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Gifts of Dionysus in Rhizon, Capital of Queen Teuta

*On the Typology
of the So-called Greek-Italic Amphorae*

The quiet town of Risan lies in a mountainous setting on the northern branch of the bay of Boka Kotorska on the Adriatic coast in Montenegro. The small river of Špila springs from the high mountains that surround the site (**Fig. 1**). It is difficult to imagine that this was once the site of the biggest and most important settlement in the bay and a one-time capital of Illyria.

The history of the site drew Arthur Evans already in the 1870's, while he was waiting for permission to excavate in Knossos. In a limited dig Evans discovered the ruins of a house, parts of a medieval necropolis and many small finds, including some jewelry and a few coins of a king, Ballaios, of whom not a word has survived in extant ancient sources.¹

Polish archaeologists from the University of Warsaw took up Evans' work after nearly 130 years. In 2001 they began comprehensive research on the site in an effort to study the ancient past of Risan and verify data from some of the ancient written sources. Ten years later many questions have been answered even as new research issues have arisen following some startling archaeological discoveries.² Of these perhaps the most important one is the chronology of Illyrian rulers. A hoard of 4656 coins of King Ballaios discovered in 2010 has led to reassessments of what had been considered as well known and fixed (**Fig. 2**).³

The name of Risan carries echoes of the ancient Greek *Rhizon* and the later Roman *Risinium*. An Illyrian settlement has been traced on the site, but it was not until the Great Colonization period that it took on commercial significance as an *emporium* on the trade routes⁴ It was then that it received its name which refers to medicinal herbs remaining a staple even today. The Greeks imported large quantities of these herbs to use in medicine as well as perfume. The plants from the valley of the nearby river Neretva were especially in demand, including the Illyrian iris mentioned by Pliny the Elder.⁵

The convenient shore location of Rhizon made it an important harbor already in the Seventh century BC. It is hardly surprising that the first known mention in ancient sources is found in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax.⁶ But it would have probably remained an undistinguished Illyrian and Classical site, one of many on the Dalmatian coast, were it not for important historical events that were played out here in the end of the Third century BC.

The geographic location made it a favorite base for Illyrian pirates preying on the fleets of Rome and the Greek towns and colonies during the dangerous era of the Punic wars.

¹ A. EVANS, *Antiquarian Researches in Illiricum*, Wensminster 1884, pp. 42f.

² L.J. DROBNJAKOVIĆ, *Risan prvih hiljadu godina*, Beograd 2002; P. DYCZEK, *Rhizon, 2001–2003. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Center for Archaeological Research – Novae*, Warsaw University, *Archeologia* 55, 2004 (2005), pp. 101–118; ID., *Fieldworks at Risan and Novae, 2003*, *Światowit (V)* (XLVI), *fasc. A*, (2003) 2006, pp. 99–106; ID., *Rhizon, 2004–2007. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe*, Warsaw University, *Archeologia (V)* 58, 2007 (2008), pp. 121–139.

³ P. DYCZEK, *Preliminary Remarks on the Archaeological Context of the Discovery of the “Great Hoard” of 4656 Coins of King Ballaios in Risan (Rhizon/Risinium)*, *Novaensia* 21, 2010, pp. 45–50; R. CIOLEK, “Great Hoard” of 4656 Coins of King Ballaios in Risan, *ibid.*, pp. 7–12. Cf. also EAD., *Emisje króla Ballaios. Początki mennictwa w Ilirii*, Warszawa 2011.

⁴ W. PAJAKOWSKI, *Ilirowie*, Poznań 1981, p. 44.

⁵ *Plin., Nat. Hist.* XXI, 40; R.L. BEAUMONT, *Greek Influence in the Adriatic*, *JHS* 56, 1936, pp. 184–185.

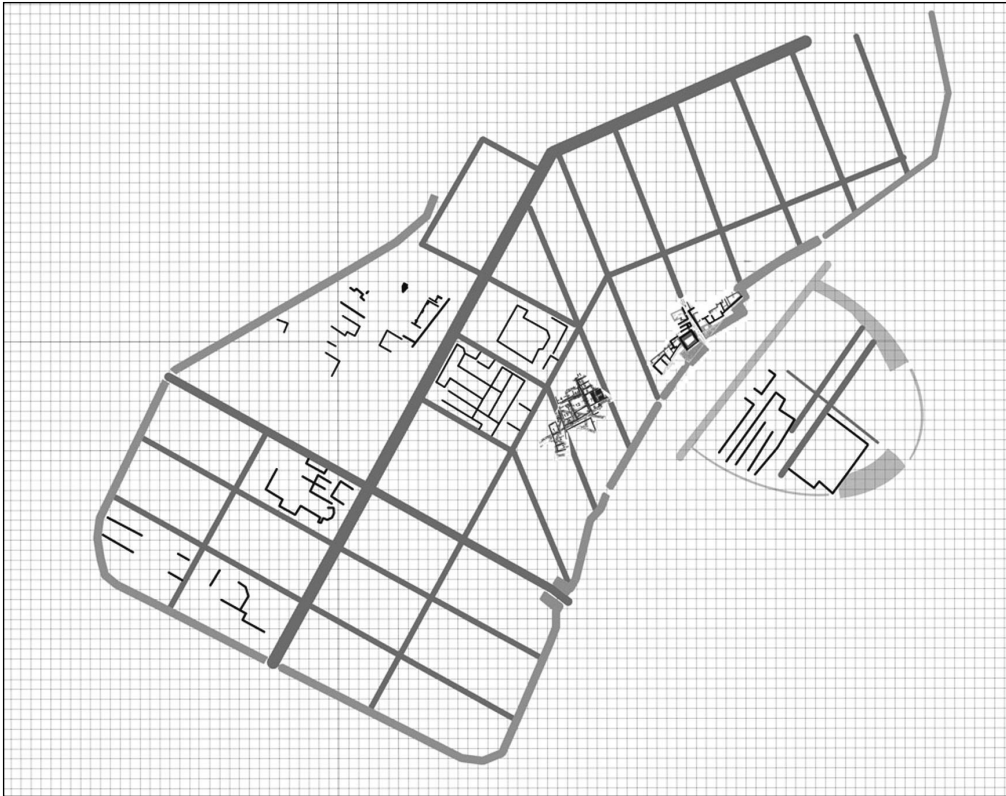
⁶ C. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Parisiis 1882, vol. I, pp. 15–36.



1. Risan today (Phot. J. Reclaw).



2. Hoard of coins of King Ballaios, discovered in 2010 (Phot. J. Reclaw).



3. Plan of ancient Rhizon (Drawing P. Dyczek).

Patience ran out in Rome once the pirates attacked Issa, an ally of Rome.⁷ Negotiations undertaken by the Senate were thwarted by the uncompromising stand of Illyrian Queen Teuta who had seized power as a regent after the death of King Agron. Teuta may have relied excessively on Rhizon's defensive location. In any event, she was proved wrong by what followed. The first Illyrian war (228–229 BC) ended in her defeat. Rome increasingly subordinated the kingdom until it was entirely incorporated into the newly formed Roman province of Dalmatia in 138 BC.

In the ages that preceded these events, starting in the Seventh century BC, Rhizon grew in economic potential. The *emporion* most probably became a Greek colony and then a Greek city. Its location favored trade: on one hand it lay on the Adriatic coastal route and on the other, it was a starting point for the route from the Adriatic to the Danube.

Current excavations have brought to light vestiges of the city of Agron and Teuta. Mentions of huge fortifications in the ancient sources have been corroborated by the finds. The walls, which ran for one kilometer (**Fig. 3**) and were constructed of large limestone

⁷ *Polib.* II, 11.16; P. DYCZEK, Rhizon 2001–2003. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Center for Archaeological Research – Novae, Warsaw University, *Archeologia (V)* 55, 2004 (2005), p. 103.

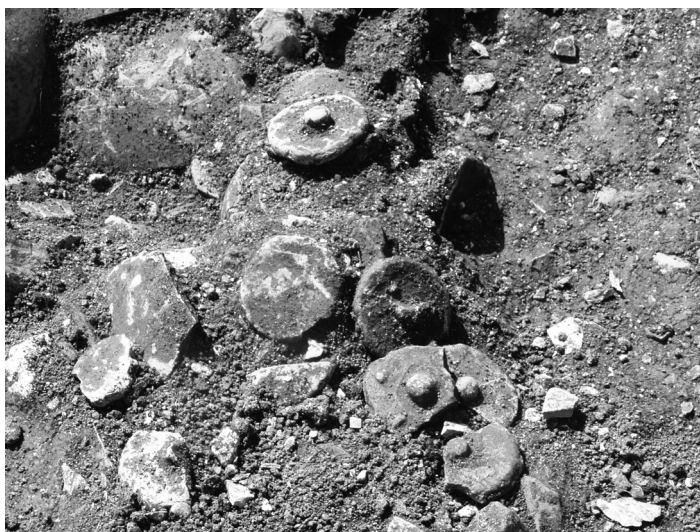
4. A street and section of one of the insulae in Risan
(Phot. J. Reclaw).



5. Deposit of amphorae in one of the chambers of a Hellenistic house
(Phot. J. Reclaw).



6. Stoppers of Hellenistic amphorae *in situ*
(Phot. J. Reclaw).



blocks in polygonal bond, are sometimes referred to as cyclopean because of their monumental character. A fortified acropolis is known to have towered over the town. The street plan was orthogonal with intersecting streets forming insulae in Hellenistic times (Fig. 4). Three such insulae have been explored to date, providing grounds for a reconstruction of the town architecture and yielding finds that have been instrumental in recreating the everyday life of the town. The discovery of a Hellenistic bathroom with terracotta tubs and the only Greek mosaic of such early date (Third century BC) known from the Adriatic region were undoubtedly of particular importance in this respect. Other discoveries included ancient shops selling exclusive tableware of the Gnathia type, which proved invaluable for establishing an exact date for the site.

The most surprising finds, however, were large numbers of storerooms full of amphorae, both whole and fragmentary, and thousands of amphora stoppers. These have proved perhaps the most characteristic find in Rhizon. Wherever excavations have started in the area of the ancient town, which counts approximately six hectares overall, the dominant finds have been amphorae (Fig. 5), amphora stoppers (Fig. 6) and storerooms full of the vessels. The numbers of jars definitely exceed what would have been necessary to meet the residents' own needs. The only reasonable explanation is that most of the amphora or rather their content was intended for trade with the tribes living in the interior.

Grapevine cultivation had not been introduced yet in Illyria in the relevant period.⁸ Any wine consumed in the region had to be imported from various other centers. At the same time there is reason to believe that the cult of Dionysus was not foreign to the area, as indicated by the discovery of a terracotta mold for impressing the figure of a Maenad. It has been proved conclusively that the representation rendered part of a famous sculptural work by Kallimachos; by fortunate coincidence, the scene preserved in the mold was one that had gone missing from the original work and had long been the topic of debate. The find from Rhizon helped to resolve this issue.⁹

Amphora shapes and the stamps on the handles or rims attest to the sources of wine imports. Excavations have contributed additional data, like the residue of red wine that was found in one of the excavated vessels.

Amphorae are seldom good chronological markers because particular types often remained long in use, but when vessel series are sufficient for statistical study they can actually provide chronological ranges. This has been the case of the assemblage from Rhizon. More than 20 amphora types have been distinguished in the material to date, covering a period from the Fourth century BC to the Sixth century AD. The types include Greek-Italic amphorae as well as Roman vessels. This preliminary analysis will concentrate on the types that were in use during the times of Teuta and her family, that is, from the beginning of the reign of her husband, King Agron (250–230 BC) through her regency (230–228 BC) and the rule of Pinnes, Agron's son from a former marriage (230–217 BC).

⁸ P. DYCZEK, Wine in Lower Moesia, *Histria Antiqua* 15, 2007, pp. 237–240.

⁹ Id., Kalimachos, Maenad from Rhizon/Risinium (Montenegro), [in:] Die Selbstdarstellung der römischen Gesellschaft in den Provinzen im Spiegel der Steindenkmäler, Innsbruck 2007, pp. 275–286.

The dominant vessel in the Mediterranean in this period was an amphora which F. Benoit designated as Greek-Italic in his 1954 study of amphorae discovered in the Grand Congloué 1 wreck. He believed this type to be a transitional form combining formal characteristics of both the earlier Greek and the later Roman vessels. In his opinion these were vessels derived from a Greek prototype but produced mainly on the Italian peninsula.¹⁰ In his classic study of Republican amphorae, N. Lamboglia classified this type as his Lamboglia 4.¹¹ At first, the designation was limited to the Fourth and Third century BC vessels frequently bearing Greek-letter stamps. Gradually, the term came to encompass vessels of Second century BC date which already bore Latin stamps.

The Greek-Italic amphorae underwent far-going differentiation into various types and variants as a result of further studies on the category. New types of these containers were found practically at every excavated site, distinguished not only by the shape, but also by fabric and volume. The increasingly complex typology started to include variants of forms distinguished as separate types.¹² In the middle of the 1980s, C. Vandermersch introduced a revised typology breaking up the amphorae, which he observed to be mainly of Great Greece and Sicilian manufacture, into six major types designated as MGS (*Magna Graecia* (and) *Sicilia*). In an effort to reconcile different views, he suggested that the term “Greek Italic amphorae” be kept only for vessels that were produced indeed at the interface of Greek and Roman cultures, that is, in the ceramic centers of *Magna Graecia*.¹³

In the present study of Rhizon amphorae, we have rescinded on the accepted typologies and have based our site typology of these vessels on historical markers. Our voice is a contribution to the debate concerning Greek-Italic amphorae. First of all, we have assumed that ancient potters did not invent new types of vessels just for the sake of it and, secondly, that they could have hardly combined characteristics of *earlier* Greek amphorae and *later* Roman ones, this being an evaluation from the position of modern archaeologists with knowledge of later Roman amphora shapes. The potters who first made Greek-Italic amphorae could not have had any knowledge of what Roman amphorae were going to look like. Therefore, in our opinion, the case was shaped by historical events.

Trade in the Mediterranean and especially in the Adriatic region where many important Greek towns and colonies were located must have picked up considerably with the establishment of a strong political center in Sicily and the development of Greek cities in *Magna Graecia* starting from the Fourth century BC. This was a maritime trade by default. The colonizing Greeks introduced grapevine cultivation to the new territories and soon wine became a coveted good, especially in regions like Illyria where grapes were

¹⁰ F. BENOIT, Amphores et céramiques de l'épave de Marseille, *Gallia* 12, 1954, pp. 40–41.

¹¹ N. LAMBOGLIA, Sulla cronologia della anfore romane di età repubblicana (II–I secolo a. C.), *RSL* 21, 1955 [= *Sulla cronologia*], pp. 264–265.

¹² Cf. E. LYNDING WILL, Greco-Italic Amphoras, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 338–356 [= *Hesperia* 51]; D.P.S. PEACOCK, D.F. WILLIAMS, Amphorae and the Roman Economy. An Introductory Guide, London-New York 1986; D. MANACORDA, A proposito delle anfore cosiddette “Greco-italiche”: una breve nota, *BCH Suppl.* 13, 1986, pp. 581–586 [= *BCH-Suppl.* 13]; A. TONIOLO, Le anfore di Adria (IV–II secolo a.C.), Padova 2000 [= *Anfore*].

¹³ C. VANDERMERSH, Vins et amphores de Grandé Grèce et de Sicile IV^e–III^e s. avant J.-C., Naples 1994 [= *Vins et amphores*], p. 84.

not grown. Searching for new markets must have been of cardinal importance for the new Greek settlements faced by dwindling commercial exchange with the original metropolies. The colonies were clearly more absorptive markets. Moreover, the Punic wars in the Third century BC could have stimulated production. A cheap and universal container, amphorae were excellently suited for this trade. The concept as well as shape were well grounded with Greek settlers, but there were some additional factors. The amphorae had to be manageable in weight when full, so that they could be carried without much effort by a couple of porters, capacity had to reflect accepted measures and the shape had to be suited to available means of transport. In the new situation, when production could no longer be limited to a few centers, manufacture in many different workshops resulted naturally in many minor variations of form. Also, the basic mode of transport, which seems to have been the *lembi*¹⁴ and *liburna*¹⁵ in the Adriatic, had to be considered. These originally pirate ships¹⁶ were built differently and the shape of the new clay packaging had to take that into account. These factors, combined with the economic growth of the Republic, encompassing mainly the emergence of new wine and olive oil production centers, led to further formal changes and in effect to the development of new types which have been designated as Roman. In our view of the situation, however, the transitional type were the later Third and Second century BC amphorae produced on the northern and partly the eastern coasts of the Adriatic. The Greek-Italic vessels of the Fourth and Third century BC were manufactured mainly in Magna Graecia centers, in Sicily and in a few isolated places in the delta of the Po river. Centers on the western coast of Italy emerged in the Third century BC and it is these (Roman) centers that dominated the production in the Second century BC.

The distribution of Greek-Italic amphorae also changed over time. These amphorae dominate in Fourth and Third century BC contexts on the eastern and western coasts of Italy and the western Adriatic shore; only a few are known from Greece. In the Second century BC, there is a distinct concentration of these vessels in the northern and western Mediterranean.

The chronological division of the Rhizon amphorae into five chronological groups: Greek, Hellenistic, Early Roman, Roman and Late Roman, keeps all these aspects in mind. The respective designations are: *Rhizon* GA (Greek Amphorae), *Rhizon* HA (Hellenistic Amphorae), *Rhizon* ERA (Early Roman Amphorae) *Rhizon* RA (Roman Amphorae) and *Rhizon* LRA (Late Roman Amphorae). The appearance of Roman amphorae was assumed to correspond with the emergence of the Dr 1 type, an assumption that has been borne out by the results of our excavations at Risan. Consequently, we share Morel's and A. Tchernia's opinions on the subject.¹⁷ The adoption of a chronological division avoided terminological

¹⁴ H. KRAHE, Greek λεμβος, lat. lembus – eine ilyrische Schiffsbezeichnung?, *Gymnasium* 59, 1952, p. 79; D. DŽINO, The influence of Dalmatian shipbuilders on the ancient warships and naval warfare: the lembos and liburnica, *Diodora* 21, 2003, pp. 19–36.

¹⁵ S. PANCIERA, Liburna, *Epigraphica* 18, 1956, p. 142; M. DOMJAN, Liburnian boats – their construction and form, *BAR-IS* 276, 1985, pp. 67–85.

¹⁶ Cf. H. DELL, The origins and nature of Illyrian piracy, *Historia* 16/3, 1967, pp. 344–358.

¹⁷ J.-P. MOREL, Céramiques d'Italie et céramiques hellénistique (130–150 av. J.-Ch.), [in:] P. Zanker (Ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien II*, Göttingen 1976, pp. 477–478; A. TCHERNIA, Le vin d'Italie romaine. Essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores, *BEFAR* 216, 1986, pp. 42–44.

ambiguity and included amphorae from all periods. This principle, which was used in the study of Roman amphorae, also permits the classification of amphorae produced in different centers. Moreover, it is an open typology which will easily absorb any new forms that are discovered in the study of the assemblage from the excavations in Risan.

The immediate effect of applying this classification was the observation of a certain regularity. The amphorae fell into three chronological groups. The first group corresponded to a period of growth in the Italic economy which terminated with the outbreak of the first Punic war,¹⁸ the second to the second Punic and second Illyrian wars, and the third to the third Illyrian war which ended with the defeat of King Gentios in 168 BC and the establishment of the province of Dalmatia in 138 BC, the latter being possibly connected with the passing of *lex Claudia* at this time. This regulation undoubtedly clipped trade growth, especially on the maritime routes.

The connection between the presence of amphorae and historical events appears to be a characteristic feature in the entire Adriatic region. Analyzing amphorae without this context in mind has led to numerous typological meanders and reckless theories explaining the observed changes.

Rhizon GA 1 designates amphorae from Corinth dated from the Sixth to the Third century BC, characteristic of the Risan assemblages and known also from earlier excavations by local archaeologists (sherds now lost). The amphorae correspond to other finds from Rhizon, like sherds of Corinthian tableware and Corinthian coins,¹⁹ testifying to a lively trade between Rhizon and Corinth. The same situation is true of many sites in the eastern Adriatic and it is hardly surprising considering that it was Corinth which initiated economic activities and colonization in this area.

The evidence is incapable of telling us whether Rhizon was a Greek colony established by Corinth, as was the case of the nearby Buthoe (modern Budva). The said text of Pseudo-Skylax does not solve the issue, merely demonstrates interest in the region. The term *emporion* used there does not refer to the settlement's political status, but it does not exclude the existence of a colony in this spot.²⁰ Both oil and wine could have been transported in this type of Corinthian amphorae, but since the predominating sherds in the Risan assemblage are those of wine containers, then it can be assumed that it was wine that was imported here from Greece. The assumption is all the more plausible considering the probable low demand for oil in Illyria due to the nature of the diet of the local tribes.

¹⁸ A. SCIAVONE, Una grammatica dell'economia romana, *Storia di Roma* 4, 1989 [= Una grammatica], pp. 23–36.

¹⁹ D. UJES, Numizmatyki prolog izučenija aktivnosti koryntske tyrgovske sfere na iztočnom Jadranu, *Monografije* 9, Beograd 1995, pp. 45–52; V. KOVACEVIC, Rezultati istraživanja arheološkog lokaliteta „Carine” u Risnu, Glasnik srbskog arheološkog društva, *Materijali* 16, Beograd 1997, pp. 40–45; D. UJES, Deo octava tetradrachmi Damastiona i stetety korinskog tipa iz Risan (IGCH 391) u Narodom muzeju u Belgradu, *Numizmatičar* 20, Beograd 1997, pp. 7–11; ID., Le trésor monétaire de Risan (IGCH 391) une contribution à l'étude de l'histoire économique de l'Illyrie du Sud, [in:] P. Cabanes (Ed.), *Actes du II^e colloque international de Chantilly*, Paris 1999, pp. 107–114.

²⁰ P. COUILLON, L'emporion de de géographes grecs, [in:] A. Bresson, P. Rouillard (Eds), *L'emporion*, Paris 1993, pp. 49–52; A. BRESSON, Les cités grecques et leur emporia, [in:] *op. cit.*, pp. 167–169.

The next four types of amphorae were all produced in Magna Graecia. In his typology Vandermersch classified them as MGS III, IV, V and VI.²¹

Rhizon HA 1, corresponding to C. Vandermersch's MGS III and A. Toniolo's type 1²² characterized by a bulging body and clearly referring to Corinthian amphorae in shape: cylindrical neck, wide shoulders, oval-sectioned handle rising vertically from the shoulders and attached at the other end to the neck below the rim. The earliest vessels of the type have been attested at the sites of Lucania and Bruttium in the late Fifth century BC. They have also been recorded at Pomarlico Vecchio, Montegirdano, Thuroi and Kaulonia, for example.²³ A peak in their popularity came in the second half of the Fourth century BC and they remained common until the beginning of the Third century BC. Produced at Lucania and Bruttium, they were used to transport wine.²⁴ Stamps with images of a bunch of grapes occasionally appearing on the handles refer to the content. Other stamps bear symbols of a bull and an amphora. Occasionally, there are Greek letters on the stamps, presumably references to the names of fabricants manufacturing these containers.

Rhizon HA 2 (**Fig. 7**), Vandermersch's MGS IV, Toniolo's type 3²⁵ featuring a slender pointed body resembling an arrow, solid cylindrical foot, handles attached to mid-shoulder and below the rim, bent at right angle. The rim has a characteristic triangular section. Amphorae of this type were produced starting from the Fourth century BC and are believed by some scholars to be the forerunners of Greek-Italic amphorae. E. Lyding Will's opinion that the MGS IV type of container was developed in Sicily²⁶ is not shared by all researchers, some of whom seek the genesis of this type in the Liparian Islands, for example,²⁷ but the prevailing view is that the container was produced in South Italy.²⁸ It is supported by the fact that all the main ceramic workshops producing this type of container have been found in the triangle of Poseidonia – Tarente – Agrigente, although its production was taken up soon in other local ceramic centers as well.

Anepigraphic stamps of the *planta pedis* type or an octopus are rare. More frequently one finds stamps with Greek letters representing abbreviations of names of fabricants. No stamps of this kind have been attested so far in Risan.

Wine seems to have been the product transported in these vessels considering the evidence of internally resinated containers found in the Filiciudi F shipwreck²⁹ and wine residue identified in amphorae discovered in Gela.³⁰ Tomb finds, where the assemblages contained also vessels for pouring and drinking wine, also point to the intended content of these containers.

²¹ VANDERMERSH, *Vins et amphores*, pp. 73–87.

²² TONIOLO, *Anfore*, pp. 13–16.

²³ SIBARI, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antiquità, Suppl.* 28, 1974, p. 533; P.G. GUZZO, *Le città scomparse della Magna Grecia*, Roma 1982, pp. 322–325; M. BARRA BAGNASCO, *Nuove ricerche a Pomarlico Vecchio (MT)*, Campagna di scavo 1989, *Atti Taranto* 29, 1990, p. 576.

²⁴ VANDERMERSH, *Vins et amphores*, p. 72.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 73–76; TONIOLO, *Anfore*, pp. 32–37.

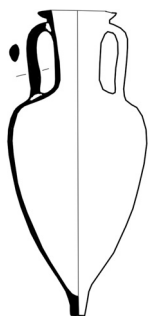
²⁶ LYDING WILL, *Hesperia* 51, pp. 342–344.

²⁷ M. CAVALIER, *Les amphores du VI^e au IV^e siècle dans les fouilles de Lipari*, Napoli 1985, p. 90.

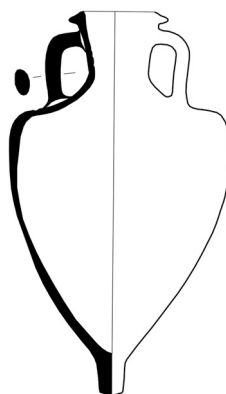
²⁸ VANDERMERSH, *Vins et amphores*, p. 75.

²⁹ D. ADAMESTEANU, P. ORLANDINI, *Gela, Nsc* 10, 1956, p. 355.

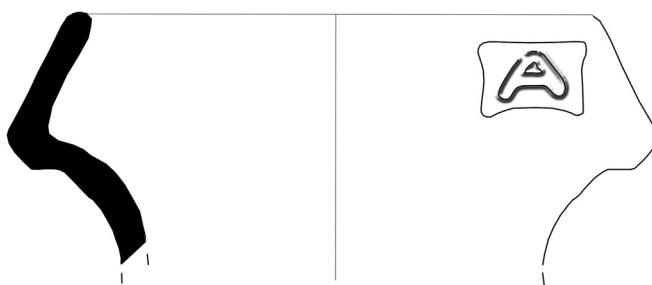
³⁰ J. JEHASSE, L. JEHASSE, *La nécropole préromaine d'Aléria, Galia Suppl.* 25, 1973, pp. 366–372.



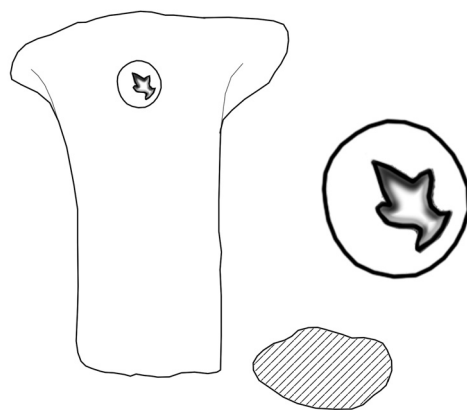
7. *Rhizon* HA 2 amphora
(Drawing: P. Dyczek, M. Różycka).



8. *Rhizon* HA 3 amphora
(Drawing: P. Dyczek, M. Różycka).



9. "Alpha" stamp on *Rhizon* HA 3 amphora (Drawing: M. Różycka).



10. Stamp on a Rhodian amphora (Drawing: P. Matyaszczyk, M. Różycka).

Rhizon HA 3 (**Fig. 8**), Vandermersch's MGS V, Toniolo's type 2 including subtype a³¹ more bulging than the previous type, featuring a characteristic hollow cylindrical foot and distinctly profiled shoulders. Dating information for this type is relatively exact, the range being set between two wars: Pyrrhos' battles on the Ionian coast in the middle of the Fourth century BC (350/340 BC) and the period immediately prior to the first Punic war, that is, 280/260 BC.³² There is no agreement on the origins of the type. Many scholars believe it to be the direct prototype of Greek-Italic amphorae.³³ E. Lyding Will has suggested that the prototype for these containers came from Greek workshops and was adopted by workshops in Sicily and on the western Mediterranean shores.³⁴ The currently dominating view is that the form developed in Magna Graecia and Sicily³⁵ and was copied with time in the smaller ceramic centers on the Tyrrhenian coast and in the Sicilian interior.

Stamps in the Greek alphabet occurred on this type of container and one example has been recorded at Risan. It is a rim stamp, rectangular in shape, an *alpha* occupying the whole field (**Fig. 9**).

These were mainly wine containers. At Adria they seem to have been used for a local wine, *vinum Hadrianeum*, produced in the nearby vineyards. The wine must have been in demand, considering that sherds of this type of amphorae have been attested in the entire Adriatic basin as well as at other sites in the Mediterranean. Even so, examples of the amphora filled with oil at one time have also been recorded.

Fortunate preservation of whole vessels has permitted calculations of capacity. Two variants have been distinguished: a bigger one containing from 20.4 to 22 liters³⁶ and a smaller one with a capacity ranging between 6.7 and 9.8 liters. The most credible explanation of this differentiation is that the bigger containers were intended for exporting wine, while the smaller ones were used on the local market. Standing in favor of this idea was the fact that to date the smaller volume of container has been attested solely in Magna Graecia.

Another explanation of the difference in volume assumes the high price of the wine in the containers and the related difference in price for different size containers tailored to the customers' financial means.

Rhizon HA 4, Rhodian amphora of the Hellenistic period, represented so far in Risan by a single fragment with a rose stamp on the handle (**Fig. 10**), which dates the sherd to the middle of the Third century BC.³⁷ A similar form of stamp from Delos was found there in

³¹ TONIOLO, Anfore, pp. 17–31.

³² VANDERMERSH, Vins et amphores, p. 78.

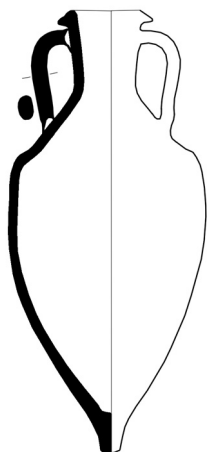
³³ V. BLANC-BIJON, M.-B. CARRE, A. HESNARD, A. TCHERNIA, Recueil de timbres sur amphores romaines II (1989–1990 et compléments 1987–1988), *Travaux du Centre Camille Jullien* 20, 1998, [= Recueil], p. 95; D. MANACORDA, Produzione agricola, produzione ceramica e proprietà nell'ager Cosanus nel I secolo a.C., *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* II, Bari 1981, pp. 22–24; LYDING WILL, *Hesperia* 51, p. 342; MANACORDA, *BCH-Suppl.* 13, p. 582.

³⁴ LYDING WILL, *Hesperia* 51, pp. 343–344.

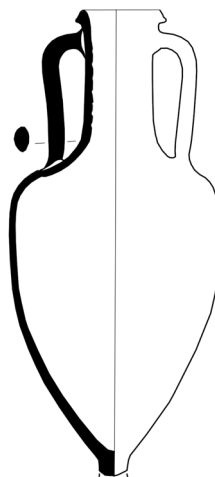
³⁵ VANDERMERSH, Vins et amphores, p. 80.

³⁶ BLANC, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

³⁷ G. FINKIELSZTEJN, Chronologie détaillée et révisée des éponymes amphoriques rhodiens, de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ (Detailed and Revised Chronology of the Eponyms Dating Rhodian Amphora Stamps, from circa 270 to 108 BC), *BAR-IS* 990, 2001, pp. 58, 188, Pls II.390b, X.189.

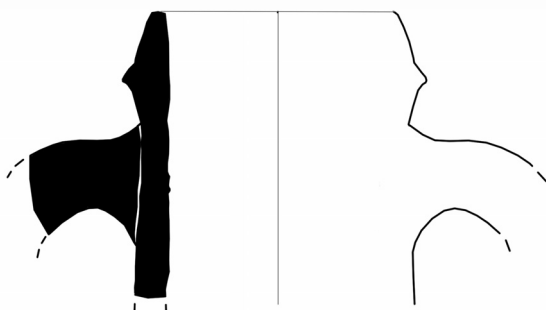


11. *Rhizon* HA 5 amphora
(Drawing: P. Dyczek, M. Różycka).

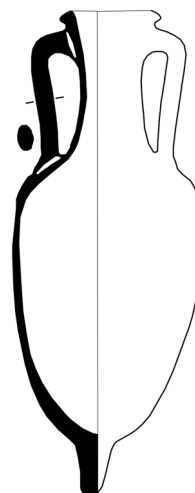


12. *Rhizon* HA 6 amphora
(Drawing: P. Dyczek, M. Różycka).

ΜΦΩΝ



13. ΝΥΜΦΩΝΟ stamp on *Rhizon* HA 6 amphora
(Drawing: M. Różycka).



14. *Rhizon* HA 7 amphora
(Drawing: P. Dyczek,
M. Różycka).

a Third century BC context.³⁸ The results of excavations in the Lilibeo cemetery suggest that stamps of this type could have been in use already at the end of the Fourth century BC.³⁹

The sherd from Rhizon reflects a phenomenon noted at sites in the entire Adriatic region and in Magna Graecia, where Rhodian amphorae start to appear in small quantities in assemblages from the Third century BC.⁴⁰ An important written source corroborates the Rhodians' growing interest in the Adriatic region in this period. In his *Argonautika*, the Rhodian Apollonios who lived in the Third century BC described this region and Rhizon⁴¹ and related a deeply rooted ancient legend about Rhizon being founded by Harmonia and her Phoenician husband Kadmos.

Rhizon HA 5 (**Fig. 11**), A. Toniolo's type 4⁴² with three subtypes: a, b and c, distinguished solely by a differently formed foot. These vessels were made of characteristic pink clay and were differentiated from other types by three elements of the shape: an ovular body, prominent rim with triangular section and oval-sectioned handles not parallel to the neck. The shoulders are clearly distinguished and the foot is full and cylindrical. Containers of this type were manufactured in one of the pottery centers on the Adriatic coast of Italy.⁴³ The similarities between this type and Toniolo's type 3 as well as E. Lyding Will's form "b" are striking.⁴⁴ The type is dated to the first half of the Third century BC; its development has been associated with rapid economic growth in Italy at the close of the Fourth and beginning of the Third century BC.⁴⁵

Rhizon HA 6 (**Fig. 12**), encompassing three closely related types classified by A. Toniolo as 5, 6 and 7, corresponding to N. Lamboglia's type 4,⁴⁶ E. Lyding Will's forms "c" and "d",⁴⁷ D. Manacorda's "gréco-italique ancienne" amphorae, and C. Vandermersch's MGS VI.⁴⁸ The group is quite differentiated, covering both small and big containers. They are characterized by an ovular body, rather slender cylindrical neck, shorter handles compared to other amphora types, shoulders gently rounding off into the bodies. The shape of the foot differs from short and cylindrical to elongated, like icicles. The rim is described commonly as a "mushroom cap" because of the external shape and slight undercutting of the edge. This type of amphora from the Grand Congloué I shipwreck was designated by F. Benoit as "Greek-Italic" or "Républicaine".⁴⁹

The MRS VI containers were produced in a wide belt from Etruria through Campania to South Italy and Sicily. They are also believed to have been made in workshops on the

³⁸ V. GRACE, *Timbres amforiques trouvés à Délos*, *BCH* 76, 1952, p. 535, Pl. XXI, 13.

³⁹ A. BRUGNONE, *Bolli anforari Rodii dalla necropolis di Lilibeo*, *Kokalos* 32, 1896, p. 91, Tav. XXI, 124–125.

⁴⁰ TONIOLO, *Anfore*, p. 179.

⁴¹ I. PUŠIĆ, *Boka Kotorska u djelima antičkih pisaca*, *Godišnjak Pomorskog Muzeja Kotor* 12, 1964, p. 267.

⁴² TONIOLO, *Anfore*, pp. 38–53.

⁴³ Cf. MANACORDA, *BCH-Suppl.* 13, p. 581; TONIOLO, *Anfore*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ LYDING WILL, *Hesperia* 51, p. 345.

⁴⁵ Cf. SCHIAVONE, *Una grammatica*, p. 23.

⁴⁶ LAMBOGLIA, *Sulla cronologia*, p. 265.

⁴⁷ LYDING WILL, *Hesperia* 51, pp. 346–353.

⁴⁸ VANDERMERSH, *Vins et amphores*, pp. 81–87.

⁴⁹ F. BENOIT, *L'épave du Grand Congloué à Marseille*, *Galia suppl.* 14, p. 252.

Adriatic islands of Issa, Corcyra, Zakyntos.⁵⁰ The chronological range for this type appears to be determined by the first and second Punic wars, which means that they remained in use from the 260s to the end of the Third century BC.

The capacity of MGS VI amphora was quite differentiated. The bigger ones contained from 25 to 26 liters of the product, the smaller ones half that volume. The vessels themselves weighed from 13 to 15 kg.⁵¹

Stamps both in Greek and Latin found on these amphorae attest to a broad range of production sites. A good example is provided by the C. ARISTO stamp which has been recorded in both language versions. Risan has also produced evidence of this differentiation. One of the amphorae found in the excavations bears the Greek stamp of [NY]MΦΩN[O] (**Fig. 13**).⁵² The second stamp from Risan, CAR, is one used by the said fabricant Aristo.⁵³ The production of this workshop has been dated by some scholars to between 280/60 and 210 BC,⁵⁴ while others have argued in favor of the operations of this workshop commencing in Sicily after 240 BC.⁵⁵ The latter dating appears to be confirmed by the results of excavations carried out in the *oppidum* Pech Macho, which has also yielded Aristo stamps.⁵⁶

The chief product transported in this type of amphora was wine, but new discoveries have demonstrated that a considerable share of these vessels contained *salsamenta* for trade.⁵⁷

Rhizon HA 7 (**Fig. 14**), Toniolo's type 13 with a single subtype a,⁵⁸ is the last amphora type to be recorded in archaeological layers corresponding to the times of King Agron. The fabric is pink clay with a beige tinge occasionally. A wide distinct rim is characterized by a thickened edge of triangular section. The neck is tall and slender, joined to short, profiled shoulders. Oval-sectioned handles rise up from where the shoulders join the body and reach the neck just below the profiled rim. The substantial foot is full and cylindrical.

⁵⁰ TONIOLO, Anfore, p. 53.

⁵¹ VANDERMERSH, Vins et amphores, p. 83.

⁵² A. PEPOLI, Antichi bolli figulini e graffiti delle sacerdotesse di Venere Ericina, rinvenuti in Monte San Giuliano, Florence 1885, No 36, Pl. XIII; E. LEPORÉ, Per la storia economico-sociale di Neapolis, *PdP* 7, 1952, p. 312; VANDERMERSH, Vins et amphores, p. 172.

⁵³ Cf. L. VIOLA, Note del prof. L. Viola sopra nuove scoperte epigrafiche in Taranto, e sopra iscrizioni messapiche inedite, o malamente divulgate, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1887, p. 122, no 66; A. PELLEGRINI, Iscrizioni ceramiche d'Erice e suoi dintorni, *Archeologia e Storia della Sicilia* 12, 1887, p. 283, nos. 665–670; O. BRONEER, Investigations at Corinth, 1946–1947, *Hesperia* 16, pp. 194, 240, Pl. LVII, 9; M. H. CALLENDER, Roman Amphorae with Index of Stamps, London 1965, p. 92 No 252.

⁵⁴ P. PALAZZO, Le "Collezioni" Viola: I bolli anforari – le produzioni italiche, Museo di Taranto – cento anni di archeologia, Taranto 1988, p. 73, no 9,2 b; Pls 5, 7; Ph. DESY, Les timbres amphoriques de l'Apulie républicaine. Document pour une histoire économique et sociale, *BAR-IS* 554, 1989, p. 22, no 16; BLANC-BUON *et al.*, Recueil, p. 21, no 487; VANDERMERSH, Vins et amphores, p. 163.

⁵⁵ J.-Y. EMPEREUR, A. HESNARD, Les amphores hellénistiques, [in:] P. LÉVÊQUE, J.-P. MOREL (Eds), Céramiques Hellénistiques et Romaines, *Centre d'Histoire ancienne* 70, Paris 1987, pp. 27–29.

⁵⁶ A. HESNARD, M. RICE, P. ARTHUR, M. PICON, A. TCHERNIA, Aires de production des gréco-italiques et des Dr 1, *MEFRA* 114, 1989, p. 30.

⁵⁷ VANDERMERSH, Vins et amphores, p. 86.

⁵⁸ TONIOLO, Anfore, pp. 118–123.

The container was produced most probably in pottery centers on the western, northern and eastern shores of the Adriatic, most likely from the second half of the Third century BC through the beginnings of the Second century BC. It is believed to have been used mostly for the transport of wine.

The amphorae discovered in Risan and dated to the times of the Illyrian dynasty of King Agron constitute an invaluable archaeological source for the everyday life and economy of Queen Teuta's capital. An examination of their shapes, content and origins demonstrates the Illyrian kingdom's close trade contacts with the entire Adriatic region, mainland Greece as well as the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia and Sicily. A changing political situation gave old towns like Rhizon new economic status. From the end of the Third century BC towns and settlements around the Adriatic prospered economically due to the stabilization offered by the rapid economic growth of Italy and the disciplining influence, whether by negotiations or military power, of the Roman Republic on the seas.

An examination of the amphorae and their typological classification is significant also for the discussion of the origins of Greek-Italic amphorae. Preliminary results have already questioned some of the commonly accepted theories. It would seem that the distinguishing of Greek-Italic amphorae was a strictly formal exercise. Archaeological practice leaves no doubt that many different types of containers were being produced during the same period of time and the standardization so characteristic of the Roman period had not yet taken root. Each pottery center had its own type of container which was modeled on Greek amphorae but was also quickly adapted to suit local needs and conditions of trade. Some formal unification of production is to be noted over time and with the development of the Adriatic centers.

Rhizon itself prospered in the new situation despite having been defeated in the first Illyrian war. Its residents made fortunes as agents in the trade; their high material status is evident in the archaeological record, while the legends of founding by Kadmos and Harmonia under the auspices of the god Medaur reflect this period of prosperity.

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