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Etruscan Bucchero Pottery in the Northern Black Sea Littoral

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Abstract

Three Etruscan bucchero *kantharoi* have recently been found in the North Pontic settlements at modern-day Berezan island (ancient Borysthenes), and Taganrog (ancient Kremnoi), both Milesian foundations of the 7th century BC. Both centres yielded several vessels of Greek pottery dated from the early 7th century onwards. As the only finds of Etruscan bucchero in the Northern Black Sea area, the *kantharoi* are noteworthy. Miletus founded several colonies in the Black Sea and yielded the largest collection of Etruscan bucchero pottery in the eastern Mediterranean, suggesting it may have played the role of a distribution centre for these goods to the North Pontic area.

Keywords

Berezan – Borysthenes – bucchero – Etruria – Taganrog – Kremnoi

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The Greeks in the Northern Black Sea Region¹

The Greek colonisation in the northern part of the Black Sea started with the founding of two colonies by Milesians in the western and in the eastern parts of the region at the mouths of the two largest rivers of Scythia, the Dnieper and the Tanais, where they flowed into the Black Sea. These are a settlement on the modern Berezan island that is now identified with Borysthene,² at the mouth of the Dnieper-and-Bug estuary near the modern city of Ochakov (Mykolaiv region, Ukraine), and a settlement identified now with the harbour of Kremnoi³ located under the waters of the Azov Sea near the city of Taganrog (Rostov region, Russian Federation).

The chronology of the foundation of the Northern Pontic colonies suggests that these two *apoikiai* were established at the nearly same time by Miletus. The basis for this conclusion is the absolute chronology of the imported painted pottery from both sites. This chronology was developed by studying the building activity and stratified cultural layers at sites from Ionia, first of all Miletus, and Palestine.⁴ For Borysthene, researchers have a rare opportunity to correlate archaeological data with a historical source. According to Eusebius, Borysthene was founded in 647/646 BC (Euseb. *Chron. can.* 95b Helm). This date has now been supported by well-dated archaeological finds despite some earlier attempts of hypercritical evaluation.⁵

So far, there are only a few fragments of early painted vessels produced in different centres of South and North Ionia in the second and third quarters of the 7th century BC. At Borysthene, these are: fragments of Milesian sub-geometric vessels (Schlotzhauer's type 2, form variant 2,2.B);⁶ painted *oinochoai* with cylindrical neck and rounded mouth (Kerschner-Schlotzhauer's group SiA Ib);⁷ Ionian cups of Samian origin (Schlotzhauer's type 5, form variant 5,2.B and 5,3.B);⁸ and bird cups of North Ionian fabrication (Kerschner's type I, group II).⁹

1 The historical overview of the early Greek colonies in the Black Sea (part 1) has been written by A.V. Buisikikh. The analysis of the Etruscan bucchero pottery and the review of the Etruscan finds (part 2) are the work of A. Naso. Prof. Phil Perkins kindly corrected the English text.

2 Vinogradov 1976, 81–82.

3 Dovatur *et alii* 1982, 242; Kopylov 1999, 174.

4 von Graeve & Senff 1990; Waldbaum & Magness 1977; Fantalkin 2001; Stager *et alii* 2011.

5 Vinogradov *et alii* 1990, 75 ff.; Solovyov 1999, 3.

6 Schlotzhauer 2001, 81–82, pl. 6, cat. 32–36.

7 Kerschner & Schlotzhauer 2005, 17 ff.

8 Schlotzhauer 2001, 295 ff., pls. 18–19, cat. 87–100; pl. 21, cat. 110–112.

9 Kerschner 1995, 16–17, figs. 38–39; 1997, pl. 1, cat. 1–2. The Borysthene collection, deriving from excavations directed by V.V. Lapin in 1960–1980, is preserved in the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv (for more details see Buisikikh 2019).

The earliest source that mentions Kremnoi is Herodotus (4. 20; 110). In this case it is impossible to correlate the written source with archaeological data. At Kremnoi, there are numerous and representative deposits of ceramics; given the underwater location of the archaeological strata, the finds from the site consist mainly of pottery sherds washed ashore by the Azov Sea. The earliest elements of the ceramic collection from the Taganrog settlement are Ionian cups of Samian origin,¹⁰ that belong to Schlotzhauer's type 5, form variant 5.3.B;¹¹ and bird cups of northern Ionian origin.¹²

As it is clear now, on the basis of the correlation of the earliest finds from both sites, Borysthenes and Kremnoi were founded at almost the same time. However, it is not possible to prove their synchronous appearance in the North-Pontic region because early Milesian painted vessels are well-known in Borysthenes, but they are absent in Kremnoi. It can however reflect the very specific location of Kremnoi and the fact that even in Borysthenes the earliest vessels are represented only by very small and isolated sherds.¹³ Borysthenes and Kremnoi were founded at the very beginning of the period of the initial exploration of the Northern Black Sea region. Finds of contemporary South Ionian and other painted vessels at barbarian sites in the Steppe and Forest-Steppe regions some hundreds of kilometres distant from the Black Sea littoral suggest an initial trading role of both settlements.¹⁴ Imported Greek pottery of the early period is present in the early Scythian graves excavated in the estuary of the Tanais river.¹⁵

Among the other North-Pontic archaeological sites founded in the period of Greek colonization, Borysthenes and Kremnoi stand out not only for the large ceramic collections, but also for the presence of some unique items, such as some archaic Etruscan bucchero pottery. They have a very dark grey, almost black clay with a black polished surface, as it is usual for Etruscan bucchero. In Borysthenes, there are two *kantharoi* – an almost complete form with broken handles (fig. 1, 1) and the foot of another one (fig. 1, 2). The first *kantharos* was found in a pit filled with remains of pottery, charcoal and ash. A few archaeological finds from the pit have been dated by their excavator to the end of the 7th–early 6th century BC,¹⁶ but their modern re-examination allows us to date them to the first half of the 6th century BC. The foot of the second vessel was found in a stratum dating to the same period.¹⁷

10 Kopylov & Litvichenko 2006, fig. 2, 1–4.

11 Schlotzhauer 2001, 295 ff., pl. 21, cat. 110–112.

12 Kerschner 1997, 147–148, pls. 74–78.

13 Buisikh 2019, 220–221, figs. 1–2.

14 See with literature Vakhtina 2004, 204 ff.; 2018, 193 ff.; Zadnikov 2017, 65 ff.

15 Kopylov & Rusakov 2016, 276, fig. 1.

16 Lapin 1974, 19, fig. 24.

17 Lapin 1979.



FIGURE 1 Bucchero *kantharoi* from Borysthenes. After Buisikikh 2019

Fragments of the bucchero vessel from Kremnoi (fig. 2) have been attributed to a cup,¹⁸ but they more likely belong to a *kantharos* given the characteristic three grooves below the rim, which occur exclusively on *kantharoi*. They

18 Kopylov & Andrianova 2009, 192, fig. 4, with a wrong reconstruction of the vessel; the correct one is proposed in this article.

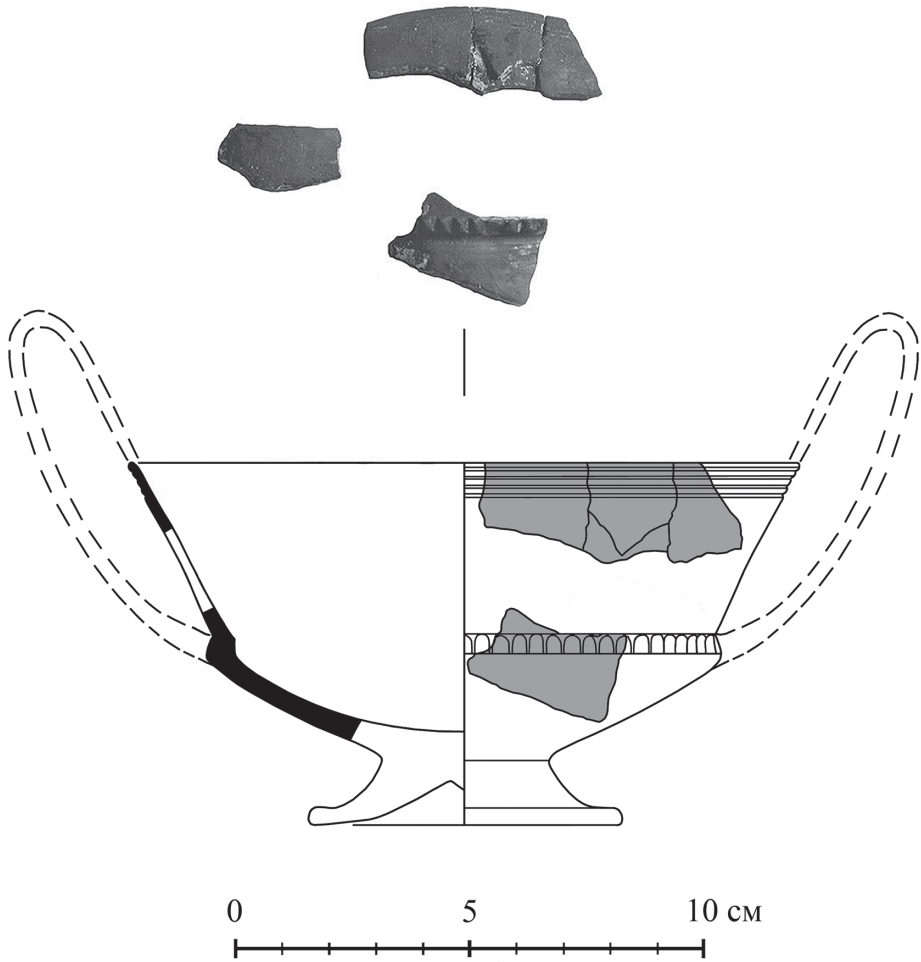


FIGURE 2 Bucchero *kantharos* from Kremnoi. After Kopylov & Andrianova 2009, reconstruction of complete vessel by A. Buiskikh

were found during the joint Russian-German excavations near the coast line.¹⁹ Some fragments of the rim and of the bowl are preserved (diameter nearly 14 cm); the clay is very dark grey, almost black, without any visible additional inclusions; the original polishing of the surface is partly preserved.

Following Rasmussen's typology, the *kantharoi* belong to type 3e, having the standard form and decoration.²⁰ The date of 625–550 BC has been suggested

¹⁹ Kopylov 2009, 30, fig. 3.

²⁰ Rasmussen 1979, pl. 31, 166–167, pl. 32, 168–169, 172; Gran-Aymerich 2017, 78, No. 3760, pls. 84–88.

for Etruscan *kantharoi* of this type; the upper date is based on contexts from the Heraion at Samos, from Tocra and several tomb-groups in Etruria. Studying these materials, T. Rasmussen revised the lower date of 580 BC proposed by F. Villard, derived from association with the Phocaeen expansion.²¹ Looking at the ceramic assemblages of the Northern Pontic colonies, founded up to 600 BC or soon after this date, it is possible to propose that the chronology of Etruscan pottery importation into this area must be limited to the last quarter of the 7th–early 6th century BC. In addition to T. Rasmussen’s arguments, we should add that fragments of Etruscan vessels are absent at any Northern Black Sea sites, except the two earliest *apoikiai*, Borysthenes and Kremnoi.

Kantharoi are the most commonly found Etruscan vases outside Etruria; they have a wide distribution in the Western, Eastern, and Southern Mediterranean. According to T. Rasmussen, “the *kantharoi* travel everywhere”.²² Of a particular interest for the Borysthenes’ ceramic assemblage is the fact that bucchero *kantharoi* of Rasmussen type 3e have been found associated with other vessels in the Eastern Mediterranean region – in Miletus, Dydimia and in Aegean islands such in Chios, Samos and Rhodes.²³

In the North-Western Black Sea, apart from Borysthenes, a find of an Etruscan vessel has been reported from Histria.²⁴ According to oral information held by one of the authors, the pottery from Borysthenes published in this paper, is not the same as that reported by R.M. Cook from Berezan.²⁵ However, since these *kantharoi* were never published, it is impossible to be sure.

Furthermore, it is now clear that the find spots of Etruscan bucchero in the North-Western and the North-Eastern Black Sea littoral coincide with the geographical distribution of other categories of Mediterranean imports, such as southern Ionian, Aeolian, Chian, Attic and Corinthian pottery. This new data provides additions to the distribution map of bucchero pottery outside Etruria published by T. Rasmussen, in which the most distant point was Histria in the Pontic region.²⁶ Also in the Black Sea, a bronze handle of the Etruscan *infundibulum* from Panticapaion can be added to the general picture of Etruscan imports.²⁷

21 Villard 1962, 1634–1635; Rasmussen 1979, 156.

22 Rasmussen 1979, 154–155.

23 Boardman 1967, 137, cat. 480, pl. 43 (Chios); Isler 1978, 165, cat. 662–663, pl. 74 (Samos); Jacopi 1929, pl. II, II.6–II.7 (Rhodes); for a complete information Naso 2009, 136 ff. and below.

24 Mentioned without photo: Lambrino 1938, 360.

25 Cook 1998, III, footnote 9; Naso 2009, 139, footnote 34.

26 Rasmussen 1979, pl. 64.

27 Treister 1991, 73, pl. XIX, a; Naso, below.

The study of ceramic imports to Borysthènes and Kremnoi reveals a unique assemblage of early vessels from different Mediterranean production centres across the entire Black Sea region.²⁸ The geography of trade connections is especially interesting at Borysthènes: the well-known South (Miletus, Samos) and North (Klazomenai, Teos and others) Ionian, Aeolian (Kyme) and Chian imports are attested here together with pottery from the interior regions of Anatolia (Lydia and Phrygia), Peloponnesus (Corinth and Sparta) as well as from recently identified centres, such as Propontis, the North Aegean and Thasos. All of these had a mass production of painted table- and domestic wares. The ceramics from these production centres are associated with numerous Athenian black-figured vessels and grey-clay pottery from Mytilene (Lesbos) as well as with beads and faïence objects from Naucratis (Egypt) and amphorae from the Levant (Cyprus, Palestine). At Kremnoi a smaller number of centres are represented, such as South and North Ionia, Corinth and Athens. The list of exotic imports is completed with bucchero pottery from Etruria published here.

The listed vessels are of exceptional interest for the study of overseas trade providing new evidence of directions of trade contacts, which until few years ago were completely unknown for the northern Black Sea region. Up to now the contacts with the Levant and Etruria have raised an important question – were these contacts a result of direct or indirect connections? Some years ago, it was argued that at least the Cypriot amphorae could have been brought to Borysthènes by Milesian or Carian agents.²⁹ It is possible to consider that Miletus really could have played a role as a large distribution centre in transportation of all these goods to the North Pontic market. The finds of bucchero *kantharoi* in Miletus perhaps give additional support for this suggestion. However, it is most likely that these are sporadic imports, and that any kind of constant trade with far distant regions did not exist. Another question concerns the imports from Corinth, Sparta, Attica and Naucratis – for all these centres the quantity of finds suggests more constant contacts.

The question of agents participating in Pontic trade is still open and complicated because the information is very limited. For the later period, Herodotus' account (Hdt. 7. 147) is well known: according to him, ships to Aegina and Peloponnesos came out of the Black Sea. This short passage has been thoroughly discussed – could the Aeginetai have played the role of intermediaries in an earlier period, if the situation described by Herodotus was to be extrapolated backwards? D. Williams suggested that Laconian vessels had to have been

²⁸ Buisikh 2019; Kopjlov & Larenok 1994.

²⁹ Dupont & Nazarov 2003, 143.

transported by Aeginetai in the context of the grain trade with the Black Sea.³⁰ G. Tsetskhladze supposed that merchants from Aegina could have brought Corinthian pottery to the Black Sea.³¹ But up to now the trade described by Herodotus has no real confirmation by archaeological data.

When discussing agents and traders, it is necessary to acknowledge the lack of the information about the organization of the early overseas trade, based on transport amphorae containing wine and olive oil accompanied by tableware. Nothing is known about the principles of cargo formation destined for the far-distant ports-of-trade, in this case, Borysthenes and Kremnoi, nor who was the recipient and the consumer of this cargo, nor whether there was a special order for such an “exotic” production or it was an unclaimed cargo from a previous port. Finally, it is unknown, in which ports this and other “exotic” and common cargo was loaded. It is interesting to note that the “exotic” imported products from Etruria or the Levant were never brought to the Pontic market after the 6th century BC, unlike other Mediterranean regions. However, the Etruscan pottery found at Borysthenes and Kremnoi, does allow a reconsideration of the role of the early Pontic emporia in the formation of the local consumption market in the Northern Pontus during the Archaic period.

Etruscan Pottery from the Northern Black Sea: A View from Etruria

To understand the presence of Etruscan bucchero *kantharoi* datable to the 6th century BC in regions quite poor in Etruscan finds and so far from Etruria as the Northern Black Sea coasts, corresponding to modern-day Ukraine and Russia, it is necessary to put them in a wider context and in a longer chronological period. Possible connections between Etruria and eastern Europe may go back to the flourishing tradition of bronze production in the Carpathian basin in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age: some time ago G. von Merhart revealed the influence of Carpathian bronzes on Italy, carried out probably by itinerant craftsmen.³²

Some bronze artefacts dated to the Early Iron Age, such as two crested helmets and one ribbed bowl found in Ukraine and *vice versa* rare components of pre-Scythian horse harness found in Italy, reveal early relationships between eastern Europe and pre-Roman Italy. The two bronze crested helmets respectively from Zavadintsy near Kreminna and Dunaevtsy, both in Ukraine, are similar to shapes developed in Etruria in the 8th century BC. They, together

30 Williams 1993, 595.

31 Tsetskhladze 1998, 52.

32 See the contributions collected in von Merhart 1969; recently Iaia 2005, 238–243.

with further similar helmets from San Canziano-Škocjan (Slovenia) and Hallstatt (Austria), belong to the San Canziano type defined by C. Iaia, which is similar to Etruscan models of the Tarquinia type, but has its own peculiarities. C. Iaia suggested to assign the San Canziano group to craftsmen from southern Etruria active in the area of the southern-eastern Alps.³³ However, it is quite difficult to imagine the path followed by the helmets from the Alps to Ukraine.

In the early 7th century BC, a particular shape of bronze ribbed bowl was developed in central Italy at Vetulonia, deriving from Near-Eastern models; in both regions it was used to drink wine.³⁴ Etruscan bowls were appreciated not only in Italy, but also in central Europe, as illustrated by some rich graves near Frankfurt am Main in Germany, at Appenwihr in eastern France, near Lyon, at Poiseul-la-Ville in central France, at Hallstatt in Austria and a bronze ribbed bowl of this shape has been recently found at Dunaevtsy in Ukraine.³⁵ In central Europe, the ribbed bowls were probably used to drink local beverages such as mead.

It is interesting to note that the rich burial of the Circolo degli Acquastrini at Vetulonia yielded a bronze component of horse harness of “Cimmerian” origin, which are also known in the Italian peninsula through isolated finds at Este and at Bologna.³⁶ This piece in Vetulonia is not a true counterpart of the bronze ribbed bowl from Dunaevtsy, but further shows how far from a production centre such objects might be exchanged, probably in the context of an exchange of metals and connected technology. Vetulonia in the 8th and 7th centuries BC controlled the copper and iron metal resources of northern Tuscany. In the tomb groups in Vetulonia several overseas objects have been found that reflect the wide range of exchange and relationships the site had.³⁷ The find spots of the “Cimmerian” horse harness in Italy may reveal a correspondence with the distribution of Baltic amber, because in all three find spots Baltic amber was common during the 7th century BC and occurs both worked and raw at Vetulonia.³⁸

33 Iaia 2005, 85–88, Nos. 33–36, fig. 27. For the recent find from Dunaevtsy see: https://zik.ua/news/2018/10/31/u_muzej_istorii_religii_u_lvovi_predstavyly_unikalnyy_eksponat_etruskyy_1438313.

34 Sciacca 2005, 205–207, 377–378.

35 For the distribution map see Naso 2019, fig. 5. For the new find from Ukraine see https://zik.ua/news/2018/10/31/u_muzej_istorii_religii_u_lvovi_predstavyly_unikalnyy_eksponat_etruskyy_1438313.

36 For the tomb group: Cianferoni 2019 and Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 347, pl. 160 for the pieces from Bologna and Vetulonia. A further example has been found at Este, grave Randi 14 (Cygielman 1988, 179, No. 79).

37 Camporeale 2007, *passim*.

38 Colombi 2018, 172–174, pls. 77–80 (worked amber).

A little Caucasian bronze bell from Marsiliana d'Albegna is also an exotic import from eastern Europe: in the Mediterranean basin Caucasian bronze bells are numerous in the Heraion at Samos and one can also presume it was an import to Etruria through the Samian trade.³⁹ A direct influence of Caucasian workshops on Etruscan metalwork has been seen in the technique of iron inlays in bronze items, documented in Etruria in 7th century BC in various objects, including belt clasps.⁴⁰

To sum up: in the archaeological record few bronze objects from eastern Europe are known in central Italy and *vice versa*, which show the existence of an indirect relationships between the two regions in the Early Iron Age, probably maintained by metallurgical production and trade networks.

Contacts and relationships in the Mediterranean were deeply intensified from the second half of the 8th and the 7th century BC by Phoenician and mostly by Greek sailors and colonists: the results of this process also reached the Black Sea area. During colonisation the Greeks came into touch with several non-Greek peoples in the central and western Mediterranean. In the setting of cultural contacts with these people the Greeks brought to the West the most important components of their culture, including writing, and received some specific elements in return from native populations.⁴¹

During the 8th and 7th centuries BC, Greek sanctuaries increased their importance thanks to oracular consultations and some of them, such as Olympia and Delphi, became “international” cult and meeting places, attended not only by Greeks, but also by non-Greek people.⁴² The most important Greek sanctuaries received votive offerings from several regions of the Mediterranean, reflecting the wide range of the Greek cultural contacts: the *anathemata* were gifted both by Greeks returning home and by foreigners coming to Greece. In that process several Greek sanctuaries acquired similar artefacts from certain Mediterranean regions, which by the end of the 7th century BC definitively included also bucchero pottery from Etruria (fig. 3).⁴³

39 Cianferoni 1988, 99–100, No. 58, with previous literature. On bronze bells from the Caucasus: Castelluccia & Dan 2014. On bronze and clay bells in Greece: Villing 2002. A further Caucasian bronze bell has been found at Lanuvio in Latium: Möbius 1967, 5, footnote 44.

40 Swaddling 1978, 52 with previous literature.

41 The main characteristics of the cultural contacts have been summarized by Ulf 2014. The contacts between Greeks and Etruscans are illustrated in Naso 2014.

42 See several contributions in Naso 2006.

43 As international votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries I refer here to artefacts such as Egyptian and eastern Mediterranean faïence (Webb 2016), Cypriote sculpture (Henke 2017), and so on.

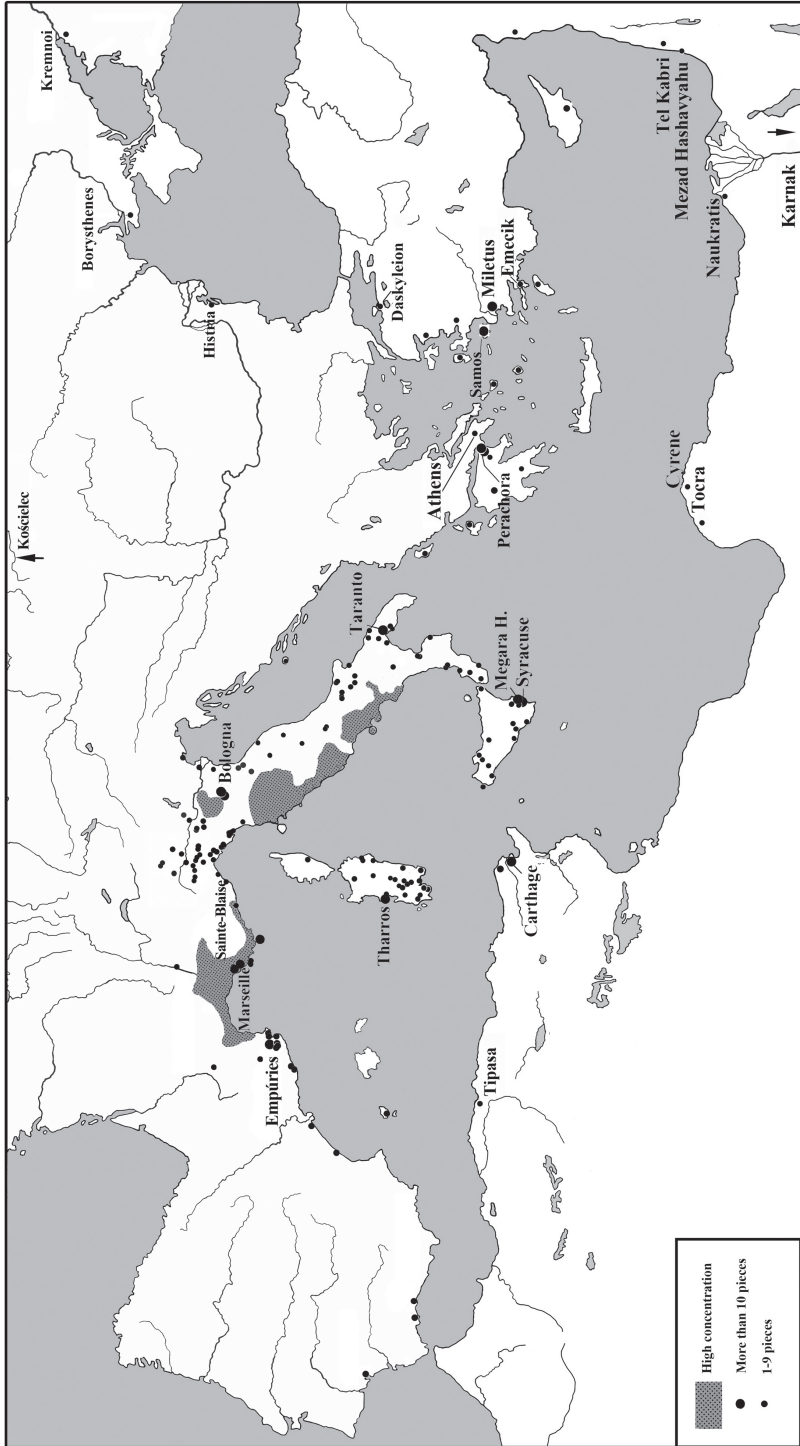


FIGURE 3 General distribution map of Etruscan bucchero pottery, 7th–6th centuries BC. MAP COMPILED BY A. NASO

Bucchero, first developed at Caere in the second quarter of the 7th century BC, soon became the characteristic fine pottery of southern and northern Etruria: its main peculiarities were the black colour and the thin walls (*bucchero sottile*). In the first half of the 6th century BC a central role in bucchero production was assumed by the *kantharoi*.⁴⁴ Created to drink wine, this vessel was designed with the high handles to be passed from hand to hand of several persons and to be used for ritual drinking, making easier the communal wine consumption. In this perspective one can explain the large popularity of the shape of *kantharos* classified as 3e by T. Rasmussen. In the Mediterranean it was offered as votive gift in several sanctuaries from Spain to Greece and Turkey, including southern France, Sardinia, Sicily and North Africa. One *kantharos* reached the heart of eastern Europe in modern-day Poland near Kościelec in the lower basin of the river Wisła, connected to the Baltic Sea and from there perhaps to the amber trade.⁴⁵

The main find spots of bucchero *kantharoi* in the eastern Mediterranean are the sanctuaries of Hera in Samos and of Aphrodite in Miletus: the Milesian sanctuary yielded more than 30 *kantharoi* and also further Etruscan artefacts.⁴⁶ The conspicuous finds from Miletus help to explain the presence of the bucchero *kantharoi* in the two Milesian foundations on the Northern Black Sea coast at Berezan-Borysthene and Taganrog-Kremnoi, and elsewhere, as in Palestine.⁴⁷

44 Gras 1984; De Angelis & Tonglet, forthcoming.

45 For the general distribution see von Hase 1989, fig. 27; further findspots are shown in Nijboer 2017, fig. 49, 2 (compiled by A. Naso): see here fig. 3. A recent find at Cyrene allows the addition of this site to the distribution of bucchero *kantharoi* (Mei 2016). The find of the bucchero *kantharos* in Poland has been re-evaluated by Fogel & Makiewicz 1987–1988. I wish to thank I. Birzescu (Bucarest), R. Graells (Alicante), S. Paltineri (Padua), and N.L. Saldalamacchia (Naples) for some information regarding the distribution map of bucchero pottery.

46 Naso 2009 for the bucchero finds from Miletus, with bibliography for the finds from Samos (135, footnote 2). Etruscan objects from Miletus include also bronze fibulae and a transport amphora (Naso 2009, 140 with literature). Further Etruscan trade amphorae have been identified at Phocaia (Okan 2014).

47 Some sherds belonging to an Etruscan bucchero *kantharos*, presumably of the Rasmussen 3e shape, have been found in the fortress of Mezad Hashavyahu near Yavne-Yam (Israel). I owe the news to the courtesy of Daniel Ein Mor, director of renewed excavations at Mezad Hashavyahu on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority, and of Alexander Fantalkin, who identified the bucchero sherds. For the site: Fantalkin 2001.

*Berezan-Borysthènes*1. *Kantharos* (fig. 1, 1)

Bucchero *kantharos*, shape Rasmussen 3e: rounded rim, carinated bowl, trumpet shaped stem and foot. Below the rim are three incised horizontal grooves, done with a comb; squared diamond notches are on the carination. Both handles and part of the bowl are missing. Surface and clay: from N 2.5/black to N 3/very dark grey.

2. Foot of *kantharos* (fig. 1, 2)

Trumpet shaped stem and foot of a bucchero *kantharos*, Rasmussen 3e. In the interior of the bowl a *post cocturam* graffito X. Surface and clay: 5YR 3/4, dark reddish brown.

The graffito X on the vase No. 2 is quite common in Etruscan pottery, and may be incised both *ante cocturam* and *post cocturam*.⁴⁸ The sign X signified the sibilant *s* in the Etruscan alphabet, which was soon abandoned as consonant and adopted probably in 6th century BC as a numeral with the value of ten, being the first letter of the Etruscan word for ten, **sar*. According to H. Rix the adoption of the sign X in the Latin epigraphy with the value of ten is an Etruscan legacy to Rome.⁴⁹

Taganrog-Kremnoi (fig. 2)3. Upper part of a *kantharos*

Three joining sherds belonging to a rounded rim, one more from the bowl and a last one from the carination of a bucchero *kantharos*, shape Rasmussen 3e. Below the rim are three incised horizontal grooves, done with a comb; squared diamond notches are on the carination. Surface and clay: N 2.5/black to N 3/very dark grey.

The two *kantharoi* from Berezan and the one from Taganrog are the only known Etruscan archaic finds from the Northern Black Sea coast.⁵⁰ In the Western Black Sea area an unpublished sherd of Etruscan bucchero from Histria described by M. Lambrino, should be mentioned.⁵¹ In contrast, the finds of three Etruscan-Corinthian vases in Berezan and Odessa are very dubious,

48 *ThLE* I, 2, 436; *CIE* IV.1.1, 268 s.v. *cruces*.

49 Rix 1969, 853–856.

50 I would like to thank Dr. Sergey Solovyov (The State Hermitage Museum, St.-Petersburg), who kindly showed me in Miletus in 2004 the line drawings of the bucchero sherds from Taganrog. I inserted Taganrog in the aforementioned distribution map of bucchero (see footnote 35), followed by Gran-Aymerich 2017, pls. 391–392 (without mention).

51 Lambrino 1938, 360: *Un tres beau fragment de bucchero noir « étrusque »*; Rasmussen 1979, 154 (perhaps belonging to a *kantharos* 3e). The sherd can be added in the distribution map of Etruscan bucchero (see footnote 35).

as the late J.G. Szilágyi clearly showed.⁵² On the Southern Black Sea coast Etruscan finds are totally unknown. The scarcity of Etruscan finds on the Northern Black Sea coast allows us to consider the Etruscan *kantharoi* as exotic ware brought respectively to Borysthene and Kremnoi perhaps by Milesian colonists as a result of the close contact with the mother city Miletus.

A further Etruscan object in the Northern Black Sea area is clearly connected to Southern Ionia. A bronze funnel, found at Panticapaion and firstly published by M. Treister, belongs to the series of bronze funnel-strainers (Lat. *infundibula*) created originally in southern Etruria as a component of the wine service in the early 6th century BC and later developed in other regions in central Italy. The funnel is somewhat later than the bucchero *kantharoi*, but it is still datable to the end of 6th century BC. A Greek inscription declares it was offered to Artemis Ephesia: a votive offering to Artemis Ephesia in the Milesian foundation at Panticapaion may be the gift of someone from Ephesos, where the Artemis cult was very popular.⁵³

The link with South Ionia is a common feature of all 6th century BC Etruscan imports in the Northern Black Sea area. What happened later? Have any Etruscan items datable after the 6th century BC been found in the Northern Black Sea area? Etruscan finds datable to the 5th century BC have been reported in the Northern Black Sea area in both barbarian and Greek cemeteries.⁵⁴ Noteworthy are two round-bodied bronze *oinochoai* found respectively in the Seven Brothers kurgan in the lower Kuban on the Taman peninsula (Southern Russia) and in the burial 1/1967 at Pichvnari (Georgia), the second was found together with Greek bronzes and red-figured Attic pottery datable to 440–430 BC. The shape of the *oinochoai*, named Beazley IX and Weber IV.Etr a, is widely documented outside Etruria in the 5th century BC, and specimens have been found in non-Greek contexts at Abraham (Slovakia), at Sardis (ancient Lydia) and at al-Mina (Syria).⁵⁵ To the 5th century BC also belong

52 Szilágyi 1998, 587, No. 185 (plastic vase, Heidelberg, Archaeological Museum of the University 22) for Odessa, 558, No. 16 (*pyxis*, Odessa, Archaeological Museum A-37802) and 602, No. 90 (alabastron, Moscow, Historical Museum 557651) for Berezan, with bibliography about fake findspots in southern Russia. The two findspots have been inserted by M. Martelli in her general distribution map of Etruscan-Corinthian pottery (Martelli 1987, 24), but not by Fr.-W. von Hase (von Hase 1989, fig. 31). The only possible find of an Etruscan-Corinthian vase in the eastern Mediterranean is a *pyxis* from Orchomenos in Greece (Szilágyi 1998, 450, No. 181, 468).

53 Treister 1990; 1991; 1999; 2010; Naso 2015, 157, 167, No. 78.

54 These finds have been reviewed by Treister 1991, 74–79.

55 Both *oinochoai* belong to the group Weber IV.Etr a (Weber 1983, 406–410) and have been published respectively by Treister 1991, 71 (Seven Brothers kurgan) and Kakhidze 2001, 141–143 (Pichvnari 1/1967); for Pichvnari see Tsetschladze 1994; for the British-Georgian excavations on the site see Kakhidze & Vickers 2004. Waldbaum (1983, 149, No. 977,

some bronze strainers from southern Russia, gathered by Z.A. Bilimovich, that enable the extension of the period of popularity of bronze Etruscan banquet implements from the 6th century BC. To these may be added at least one piece from Pichvnari.⁵⁶

M. Treister noted that a few Etruscan imports in the Northern Black Sea area, datable to the 4th century BC onwards, had a different nature and followed a different route of diffusion compared to the 6th and 5th century BC items. They are some scarabs or scarabeoids and several bronze helmets belonging to different shapes of the so-called jockey cap type. Etruscan scarabs were highly appreciated outside Italy so their presence in the Northern Black Sea area is not surprising. The helmets, on the other hand, were components of the military equipment adopted by the Roman armies and may have been war booty captured by Celts and Sarmatians on various occasions.⁵⁷ Later finds such as Etruscan bronze mirrors are probably to be interpreted as exotica.⁵⁸

Although according to the archaeological evidence Etruscan artefacts in the 6th century BC reached the Northern Black Sea area through Greek and specifically South Ionian enterprise, the knowledge in archaic Italy of the Scythians, the main people of that area, seems assured. More than 500 black-and red-figured Attic vases datable from 570s BC onwards reproduce images of Scythians and several of them have been found in Etruria.⁵⁹ From these images the picture on an Etruscan scarab of unknown provenance dated to the mid-5th century BC may be derived. It shows a kneeling, bearded archer, similar to the image on an Attic red-figured cup signed by Epiktetos and found in Etruria at Vulci. The scarab also bears the Etruscan inscription *σχυθε*.⁶⁰ The Etruscan word derives from the Greek personal name Σχύθης, and matches the characteristic dress and weapons reproduced on the scarab for the archer,

pl. 57) published the *oinochoe* from Sardis; for the example from al-Mina see Naso 2001, 181, fig. 10. Further bibliography on these *oinochoi* has been noted by Bellelli 2002, 50.

56 Treister 1991, 74 for the bibliography about Etruscan strainers in the area; Kakhidze 2001, 58 classifies as Greek all the strainers from Pichvnari.

57 Raev *et alii* 1991; Mordvinceva & Redina 2013, 397–398 for the helmets and Treister 1991, 76 for the scarabs, all with bibliography. For the jockey cap helmets see Mazzoli 2012.

58 A bronze mirror of the late Etruscan Kranzspiegelgruppe (Della Fina 2002: 3rd century BC) has been found in a warrior burial at Neapolis Skythike on the Crimean peninsula, belonging to 2nd century BC: Zajcev 2013, 255, fig. 5.

59 For Greek images of Scythians see Osada 2002, 92; Ivantchik 2006, with previous literature; possible images of Scythians on Etruscan artefacts have been noted by Colonna 2002, 163–172.

60 For the scarab (St.-Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. No. Ж 701): Neverov 1988, 389 and 376, No. G II; Ambrosini 2011, 70–71, No. II6, fig. 106, 97. In the inscription the form of the *s* is quite irregular for the limited free place available on the scarab. The cup signed by Epiktetos (London, BM, inv. No. E 135) is *ARV* 78, 93.

a Scythian. In both the Greek and Etruscan languages the personal name refers to his origin ('the Scythian').⁶¹ If any particular interest in the North Pontic area existed in Archaic and late Archaic Etruria, an aim for future work would be to research the possible reasons.

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61 For the Greek origin of the Etruscan name: de Simone 1968–1970, 1, 112 and 2, 357. Other Etruscan personal names connected with ethnonyms are Latiðe ('the Latin') and perhaps Celðe ('the Celt'), both belonging to 6th century BC: Cristofani 1985, 271 (with different interpretation of Celðe). On foreign ethnonyms in Etruscan see also Maggiani 2006, 319–337.

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List of Abbreviations

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| ARV | Beazley, J.D. <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> . (3 vols). 2nd ed. London: Clarendon Press, 1963 |
| CIE IV.1.1 | A. Gaucci, ed. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Volume IV.1.1</i> . Rome, 2017 |
| ThLE I, 2 | <i>Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae, Volume I, Indice lessicale</i> . 2nd ed. Pisa, Rome, 2009 |