

Remarks on the Possible Uses of a Late Cnidian Stamped Amphora from Patara

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The Cnidian amphora, which forms the subject of this study, was recovered during the course of excavations carried out in 2004 to the south of the Tepecik Acropolis lying north of the city centre of Patara (Fig. 1). The amphora was recovered intact, except for the mouth, one handle and a part of the base. This amphora carries a stamp which was pressed into the vertical side of the handle. This stamp is important and perhaps it is today a unique find, because of the impression in the vertical side, which has not previously been observed on Cnidian amphorae. For these reasons, this amphora provides interesting and important data for the study of commercial amphora and of impressed stamps.

This amphora carries the characteristics of Late Cnidian amphorae, that is, having a short cylindrical narrow neck, sharp angle and short strip-like handle that connect the shoulder to neck, a bulky bag body expanding toward the bottom of the stem and a sharp foot (Figs. 2-3). The fabric is hard-fired, fine texture with fine sand, a red core, with lime and mica inclusions. The Cnidian amphorae are known to have decreased in capacity over time, as well as some other forms of amphorae of producer cities (Rhodes, Cos, Thasos, etc.), of the canonical form patterns within the 3rd century B.C. to 1st century B.C.¹ The capacity of Cnidian amphorae in the 3rd century B.C., of approximately 40 litres, decreases by the end of the 2nd century B.C. to 31 litres², and in the Roman Imperial period, during the 1st-2nd century A.D. was further reduced in capacity to 17 litres³. All forms of amphorae during the Roman Imperial period

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- 1 C. Pulak - R. F. Townsend, "The Hellenistic Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı, Turkey: Preliminary Report", *AJA* 91.1, 1987, 52; Grace 1979, fig. 54 (The development of the form is seen left to right). For the Hellenistic Cnidian amphorae from Patara, see E. Dündar, *Patara Kazılarında Ele Geçen (1989-2010 Yılları) Arkaik, Klasik ve Hellenistik Dönem Ticari Amphoralar ve Amphora Mühürleri* (Akdeniz University Unpublished PhD 2012) 70-73. Concerning the decreased in capacity of amphorae, see S. Ju. Monachov, "Rhodian Amphoras: Developments in Form and Measurements", in: V. F. Stolba - L. Hannestad (eds.), *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period C. 400-100 BC*, *Black Sea Studies* 3 (2005) 74, 77-91 see especially, Table 1-2; G. Finkielsztejn, "Production et Commerce des Amphores Hellénistiques: Récipients, Timbrages et Métrologie", *Approches de L'économie Hellénistique*, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, *Entretiens d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 7, 2006, 17-34; G. Finkielsztejn, "Réflexions additionnelles sur le marquage des instruments et récipients à l'époque hellénistique", *Stephaneros de l'économie antique à l'Asie Mineure, Hommages à Raymond Deseat* (2012) 77-84.
- 2 V. Grace, "Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World", in: *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 8 (1949) 180.
- 3 Şenol 2000, 169; S. Ju. Monachov, "К Типологии Книдских Амфор IV–II вв. до н.э.", *Боспорский Феномен: Греческая Культура На Пе-Риферии Античного Мира*. Спб.: Изд-Во Гос. Эрмитажа (1999) 162-166.

underwent a reduction in capacity and the surface of the body of the amphora was grooved which became a general fashion especially the 3rd century A.D. Roman ceramics⁴, observable in the case of this stamped Pataran example.

Description of the stamp

Inv. no: PTR'09 - 348, Find spot: Tepecik, sondage room 1, origin: Late Cnidian, Rect., -, Symbol: horizontal lines above and below the inscription, Inscription mode: abbreviation, clay: 2.5 YR 5/8 red, slip: - , date: middle of the 3rd century A.D.

ΔIONY(

The rectangular stamp pressed into the meeting point of the handle and shoulder of this late Cnidian amphora reads Διονυ(an abbreviation of an ancient Greek name (Fig. 4). The name consists of these letters highlighted by a line above and below. The left and right parts of the stamp frame, which as can be clearly seen, probably due to repression, is rubbed out (Figs. 5-6). The abbreviation of Διονυ(on this stamp can be completed as Δίονυ[σοϛ]. This name was common in the ancient world but it is not commonly found on different amphora types of the Roman Imperial period. However, this name has not been found on the Late Cnidian amphorae that have been studied to date. ΔIONY(abbreviated is written in retrograde on an amphora found in Rome but there is no information concerning the origin or form of this amphora, which is stamp pressed. FIG DIONYS which implies the manufacturer, as it is written *tituli picti* as is on an amphora found at Cordoba in southern Spain⁵.

Conclusion

Early studies stated that the production of Cnidian amphorae began in the 3rd century B.C. and terminated in the 2nd century A.D.⁶ However, a large number of amphorae workshops and rubbish dumps from potteries have been identified near the Hızırşah village, of Kiliseyanı as a result of surveys and excavations carried out in Datça Reşadiye⁷. These deposits of amphorae related materials, including manufacturing dumps, ovens and workshops have shown that the production of Cnidian amphorae began about the 6th century B.C. and ended in the 7th century A.D.⁸. This data shows the ancient city of Cnidus was one of the longest-lasting producers of amphorae in antiquity.

4 The grooves on the surface of the ceramic is first observed on the kitchen ware that were produced in the Syria-Palestine region in the late Hellenistic Period and this practice becomes typical of the 3rd century A.D. ceramic ware, with centres of production in the Mediterranean basin beginning its spread from Egypt in the 1st century A.D. For the practical reasons for these grooves, see J. W. Hayes, *Handbook of Mediterranean Pottery* (1997) 18-19, 75-84. For the grooves on the surface of the ceramic that were repeatedly employed during the 3rd century A.D. see especially, H. S. Robinson, *Pottery of the Roman Pottery, Agora 5* (1959) 58 ff, particularly the Groups: K, L and M.

5 M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae, with Index of Stamps* (1965) 122 no. 545.

6 V. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles Found in 1931-1932", *Hesperia* 3.3, 1934, 241-242; Grace - Savvatiannou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 317; J.-Y. Empereur - A. Hesnard, *Les Amphores Hellénistiques, Céramiques Hellénistiques et Romaines II* (1987) 17, 21; Grace 1979, fig. 64 (the right most).

7 N. Tuna, "İonia ve Datça Yarımadası Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırmaları, 1985-1986", *AST* 5.1 (1987) 303-357; N. Tuna, "Datça Yarımadası Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırmaları, 1987", *AST* 6 (1988) 141-158; J.-Y. Empereur, "Producteurs d'amphores dans les ateliers de Reşadiye (Péninsule de Datça)", *AST* 6, 1988, 159-163; N. Tuna - J.-Y. Empereur, "Datça/Reşadiye-Kiliseyanı Antik Seramik Atölyeleri Kazısı, 1989 Kampanyası", *KST* 12.1 (1991) 155-179.

8 N. Tuna - J.-Y. Empereur - M. Picon - E. Doğer, "Rapport Préliminaire de la Prospection Archéologique Turco-Française des Ateliers d'amphores de Reşadiye-Kiliseyanı, sur la Péninsule de Datça", in: B. Remy (ed.), *Anatolia Antiqua/Eski Anadolu. Varia Anatolica 1* (1987) 48; N. Tuna, "Datça Yarımadası'nda Hellenistik Dönem Amphora Üretim Merkezleri", *TTKY* 10, 1993, 356.

The Late Cnidian amphorae are known to have been exported intensively from the 1st century A.D. until the 7th century throughout the entire Mediterranean basin. This amphora type was more popular in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire than western provinces although a considerable number of examples have also been found in the western provinces⁹. Late Cnidian amphorae were unearthed in Alexandria dated to the 2nd-4th century A.D.¹⁰, from Al-Zarqa¹¹ and from Telo-Martius¹² dated to the 2nd-3rd century A.D., and an example from Carnuntum dated to the 3rd century A.D.¹³. Examples from Xanthus have been found that from the context are dated to the 3rd-4th century A.D.¹⁴. Examples are also in the Museum of Underwater Archaeology, Bodrum (Fig. 7)¹⁵ and in the Alanya Museum¹⁶ which carry exactly the same features of form as this Pataran example. However, these examples do not help to us in dating, as they came into these museums through donations and purchases. Consequently these finds lack a context provided by stratigraphy and from scientific excavation. In addition to these, an example was found in the Grado wreck, located offshore from Aquileia and dated to 200 A.D. (Fig. 8)¹⁷. An example from the Athenian Agora is similar to the Pataran examples in its body form and has been dated to the 4th century A.D. and was termed a “small *knidia*?” by V. Grace¹⁸. In addition to these examples, Late Cnidian amphorae are known from finds from a few wrecks at the Adriatic Sea¹⁹.

In addition to these comparisons made with counterparts of the amphora forming the subject of this study, a more precise date can be provided for the amphora from the context of this Pataran find. The amphora was found in the same layer in the excavations carried out on the south slope of the Tepecik Acropolis, as an oven, three weights, a marble mortar, a stone pestle, two pieces of metal tools, one metal pot and two coins which were on the ground of a workshop which had been damaged by fire²⁰. This layer can be dated to the middle of the

9 For the examples of Cnidian amphorae from the western Mediterranean regions, see Imbert 2002, 72-95 especially 81-90; T. Bezczky, “Roman Amphorae from Vindobona”, in: F. Krinzinger (ed.), *Vindobona. Beiträge zu ausgewählten Keramikgattungen in ihrem topographischen Kontext*, AF 12 (2005) 42-43; S. Lemaître, “Recherche sur la diffusion en Gaule des amphores produites dans le sud-ouest de l’Anatolie à l’époque impériale”, *Céramique Hellénistiques et Romaines TMO 35*, Maison de l’Orient (2002) 221; T. Bezczky, “Aegean Amphorae in Pannonia”, *FoLA 43*, 1994, 115-124. Concerning the eastern spread of this amphora type, see A. K. Şenol, “A Statistical Essay on the Distribution of Imported Amphorae Finds of the CEAlex Salvage Excavations”, in: S. Marchand - A. Marangou (eds.), *Amphores d’Égypte de la Basse Époque à l’époque arabe*, CahCerEg 8.1, 2007, 65, 68, 71; S. Martin-Kilcher, “Carthage: Imported Eastern Amphorae in the Roman Colonia Iulia”, in: M. B. Briese - L. E. Vaag (eds.), *Trade Relations in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Late Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity: The Ceramic Evidence. Acts from a PhD-seminar for young scholars, Sandbjerg Manorhouse, 12-15 February 1998 (2005)* 202-220.

10 Şenol 2000, 440-441 no. 302.

11 J.-P. Brun, “Le faciès céramique d’Al-Zarqa. Observations préliminaires”, *BIFAO 94*, 1994, 12-13 fig. 6.

12 Imbert 2002, 95.

13 T. Bezczky, “Amphorae from the Auxiliary Fort of Carnuntum”, *Das Auxiliarkastell Carnuntum 1* (1997) 164, 166 fig. 12 no. 60.

14 S. Lemaître, “La Lycie et les échanges commerciaux dans l’Antiquité: les données du mobilier amphorique. Etude préliminaire”, in: K. Dörtlük - B. Varkıvanç - T. Kahya et al. (eds.), *3rd Symposium on Lycia Vol. I*, 07-10 November, 2005 Antalya (2006) 389 fig. 11 no. 2.

15 Alpözen - Özdaş - Berkaya 1995, 91.

16 P. Sibella, “The George McGhee Amphora Collection at the Alanya Museum, Turkey”, *InstNautAQ 29*, Suppl. 1, 2002, 8 fig. 8.

17 Dell’Amico 1997, 110 figs. 40 a-b; R. Auriemma, “La Anfore del Relitto di Grado e il loro Contenuto”, *MEFRA 112*, 2000, 38, 40 fig. 12.

18 Grace 1979, no. 66 (on the right).

19 M. Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Adriatic. Maritime Transport during the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, BAR IntSer 828 (2000) 69-71 nos. 45, 56.

20 R. Becks, “Tepecik Güney Açması”, in: F. Işık, “Patara 2007”, *KST 30.4* (2008) 338.

3rd century A.D. from the coins of Gordianus III (238-244 A.D.). The stamping in the Cnidian workshops disappears after 85-78 B.C. and then was rarely applied as a result of political developments, especially a consequence of the First Mithridatic War²¹. In this case therefore, the stamp which was applied to this amphora is very interesting in terms of the finds context, its form features and its date. The rarity of stamping on Cnidian amphorae that are dated to the Roman Imperial period causes difficulties in the evaluation of Pataran example. The name Διόνυσος on the stamp can be understood to indicate a specific production, rather than being a fabricant workshop name, due to the end of regular stamping from 1st century B.C. onwards, and stamped Cnidian amphorae are not found in the Roman Imperial period. V. Grace indicated some Samian amphorae that carry special stamps may relate to the wine and olive oil used in the festivals for the goddess Hera in Samos²², referring to the Anabasis of Xenophon²³ in her study of the Samian amphoras. In addition to this possibility suggested for Samos, V. Grace indicated amphora or the goods contained could be produced in the sanctuary of the Disocuri, due to the stamp that referred the Dioscuroi, from the inscription and headline symbol found in Delos²⁴. G. Cankardeş-Şenol and E. Alkaç indicate the amphora stamps of Nagidian production are not very rich in terms of mould diversity and the practice of stamping during a limited period of time by a small number of the manufacturers. This situation for Nagidian stamps, although not certainly replicated, may indicate amphorae that were also made for specific goods produced for other festivals as well as for Samos, reported by G. Cankardeş-Şenol and E. Alkaç²⁵. It is possible for such a hypothesis to apply to this Pataran example. It is known that a Dionysian festival existed during the Roman Imperial period²⁶ and a temple dedicated to Dionysus dated to the 2nd century B.C. which continued to be used with some repairs until the 2nd century A.D. in Cnidus²⁷. However, there is also epigraphic evidence concerning the cult of Dionysus and its musical games which continued from the end of the 4th century B.C. into the Roman Imperial period²⁸. In this respect, it is possible the stamping of Pataran example was for a festival associated with Dionysus, and it may have been manufactured for specific goods and was stamped to indicate this. This stamped amphora is also important because it is the latest stamped Cnidian amphora to have been found to date and shows stamps were applied in Cnidian workshops in the 3rd century A.D. but not regularly and sometimes, perhaps, stamps were applied for special reasons.

21 Plut. Luc. 3.3. For the interpretation about the matter, also see Grace - Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 322-323; For the negative effects of political developments on export from Cnidus, see N. Jefremow, *Die Amphorenstempel des hellenistischen Knidos* (1995) 98. For the First Mithridatic War and Roman control in the region, see M. Arslan, *Mithridates VI Eupator, Romanın Büyük Düşmanı* (2007) especially 184-185. For the disappearance starting from towards the end of the 1st century B.C. of stamping in the Cnidian workshops, see G. Cankardeş-Şenol, *Klasik ve Hellenistik Dönem'de Mühürlü Amphora Üreten Merkezler ve Mühürleme Sistemleri* (2006) 76.

22 V. R. Grace, "Samian Amphoras", *Hesperia* 40.1 (1971) 65-66.

23 Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.7.

24 Grace - Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 369 for the stamp, see E 252.

25 G. Cankardeş-Şenol - E. Alkaç, "Amphora Mühürleri: Rhodos, Knidos, Kıbrıs ve Lokal Üretimler", in: S. Durugönül (ed.), *Dağlık Kilikia'da Bir Antik Kent Kazısının Sonuçları*, Nagidos, *Adalya-SupS* 6 (2007) 299.

26 C. T. Newton - R. P. Pullan, *A History of Discovery at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, Vol. 2, 2 (1863) 516.

27 Concerning the Temple of Dionysus at Cnidus see E. Schwarzenberg, "Knidische Miscelle", *BjB* 196, 1969, 95; I. C. Love, "Excavations at Knidos, 1970", *AJA* 76.4, 1972, 395; M. Sonkür, *Knidos Antik Kenti Dionysos Tapınağı* (Selçuk University Unpublished MA Thesis 2007) 27.

28 W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos I. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 41 (1992) for the epigraphic evidence concerning the cult of Dionysus at Cnidus, particularly nos. 74, 113 and 160; for the competitions which were held in the name of Dionysus, see especially no. 231.

The frequently repeated information concerning Cnidian amphorae production to the 7th century A.D. in consequence of the above will need to be revised. Production at Datça/Reşadiye continued until the 7th century A.D. is correct however, production continued after the 3rd century A.D. producing the general types of Imperial amphora rather than this production continuing within the Cnidian amphorae tradition. Therefore, the amphora that forms the subject of this article must be one of the last examples of this tradition if it was produced in the Cnidian workshops. Late Cnidian amphorae were produced in the Reşadiye workshops, together with DR 2-4 types and late Rhodian amphorae. However, in this same period from the end of the 3rd or the start of the 4th century A.D. there was a smaller-scale production of the LR 2 at different centres of production within the Aegean region including Reşadiye²⁹.

29 I would like to thank A. K. Şenol for detailed information provided through survey work on the subject.

Abbreviations

Alpözen – Özdaş – Berkaya 1995

O. Alpözen – A. H. Özdaş – B. Berkaya, Bodrum Sualtı Arkeoloji Müzesi Ticari Amphoraları. Eski Çağda Akdeniz Deniz Ticareti (1995).

Dell'Amico 1997

P. Dell'Amico, "Il relitto di Grado: considerazioni preliminari", *ASubacq* 3, 1997, 93-128.

Grace 1979

V. R. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade, Excavations of the Athenian Agora. Picture Book No. 6* (1979).

Grace – Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970

V. Grace – M. Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, "Les Timbres Amphoriques Grecs", in: P. Bruneau et al. (eds.), *L'îlot de la maison des comédiens, Délos XXVII* (1970) 277-382.

Imbert 2002

E. L. Imbert, "Du goût de nos ancêtres pour le bon vin: des amphores de Cnide à Telo Martius", *Revue du Centre Archéologique du Var* 2002, 72-96.

Şenol 2000

A. K. Şenol, *İskenderiye Kazılarında Ele Geçen Amphoralar Işığında Kentin Roma Dönemi Şarap, Zeytinyağı, Salamura Balık ve Sos Ticareti* (Ege University Unpublished PhD Thesis 2000).

Özet

Patara'da Bulunan Mühürlü Bir Geç Knidos Amphorasının Olası Kullanımları Üzerine Düşünceler

Çalışma konusunu oluşturan Geç Knidos amphorası, 2004 yılında Patara kent merkezinin kuzeyinde bulunan Tepecik Akropolis'i'nin güneyinde gerçekleştirilen sondaj kazılarında ele geçmiştir. Ağız, kulplardan biri ve tutamak formlu dibinin bir bölümü haricinde tam ele geçen eser, omuzlara doğru genişleyen kısa silindirik boynu, boyundan omuz ortasına keskin bir açı yaparak bağlanan oval kesitli kulpu, alta doğru genişleyen, yüzeyi yivlendirilmiş torba formlu gövdesi ve kırılmış ince uzun dibiyle Geç Knidos amphoralarını hatırlatır. Sağlam ele geçen kulpunun yan tarafına dikey olarak basılmış dikdörtgen formlu mührü bulunmaktadır. Geç Knidos amphoralarında bugüne kadar rastlanılmayan kulp yanına basılmış dikdörtgen formdaki bu dikey kulp nedeniyle ünük olduğunu düşündüğümüz örnek, amphora ve mühür çalışmaları için ilginç ve önemli veriler sunmaktadır.

Çalışmaya konu olan amphoranın kulpunun yanına dikey basılmış dikdörtgen formlu mührüde kısaltma olarak Hellence Διονυ(ismi görülmektedir. Mühür üzerinde yer alan Διονυ(kısaltmasını, Διονυ[σοϋ] olarak tamamlamak mümkündür. Knidos atölyelerinde, özellikle I. Mithridates Savaşı'nın etkisi ve politik gelişmelerin sonucunda İ.Ö. 85-78 yıllarından sonra ortadan kalkmaya başlayan ve sonrasında çok ender olarak uygulanan mühürlemenin, sergilediği form ve buluntu konteksti itibariyle İ.S. 3. yy. ortalarına tarihleyebileceğimiz bu amphora üzerinde uygulanmış olması oldukça ilginçtir. Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne tarihlenen Knidos amphoraları üzerinde mühürlemenin görülmemesi Patara örneğini değerlendirmede güçlükler yaratmaktadır. Mühür üzerindeki Διονυσοϋ ismi üretici atölyeye ait olabileceği gibi, İ.Ö. 1. yy. sonlarından itibaren düzenli mühürlemenin son bulması ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi içerisinde mühürlü Knidos amphoralarına rastlanılmaması nedeniyle, atölyeden daha çok özel bir üretime işaret ediyor olması olasıdır.

Yapılan çalışma sonucunda Patara buluntusu mühürlü amphoranın, Dionysos ile ilişkili bir şenlik için, belki de özel bir ürün taşımak üzere üretilmiş ve bunu gösterir biçimde mühürlenmiş olması mümkün görülmektedir. Eser, bugüne kadar bulunmuş en geç tarihli mühürlü Knidos amphorası olması ve İ.S. 3. yy.'da Knidos amphora atölyelerinde, düzenli olmasa da, kimi zaman, belki de özel nedenlerle, bu uygulamanın gerçekleşmiş olduğunu göstermesi açısından önemlidir.

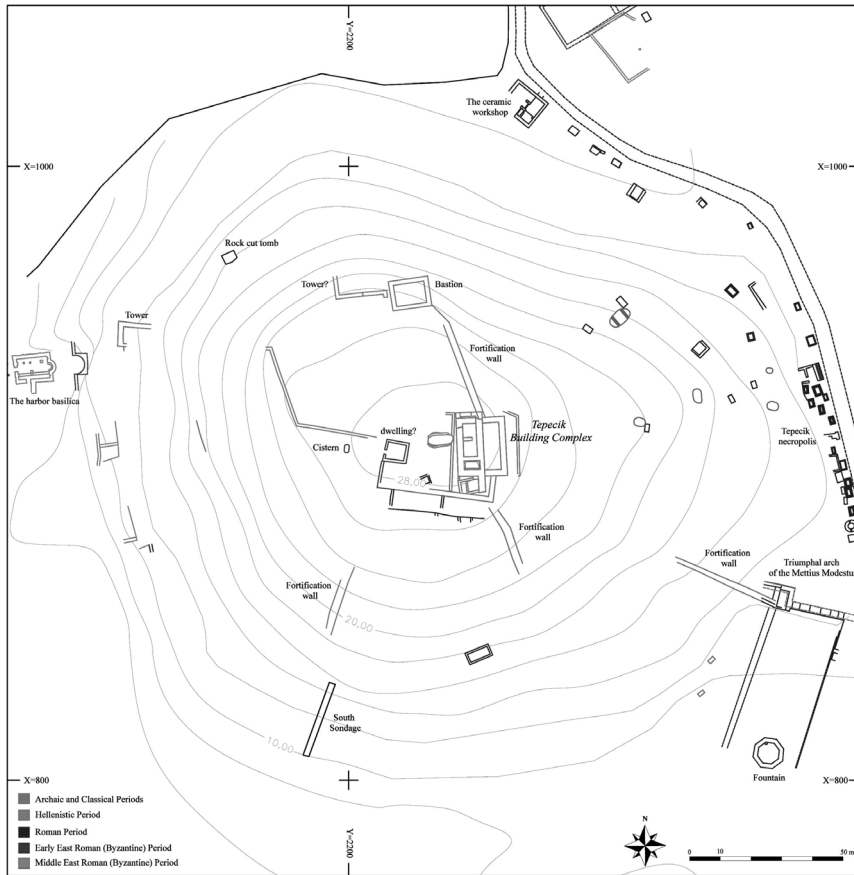


Fig. 1 Plan of the Tepecik Acropolis (Patara Excavation Archive)



Fig. 2 The late Cnidian amphora from the Tepecik Acropolis

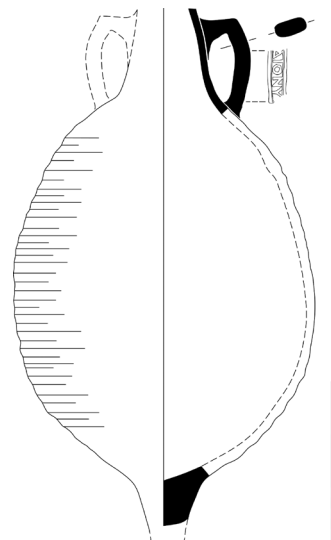


Fig. 3 Drawing of the late Cnidian amphora



Fig. 4 Position of the stamp on the handle of the amphora



Fig. 5 The stamp

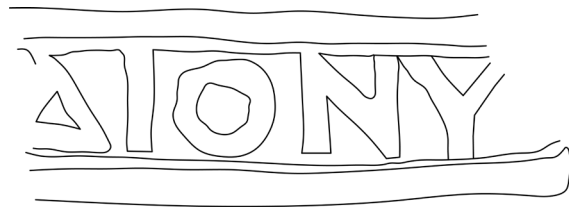


Fig. 6 Drawing of the stamp

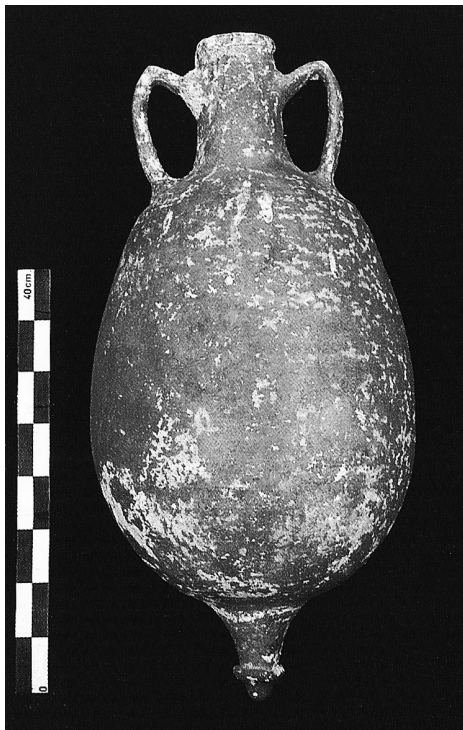


Fig. 7 A late Cnidian amphora in the Museum of Underwater Archaeology at Bodrum. Inv. no. 194 (Alpözen – Özdaş – Berkaya 1995, 91)

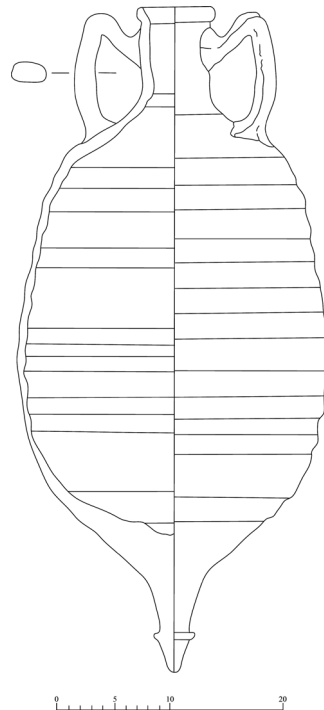


Fig. 8 A late Cnidian amphora from the Grado wreck (Dell'Amico 1997, 110 fig. 40 b)