in red. Height of letters: 3.0 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Ἡρ() (ligature)

H 67. U6 room 12. Find list 6/13 (3). 1971. Pl. 155.
Small neck fragment of a transport amphora. Dipinto in red.
Height of letter: 1.3 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.2 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Ἡ[ρ?]() (ligature?)

H 68. U6 room 3. Find list 6/74. 1969. Pl. 155.
Fragment from neck of Chersonesean (?) transport amphora.
Reddish brown clay; lime particles. There is a streak of burnt
stuff on the inside of the neck. Dipinto in red on shoulder.
Height of letters: 1.8 cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.4 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Θα[

Of the *alpha* only the lower part of the left *hasta* is preserved.
The amphora neck fragment with graffito ΘΑ (**H 23**) was
found in the same room. Cf. also **H 24-25**.

H 69. U6 courtyard, D-6. Find list 17. 1972.

Fragment from neck and shoulder of Sinopean (?) transport
amphora. Remains of dipinto in red.

320-270 B.C.: Ἰσ()

H 70. U6 room 13. Find list 8/3. 1971. Pl. 155.
Chersonesean transport amphora **Ad 13**. Type Monachov

1989, I-B. The capacity of the vessel is 19.60 l. Dipinto in
red on neck. Height of letter: 2.3 cm; breadth of brush-
stroke: 0.2 cm. Publications: Kac and Monachov 1977, 96,
fig. 2,3; Monachov 1980, 164, fig. 5, cat. no. 32; 1989, 111,
pl. V, 25; 1999a, 499, pl. 212, 3.

320-270 B.C.: Μ()

Various interpretations are possible, but probably, as in oth-
er cases, this mark served to label a consignment of goods
with the customers' name.

H 71. U6 courtyard, VG-2, 3. 1971. Pls. 155 and 159.

Small neck fragment of Chersonesean transport amphora.
Remains of dipinto in red. Estimated height of mark: c. 2.0
cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3 cm.

320-270 B.C.: Πρ() (ligature)

Possibly an abbreviation of the same personal name as in **H**
30-31.

H 72. U6 room 12. Find list 6/13(2). 1971.

Neck sherd of a transport amphora. Remains of dipinto in
red. Brown clay; lime particles.

320-270 B.C.: Φ()

4. VARIA (H 73-79)

The category 'varia' is composed of those inscriptions that it was not possible to assign to any of the preceding categories. With the exception of graffito **H 79** on the bottom of a black-glazed bowl these are marks scratched or painted on amphorae.

H 73. U6 room 13. Find list 8/5. 1971. Pls. 155 and 159.
Chersonesean transport amphora **Ad 22**. Type: Monachov
1989, I-B. The capacity of the amphora is 19.0 l. Publica-
tions of jar: Kac and Monachov 1977, 99, pl. 1, no. 5; Mona-
chov 1980, 176, cat. no. 26; 1989, 147, no. 41, pl. VII, 41.
Dipinto in red in two lines on neck. Height of letters: 1.5-1.8
cm; breadth of brush-stroke: 0.1 cm.

320-270 B.C.: A
XI

Different interpretations are possible. The *alpha* is probably,
as in other cases the initial of the customer's name. The sec-
ond line is difficult to explain: the vessel parameters pre-
clude consideration of it as an indication of the volume in
choes or *choinikes*.

H 74. U6 room 3. Find list 6/77. 1969. Pl. 155.

Neck fragment of a transport amphora. Light brown clay;
lime particles. Traces of fierce burning on the inside. Dipin-

to in red on lower part of neck. Height of mark: 2.2 cm;
breadth of brush-stroke: 0.3 cm.

320-270 B.C.: A'

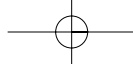
The apostrophe to the right of the *alpha* suggests here a nu-
merical mark, possibly related to the 'serial' labelling of a
consignment of goods, etc.

H 75. U6 courtyard, B-2. 1971. Pl. 155.

Fragment from neck of Sinopean transport amphora. Dip-
into in red on lower part of neck. Height of letters: 1.5 cm;
breadth of brush-stroke: 0.2 cm.

320-270 B.C.: A
A

Only the lower part of the first sign is discernible. Never-
theless, the peculiar incline of the lateral *hastae* and traces of
paint undoubtedly indicate an *alpha*. Various explanations
are possible.



H 76. U6 courtyard, D-6. 1975.

Neck fragment of Sinopean transport amphora. Remains of dipinto (lower part of vertical *hasta*) in red.

H 77. U6 gate. Find list 3/21. 1972. Pls. 155 and 159.

Neck sherd of Herakleian transport amphora. Graffito on lower part of neck. Height of mark: 3.2 cm.

320-270 B.C.: cross

Marks of such a kind could be employed for a number of different purposes, and it is not impossible that they served as ownership marks for some illiterate proprietors (*cf.* 'Private ownership' section, above). An identical mark (**H 78**) was found near the gate.

H 78. U6 gate. Find list 3/5. 1972. Pl. 155.

Fragment from neck and shoulder of Chersonesean transport amphora. Graffito on shoulder. Height of mark: 2.3 cm.

320-270 B.C.: cross

Cf. **H 77.** During the drawing of the horizontal, the point of the spike evidently slipped and made an irregular line which was then retouched more accurately.

H 79. U6 courtyard, D-5. 1974. Pl. 155.

Black-glazed bowl with traces of repair (**B 108**). Dull glaze.

D. 14.7 cm, D. of base 8 cm. Graffito on underside of ring foot. Height of mark: 1.3 cm.

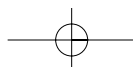
300-270 B.C.: K(?) or Φ(?)

A. Johnston places such signs among trademarks (*cf.* Johnston 1979, 85, Type 32 A, IV). However, their meaning remains rather unclear. In our graffito **H 79** the horizontal strokes are not parallel, however. Joining on the left of the vertical, they diverge at a slight angle on its right. This gives some grounds to suppose a *kappa* here, and to consider it as the initial of one of the inmate's names (*cf.* **H 26**). For comparison we may refer to a graffito on a black-glazed jug from the settlement of Chaika (unpublished, inventory no. Ch. 66/672) in which the lateral *hastae* of the *kappa* form an angle of 15° and join at the left of the vertical. Also a *kappa* with practically parallel lateral *hastae* is known from the legend on the obverse of Kerkinitian coins dating to the turn of the 4th-3rd century B.C.⁴⁶

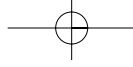
Of similar shape are some marks on vessels from Berezan⁴⁷ and Chersonesos (*GACH* 1620). In the case of *GACH* 1620, such a sign repeated twice on the base of a single vessel is undoubtedly a variant of *phi*, for at the second occurrence it is the initial letter of the PN Φορμίων (*cf.* *GACH* 1622: Φορ() where *phi* has a similar shape. *Cf.* also Guarducci 1967, 383).

NOTES

1. Stolba 1989, 55 ff. = *SEG* XXXIX 703.
2. Gilevič 1989, 72 f.
3. Seidl 1972, no. B 9-18.
4. Roller 1987, nos. 2A-8, 2A-11, 2A-37, 2A-42, 2A-61, 2A-66, 2A-94, 2A-110, 2A-115, 2A-117, 2A-122-124, 2A-133, 2A-170. *Cf.* also crosslike marks on archaic pottery from Naxos (Manni Piraino 1987, 40 no. 23, 42 no. 27, 43 nos. 28-29) and Kamarina (Manni Piraino 1987a, 92 tav. XI 2, 99 tav. XV 3, 100 tav. XV 5).
5. Roller 1987, 9.
6. Ščeglov 1974a, 49; Kac and Monachov 1977, 91, n. 3. B. Böttger and D. B. Šelov, considering dipinti from Tanais, also noted joint use of storerooms (Böttger and Šelov 1998, 126/127).
7. Kac 1994, 76, 93, no. 40.
8. Kac 1994, 113, no. 112.
9. Monachov 1989, 142, no. 15. According to A. Ščeglov (Gilevič and Ščeglov 1996, 105) the capacity of the amphora is *c.* 31-32 l.
10. Kac 1994, 91, no. 32.
11. Gilevič and Ščeglov 1996, 105.
12. For the name, see esp. Stolba 1996a, 449, no. 15; Tochtas'ev 1997, 380.
13. In the Athenian Agora *c.* fifty such marks with *delta-epsilon* ligature have been found (see Talcott 1936, 353 f. with reference to a kylix from the National Museum with an inscription ΔΕΜΟΣΙΑ in full on the underside of the foot; *cf.* Corbett 1949, 341, no. 138). See also Guarducci 1967, 402,



- 403, fig. 217; Lang 1976, 51-52, Fa 1-26, Fb 1-3; Roberts 1986, 25, no. 41, fig. 13; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 36 ff., fig. 21, 147, 160, 169-173, 206, 215-216, 268-269, pl. 53, 268-269. The same ligature occurs also on vases from the Acropolis and possibly from the Pnyx, see Graef and Langlotz 1925-1933, 127 f., nos. 1517, 1523; Davidson and Thompson 1943, 32, nos. 13(?), 15, fig. 15.
14. Williams and Fisher 1971, 31, no. 33, pl. 8.
 15. Vokotopoulou, Pappa and Tsigarida 1988, 322, 329, fig. 16; Vokotopoulou 1990, 79.
 16. Jajlenko 1982, 284, no. 30 (Berezan').
 17. Vinogradov 1983, 386; Vinogradov 1989, 62, 63, fig. 4.
 18. Kac 1994, 80, 132 Type C, no. 1, pl. CX.
 19. But *cf.* Borisova 1974, 110, and Monachov 1989, 58 ff., 85, in whose opinion amphorae with such stamps were standards for manufacturing similar ware.
 20. Vinogradov 1990, 59; Vinogradov 1997a, 489. For the photo, see Rogov 1986, 297 fig.; Ščeglov 1987, 266, fig. 17, 3.
 21. Beginning with group 1B: 315-300 B.C. See Kac 1994, 50.
 22. The only exceptions are one small vessel of Sinopean manufacture (**Ac 3**; U6 room 3, Find list 6/1), the capacity of which does not exceed that of a medium-sized Chersonesean amphora, and the single fragment of pithos rim from *room 13* (**Ac 1**).
 23. Monachov 1989, 79.
 24. *Cf.* the graffito ΧΓ on a fragment of 1st cent. B.C. jug neck from the settlement near the village of Mikhailovka. The publishers suppose the mark to be a 'designation of the volume unit – 3 *choes* – or designation of price – 3 *chalcoi*' (Jemec and Peters 1994, 168, fig. 2, 9). However, the complete jug would have been too small for 3 *choes*, suggesting that for it too, as in the case of Chersonesean graffiti **H 33(b)**, **H 34**, **H 36**, the units of measurement might have been *choinikes*. Evidence from the Athenian Agora may here be added: *tryblion* as another name for the *choinix* appears in two capacity marks on the base of a black-glazed oinochoe and on an amphora neck (Lang 1956, 13, nos. 60-61).
 25. Ščeglov 1974a, 49; Kac and Monachov 1977, 95 ff.; Solomonik 1984, 18.
 26. Ščeglov 1974a, 49 f. On the price of oil see especially Pease 1937, 2472-2474; Pritchett 1956, 184.
 27. Gilevič and Ščeglov 1996, 105 f.
 28. Grace 1963, 323, fig. 1, 333 no. 1 (according to the dimensions given by Grace, the capacity of the amphora from the Benaki collection is *c.* 30 l.); Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 58, pl. 2, 8.
 29. Grace 1965, 7; Brašinskij 1978, 11 ff.; Wallece Matheson and Wallece 1982, 293 ff.
 30. *Cf.* Johnston 1979, 224; Vos 1981, 35, 37 (= *SEG* XXXIII 63); Tochtas'ev 1985, 291 f.
 31. Lang 1976, 91 f. L 25 (dipinto on amphora shoulder, 1st cent. A.D.); Johnston 1979, 153 Type 2F, nos. 47-48, 154 Type 4F, nos. 1-5; Vos 1981, 36, fig. 1, pl. 14 C (graffiti on Panathenaic amphorae). *Cf.* also the graffito on a fragment of a Megarian bowl of the 2nd century B.C. from Tyras, which instead of ἡμὶ ἀρυστήρ [τοῦ δαίνου] proposed by V.P. Jajlenko (Jajlenko 1982, 268, n. 23; Yaylenko 1995, 250, no. 13 = *SEG* XLV 1029), should evidently be read as ἡμιαρυστήρ[ιον] by analogy with ἡμικοτύλιον, ἡμίχοον, ἡμιαμφόριον, *etc.* *Cf.* now also J.G. Vinogradov (*SEG* XLV ad 1029), who reads in the same sense: ἡμιαρυστήρ(ος).
 32. For other references on oxybaphon, see Wolf 1995, 353 f., *SEG* XLV 2345.
 33. On the prices of ceramic vessels in Classical Greece, see Amyx 1958, 275-280; Johnston 1978, 222 f.; 1979, 33-35; 1991, 224-228. *Cf.* also Scheibler 1995, 144 ff.
 34. *GACH* 548. Less probable is the reading proposed by Solomonik: 20 drachms.
 35. Stern 1897, 29, no. 84, pl. III.
 36. Johnston 1979, 18C, 59 and 63, fig. 6b-c; 24F, 2, fig. 13m; fig. 14t.
 37. Possibly the same applies to the inscription on a kylix base from Nymphaion: ΑΓΕΗ[(unpublished; the State Hermitage Museum, Nymph.-51.274) and to a graffito of the 6th century B.C. from Berezan' (Jajlenko 1982, 303, no. 174, 231, fig.). Judging from the figure, the inscription from



Berezan' should evidently be read retrogradely: | AFE. EYAI, with the retrograde *epsilon* proposed by the publisher, is doubtful because of a clear drachm sign to the left of the *alpha*, and because the vertical line on the right is three times longer than the other letters, so could hardly be an *iota*.

38. Buck 1955, 25.
39. Amyx 1958, 174 f.
40. Unfortunately, most of the dipinti from the Athenian Agora were left out of the publication by M. Lang (see Lang 1976, 1). Among recent works cf. Böttger and Šelov 1998. Although the dipinti were considered there according to the archaeological assemblages, they were not evaluated in relation to any other group of Tanais inscriptions such as graffiti; this fact in my view reduces the possibilities for full and accurate interpretation.
41. Böttger and Šelov 1998, 52/53.
42. Ščeglov 1974a, 49.
43. Possibly, the well-known graffito of a 'Postenaufrechnung' on a red-figure pelike from Naples may be considered as evidence of such trade relations, see Scheibler 1995, 147, Abb. 129, discussed earlier by Johnston 1978, 222 ff.; 1979, 229, fig. 12: 14F, 15 (E).
44. On this name in Chersonesos, see esp. Stolba 1996a, 445 f.
45. See, e.g., Grace 1963, 322; Grace 1971, 67, pl. 15; Tölle-Kastenbein 1974, 158, Abb. 259A; Empereur and Picon, 1986, 495 ff.; Van der Mersch 1986, 569 f., fig. 1-2; Avram, 1989, 247 ff.
46. Anochin 1989, no. 417.
47. Jajlenko 1982, 286, nos. 75-76.

