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TÍTULO: El problema de los contactos comerciales y económicos de las tribus Prikuban y Volga-Kama con los centros de antigüedades en el contexto de la historia político-militar.

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RESUMEN: Existe considerable interés en comparar el grado de influencia de los conflictos militares y políticos sobre los contactos comerciales y económicos de las tribus de la periferia bárbara cercana y lejana con el mundo antiguo; por lo tanto, un gran campo de comparación está representado por regiones como el Kuban y el Volga-Kama, que representan las periferias bárbaras cercanas y lejanas, respectivamente. Cabe mencionar, que las acciones militares entre esos dos países en la antigüedad no necesariamente llevaron a la interrupción de las relaciones comerciales. Los resultados demuestran claramente la complejidad del estudio de la influencia de los factores

militares y políticos en las relaciones comerciales de regiones y tribus específicas, lo que nos permite identificar los problemas más importantes y las formas de seguir investigando.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Prikuban, Volga-Kama, historia político-militar, contactos comerciales y económicos, periferia bárbara.

TITLE: The problem of trade-economic contacts of the Prikuban and the Volga-Kama tribes with the antique centers in the context of military-political history.

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ABSTRACT: There is considerable interest in comparing the degree of influence of military and political conflicts on trade and economic contacts of the near and far barbaric periphery tribes with the ancient world; therefore, a large field for comparison is represented by such regions as the Kuban and the Volga-Kama, representing the near and far barbaric peripheries, respectively. It should be mentioned that military actions between those two countries in ancient times did not necessarily lead to the interruption of trade relations. Results clearly demonstrates the complexity of the study of military and political factors' influence on the trade relations of specific regions and tribes, which allows us to identify the most important problems and ways to further research.

KEY WORDS: Prikuban, Volga-Kama, military-political history, trade and economic contacts, barbaric periphery.

INTRODUCTION.

Introduction to the problem.

These ancient narrative tradition and epigraphic sources, on the one hand, archaeological and numismatic sources, on the other hand, allow us to present the overall dynamics of trade and economic contacts of the near and far barbaric periphery with ancient centers.

It seems to us that this desire is justified and is aimed at a complete reconstruction of the regions' history and tribes, especially when it comes to large-scale events, as they are drawn to us thanks to the works of ancient authors. At the same time, a careful comparison of data from written sources, archaeological and numismatic allows us to raise a number of questions, highlight a number of problems that arise to correlate the known military-political conflicts and the dynamics of trade and economic contacts.

It is logical to assume that trade and economic contacts in ancient times should have been influenced by military and political conflicts. However, such a view, as we'll see later, requires a number of reservations. In fact, the picture was more complex. It will be presented in the article.

DEVELOPMENT.

Relevance of the problem.

The problem of trade and economic contacts in the context of military and political history on the example of a comparative analysis of the situation in the near and far barbaric periphery is an important and interesting problem.

The relevance of the comparison is beyond doubt, since the tribes of the near barbaric periphery were not only contemporaries of certain well-known military and political events, but their participants, not only in the areas of their residence, but also outside them (Bosporus, Asia Minor). Their territories were in contact with the territories, which belong to the ancient states, the relations with them were quite close, so the changes that took place in the ancient centers developed the trade.

The far barbarian periphery tribes either did not come into the direct contact with the ancient states or those contacts were less regular. However, since their contacts went through the territory of the near barbaric periphery, certain military and political conflicts on the territory of the ancient regions and the near barbaric periphery had to be reflected in the development of their trade and economic contacts. On the other hand, the tribes of the far barbarian periphery should have been influenced by military and political conflicts that took place in other territories neighboring to them, but not in contact with the areas of the near barbaric periphery. It is intended to stop in this article in this direction.

Study of the problem.

One of the first, who drew attention to the issues, related to the role of wars in the dynamics of trade relations in foreign historiography was C. L. Woolley (Woolley C. L., 1938). He noted the absence of any influence of military action on trade on the example of the Greco-Persian wars.

In Russian historiography in the early 1960s, the opposite position was taken by I. B. Brashinskiy. He drew attention to the fact that the thesis of C. L. Woolley was valid only for a specified period (Brashinskiy I. B., 1963).

From the middle of 1990s to the present day, a number of works appeared in the Russian study of antiquity. The authors turned their attention to the problem of trade and economic relations of ancient centers with the near and far periphery tribes in different chronological periods. This topic

is devoted to research of Malyshev A. A., 1994; Koshelenko G. A., Malyshev A. A., Ulitin V. V., 2010; Bezrukov A. V., 2015; Ulitin V. V., 2013. In the context of the study of military and political history of tribes in Eastern Europe in the ancient era, the work of O. V. Sharov, 2009 is of great interest, but until now, as an independent subject of research, the study of trade and economic relations of the barbaric periphery tribes in the context of military and political history has not been studied. That led to the choice of the topic of the article.

Hypotheses.

The study of various aspects of trade and economic contacts of the Kuban and the Volga-Kama tribes in the context of military and political history will fully reconstruct the pattern of relations between the tribes of the barbarian provinces with antique centers, to identify ways and methods of penetration of imported products. The analysis of the presented materials demonstrates the complexity of the study and ambiguity in addressing the impact of military and political factors on trade relations of specific regions and tribes, and at the same time will allow to present the problem, to identify the most important problems and to outline ways of further research.

Methods.

The problem, posed in the article, is considered, first of all, in the context of the actual problem of the Greco-Roman-barbaric relations between the tribes of the near and barbaric periphery in the specified chronological period.

Within a chronological and territorial range, starting from the VI century BC, the time of the first contacts between the Greeks and the barbarians, and up to the V century AD in the context of the modernization of the Russian Empire, understood as the process of transition to the industrial society from the traditional. The main part of the German-speaking Russian scholars of the second half of the XXth century was characterized by a modernization approach when addressing the

issues of economic and partly social development of pre-revolutionary Russia. At the same time, in the context of studying the historiography of the impact of the resettlement on the state of the agricultural issue in the areas of origin of migrants, it is advisable to adhere to the methodology of "intellectual history", which implies an appeal to the history of science (including historical) during the study, including social processes.

The methodological basis of the work is a comprehensive approach to the available sources: archaeological and written, as well as data of epigraphy and numismatics. The scientific principles of historicism, objectivity, comprehensiveness and consistency are used to study the coverage of this problem by local scientists.

The presented work is based on the following general scientific and historical methods: ideographic, expressed in the description of approaches and concepts of individual antiquities; historical-comparative, historical-genetic and historical-typological methods.

With the principle of historicism, which allows to consider the phenomenon in the context of a specific historical environment, and general scientific and special historical methods of logical, chronological, historical and typological and comparative historical analysis, the work uses historiographic and cartographic methods.

Main part.

First of all, it is necessary to determine a number of questions/problems that can be raised. Did the war always have an impact on trade, if it did, to what extent? Military conflicts could be different in duration, scale, direct impact on different spheres of life and consequences. Military action between the two states in ancient times did not necessarily lead to the interruption of trade relations. Trade was a matter of private initiative, with some exceptions – examples of serious state intervention; for example, fixed by the amphoras and the amphora stamps a significant amount of Heraclea Pontic with the Bosphorus before the time of the proposed merger Feodosiya (Katz V. I., 1998. P. 9;

Koshelenko G. A., Malyshev A. A., Ulitin V. V., 2010. P. 273-274) shows that, despite the existence of active hostilities between them during the conflict over Feodosiya, they successfully traded with each other, and probably even more actively during the period when the conflict was still ongoing.

C. L. Woolley believed that international trade in ancient times was not interrupted by wars, citing the era of the Greco-Persian wars (Wooley C. L., 1938. p. 22). Xerxes watched the ships with bread, going through the channels, did not attempt to detain them. I. B. Brashinskiy talked about the fact that it was true only for the era of the Greco-Persian wars, and during the Peloponnesian war, Athens controlled the trade of their enemies and not let them control markets (Brashinskiy I. B., 1963. P. 51-52).

However, despite the absence of prohibitions on trade with the enemy, in fact, the very existence of military action could in some cases have a negative impact on trade. Another thing is that in written sources information about the direct impact of military-political conflict on trade can be found very rarely.

How long was the influence of military and political conflicts on trade relations? Some military conflicts could affect the development of trade only during their existence, others could lead to such significant changes that affected long after the end of conflicts. Is this influence always reflected in the archaeological material? It is obvious that short-term military conflicts have little chance to affect the archaeological material, because of their short duration and, probably, weaker influence on the development of trade, and because of the lack of equally narrow dates of archaeological material, its lack of representativeness and specificity of its composition, including the circumstances, which have repeatedly drawn the attention of researchers: import could come not only through trade, but also in other ways. We are also interested in the import that came as a result

of trade and economic contacts. How can we highlight the impact of military-political conflicts on the development of trade in archaeological material?

A comprehensive analysis has allowed researchers to link to a number of categories of imported items with the receipt in the form of trophies, captured by the representatives of the tribes participating in military-political conflict, the gifts of the members of the nobility either (coins in some cases) – payments to mercenaries.

The most reliable indicator of changes in these conditions is the mass material, among which a special place is occupied by ceramics and, above all, amphorae. However, even not for all types of amphorae dating is narrow enough and there is a representative sample. It makes extremely difficult to record the impact of short-term military and political conflicts on trade. In addition, changes in the flow of imports by trade should be compared not only with information on military-political conflicts in these narrative traditions and epigraphic monuments, but also with information on changes in imports in ancient centers, destruction, fires, the termination of settlements, the burial of treasures, the desolation of territories, etc. What was the degree of difference between the influence of military actions and their consequences for the near and far barbaric periphery? How is it reflected in archaeological material? How different is the dynamics of the influence of military-political conflicts on trade relations? How different is the dynamics of the influence of military-political conflicts on trade relations of the near and far barbaric periphery? The influence of military-political conflicts on trade for some periods can be traced quite well. The focus on a comprehensive analysis of the material and comparison of data on different territories, both barbaric and ancient, justifies itself.

For the territory of the Kuban, according to archaeological materials, in the first half of the II century BC recorded a reduction in the volume of wine imports and the preservation for a long time almost the same low level of trade relations, as well as the decline of monetary circulation in the

Elizabethan settlement number 1, which existed Bosphorus Emporium, synchronous time of the beginning of the penetration of a new wave of Sarmatians in the Kuban (Marchenko I. I., 1996. P. 122).

Specific military clashes that influenced changes in trade in the first half of the II century BC in relation to the Prikuban are unknown to us in writing, but they had to take place, given the penetration of a new wave of Sarmatians into the Prikuban.

The involvement of the Sarmatians in the war 183-179 BC in Asia Minor on the side of Pharnaces, have reflected on the possibilities of the Sarmatians, who participated in those events, the capture of trophies. The decline in imports may be due to destabilization in the last quarter of the III – early II century BC military-political situation caused by these events (Ulitin V. V., 2013. 140). It is possible that the rates of this adverse trading situations and maintaining it until the middle of the II century BC, is the destruction of the shirakami Taman Tholos, the death of a number of settlements of the Taman Peninsula and the construction of fortifications on Postalovski Peninsula. At the same time, the monetary circulation in the Elizabethan settlement No. 1 (Anfimov N. In. 1966. 161-162).

In the last quarter of the II century BC, the volume of imports reached the highest level for the first time a very long period starting from the second quarter of the III century BC, it is difficult to explain from the point of view of what we know about the development of the Bosphorus. At this time, pirate activity was wide-spread by the achaeans, geniokhs, zikhhs, and also starts a new period of concealment of the treasure. It should be noted, however, that this rise is largely associated with the import of wine in the Prikuban amphorae of the "Prikuban series", possibly produced on the Bosphorus and almost nowhere else supplied.

The last decade and the first half of the 1st century BC have to be considered within the same period, as archaeological material does not allow differentiate objects and archaeological sites of this period. Trade relations in this period are reduced to a minimum on the right bank of the Kuban

(Malyshev AA, 1994 P. 13; Ulitin V. V., 2013 P. 142), which is well synchronized with the data of written sources on military conflicts, operations, uprisings during the reign of Mithridates Eupator and recorded excavations of destruction in Bosphorus cities and settlements.

Absolutely not fixed from the beginning of the I century BC, the import of wine in amphoras "Kuban series" becomes quite clear if they were produced on the Bosphorus, as it is supposed, the Russian antiquarians (of Limberis M. Yu., Marchenko I. I., Monakhov S. Yu., 2011. 279-281). Apparently, the tense situation influenced the ability of the Bosphorus centers to produce wine for export in these amphorae. At the same time, there is no longer an Emporium on the Elizabethan settlement (Anfimov, 1966, p. 162; Malyshev, 1994, p. 13).

Lack of analysis of the amphoric material of the first centuries AD from the territory of Kuban region prevents the full settlement from the Roman period. However, the peak of the trade of Bosphorus with Prikuban, detected on the basis of other categories of import and falling in the second half of the 1st – beginning – middle of the 2nd century BC may indicate in favor of the fact that the war of 45-49 AD did not lead to any long-term consequences for the further development of trade on the right Bank of the Kuban.

It is also possible to sync to a sharp reduction of imports since the end of III – beginning of II century BC, known by the inscription 193 BC (Vinogradov Yu. A., Goroncharovsky V. A., 2009 p. 280) victory of Sauromates II over shirakami, however, requires additional information, so we can confidently link the reduction of imports with this event. The influence of a number of military events is still difficult to "identify" in the archaeological material, which does not mean that such influence was not. First of all, it is affected by the insufficient amount of available material, the degree and quality of its processing to determine whether there has been a noticeable impact of certain military events on the development of trade in the region.

The dynamics of imports by trade do not always coincide with the dynamics of imports by other means (trophies, gifts, payments to mercenaries), it may even be the opposite. The same military events could lead to the enrichment of the barbarian mercenaries and the top of the tribes and at the same time to the decline of trade of their tribesmen with ancient centers; for example, when it comes to Bosphoran staters of the first centuries AD, they are rightly considered for barbaric territories in the Kuban region outside the trade itself, in connection with payments to mercenaries (Husht M.A., 2010. P. 117). However, the facts of the burial of treasure not only in the barbaric territories, but also within the ancient core of the Bosphorus Kingdom show an unstable situation directly related to the negative impact of military and political factors.

To identify the features of ancient imports in the territory of the Volga and Ural rivers, in addition to data on objects from this region, archaeological materials were used both from neighboring regions and from the territory of the Northern Black sea, Prikuban, Lower Don region, North Caucasus, Transcaucasia and Central Asia, i.e. from those areas where a significant part of imported products came from, which allows to give a complete and informative description. In II-I centuries BC in the territory appear the earliest examples of Roman imports, represented by single finds, discovered in the graves originating from the handicraft centers of Asia and the ceramic workshops of the Bosphorus (Bezrukov A.V., Ulitin V. V., 2017. P. 249).

There are very few Sarmatian burials of the I century BC – I century in the Urals. It is explained by the migration of a significant part of the Sarmatian population in the Western direction, in the Volga region, and on the other hand it is noted, "the truth is said about it in a very cautious form, about the reverse movement of some part of the nomadic population from Central Asia to the southern Urals and especially in the Lower Volga region in the late I – early II century AD (Skripkin A. S., 2010. C. 10); perhaps, this movement was caused by a change in the political situation in this area in connection with the formation and strengthening of the positions of the Kushan state.

The situation changes in I-II centuries BC in general, the series of rich burials of the mid-Volga region and the Urals along with inexpensive items imported origin was discovered imported art tableware made of silver and bronze (Bezrukov A.V., 2015. P. 254-255). This fact testifies to the active participation of the tribal elite of the region in military conflicts and operations during the reign of Mithridates Eupator, which is indirectly confirmed by the message of Strabo (Bezrukov A. V., 2015. P. 23, 25, 27).

The discoveries of Roman glass vessels mainly forms for drinking (cups, glasses, Fiala) made "in workshops of the Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt and the Western provinces" belong to this time and most of them concentrated in the southern Urals (Treister M. Y., 2019. P. 45, 51). Antique coins are represented by single finds of II-I centuries BC, which indicates the randomness and irregularity of their delivery to the Volga region and the Urals (Bezrukov A. V., 2018. P. 26-27).

Treasures containing Roman coins were probably buried only in the late II–early III centuries AD. It indicates an unstable situation in the steppes, and their composition indicates that their owner received them as payment for service, or as trophies (Bezrukov A.V., 2011. Pp. 79-80). Probably, the military-political factor in the life of the Sarmatian tribes between the Volga and the Urals in this period, in contrast to the migration factor and the beginning of the Great Silk Road, only slightly reflected in the composition of high-value imported items found mainly in rich burials.

CONCLUSIONS.

it becomes obvious that the dynamics of import through trade does not always coincide with the dynamics of import in other ways (trophies, gifts, payments to mercenaries). It may even be the opposite, as the situation in the Kuban region demonstrates.

The same military events could lead to enrichment of barbarian mercenaries and the top of tribes and at the same time to decline of trade of their tribesmen with the antique centers as it is visible on

the example of "expressive" import (silver and glassware) in the territory of the far barbaric periphery in a steppe strip of the interfluvium of the Volga and the Ural river.

Some categories of items are informative for the state of trade only in certain territories, for certain periods and under certain conditions, when they can be associated with trade. It is when they can be involved in the study of the impact of military and political conflicts on the state of trade. We are talking about the Meotian territories that were part of the Bosphorus Kingdom, and accordingly, in the sphere of monetary circulation, and about the monetary circulation in the Emporia of the Elizabethan settlement. When it comes to coins of the first centuries AD, they rightly consider barbaric territories in the Kuban region outside the actual trade, in connection with the payments to mercenaries. However, the very facts of the burial of treasures not only in the barbaric territories, but also within the ancient core of the Bosphorus Kingdom show an unstable situation directly related to the negative impact of military and political factors.

While military and political conflicts have affected the development of trade of the Meotian tribes of the right Bank of the Kuban, in the Kirpil Group, on the contrary, trade is experiencing a certain rise, due to the influence of other factors – the need for Mithridates and the closest successors in allies, mercenaries and the use of the economic potential of military settlers. Military-political conflicts in which Mithridates purposefully involved its power, even stimulated trade in the area with the negative overall impact that they had on the trade of Bosphorus and Meotian tribes of the right Bank of the Kuban.

On the territory of the interfluvium of the Volga and the Urals in the context of the dynamics of development of trade-economic contacts significant role was exerted by the factor of migration of the population in the South-East and traditionally strong ties with the Central Asian centers, which reduced "dependence" of elite breeding population from a focus on the products of the ancient centers of the Northern black sea. In addition, the beginning of functioning in the second half of the

I century BC - the beginning of the I century AD the Northern branch of the Great Silk Road largely contributed to the change in the range of imported goods and ways to obtain them from the tribes, which controlled part of the path that passed through the territory of the Northern Caspian.

Conflict of interest.

The authors confirm that the submitted data don't contain a conflict of interest.

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