

IMPORTS OF STAMPED AMPHORAE IN THE LOWER DANUBIAN REGIONS AND A DRAFT RUMANIAN CORPUS OF AMPHORA STAMPS

Till a short time ago, in Rumania, the interesting documents constituted by amphora stamps had only partly been published, either as part of the excavation reports or, sometimes, in chapters specially devoted to them.

As they are generally considered a minor category of epigraphy and published in various books and reviews, it is easy to understand why their true documentary value was not always grasped, especially since the elements which they contained did not directly concern the history and activity of the west Pontic colonies included in the ancient Rumanian territory, but that of the big exportation centres whence the stamped amphorae came.

However, the small inscriptions in themselves are not interesting from the above-mentioned point of view, the presence of amphorae, or stamped amphora fragments, very numerous on the ancient sites of our territory is no less significant, on the one hand as evidence of the intense activity of those colonies and of the economic relations which united the ancient Rumanian territory with the Hellenic civilized world, and on the other hand as an expression of the existing state of things in the environment of local tribes, which permitted them to contact the Greek colonists. The extension and oscillations of these economic phenomena can be well analyzed on the map of archaeological discoveries and for the research worker who uses this method, the stamped amphorae have the same significance as any other Greek wares, at the same time being endowed with the quality of indicating, in most cases, the place and the date of manufacture ¹.

¹ Nowadays, when in most cases, the identification and even the dating of amphora stamps is no longer a difficulty — thanks to the researches and efforts of our forerunners in this field and of those who, having at their disposal thousands of such objects, publish them today in the most suitable form for general usage, that of *corpora* or general studies — certain more recent researches in this field may turn towards solving other problems

posed by the presence of these documents. Such is the reason why in recent times, a few studies have appeared which emphasize rather the relations which can be established between the information offered by a group of stamped fragments and the history of the place where they have appeared; at the same time, for the Pontic regions where, in ancient times, occurred the contact and the mutual influence between the Greek colonists and the surrounding bar-

The presence of such materials, which reached so far into the barbarian environment, offers information on the volume of trade carried on by the colonies, but at the same time demonstrates also the capacity of the autochthonous populations for purchasing Greek merchandises. The rich discoveries of stamped or unstamped amphorae throughout the vast areas of north Pontic steppes dominated by the Scythians, in the Danubian plain inhabited by the Getic tribes and all along the western coasts of the Pontus Euxinus, further down in the world of the south Thracians, raise the same problem interesting for the ancient history of these regions: the degree of social economic development of the populations who dwelt here, capable of trading with the Greeks, as well as the consequences of this latter fact on their life.

For, if in the process of Greek colonization the primary causes of the great dispersion must be sought in the historical conditions of the Hellenic society at a given moment, the possibility of the colonists to settle in various regions was determined by the conditions which they found there. Trade, the main activity of the colonies could not have been carried on if the populations of these regions had not been able to produce and possess a surplus of material values which they could dump into the stream of economic exchanges². On the other hand, these populations who had reached a degree of development in which they could produce more than they consumed, therefore in a position to accumulate material values, already embarked on the way of social differentiation—a process which was giving birth to the tribal aristocracy, warlike and grasping, possessing important quantities of goods which they could partly exchange. This stage which constituted a transition between the primitive communal system and the slave system was precisely that in which we see the local populations of the above-mentioned regions, populations with whom the Greek colonists came into contact in their activity. The existence of the colonies in these regions is by itself a confirmation of this state of things; at the same time, it constituted one of the factors which speeded up the evolution of the natives towards higher forms of life and organization. The archaeological discoveries have clearly enough revealed these aspects of a barbarian world living at the height of the process of desaggregation of the primitive communal system, a process whose catalyst the neighbouring and related Greek cities were.

Focusing our attention on the territory we are more closely concerned with, we can safely assert that the presence of Greek merchandise in the Geto-Dacian settlements and necropoles can only point out in a suggestive way the picture outlined above—that of a society inside which especially a well-off cate-

barian populations, a phenomenon whose essential factor was the economic exchange, the problem of the presence of the stamped amphorae in the ancient settlements is looked upon as a partial aspect of this phenomenon. Such is the way of treating the matter used by the latest articles of the Soviet researchers concerning the amphora stamps. In Rumania, the same line was adopted by the important work of V. Canarache, *Importul amforelor șampilate la Istria*, Bucharest, 1957, which published the lot of amphora stamps from Histria and several rural

settlements around it, together with a number of general considerations to the same effect, as well as the study of D. Tudor, *Răspîndirea amforelor șampilate grecești în Moldova, Muntenia și Oltenia*, which poses the problem of the presence of stamped amphorae in the settlements of the local population north of the Lower Danube (prof. D. Tudor whose study is not yet edited, was kind enough to place at my disposal his manuscript which I have used for certain pieces of information; I extend my acknowledgments to him on this occasion).

gory could afford luxury objects, pottery, weapons, tissues, oils, wines, coming from the regions where the handicrafts were more developed.

In this way, the problem of Greek imports into these regions arises: as a bilateral aspect, related also to the local history, and not merely as a manifestation of the Hellenic element which, far from being disconsidered, cannot however, explain by itself the complexity of the phenomenon. Even when the objects traded came to be manufactured in the colonies, at the moment when the latter passed from the transit trade to the phase of a manufactured production of their own, the problem does not change for the history of local populations; on the contrary, this fact, besides the important evolution which it marks in the life of the colonies, demonstrates the increasing capacity to purchase Greek wares, manifested by the barbarian world, the latter phenomenon just helping to explain a new stage in the activity of the Pontic cities³.

In order to come back to the strict limits of the question we deal with, it must be made clear that the problem of stamped amphorae will be considered in the spirit of the above remarks, since for the ancient history of the Lower Danubian regions it constitutes just a chapter in the more general problem of Greek imports reaching these parts of the world. Of course that side by side with the stamped amphorae, the stampless ones have the same significance for the economic history of our regions in the ancient times, but we shall limit our precisions to the first category alone.

Through the information they include, concerning the place and time of their manufacture, the stamped amphorae provide good material for statistics and it is especially this method that enables us to utilize them in establishing the direction and intensity of the economic relations which connected the colonies on the ancient Rumanian territory with mighty commercial centres such as Thasos, Rhodes, Knidos, Sinope, in estimating the volume of their importation in various epochs, as well as in establishing the moments when the largest quantities of Greek wine and oil, brought in stamped amphorae, reached the inside of the country, the heart of the local populations.

A general view on the frequency of the discoveries of stamped amphorae or amphora fragments from various places on the ancient Rumanian territory shows that the greatest number comes from the cities along the western coasts of the Pontus Euxinus, which is partly explainable, if we think that the latter were the carriers for Greek products in these regions while at the same time they consumed such products. But this situation is due particularly to the fact that the most intensive excavation works have been carried on here; otherwise, it may be assumed, in all likelihood, that the total number of items spread inside the rest of the Rumanian territory, the amount of which we still ignore, is at least equal, to that existing in the ancient colonies, if not greater.

The statistical essays have offered a few suggestive results concerning the importation of stamped amphorae at Histria and Kallatis (today Mangalia),

² It is A.A. Jessen's desert to have underlined in his work, *Греческая колонизация Северного Причерноморья*, Leningrad, 1947, this bilateral aspect of the colonization by the Greeks of the regions around the Black Sea. For the situation of the

west Pontic colonies cf. E. Condurachi, *Cu privire la raporturile dintre autohtoni și greci în așezările sclavagiste din Dobrogea*, in SCIV, II, 2, 1951, pp. 45—60.

³ Cf. A.A. Jessen, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 and sqq.

results which we will outline in the following. Unfortunately, the ancient Tomis (today Constanța) has offered rather few examples of stamped amphora handles in order to permit a valid conclusion ⁴.

The study of the lot from Histria — which numbers more than 1 300 stamped fragments nowadays ⁵ — has shown that the greatest number of stamps (about 390) originated at Sinope, which exported its products here throughout the period covered by the IVth to the Ist century before our era. Less important in the IVth — IIIrd centuries, the imports from Sinope rose, particularly beginning with the IIInd century, along with Grakov's group IV: 180—150 before our era ⁶. We should be tempted to justify this by the weakening in the Rhodians' activity at that time, as an immediate result of the blow received in the year 166 before our era; but, as we shall further see, one cannot speak of a catastrophic decline in Rhodian exports in the period which followed that event, a fact which is proved not only at Histria but also in other places where Rhodian stamped amphorae have been found ⁷. The true explanations should rather be sought in the new political and economic development of Sinope at that time; it is worth remem-

⁴ Neither the old researches, nor the recent ones, at Tomis, have offered a sufficient number of amphora stamps.

⁵ The first results concerning the lot of stamped fragments found at Histria — in Bucharest now, in the store of the Archaeological Institute of the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic — were made public by us as early as 1954, on the occasion of a paper read at the Institute. At that time, the group analyzed numbered about 1100 objects, out of which a limited number (about 64 objects) found in two rural settlements close to the Greek city: the native settlement near the present village of Tariverde, about 20 km west from Histria and that at Sinope, situated 15 km north of the city. The materials from Tariverde and Sinope have been comprised in the Histrian lot, being still scanty to be studied apart, and considering that their presence was also an indication of the commercial activity of Histria, in whose zone the two settlements were placed; the other items had been gathered from the earlier excavations of the years 1915—1940, as well as from the new ones, organized by the Academy of the R.P.R. at Histria, since 1949. In the meantime, V. Canarache's above-mentioned work was published, also including the material gathered at Histria in 1955 as well as that gathered accidentally in the immediate vicinity of the city, which made the total number of items reach the figure of 1162. The results obtained and published here by the author did not differ from ours, in the main lines, much the same as a new revision which we made in 1958, when the Histrian lot amounted to about 1300 items, did not essentially change the picture outlined by previous researches. This time we shall not give either figures or percentages, but we shall

present only the general observations which may be derived from a study of the lot of stamped fragments found at Histria and Kallatis, the present article having rather the character of an exposé of the theme than that of a minute study of each situation and each aspect of the problem in part. Those who take a closer interest in the matter can refer to the publication of V. Canarache which holds good for the situation at Histria up to 1955.

⁶ For the chronology of the Sinopean stamps we have used B.N. Grakov's work, *Древне-греческие керамические клейма с именами астиномов*, Moscow, 1929.

⁷ At Delos for instance, where after 166 before our era the stamped Rhodian amphorae continue to come and even in an increasing number, the Rhodians profiting by the situation newly created by the fact that Delos had been declared a free port, which made exportation there very advantageous. Cf. V. Grace, *Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos*, in BCH, LXXVI, II, 1952, p. 518.

But, in order to have a more appropriate example, we must recall the situation in the colony of Tyras, the first city north of Histria, where the number of the stamped amphora handles dating back in the period 180—150 before our era — therefore including the event in 166 — does not mark a quick decline in Rhodian imports, and the same situation may be seen at Olbia too. On the other hand, in the cities of the Bosphorus Kingdom (such as Myrmekion and Tyritake) the Rhodian products are quickly replaced by those from Sinope, which will soon come to be predominant there; a considerable increase of Sinopean imports into these cities is quickly felt as early as the period corresponding to Grakov's group III: 220—180 before our era.

bering that an increase in the imports from Sinope is perceivable at Kallatis too, in the same epoch.

Further on, Grakov's groups V and VI — the years 150—120 and 120—70 before our era, respectively — mark a maximum of frequency for the stamps originating at Sinope (especially the VI group); this time, we find the explanation for the invasion of Sinopean products not only in a particular development of production and trade in that city, but also in the situation created by the political activity of Mithridates VI Eupator, which told on the life and economic relations of the Pontic cities.

The Thasian stamped fragments come second in point of number, after the Sinopean one (approximately 350 items)⁸. Among the Thasian stamps, the earliest, which could be dated at the end of the Vth century — or the beginning of the IVth century before our era, are relatively well represented, but especially those belonging to the IVth — IIIrd centuries before our era constitute the overwhelming majority⁹. Less clear is the situation of imports from Thasos within the next two centuries, because the category of stamps belonging to that epoch is not yet well defined¹⁰; anyhow, if the recent supposition is true, that some of the stamps having the shape of a circle divided into three, four or five segments, each carrying one letter, also come from the above-mentioned centre, and namely from

Cf. E.M. Staerman, *Керамические клейма из Тиря в связи с вопросом о клеймах неизвестных центров*, in KS, XXXVI, 1951, pp. 32—33.

The above-mentioned facts demonstrate in both cases that the increase in the Sinopean imports into certain Pontic cities are not due so much to the decline in the activity of the Rhodians but rather to the development in the activity of Sinope.

⁸ To this number may be added 10—15 items placed into the category of «incertae» but which seem to be of Thasian origin.

⁹ For the chronology of the Thasian stamps, and of others coming from the Aegean centres, we have had the possibility to use, among other recent publications, the following excellent Virginia Grace's studies: *Early Thasian Stamped Amphorae*, in AJA, L, 1, 1946, pp. 31—38; *Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos*, in BCH, LXXVI, II, 1952, pp. 514—540 and pl. XIX—XXVI; *Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World*, in «Hesperia», Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 175—189 and pl. 19—20; *The Eponyms Named on Rhodian Amphora Stamps*, in «Hesperia», XXII, 2, 1953, pp. 116—128 and pl. 42—44; *Stamped Wine Jar Fragments*, in «Hesperia», Suppl. X: *Small Objects from the Pryx*, II, Part III. Princeton, 1956, pp. 113—189 and pl. 52—80.

At the same time, a number of indications have also been offered by the introduction to the corpus of Thasian stamps, published by Anne-Marie Bon and Antoine Bon: *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos, Études Thasiennes*, IV, Paris, 1957, as well as the publications of materials appearing in BCH,

in recent years, signed by Marie-Thérèse Lenger and Lilly Ghali-Kahil, which are partly based on the results obtained by Virginia Grace.

For the Rhodian stamped jars, besides the ancient studies, too well-known to be still mentioned here, and out of those cited above — certain parts of which refer to the Rhodian material — we have also had at our disposal L. Morricone's article *I sacerdoti di Halios*, in *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, XXVII—XXIX, 1952, pp. 351—380; as well as that of H. McFadden, *A Tomb of the Necropolis of Ayios Ermoyenis at Kourion*, in AJA, L, 4, 1946, pp. 449—489 and pl. XXXIV—XLIX, where the amphorae are published thanks to Virginia Grace.

It must be shown that in our exposé, the chronological distribution of the materials has a more general character, being made rather by centuries than by the chronological groups established by the specialists for each separate class, as we are particularly interested in the total volume of imports arriving at certain moments connected with the history of our regions, rather than in the oscillations and changes in the activity of the various exporting centres.

¹⁰ Anyhow, the Thasian imports into Lower Danubian regions do not seem to have ceased at that time, for in the IInd century before our era there circulated the Thasian silver tetradrachms which demonstrates the continuation of the Thasian trade which spread its area of action far and wide, north of the Danube.

a late epoch¹¹, then we have a proof, through their presence in the Histrian collection, of the continuation of imports from Thasos down to the 1st century before our era.

An idea on the number of Thasian amphorae which arrived at Histria was offered by the discovery made in 1955 of the flooring of a dwelling, built of approximately 1 000 broken feet of Thasian amphorae, arranged side by side and belonging for the most part to the same type¹².

As for the category of Rhodian stamped handles it can be noticed that at Histria their number is rather similar to those of Thasos (about 310); but as Rhodian amphorae were stamped on both handles, out of the total number of items, one must deduce a certain percentage (which is rather difficult to establish, being always arbitrary)¹³. Nevertheless, even if we bring it down to one half — which may be exaggerate — the Rhodian stamps still hold the third place at Histria.

Their chronological repartition¹⁴ shows them rather well represented even as early as the first half of the IIIrd century before our era, and then in a true avalanche between 220 and 180 before our era. We should have expected that immediately after the difficult moment through which Rhodes passed in 166, its exporting activity should decline considerably, but it turns out that the situation is different from the one we suppose: as we have already stated the Rhodian exports continue to go to the traditional old markets¹⁵. Thus we establish that within the Histrian lot, the stamps dating from the period 180—150 before our era are, it is true, slightly fewer than in the preceding years, but still in a considerable number. It is only in the first century before our era that the Rhodian stamped jars become rarer, but do not disappear altogether; at Histria we have found even handles dating in the late 1st century before our era — early 1st century of our era, which no longer bear any stamp and are characterized by the sharp angle prolonged by a sort of ridge, and by the slightly convex profile of its lower branches¹⁶.

Knidian stamps are much less numerous as compared with those mentioned so far¹⁷. It is known that the period of maximum circulation of Knidian stamped jars is placed in the IInd — 1st centuries although stamping appears at Knidos as early as the IIIrd century before our era¹⁸. In the lot from Histria

¹¹ Anne-Marie Bon and Antoine Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 35 and 43. Cf. also E.M. Staerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—48 and fig. 7, who tends to attribute these stamps to some centres in Thracia or Macedonia and to an earlier epoch.

¹² E. Condurachi and co-workers, *Sântierul arheologic Histria*, in «Materiale», IV, 1957, p. 45, pl. VII, and fig. 31—32. Cf. also D. M. Pippidi, *Les fouilles d'Istros (1914—1957)*, in BCH, LXXXII, I, 1958, p. 342, fig. 8.

¹³ V. Canarache, *op. cit.*, p. 359, reduces the number of Rhodian stamped handles from Histria to a half, considering only 141 items in his statistical operation.

¹⁴ See p. 199 note 9, above, for the recent bibliography used.

¹⁵ See p. 198 and note 7, above.

¹⁶ For this type, see H. McFadden, *op. cit.*, especially the unstamped items at numbers 57—64. Cf. also V. Grace, *Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos*, in BCH, LXXVI, II, 1952, pp. 530—531 and fig. 4.

¹⁷ Among those published by V. Canarache, *op. cit.*, pp. 285—293, (nos. 723—758) some are not of Knidian origin; on the other hand, the respective chapter does not include certain objects bearing mere letters, monograms or devices and which may be attributed for certain to Knidos, owing to their features, which makes the Knidian group amount to 50 items.

¹⁸ For the Knidian stamps, apart from the more recent bibliography cited in note 9, from which we

the Knidian class is represented by approximately 50 items; more numerous are the stamps of rectangular shape, namely those from the series belonging to the IInd century before our era but very few include the names of the *duoviri*, which appear on the Knidian stamps, especially of the late IInd century — early Ist century before our era¹⁹. The yet insufficient number of items does not permit a genuine conclusion on the frequency of Knidian amphorae in various centuries, and the same situation prevails for the stamps originating in the other centres of production, such as Heraclea Pontica, Chersonese, Kos, Paros.

Chersonese exported wine in stamped amphorae beginning with the end of the IVth century, down to the beginning of the Ist century before our era²⁰. In Histria, the stamps of the Chersonese *astynomoi* seem to be equally distributed in time, from the middle of the IIIrd century down to about the year 100 before our era. Another limited number of handles bearing merely letters or monograms ought to be attributed to Chersonese, but their chronology cannot be established.

As for Heraclea Pontica, whose amphorae with englyphic stamps on the necks circulated mostly in the second half of the IVth century and in the IIIrd century before our era²¹, the presence of its merchandise is established at Histria, among the minority classes, whether at that time or even later, when its system of endorsement is modified.

Finally, the double handles from Kos²², rather rare, and those from Paros, found in an even smaller number, complete the list of stamped amphorae imported at Histria. To this must be added a rather large number of stamped fragments (more than 100 items) whose place of manufacture has not yet been determined.

The stamps of Latin origin are in too scanty a number to be worth discussing on the basis of statistical data.

Therefore, at the end of all the above observations, we see that the imports of wine and oil in stamped amphorae arrived at Histria throughout the period between the late Vth century and the end of the Ist century before our era.

The oscillations in the trade relations naturally depended on the economic situation of the city as well as on that of the centres from which the above-

make particular mention of the Virginia Grace's articles, *Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos...*, pp. 519—522 and pl. XIX—XX, and *Stamped Wine Jar Fragments...*, pp. 144—164, see the article of Marie-Thérèse Lenger, also, *Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Argos, I^{re} série*, in BCH, LXXIX, II, 1955, pp. 484—508 and pl. XXII—XXV; II^e série, in BCH, LXXXI, I, 1957, pp. 160—181. Very useful for us was also the work of A. Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce*, in Arch. Miss. Scient., II, s.t., VI, Paris, 1871.

¹⁹ V Grace, *Stamped Wine Jars Fragments...*, p. 145.

²⁰ The most complete list of the names of *astynomoi* which appear on the stamped amphorae from Chersonese, has been given by R. B. Ahmerov, *Об астиномных клеймах эллинистического Херсонеса*, in VDI, 4, 1959, pp. 99—123; the same author also

dwelt on the problem of Chersonesian amphora stamps in another two articles: *Амфоры древне-греческого Херсонеса*, in VDI, 1, 1947, pp. 160—176 and *О клеймах керамических мастеров эллинистического Херсонеса*, in VDI, 3, 1951, pp. 77—84.

²¹ The classification of Heracleian amphorae with englyphic stamps has been made by the Soviet research worker I. B. Zeest in her study, *О типах гераклеийских амфор*, in KS, XXII, 1949, pp. 47—48, which is partly based on B. N. Grakov's earlier study, *Англифические клейма на горлах некоторых эллинистических остроногих амфор*, Moscow, 1928.

²² For stamped Koan stamps, see E. M. Staerman, *op. cit.* p. 38 and sqq. and fig. 5; V. Grace, *Standard Pottery containers...*, p. 181, 186 188, 189, pl. 19,8 and 20,10.

mentioned products came. The presence of a great number of stamps dating in the last two centuries before our era demonstrates that at the time, the colony was still carrying on an active trade; the traffic through its port did not seem to be hampered at that particular period by the geological formation of the sandbanks at the seaside which was, within centuries, to turn the sea gulf into a lagoon inaccessible to ships²³. Besides, the wealth of archaeological materials dating up to the late Hellenistic period can only confirm this fact, for even if Histria had a handicraft production of its own during that time, a large part of wares continued nevertheless to be imported and arrived here by water ways²⁴. Of course, the number of stamped amphora fragments found at Histria does not gauge the total volume of its imports, but especially that of products consumed on the spot. Only an acquaintance with the materials from the rural sites existing in the zone of its economic activity could offer a clearer idea of its trade, but till then, even an image reduced to smaller proportions can still be suggestive.

Partial results have also been offered by the classification of a number of handles found at Kallatis — a total of 640 items, existing in Bucharest, in the store of the Archaeological Institute or in private collections²⁵. A double number of stamped handles from Kallatis are to be found at the Constanța Archaeological Museum but we have not yet had the possibility to study them²⁶; this gives the present remarks a relative nature; however, they do not run counter the knowledge we have concerning the evolution of Kallatis and its economic relations.

Very much like those at Histria, the stamped amphora fragments from Sinope hold the first place and, among them, quite a lot range with Grakov's chronological group IV (180—150 before our era). The names of *astynomoi* dating in the IInd—Ist centuries are also very frequent in the Kallatian lot, which is explained by the same circumstances as in the case of Histria.

²³ To corroborate this assertion we must add the testimony given by an inscription recently discovered at Histria, and published by D. M. Pippidi and Em. Popescu, *Les relations d'Istros et d'Appolonie du Pont à l'époque hellénistique*, *infra*, p. 235. For earlier opinions on the situation of Histria from the maritime point of view, see D. M. Pippidi, *Histria și Callatis în secolele III—II î.e.n. cu prilejul unei inscripții inedite*, in SCIV, IV, 3—4, 1953, pp. 487—514.

²⁴ The situation thus presented seems to contradict the assertion generally made, according to which, in the Hellenistic period, Histria was shaken by economic and social crises. Without denying this reality — and the epigraphic sources are eloquent in this respect — it must be reminded that such phenomena which were part of the general crisis suffered by the Greek world at that time and which, in the case of the Pontic cities, was also aggravated by the mobility and ever increasing aggressiveness of certain barbarian populations, do not mean the

total exhaustion of the economic activity of Greek cities: at least a certain category among their citizens continue to carry on big business and to achieve important gains, which as a matter of fact permitted them to become the *εὐεργέται* of their cities sometimes in straitened circumstances.

²⁵ Dr. Horia Slobozeanu collection: 100 items; Maria and Dr. George Severeanu collection: 36 items; Bucharest Historical Museum collection: 63 items; Bucharest Archaeological Institute collection: about 440 items.

²⁶ The objects existing in the Constanța Archaeological Museum collection come especially from the ancient excavations carried out at Kallatis by Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu, and were partly published by him in various excavation reports, printed in the «Dacia» review beginning with the first issue for 1924. However, in our conclusions we have only considered the material we had the possibility to study personally and which is to be found in Bucharest but has not yet been published.

The analysis of the Thasian class has revealed that its earliest series,—that belonging to the end of the Vth century and the beginning of the IVth century before our era — is almost entirely absent, the majority of the amphora stamps dating from the next epoch, that is in the IVth — IIIrd centuries ; they appear more frequent, especially from the second half of the IVth century before our era. The absence of the earliest Thasian stamps may be explained by the fact that Kallatis, founded later (the late VIth century before our era), had in the beginning a smaller activity than Histria²⁷, acquiring its due importance, as we all know, with the beginning of the IVth century before our era²⁸.

The Rhodian imports seem to have arrived in larger quantities at Kallatis as early as the beginning of the IIIrd century, for the fragments of its stamped amphorae, dating from that epoch, are more numerous here than at Histria, accounting for the largest percentage in the Rhodian group.

The volume of the imports coming from Heraclea Pontica to Kallatis was of course larger than we are enabled to realize by the number of stamps originating in the respective centre, which is not very important in the Kallatian collection. This is of course due only to accident and to incomplete knowledge of all finds, for it is to be supposed that Kallatis kept up close relations with Heraclea which was its metropolis. As a matter of fact, the fragments of amphora necks and handles or even the complete jars bearing the Heracleian stamps are frequent in the settlements within the rural territory of Kallatis²⁹. Let us also add the fact that a number of stamped fragments, whose origin is sometimes questioned must also be attributed to this centre, owing to the characteristics of stamps and to those of the clay.

The Knidian and Koan stamped handles, as well as the Thasian series presumed to be of later date³⁰, are very rare in the Kallatian lot brought to Bucharest ; this does not entitle us to speak of a decrease in the activity of the city in the IInd—Ist centuries³¹, but rather of a new orientation of its economic relations towards Sinope, for in that period and for the same reasons as at Histria, the Sinopean stamped amphorae appeared very frequently at Kallatis.

We cannot say anything about the trade carried on by Tomis in the wines and oils transported in stamped amphorae ; to the reasons already revealed, we should also add the fact that Tomis saw an upward trend only in the Roman period, while in the epoch of Greek autonomy, that is precisely when the custom of stamping was prevalent, Tomis was rather an emporion with a small activity which accounts for the scarcity of the materials we are interested in.

After exposing some results of our researches, we may say, that although they still remain within the limits of a mere outline of situations as well as of certain conclusions, always susceptible of partial modifications, generally speaking, they agree with the already known historical data concerning the activity of the two cities and their relations in the Pontic and Ægean basins. New data will

²⁷ We call the reader's attention to the fact that it may be due also to the impossibility of studying the Kallatis lot as a whole.

²⁸ When as a matter of fact we find it in the van of the Pontic cities rebelling against Lysimachus.

²⁹ V. Canarache, *op. cit.*, p. 191 and note 3.

³⁰ See above, pp. 199—200 and note 11.

³¹ On the situation of Kallatis, anyhow better than that of Histria in the IIIrd—IInd centuries before our era, see D. M. Pippidi, *Histria și Callatis în secolele III—II î.e.n.*...

continue to be established and completed by the discoveries in the Carpatho-Danubian regions, where stamped amphorae arrived for the most part through the Greek colonies and sometimes directly through the traders who were coming here from the big producing centres. But on the same occasion, some particular aspects which characterize the history of the autochthonous population will be made clearer, for the problem of Greek imports, taken all in all, is connected both with the history of the Pontic colonies, in Dobrudja, and with that of the whole social-economic complex of the Lower Danubian regions, of which the latter's activity was just a part.

The excavations made in recent years in the big Geto-Dacian settlements, as well as in the smaller sites and in necropolises, have revealed a strong penetration of elements of the Greek material culture. It directly influenced local technique and manufacture, giving birth to products of superior quality which represented either a combination of the local background with Greek forms, or a clear imitation of the latter.

The Greek imports reaching the *milieu* of the native population played on the historical plane the role of influencing the economic activity of the latter to the effect of an ever increasing production of material values destined for exchange. An immediate consequence of this phenomenon was the intensification of the process of accumulation which resulted in the fact that certain members of the native tribal population grew rich and predominant. On the other hand, the covetousness of the local aristocracy and of the tribal chieftains was always whetted by the desire to purchase the greatest possible quantity of Greek commodities; their exigency towards their own subjects or towards the populations whom they dominated as warlike conquerors³² increased, and they exacted more and more products and gifts from those populations. Moreover, war prisoners came to be sold as slaves to the Greek merchants who resold them on the big markets of the Mediterranean world.

But all the above-mentioned facts are the most obvious signs of the desaggregation of gentilitial forms and of the transition towards a higher social-economic stage. For us who try to know this process, nowadays, the presence of Greek imports on the territory inhabited by the Geto-Dacian tribes is one of the archaeological proofs of its existence and development. The stamped amphorae hold their place among them and suffice it to mention the better known discoveries at Tariverde (Fig. 1, 12), Sinoe (11), Jurilofca (8), Murighiol (4)³³, where we find a number of native settlements from Histria's zone of activity, in order to realize the avidity with which the Greek products were absorbed by the respective population, and therefore to realize the intensity of this phenomenon. The nearly one hundred amphorae dating in the IVth century before our era, which constituted the inventory of a funeral tumulus, next to the present village of Jurilofca³⁴, demonstrate that there was at the time, on the present territory of Dobrudja,

³² As was especially the case of the «Royal Scythians» in the Pontic steppes, or of those settled in Dobrudja.

³³ The sites mentioned are just a few of the richer and of the most recently studied for which see the

excavation reports of respective sites, published in SCIV and «Materiale».

³⁴ V. Canarache, *op. cit.*, p. 34 and note 3, and pp. 380—383.

a situation which enables a certain category of individuals to purchase an important quantity of wares on the basis of exchange.

The rural settlements at Tariverde and Sinoe have proved very rich in imported Greek commodities, which may also be explained by their proximity to Histria, with which they probably entertained very close and permanent relations³⁵. Murighiol also provides the case, very precious from the archaeological point of view, of an indigenous necropolis, where the local pottery is associated with the Greek one in closed contexts, therefore easily to be dated³⁶. The map included here (fig. 1) is very far from giving a real illustration of the presence of stamped amphorae on the ancient Rumanian territory, for it only mentions the finding places where excavations have been carried on or, where stamped amphorae have come to light by accidental discoveries, to our knowledge; we cannot know all the places where these materials have appeared on the occasion of agricultural or building work. And more particularly, we ignore whatever still remains hidden under the ground; but, according to what we know so far, it seems that the territory along the coasts of the Black Sea absorbed a large quantity of wine and oil imported in amphorae through the Pontic colonies.

If on account of the vicinity and of closer contact with the Pontic cities, the south Danubian region was to be invaded by Greek wares and influenced earlier and more powerfully, that in the north of the Danube will also offer similar phenomena, even though on a possibly smaller scale, and sometimes a little later, considering the geographical situation and the local historical peculiarities; their significance was however identical from the point of view of historical interpretation. But in order to resort to the most handy argument, we shall show that, in illustrating this phenomenon, the materials we are concerned in can also make their contribution³⁷.

Scanning the map of the discoveries, we notice that from the remotest site — Pleșești, in Moldavia — (Fig. 1, 27)³⁸, passing through the settlement

³⁵ The excavations at Tariverde have revealed such an abundance of imported materials that at a certain moment the belief was born that it was also a Greek settlement, a kind of suburb of Histria, but later on it was seen that the station was just a typical example of autochthonous settlement which, by virtue of its proximity to and relations with Histria had been literally invaded by Greek wares; Cf. the excavation reports in SCIV, III, 1952, pp. 269—274; IV, 1—2, 1953, pp. 129—135; V, 1—2, 1954, pp. 100—108; VI, 3—4, 1955, pp. 543—548; «Materiale», IV, 1957, pp. 77—84; V, 1959, pp. 318—323.

While the site at Tariverde was probably — as early as the second half of the VIth century before our era — a sort of intermediate market, where the contact and exchange of products was carried on between the Greek merchants of Histria and the autochthonous population in the neighbourhood (Cf. «Materiale», IV, 1957, p. 85), another settlement, that of Sinoe proved as strongly contaminated by the Hellenic influences throughout its existence which lasted from the Vth century to the 1st century before our

era; Cf. SCIV, IV, 1—2, 1953, pp. 136—145.

³⁶ E. Bujor, *Săpăturile de salvare de la Murighiol*, in SCIV, VI, 3—4, 1955, pp. 571—580; Idem, *Săpăturile de salvare de la Murighiol*, in «Materiale», III, 1957, pp. 247—254; Idem, *Șantierul arheologic Murighiol*, in «Materiale», V, 1959, pp. 373—378, Idem, *Șantierul arheologic Murighiol*, in «Materiale», VI, 1959, pp. 325—329.

³⁷ In recent times, D. Tudor has dealt more closely with the problem of the presence of stamped amphorae north of the Danube, which he discussed in the above-mentioned study (still in manuscript) as well as earlier, in another, more limited article, *Amfore elenistice descoperite în adâncul teritoriului R.P.R. (Referat asupra legăturilor economice între cetățile sclavagiste grecești și triburile dintre Carpați și Dunăre)*, in *Studii și referate privind istoria R.P.R.*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1954, pp. 81—88.

³⁸ V. Canarache, *op. cit.*, p. 383 and note 2.

The find of a Greek amphora, unstamped however, was also made further north, at Suceava, in Moldavia: Cf. Karl Romstorfer, in *Jahrbuch des*

at Lunca Ciurei, near Iași (28)³⁹, going down through the big Getic station at Poiana (29)⁴⁰ and through the Greek emporion at Bărboși (30)⁴¹, the presence of stamped amphorae can further be followed throughout the Danubian plain, to the west of the country, where the latest finding places of stamped amphorae so far are Baia de Fier-Polovraci (45)⁴² and the village of Runcu (46)⁴³. No Greek stamped amphora or amphora handle seems to have appeared in Transylvania, as yet⁴⁴.

As will be seen from the map, the most frequent finds have been made in the Getic plain, especially along the Danube and higher up, along its tributaries. Here, the remotest northern site where such documents have appeared is the settlement around the present village of Cetățeni, on the left bank of the Dîmbovița⁴⁵, which has revealed more than one hundred handles with Greek stamps, mostly Rhodian, and a rather significant number (approximately 30) of amphora handles of local production, which as often as not imitate the angular shape of the Rhodian ones and bear stamps in which the writing, unknown to the Geto-Dacians, is replaced by a whole series of signs, geometrical figures, dots, lines, etc.; these anepigraphic stamps are called «local imitated stamps» — a current term used by the Rumanian archaeologists — and the following will include a few considerations on them.

In comparison with the situation south of the Danube, where the stamped amphorae appeared in a large quantity throughout the territory inhabited by the natives, in the north their number is reduced (the stamped amphora handles known and published reach approximately the figure of 180, while the anepigraphic

Bukoviner Landesmuseum, VII, 1898, p. 112 and sqq.

³⁹ Șantierul arheologic Trusești, in SCIV, VI, 1—2, 1955, p. 187, fig. 14.

⁴⁰ V. Pârvan, *Castrul de la Poiana și drumul roman prin Moldova de Jos*, in ARMSI, XXXVI, 4, (1913), p. 100, 104, 126, fig. 6 and pl. IV, 2—3. (Cf. also R. and E. Vulpe, *Les fouilles de Poiana*, in «Dacia», III—IV, 1927—1932, p. 311); *Raport preliminar asupra activității șantierului arheologic Poiana-Tecuci*, in SCIV, II, 1, 1951, p. 187 and fig. 16; *Șantierul arheologic Poiana*, in SCIV, III, 1952, p. 198 and fig. 19/4.

⁴¹ By word of mouth I have learnt of the accidental find of a stamped amphora handle in the neighbourhood of the respective site; from the rather vague description given by the informer, it seems we have to do with a Thasian stamped amphora handle.

⁴² Șantierul Grădiștea-Muncelului, in SCIV, IV, 1—2, 1953, p. 206, fig. 11/10.

⁴³ Șantierul arheologic Cerna-Olt, in SCIV, VI, 3—4, 1955, pp. 402—403 and fig. 11.

⁴⁴ The fact seems curious, if we think that other Greek products reached beyond the mountains in Transylvania, at that time. Maybe we should think of the risk involved by the conveyance of relatively big and heavy commodities — such as the am-

phorae full of liquids — along the land roads, for the rivers springing from the Carpathian chain are not navigable in the mountainous region and this being the situation, even if the Greek wines reached as far as the region beyond the mountains, it is to be supposed that they were carried in skins, by the carts, what would explain the absence of the other type of containers which were the amphorae.

⁴⁵ Till a short time ago, a confusion created by the person who had made a number of researches of his own at the place, where there is a Geto-Dacian settlement, also gathering a large number of Greek and local stamped amphora handles, resulted in the fact that the respective finds appeared in Rumanian archaeological works as coming from the «Stoenești Citadel». The truth is that the village of Stoenești is much farther from the ancient site (about 8 km to the north) and the «Citadel» there dates from the Middle Ages. The topographical precision and the correction of the error is due to D. V. Rosetti, who sent me the information, and who has also been kind enough to lend me the manuscript of an article of his own where he speaks about his recent finds near the Geto-Dacian settlement at Cetățeni. At the same time he also discussed the problem of the exact localization of the respective finds.

stamps also amount to 65); but of course, the accidental finds, of which we are not aware, are frequent enough, while on the other hand the large quantity of Greek unstamped amphora fragments found here, denotes the existence of a trade in such products, more intense than it could seem on first sight, from the relatively small number of stamped fragments. More interesting for the situation here is the fact that, with the exception of the region beyond the Carpathians where no such object has been found, the presence of imported stamped amphorae can be traced all over the country. Side by side with the existence of other Greek objects, they are evidence that even the remotest northern or western regions lived the process which we attempted to outline when we spoke about the historical significance of the presence of Greek imports in these regions.

Out of the total number of stamped jars fragments we are concerned in now, the Rhodian ones account for the largest proportion: 80%; the others originated in Thasos, Knidos, Sinope, Kos, Heraclea Pontica. The chronology of the whole group, which, with rare exceptions, belongs to the IIIrd—Ist centuries before our era, coincides with the moment of maximum development of the Getic-Danubian settlements.

The proportion so obviously dominant of Rhodian stamped amphorae naturally leads to the belief that in the IIIrd—IInd centuries before our era, the importation of wine was made directly here, through the merchants coming from the great economic and maritime centre Rhodes; these merchants went up the Danube with their ships very much as the Thasians probably did before them⁴⁶.

The appearance of stamped amphorae and of Greek imports in general, north of the Lower Danube, is no reason of astonishment: at the time the Geto-Dacian tribes swarmed here, living in the social and economic conditions which we sketched before and which enabled them to keep up relations with the Greek cities and tradesmen. The traces of these tribes' life and culture appeared in a number of fortifications and settlements, the most important and the richest of which being those in the Orăştie mountains (Transylvania) including the centre and capital of Decebalus' Geto-Dacian State, and those in the space between the Carpathians and the Danube: Popeşti, on the Argeş, (fig. 1,40), Zimnicea on the Danube (39), Piscul Crăsani on the Ialomiţa (41), Tinosul (42) (the settlements of the Danubian plain also being the places where Greek and imitated stamped jars have been found)⁴⁷. The penetration of Greek imports was facilitated here

⁴⁶ It is true that the Thasian stamps are much rarer north of the Danube, but the numerous simple fragments of amphorae and the currency discovered here, demonstrate that the Thasians kept up a direct trade with these regions. Cf. V. Pârvan: *La pénétration hellénique et hellénistique dans la vallée du Danube*, in BSH, X (1923), passim; Idem, *Getica, O protoistorie a Daciei*, p. 608 and sqq.

⁴⁷ Part of the old finds from Popeşti on the river Argeş were for a long time inedited, and they were to be made known through D. Tudor's study: *Răspîndirea amforelor greceşti stampilate...*; those appearing in the excavations of the past few years

were published in several excavation reports: Şantierul arheologic Popeşti, in SCIV, VI, 1—2, 1955, p. 249 and sqq. fig. 16—17; R. Vulpe, Şantierul arheologic Popeşti, in «Materiale», III, 1957, p. 231 and fig. 11; Idem, Şantierul arheologic Popeşti, in «Materiale», V, 1959, p. 342 and fig. 10/2—4; Idem, Şantierul arheologic Popeşti, in «Materiale», VI, 1959, p. 313 and fig. 12/2—5.

The Greek and local imitated stamps appearing at Zimnicea are also still unpublished, being also included in D. Tudor's above quoted study.

Two stamped amphora handles appeared in the ancient excavations made by I. Andrieşescu at Crăsani

by the fact that the old Istros was a wonderful waterway, from which the commodities then reached the valleys of the rivers far up, under the southern slopes of the Carpathians and even beyond the mountains. They were brought by the merchants from the colonies and perhaps by those coming directly from the commercial centres of the Aegean south, who went up the Danube in their ships; hence, by the natural communications provided by the river valleys, the commodities reached the heart of the country inhabited by the Geto-Dacian tribes⁴⁸. The diffusion of Greek wares in the north Danubian regions are among the most interesting problems in their ancient history. It raises a number of questions also in connection with the communications, the trade roads, the existence of stations where the exchanges between the aborigines and the Greek merchants took place, as well as with the relations between the merchants and the chiefs of tribes or tribal unions, who had to permit the freedom of their activity. Last but not least, the problem arises of the consequences brought about by the contact of the Geto-Dacian population with the Hellenic world and with certain creations of its material and spiritual culture. It is difficult to invoke here, as testimony, all the discoveries which have proved that, in the Second Iron Age, the Geto-Dacian tribes created here a flourishing culture to which contributed the Celtic, Scythian and especially Greek influences. Nowadays, the opinion gains ever more ground that in the working up of the Geto-Dacian La Tène, the local Hallstattian background underwent especially southern influences⁴⁹. The really surprising discoveries at Grădiştea Muncelului, Popeşti, Zimnicea, Poiana and so many other contemporary settlements stand proof of a flourishing culture to which the Greek influence conferred a more impressive and brilliant character, manifested especially in the technique of certain constructions, and in that of manufacturing ceramics and various other objects. Being in contact with and also accustomed to the various creations of Greek culture, the Geto-Dacians succeeded in imitating them on a large scale, giving birth to types in which the foreign elements

were considered of Rhodian origin but one of them, double, must be attributed to Kos, the inscription read by the discoverer [Δ]ελίου having to be corrected into [Ἰ]δαιίου; Cf. I. Andrieşescu, *Piscul Crăsani*, Bucharest, 1924, p. 69 and sqq. and fig. 204—205; Cf. also V. Pârvan, *Getica*, p. 203 and sqq., and fig. 150—151. From D. V. Rosetti's above-mentioned manuscript (see above note 45) it is easily seen that also at Piscul Crăsani was found a handle with an anepigraphic stamp, which I. Andrieşescu considered as having «cuneiform» inscription.

One of the few Sinopean stamped fragments appearing north of the Danube was found at Tinosul: R. and E. Vulpe, *Les fouilles de Tinosul*, in «Dacia», I, 1924, p. 204—5 and fig. 34/9, 39/12.

Also, Gh. Ştefan, *Les fouilles de Mănăstirea*, in «Dacia» II, 1925, p. 398, fig. 12/11, 14 and fig. 13, publishes two Greek stamped handles.

For the other finds, see further down, p. 210 and notes 60—61; those which do not have bibliographical indications are included in Tudor's above-

mentioned manuscript, or have not yet been published, our knowledge of them being due just to personal informations.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 207 and note 46, as well as R. Vulpe, *Şantierul arheologic Popeşti*, in SCIV, VI, 1—2, 1955, p. 260.

A suggestive element is the fact that the rich emporium at Bărboşi (in South Moldavia), the ancient stations at Carsium and Axiopolis (in Dobrudja) as well as a number of sites where amphorae have been found together with other categories of pottery, coins and various other Greek objects, stretch along the Danube and other river courses. Cf. V. Pârvan, *La pénétration hellénique et hellénistique... passim*; the more recent discoveries have been published in the Rumanian specialized literature of the past few years.

⁴⁹ In order to synthesize the latest opinions in this respect, see D. Berciu, *A propos de la genèse de la civilisation Latène chez les Géo-Daces*, in «Dacia» N.S., I, 1957, pp. 133—141.

blend with those specific to the autochthonous material culture. Among the imitated products of large circulation, the most characteristic are the coins, the bowls which copied the forms and ornaments of the Megarian ones, as well as the stamped or unstamped amphorae. In a whole series of settlements in the Danube plain (fig. 1) appeared a relatively large number of handles—about 65 items—whose profile and shape imitate especially those of the Rhodian and sometimes of the Koan handles⁵⁰. They bear, as we have shown, stamps of rectangular or round form, sometimes with a frame and sometimes without, in which written letters do not appear, but we find on them a number of signs and figures whose innermost significance we have not grasped, and which meant perhaps to replace the writing and symbols of the Greek stamps⁵¹.

The technique in which these pieces are manufactured differs from the Greek one. Although, certain items offer a rather careful aspect, certain elements clearly demonstrate that we have to do with local products: the degree of firing and the colour are not uniform and their clay has a common characteristic being a sandy clay, similar to that of the La Tène pottery of safe local origin. Although on the occasion of the first such appearances, the interpretations given them were uncertain⁵², today it is almost definitively established that the origin of these amphorae with anepigraphic stamps is local, they being manufactured somewhere, in one or several centres in the region north of the Lower Danube. Other arguments which corroborate this conviction are, apart from what has already been mentioned, the fact that nowhere have such objects been discovered so far, in the barbarian world of those regions. It is only in the Russe Museum, in Bulgaria that one finds just a single piece, whose finding place is unknown⁵³; the excavations carried on in Bulgaria have seemingly not yielded similar finds⁵⁴.

From our present state of knowledge, the area of spreading of this type of stamps remains circumscribed in the Getic plain, between the Carpathians and

⁵⁰ Again D. Tudor, in the cited manuscript, gathers for the first time in one place all the anepigraphic stamps or local amphora handles appearing north of the Danube.

⁵¹ It is only in two cases, among the items found at Cetățeni, that it seems they succeeded in imitating a few letters, in a very clumsy way; D. Tudor, *ms. cit.*

⁵² See for instance, in note 47 the opinion given on the anepigraphic stamp from Crăsan, which has been considered «cuneiform». More recently, even V. Canarache, *op. cit.*, p. 388, referring to the item which he publishes at p. 297, no. 759 in the category «Diverse» — which is nothing else than an amphora handle with local imitated stamp — writes: «Although generally we are not aware of any stamped amphora with a barbarian writing, we cannot however exclude the possibility of the existence of a stamped amphora of Asian origin!». Further on he admits however that the amphorae with anepigraphic stamps from Stoenesti (sic) and Popești are of local production. As concerns the place of discovery of the stamped handle under discussion, this is not certain,

for although the author publishes it in the Histrian collection mentioning the exact finding place, on the respective item there is no indication to this effect, and the fact that it was found in the store together with Histrian materials may be due to an accident, the item having strayed there or having been brought as a curio and then mixed with the other stamped handles.

⁵³ Through personal information I have learnt of the existence of the handle with anepigraphic stamp in the Russe museum; however there is no indication of its finding-place.

⁵⁴ It is true that in the recent excavations at Seuthopolis, in Bulgaria, a number of *pithoi* have appeared, bearing various stamps, among which the majority without letters but with all sorts of signs and devices, but amphora handles with anepigraphic stamps have not been found there. Cf. Maria Cicikova, *Les timbres sur pithoi de Seuthopolis*, in BCH, LXXXII, II, 1958, pp. 466—481 and pl. XXV—XXX. An interesting comparison can be made between these discoveries and those at the Getic settlement of Popești,

the Danube, which strengthens our supposition on their origin. It may be that they had not been manufactured in one centre alone, but in several ones, for certain differences are observable; but certain features and certain indications attribute them all to the local environment north of the Danube. As we have already shown, it is a question of the quality of clay, then of the resemblance between certain signs on the stamps and those from other objects manufactured by the Geto-Dacians and which circulated at that time. Apart from these, other facts, no less significant can be added: among the materials gathered around the Getic settlement at Cetățeni there are also approximately 22 Rhodian amphora fragments bearing various signs scratched after firing among which even certain Greek letters, and forms very similar to those appearing on the handles with anepigraphic stamps, such as squares, radiant circles, cross, branches⁵⁵. Finally, at Popești, on the river Argeș, even a miniature amphora has been found (0.155 m high) which coarsely imitates the shape of the Rhodian amphorae, and another one, of normal proportions, having double handles similar to the Koan type ones, but whose peculiarities of technique and clay indicate a local origin⁵⁶.

From the chronological point of view one has been able to establish that the amphorae with anepigraphic stamps circulated side by side with the originals which they copied, especially in the IInd—Ist centuries before our era. The most numerous discoveries of amphora handles with anepigraphic stamps were made at Cetățeni, on the Argeș (fig. 1. 43)⁵⁷, then further down, on the same river, at Popești (40)⁵⁸, and finally at Zimnicea (39)⁵⁹, Giurgiu (38)⁶⁰, Căscioarele (35)⁶¹, Piscul Crăsani (41)⁶², therefore in the most important Getic settlements on the Danube or along its tributaries, along the communication and trade roads which crossed the Getic plain, and where such objects could circulate easily.

These amphorae are therefore local ceramic products which try to imitate the Greek ones, and we think it superfluous to dwell again on the conditions which brought about this phenomenon, not at all an exception in the cultural history of our ancient territory. The question would arise, rather, what was precisely the reason why the inhabitants of these parts needed a large number of such

on the Argeș, where stamped pithoi have appeared — some of them bearing the Greek letters 'I' and X. Cf. *Șantierul arheologic Popești*, in SCIV, VI, 1—2, 1955, p. 253; R. Vulpe, *Șantierul arheologic Popești*, in «Materiale», VI, 1959, p. 310.

⁵⁵ D. Tudor, *ms. cit.*

⁵⁶ For the imitation of a Rhodian amphora, see *Șantierul arheologic Popești*, in SCIV, VI, 1—2, 1955, p. 249 and sqq. and fig. 18, 1; the amphora with double handles is still inedited and I have been able to see it thanks to the permission of prof. R. Vulpe.

Very interesting from this point of view seems the jar published in *Raport preliminar asupra activității șantierului arheologic Poiana-Tecuci*, in SCIV, II, 1, 1951, p. 189, and fig. 19 4: it is a jar of local production, probably dating in the Ist century before our era, shaped on the wheel, having a grey clay and bearing a striking resemblance with the type of

Rhodian amphora published by A. Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 13, fig. 1. The difference lies in the fact that the item found at Poiana has a more oval belly line, the lower part better rounded and ending in a small bottom and not in a cone like the Rhodian object we have mentioned. The jar from Poiana is adorned in the common manner of the local grey ceramics, of that time, bearing vertical and horizontal polished stripes on the neck and shoulders.

⁵⁷ See p. 206 and note 45.

⁵⁸ See, p. 207 and note 47.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ An amphora handle with an anepigraphic stamp, found in the neighbourhood of Giurgiu has recently been brought to the Bucharest Institute of Archaeology.

⁶¹ Unpublished: in above cited D. Tudor's *ms.*

⁶² See p. 207 and note 47.

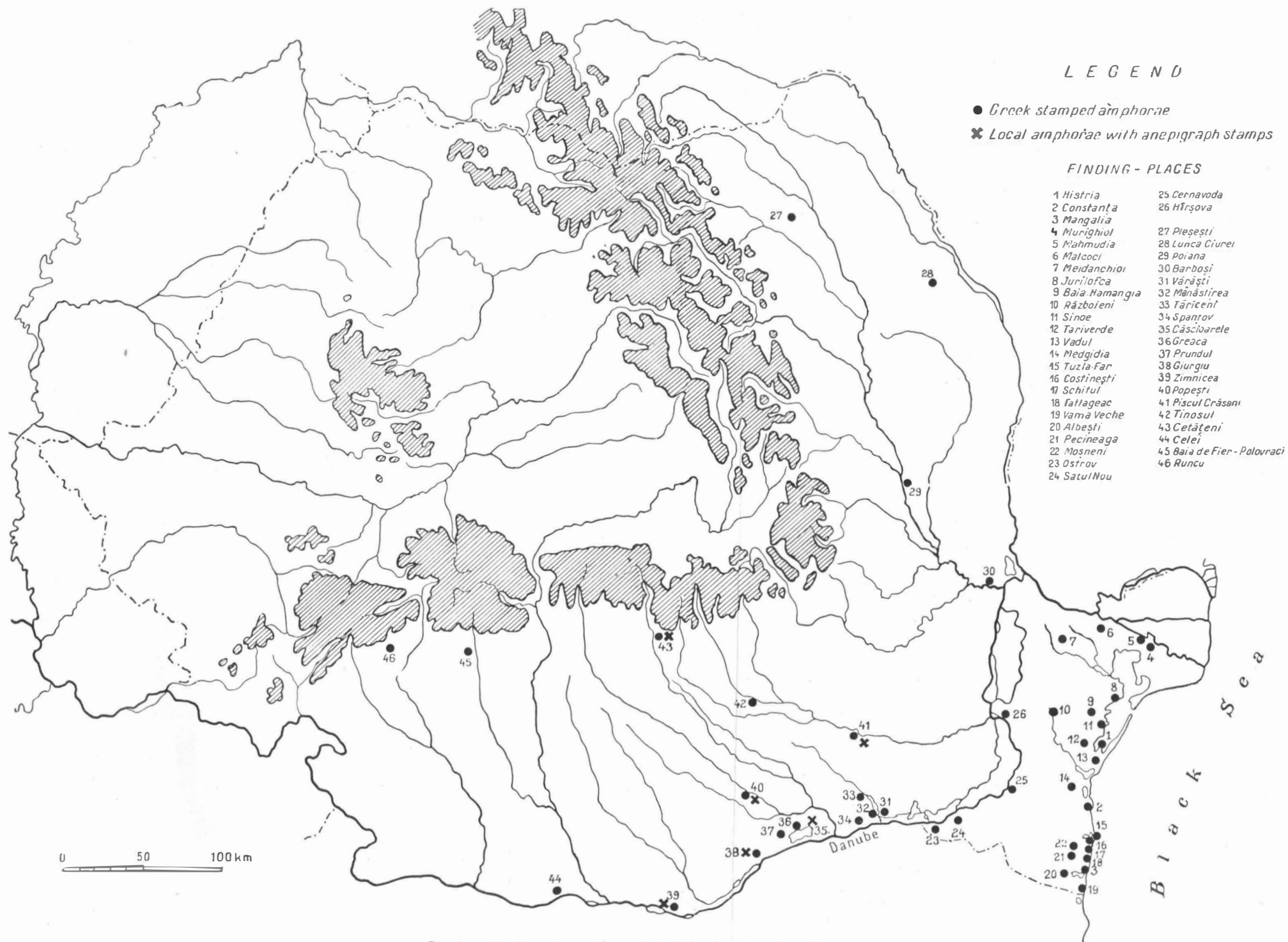


Fig. 1. — Finding-places of Greek and local stamped amphorae.

jars, at a certain moment? The answer is not difficult to be found. Of course that, apart from the wines imported from the south, which were neither too cheap, nor sufficient for meeting local consumption requirements, there was also some local vintage, based on a long tradition and favoured by natural soil qualities. The information transmitted by Strabo (304), according to which the Getic king Burebista, helped by his priest Dekaineos tried to get the Getae rid of excessive drinking, ordering the vineyards to be destroyed, must be interpreted not only as a reform destined to restore vigour to his subjects, but also as a sure proof that the regions had vineyards, whose produce satisfied local requirements. But in this case, wines had to be preserved and transported in suitable vessels and in order to meet the need thus born, one manufactured the above-mentioned series of jars which imitated the types of the Greek amphorae in circulation at the time, much too familiar to the indigenous, that the latter should not be tempted to transpose them into their own production.

Less clear seems the problem of anepigraphic stamps: in the intention of the indigenous manufacturers were they really a mere imitation of the Greek ones, on the occasion of which the local illiterate potters resorted to a familiar figurative repertory or had they a significance which we nowadays miss? The question will possibly find an answer following an attentive study into a number of ornamental motifs and symbols which appear on the pottery or other objects of local fabrication, dating at that time. Anyhow we have to do here with the interesting phenomenon of a local production, born out of the economic and cultural evolution of the respective society and supplemented by influences coming from the relations with the Greek world.

In the previous pages we have outlined a few problems raised by the presence of stamped amphorae on the ancient Rumanian territory, both in the Greek colonies and in the local *milieu*. Far from presuming to be a study proper, our essay has attempted to present especially the way in which the problem of stamped amphorae is posed for our regions. This problem appears now as a part of the problem of the relations which these regions maintained with the Greek cities, of the conditions which permitted those relations, and finally of the penetration of cultural elements coming from the Hellenic world and of its influence on the life of the population on the Lower Danube.

As compared with the interest offered by the stamped amphorae, considered as such, till a short time ago very little had been published in this field in Rumania, moreover in a way which failed to reveal the aspects discussed above ⁶³.

But the way in which we consider this problem now, the interest we attach to it, as well as the fact that a new number of stamped fragments permanently appears in excavations or accidentally, have made us feel ever more sharply in recent years, the necessity for a corpus of amphora stamps found on the Rumanian territory. All this is first of all due to the fact that the important quantity of materials already come to light, some of which have been

⁶³ It is not the case here to give in the present article all indications concerning the publications of stamped amphorae found in Rumania: for the most part they have been given in the notes accompanying it, and completions in the same respect may also be

offered by V. Canarache's cited work, p. 18, and notes 1,2.

A complete bibliography will include the introduction to the Rumanian corpus of amphora stamps, upon which we shall dwell further on.

partially published, while others are inedited as yet — had to be gathered and turned to account in a way which should present the situation of this category of documents throughout the country (the corpus will at the same time include the objects to appear within the next few years, up to its final elaboration). Secondly, our researchers need — besides the great foreign *corpora* or catalogues — a working-instrument made up on the basis of the materials found in these regions with which they should be able to permanently compare their new discoveries. To all these necessities we have to add the fact that even the experts abroad are interested in the publication of our materials, very much in the same way as we in our turn are interested in the similar works coming from abroad, which we make use of. That is the reason why in 1951, when the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic initiated a collection of all Greek and Roman inscriptions and texts concerning the ancient history of our country, a fascicle meant to comprise the amphora stamps was also included. Being assigned the task of working out the respective fascicle, in 1953 I embarked upon the first phase of the job — that of recording the materials — which is still going on. The experience acquired so far and the cognition of the way in which the problem of stamped amphorae must be posed as part of our ancient history has enabled us to establish the plan and outline of the future work, whose summary we shall give in the following⁶⁴.

First of all we must make it clear that, as it is but natural, the purpose and criteria of the corpus of amphora stamps found in our country will have to correspond to the necessities out of which its initial project was born. For this it will include all stamps on fragmentary or whole amphorae, recording both the material from the present territory of Dobrudja and that existing north of the Danube. The publication of the amphora stamps in this corpus will be made in a way which will bestow upon the future instrument of research a double quality: that of a catalogue as well as that of general view on the way in which the respective documents are distributed on our territory. For this purpose, will be used the system of establishing and illustrating all types and variants under ordinal numbers, with the exact accompanying specification of their finding places and of the number of items by which they are represented there.

The corpus will be made up of three essential parts:

I. *Introduction*. II. *Catalogue*. III. *Appendices*.

I. *Introduction*

— First of all we shall give here a very brief account on a number of problems beginning with that of the amphorae proper, of their utilization and frequency in the ancient times, as well as of their present importance, as a document useful for dating the archaeological contexts and the reproduction of certain aspects in the history of the ancient world;

— Then, we shall present, on the basis of the knowledge existing at the moment when the corpus is elaborated, the problem of endorsement and its significance. The problem will be posted also of the endorsements of the tiles with the conclusions which may be drawn on the basis of the identity of some of their stamps with those of the amphorae.

⁶⁴ I have consulted especially professors D.M. Pippidi, R. Vulpe and Gr. Florescu who gave me cer-

tain suggestions for which I kindly ask them to accept my gratitude.

— Following will be a review of the main specialized publications appeared abroad and at home, showing their character — study, catalogue, corpus — as well as the contribution made by each of them towards elucidating the problem of stamped amphorae.

— A special place will be further given to the problem of the presence and distribution of stamped amphorae on Rumania's territory, with all historical aspects connected to it.

— After this first part of introduction, of a general historical nature, reference will be made to the situation of the material existing in the country, with indications concerning its finding places, collocation and publication.

— Also here will be given a complete list of all publications concerning these materials, with the observations which they may originate.

— The reasons will then be exposed which have made necessary the publication of the corpus, and then its purpose and criteria.

— The introduction will be concluded by certain explanations concerning the way the material is arranged in the corpus and the way it can be used.

II. *The Catalogue* proper will include all Greek stamped amphora fragments existing in Rumania as well as the Latin ones, the latter are as yet too scanty in our country for making up a separate work.

— Although the Hellenistic stamped tiles — for the most part originating at Sinope — belong in another category of materials, they will be recorded in our corpus, at the end of the catalogue, by virtue of the similitude, even of the identity between their stamps and those of the amphorae with the same origin;

— Necessary will be also the inclusion of the stamps on the small standard jars — of course manufactured in the Greek colonies and serving for gauges in the retail trade — which bear the names of *agoranomoi* in charge of supervising the trade in the internal market of the respective cities.

— As far as possible we shall also present the inscriptions on *pithoi*, which, unfortunately, are still spread in the stores of excavation sites and museums, in conditions which make their recording very difficult.

Inside the catalogue the material will be divided according to the centres of origin, and each group thus determined will be preceded by a presentation of the typology of amphorae and the contents of the stamps belonging to the respective class. Also here will be included the most recent and complete lists of the names of eponyms or officials which appear on the stamps of the respective class, with their chronology, to the extent to which it has been established.

An ideal publication of the material should be made in the chronological order; but since we do not have the certainty that up to the elaboration of the corpus the possibility will be reached of dating all categories, we shall have to be satisfied with an alphabetical arrangement of the names existing in the various types and variants of amphora stamps. The most diligent attempts will be made for completing the names and restoring the inscription on each fragmentary or damaged stamp in order to trace it back to the type it belongs to and in order to reduce as much as possible the category of «incomplete» and «indecipherable» ones, which will be set at the end of each group. It is also there that we shall place the various stamps bearing only letters, monograms or devices, about which it will be possible to establish that they belong to the respective group.

Each type and each variant will receive a catalogue number and will be illustrated by a photograph of the original, or by a drawing, or, at length by a mere transcription, in case the object, already published, can no longer be found again in order to be studied and photographed. The photograph will represent the clearest and best preserved stamp in the respective group or variant.

Each catalogue number will also include, besides the photograph or drawing, the following elements:

- the transcription of the restored inscription, with the indication of the device;
- formal indications on the stamp and its graphic aspect, if necessary;
- a recording of the secondary stamps, of the red stains and of the *grafiti* or *dipinti*, if they exist on the same jars or fragments as the stamps;
- remarks concerning the type and contents of the stamp, if this is an uncommon case; its dating and the general bibliographic indications, which will only refer to the most important catalogues and publications with the help of which its determination has been made;
- the total number of objects of the respective type of variant, existing in the country;
- the finding places, in the alphabetical order of the present names, with the precision made at each of them, of the number of items found there, of its collocation and inventory number; a specification will be given also for the items whose finding-place is unknown;

— the respective bibliographic indications accompanying the items which have been published, with eventual rectifications of the earlier readings.

The above indications which will be included in each catalogue number and for each separate object, will serve on the one hand for identifying, with the help of the corpus, the items appearing later, and on the other hand will register and establish for certain all the finds of stamped amphorae in Rumania, with precisions on their origin and chronology, and with the exact distribution for various sites. In this way, being supplemented by the table in the *Appendices*, they will be able to serve as a basis for the future studies.

III. *Appendices* will include in the first place a map of the ancient Rumanian territory, which indicates the localities or places where stamped jars or stamped fragments have been found, followed then by a number of statistics, indices, concordances, etc.:

— In order to offer both statistical possibilities and a general view of the finds, we shall resort to a system synthetizing several informations, otherwise spread all along the catalogue: a table-index of finding places disposed in alphabetical order of their present names, with specification, by each of them, of the total number of items appeared, distributed by origin and chronologically, and with references to the catalogue number.

In this way it will be easily noticed where the greatest concentration of such materials is to be found, the epoch they date from, and whether the indications offered by the distribution of stamped amphorae also agree with other archaeological discoveries in the respective settlement or locality;

— The list of Rhodian months, with the indication of their frequency and of the catalogue numbers of all stamps on which they appear.

—The usual general index which must include all proper names, monograms, letters, devices, *graffiti* and *dipinti* with references to the catalogue numbers in the corpus.

—A table of concordance of the catalogue numbers of the corpus with the inventory numbers of the stamped fragments existing in various collections, and vice versa.

Such is the draft of the future Rumanian corpus of amphora stamps concerning all materials discovered on Rumania's territory. In conceiving it, we always had to heed the purposes and criteria which it must pursue. Naturally, it is not impossible that certain changes, meant to improve it, should be made, before its final elaboration. By the way it is conceived, this work resembles a repertory of the respective documents existing in Rumania, which is due to the fact that first of all it must serve Rumanian archaeological and historical researches.

—The anepigraphic stamps on local imitated jars will not be included here since they form a special chapter which will have to be treated and illustrated independently, for the numerous problems they raise, —although having certain contingencies with those concerning the imported Greek amphorae —cannot be discussed within the limited framework of the introduction to the future corpus.

VICTORIA EFTIMIE