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MERSİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
BİLİMSEL SÜRELİ YAYINI ‘OLBA’

Amaç

Olba süreli yayını; Küçükasya, Akdeniz bölgesi ve Ortadoğu’ya ilişkin orijinal sonuçlar içeren Arkeolojik çalışmalarda sadece belli bir alan veya bölge ile sınırlı kalmaksızın 'Eski Çağ Bilimleri'ni birbirinden ayırmadan ve bir bütün olarak benimseyerek bilim dünyasına değerli çalışmaları sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Kapsam

Olba süreli yayını Mayıs ayında olmak üzere yılda bir kez basılır. Yayınlanması istenilen makalelerin en geç her yıl Kasım ayı sonunda gönderilmiş olması gerekmektedir.

1998 yılından bu yana basılan Olba; Küçükasya, Akdeniz bölgesi ve Ortadoğu’ya ilişkin orijinal sonuçlar içeren Prehistorya, Protohistorya, Klasik Arkeoloji, Klasik Filoloji (ile Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri), Eskiçağ Tarihi, Nüvizmatik ve Erken Hıristiyanlık Arkeolojisi alanlarında yazılmış makaleleri kapsamaktadır.

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b- Metin 10 punto; özet, dipnot, katalog ve bibliografya 9 punto olmak üzere, Times New Roman (PC ve Macintosh) harf karakteri kullanılmalıdır.
c-Dipnotlar her sayfanın altına verilmeli ve makalenin başından sonuna kadar sayısal süreklilik izlemelidir.
d-Metin içinde bulunan ara başlıklarda, küçük harf kullanılmalı ve koyu (bold) yazılmalıdır. Bunun dışındaki seçenekler (tümünün büyük harf yazılması, alt çizgi ya da italik) kullanılmamalıdır.
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c) Metin içinde yer alan “fig.” ibareleri, parantez içinde verilmeli; fig. ibaresinin noktasından sonra bir tab boşluk bırakılmalı (fig. 3); ikiden fazla ardışık figür belirtiliyorsa iki rakam arasına boşluksuz kısa tire konulmalı (fig. 2-4). Ardışık değilse, sayılar arasına nokta ve bir tab boşluk bırakılmalıdır (fig. 2. 5).

d) Ayrıca bibliyografya ve kısaltmalar kısmında bir yazar, iki soyadı taşıyorsa soyadları arasında boşluk bırakmaksızın kısa tire kullanılmalıdır (Dentzer-Feydy); bir makale birden fazla yazarlı ise her yazardan sonra bir boşluk, ardından uzun tire ve yine boşluktan sonra diğer yazarın soyadı gelmelidir (Hagel – Tomaschitz).

3. “Bibliyografya ve Kısaltmalar” bölümü makalenin sonunda yer almalı, dipnotlarda kullanılan kısaltmalar, burada açıklanmalıdır. Dipnotlarda kullanılan kaynaklar kısaltma olarak verilmeli, kısaltmalarda yazar soyadı, yayın tarihi, sayfa (ve varsa levha ya da resim) sıralamasına sadık kalınmalıdır. Sadece bir kez kullanılan yayınlar için bile aynı kurala uyulmalıdır.

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Dipnot (kitaplar ve makaleler için)

Richter 1977, 162, res. 217.

Diğer Kısaltmalar

age.	adı geçen eser
ay.	aynı yazar
vd.	ve devamı
yak.	yaklaşık
v.d.	ve diğerleri
y.dn.	yukarı dipnot
dn.	dipnot
a.dn.	aşağı dipnot
bk.	Bakınız

4. Tüm resim, çizim ve haritalar için sadece "fig." kısaltması kullanılmalı ve figürlerin numaralandırılmasında süreklilik olmalıdır. (Levha, Resim, Çizim, Şekil, Harita ya da bir başka ifade veya kısaltma kesinlikle kullanılmamalıdır).

5. Bir başka kaynaktan alıntı yapılan figürlerin sorumluluğu yazara aittir, bu sebeple kaynak belirtilmelidir.
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7. Metin yukarıda belirtilen formatlara uygun olmak kaydıyla 20 sayfayı geçmemelidir. Figürlerin toplamı 10 adet civarında olmalıdır.
8. Makaleler Türkçe, İngilizce veya Almanca yazılabilir. Türkçe yazılan makalelerde yaklaşık 500 kelimelik Türkçe ve İngilizce yada Almanca özet kesinlikle bulunmalıdır. İngilizce veya Almanca yazılan makalelerde ise en az 500 kelimelik Türkçe ve İngilizce veya Almanca özet bulunmalıdır. Makalenin her iki dilde de başlığı gönderilmelidir.
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10. Figürlerde çözünürlük en az 300 dpi; format ise tif veya jpeg olmalıdır. Bunlar word'a gömülü olmaksızın bağımsız resimler olarak gönderilmelidir.
11. Dizilim (layout): Figürler ayrıca mail ekinde bir defada gelecek şekilde yani düşük çözünürlükte pdf olarak kaydedilerek dizilimi (layout) yapılmış şekilde yollanmalıdır.
12. Metin, figürler ve figürlerin dizilimi (layout); ayrıca makale içinde kullanılan özel fontlar 'zip'lenerek, We Transfer türünde bir program ile bilgisayar ortamında gönderilmelidir; çıktı olarak gönderilmesine gerek yoktur. İstendiği takdirde hepsi Dergi Park'a yüklenebilir.

MERSIN UNIVERSITY
‘RESEARCH CENTER OF CILICIAN ARCHAEOLOGY’
JOURNAL ‘OLBA’

Scope

Olba is printed once a year in May. Deadline for sending papers is the end of November each year.

The Journal ‘Olba’, being published since 1998 by the ‘Research Center of Cilician Archeology’ of the Mersin University (Turkey), includes original studies done on prehistory, protohistory, classical archaeology, classical philology (and ancient languages and cultures), ancient history, numismatics and early christian archeology of Asia Minor, the Mediterranean region and the Near East.

Publishing Principles

1. a. Articles should be written in Word programs.
 - b. The text should be written in 10 puntos ; the abstract, footnotes, catalogue and bibliography in 9 puntos ‘Times New Roman’ (for PC and for Macintosh).
 - c. Footnotes should take place at the bottom of the page in continuous numbering.
 - d. Titles within the article should be written in small letters and be marked as bold. Other choices (big letters, underline or italic) should not be used.
2. Punctuation (hyphen) Marks:
 - a) One space should be given after the comma in the sentence and after the dot at the end of the sentence.
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- d) In the bibliography and abbreviations, if the author has two family names, a short hyphen without leaving space should be used (Dentzer-Feydy); if the article is written by two or more authors, after each author a space, a long hyphen and again a space should be left before the family name of the next author (Hagel – Tomaschitz).
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Bibliography (for articles):

Corsten 1995 Corsten, Th., “Inschriften aus dem Museum von Denizli”, Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Dergisi III, 215-224, pl. LIV-LVII.

Footnotes (for books and articles):

Richter 1977, 162, fig. 217.

Miscellaneous Abbreviations:

op. cit.	in the work already cited
idem	an author that has just been mentioned
ff	following pages
et al.	and others
n.	footnote
see	see
infra	see below
supra	see above

4. For all photographs, drawings and maps only the abbreviation ‘fig.’ should be used in continous numbering (remarks such as Plate, Picture, Drawing, Map or any other word or abbreviaton should not be used).
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7. The text should be within the remarked formats not more than 20 pages, the drawing and photographs 10 in number.
8. Papers may be written in Turkish, English or German. Papers written in Turkish must include an abstract of 500 words in Turkish and English or German. It will be appreciated if papers written in English or German would include a summary of 500 words in Turkish and in English or German. The title of the article should be sent in two languages.
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RHODIAN AMPHORA STAMPS AT THE FOOT OF THE CARPATHIANS. NEW EVIDENCES FROM THE DACIAN SETTLEMENT AT CETĂŢENI

Dragoş MĂNDESCU *

ÖZ

Karpatların Eteklerinde Rhodos Amphora Mühürleri. Dacia Bölgesindeki Cetăţeni'den Yeni Buluntular

Bu makale, Romanya'daki (Antik Dakia) Cetăţeni'de keşfedilen ve burada bilinen Rhodos amphoralarının mühür sayısını 114'e çıkaran dört adet Rhodos mühürlü amphora kulpunu müze koleksiyonları vesilesiyle tanıtmaktadır. Diğer Dacia yerleşimlerine kıyasla Karpatlar'ın güney eteğinde bulunan Cetăţeni'de çok sayıda ele geçen Rhodos amphora mühürleri, MÖ 2. yy.-MS 1. yy.'da bu yerleşimin Tuna ve kuzeydeki dağları kontrol ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu yerleşimde genel olarak ithal edilen malzemelerin (pişmiş toprak kap-kacak, süs eşyası, sikke) sayısı yüksek olup, bölgenin Akdeniz uygarlıkları ile, önce Hellenistik dünya ve sonra da Roma uygarlığıyla, açık bağlantıları olduğunu işaret etmektedir. Cetăţeni'de ele geçen Rhodos amphora mühür serisi III.-VI. evreleri kapsar ve MÖ 130-121 yılları arasındaki on yılda V. dönemde belirgin bir zirve yapar. Dört yeni damga, iki eponym (Va döneminin son eponymlerinden Andrias ve okunamayan) ve iki üretici (ikisi de Linos'a ait) olmak üzere ikiye bölünmüştür. Bu buluntular bu yerleşimden zaten bilinen seriyi tamamlamakta ve aynı zamanda doğrulamaktadırlar: Andrias ismine ilk olarak Cetăţeni'de rastlanmaktadır ve Linos'a ait mühürlerin sayısı böylelikle beşe yükselmiştir. Buna göre Linos bu bölgedeki en etkin üreticidir. Makalenin önemli bir kısmı, Rhodoslu bir üretici olan Lindos'un kronolojisinin izini sürmeyi hedeflemiştir. Mevcut tüm unsurların analizine göre, Linos'un Rhodos'ta imalatçı olarak faaliyet gösterdiği dönem uzun bir dönemdir ve büyük olasılıkla MÖ 2. yy.'ın üçüncü çeyreğine kadar uzanır. Bu kronoloji, Linos'un mühürlerinin

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zaman içinde keşfedildiği Aşağı Tuna Bölgesi'ndeki bu yerleşimde nispeten çok sayıda veri tarafında doğrulanır (yalnızca Cetățeni'de değil, aynı zamanda Popești, Cărlomănești, Pleașov ve Adâncata'da). Dacia Bölgesi'ndeki bu üreticinin amphoralarının yayılma alanı oldukça geniştir ve köklü bir ticaretin varlığı için önemli bir argümandır. Ege şarabını taşıyan amphoraların Karpatlar'a girmesinin ender, görmezden gelincek bir nüfuz etme durumu ya da önemsiz bir olay olmadığı, önemli miktarda malın taşınmasını içeren iyi organize edilmiş bir olgu olduğu gitgide daha açık bir şekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Rhodos ile Tuna'nın kuzeyindeki "barbar" bölgesi arasındaki ticaret mekanizmalarına ilişkin tartışmalar, Dacia yerleşimlerinde ithal edilen amphoralar temelinde yeniden başlatılmaktadır. Makale, Karadeniz'den gelen Yunan kolonilerinin, kıyı şeridinden Karpatlar'a yani "barbar" iç kesimlere kadar uzanan eski bir yolda bu ticarete aracılık etmedeki gerçek rolünü incelemektedir. Pontus Euxeinos pazarının batısının ve kuzeyinin bariz bir düşüşte olduğu bir zamanda, Rhodos şarabının Cetățeni'ye önemli ölçüde gelmiş olması, doğrudan Kuzey Thrakia topraklarından geçen ve Yunan şehirlerinden Kuzey Thrakia topraklarına ulaşmaktan kaçınan alternatif yolların varlığına işaret ediyor olabilir. (Translated by Ergün Laflı)

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amphora Mühürleri, Rodos, Linos, Roma Dönemi öncesi Dacia Bölgesi, Cetățeni.

ABSTRACT

This paper is occasioned by the identification in museum collections of four Rhodian stamped amphora handles discovered in the Dacian settlement from Cetățeni (Romania), which raises to 114 the quantity of Rhodian stamps known from here. This large number of Rhodian amphora stamps compared to any other Dacian site is explained by the fact that the settlement of Cetățeni (2nd century BC – 1st century AD), located at the southern foot of the Carpathians, controlled a very important road that started from the Danube and crossed mountains to the north. The amount of imports in general (pottery, ornaments, coins) in this settlement is high, and indicates clear connections with the Mediterranean civilization, first with the Hellenistic world and then with the Roman one. The batch of Rhodian amphora stamps from Cetățeni covers the periods III-VI, with an obvious peak in the V period, in the decade 130-121 BC. The four new stamps are divided into two of eponym (Andrias, who is one of the last eponyms of the period Va, and an illegible one) and two of fabricant (both of them belonging to Linos). They complete and at the same time confirm the batch already known from this site: Andrias is making his first attestation at Cetățeni, but the quantity of Linos' stamps from the settlement is now rises to five, Linos being the fabricant with the largest number of stamps here. A substantial part of the paper is dedicated to tracing the chronology of the Rhodian fabricant Linos. From the analysis of all available elements, the period in which Linos operated as fabricant in Rhodes is a long one, most likely extending over the third quarter of the 2nd century BC. This chronology is also confirmed by the relatively numerous contexts in the Dacian settlements on the Lower Danube, in which Linos' stamps were discovered over time (not only at Cetățeni, but also at Popești, Cărlomănești, Pleașov and Adâncata). The spread of this fabricant's amphorae in the Dacian world is wide and is an argument for the existence of a deep rooted and well-established trade. It is more and more obvious that the penetration of amphorae carrying Aegean wine to the Carpathians was not at all a sporadic, negligible occupation, or minor affair, but a well-organized operation that involved the transport of considerable quantities of goods. The discussion on trade mechanisms between Rhodes and the 'barbarian' territory north of the Danube is resumed, on the basis of the amphorae imported in Dacian settlements. The paper examines the real role of Greek colonies from the Black Sea in mediating this trade on an ancient road that led deep into the 'barbarian' inland, from the shoreline to the Carpathians. The significant

influx of Rhodian wine to Cetățeni at a time when the West and also the North of the Pontos Euxeinos market are in obvious decline may also suggest the existence of alternative routes cut directly through the North Thracian lands and avoiding the Greek cities in reaching the untamed 'Barbarian' land.

Keywords: Amphora stamps, Rhodes, Linos, pre-Roman Dacia, Cetățeni.

The archeological site from Cetățeni (Argeș County, central-southern area of the present-day Romania) is located in the middle of a strange landscape, dominated by massive rocks between which a swirling stream of water slips, at the southern foot of the Carpathian Mountains, on the left bank of the Dâmbovița River. The main feature of this site is a settlement dating back from the Late Iron Age (2nd century BC – 1st century AD)¹ crowded on a narrow strip of land between the river and the foot of the craggy slopes (fig. 1/1), dominated by a fortress perched on top of the rocks that rises almost vertically to the east of the habitation area² (fig. 1/2). At the southern limit of the settlement, downstream, a funerary area with cremation graves probably belonging to the local leaders was identified and partially investigated³. The whole area of this Dacian settlement stretched over almost 1 km along the left bank of the river was overlaid during the Middle Ages by another settlement that functioned from the 13th century to the 17th century. Nowadays, the whole archaeological site (both Late Iron Age and Middle Ages habitations) is again overlaid by a contemporary hamlet, and an Orthodox cloister was founded on the place of the fortress on top of the rocks.

From the very beginning of the research of this site, the first stage (from the second half of the 19th century until the interwar period) being just amateurish excavations for the unique purpose of discovering and collecting antiquities, the Dacian settlement from the Late Iron Age stood out for the notable amount of Rhodian stamped amphora handles, never found in such large quantities in any other settlement north of the Danube⁴.

The archaeological research carried out here in the second half of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century led to the significant supplementation of this quantity, so that the most recent report on the Rhodian amphora stamps found in the Dacian settlement from Cetățeni counted 110 exemplars of which 78 readable⁵. Unfortunately, many of the essential details (i.e. the precise spot on the site and the context of discovery, the possible associations, the stratigraphic position) remain unknown for the most part of this important inventory category. But despite these shortcomings, the stamped amphora handles from Cetățeni make up the richest and most expressive Rhodian batch north of the Danube. Recent identifications made in the repository of the archeological collection of Argeș County Museum from Pitești

1 Măndescu 2006.

2 Rosetti – Chițescu 1973.

3 Babeș 1999, 11-19, figs. 1-4.

4 Tudor 1967, 53-65, cat. nos. 11-99, figs. 1/10-23, 2-5/87-93.

5 Măndescu 2016.

lead to the growth of this lot with four new exemplars, all unpublished (fig. 2): three stamped amphora handles from the old archeological excavations and another one as a result of a donation.

Two of these stamped amphora handles are part of a batch of potsherds (mixed all together Late Iron Age local pottery, hand-modelled and wheel-made, but also imported ceramics, different parts from Rhodian amphorae according to the characteristic color and fabric) from 'the old excavations' carried out by Dinu V. Rosetti (August 30, 1899 – August 18, 1982) in the archaeological site from Cetățeni. Rosetti dug for a long time here, from 1940 to 1972, with some interruptions. Despite these decades-long archeological seasons, almost all we have left from the excavator is just a few diggings reports, quite sparing in information⁶. In the absence of other details or markings, it is impossible to determine the exact location in the site from where the two handles came from, since Rosetti's excavations affected all sectors of the Dacian settlement.

The first handle (fig. 2/1) bears an eponym stamp (inv. no. I. V. 4043), circular matrix shape (3,4 cm in diameter). A rose flower is displayed in the centre, and on the edge, all around, an inscription running in normal sinistrodextral direction but in retrograde writing (except *epsilon* in the preposition 'Epi'), the letters inwards. The inscription is largely wiped (the sector of the month is better preserved) but can be reconstituted as Ἐπί Ανδρία Θεσμοφορίου. The eponym Andrias is one of the last eponyms of the period Va. Along with the eponym Aristakos, Andrias fills the small gap between the eponyms enjoying safer dates, Thersandros (ca. 137/136 BC) and the last eponym in the period, Archembrotos I (ca. 134/133 BC)⁷, so that the most appropriate year of his eponymate being ca. 135 BC⁸. In an alternate chronological arrangement, to Andrias was assigned the year 137 BC⁹.

The following is a stamp of Rhodian fabricant (inv. no. I. V. 4041), rectangular in shape (4.5 x 1.7 cm). The inscription on a single row is quite wiped but is preserved well enough to read with certainty the name of the fabricant Linos, with the central *nu* in reversed writing. On the right is clearly distinguished a bunch of grapes, the usual device of this fabricant (figs. 2/2; 5/2).

The third stamp (inv. no. I. V. 4042) is rectangular in shape (4.5 x 1.8 cm) and almost completely wiped (figs. 2/3; 5/1). It is a stamp of fabricant, from the name of which parts of *lambda* (at the beginning of the name), and *omicron* and *ypsilon* (at the end of the name) seem to be hardly distinguished. The device, placed on the right, was kept clearer: a bunch of grapes. Most likely, the fabricant can be identified with the same Linos on the previous stamp. This stamped amphora handle comes, as well as the first two handles, from some archeological excavations from Cetățeni, namely from the archaeological campaign carried out in 1981 by a team coordinated by Lucian Chițescu (July 14, 1932 – November 10, 2015). The objective of that archeological

6 Rosetti 1962; Rosetti – Chițescu 1973.

7 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 195, table 21.

8 Badoud 2015, 195, 200, fig. 70.

9 Palaczyk 2001, 328.

campaign were the medieval churches that succeeded each other on a strait patch of land on the left bank of the Dâmbovița River¹⁰. The presence of consistent traces of Dacian habitation under the medieval archaeological layer in the sector of the churches was already known from the former field researches and confirmed by 1981 excavations¹¹. The stamped handle fragment was found in the museum's repository as part of a package containing a big quantity of various sizes potsherds of amphorae, all Rhodian in appearance according to the color shade and the fabric. Judging by the weight of the package (over 20 kg), by reference to the average weight of about 15 kg of an empty Rhodian amphora¹², it is assumed that the respective ceramic fragments came from at least two amphorae. The package registration note shows that this large number of fragments of Rhodian amphorae was discovered in trench 2/1981, an excavation unit placed at ca. 40 m northwest of churches, on the terrain between the rocks at the base of the cliffs and the river (fig. 3). These were not the first potsherds of Rhodian amphorae discovered in this precise spot of the site. Other fragments of amphorae, including a handle stamped with the name of the eponyme Nikasagoras (II), written retrograde, were found in the excavations executed there decades ago¹³. Such a concentration of fragments of Rhodian amphorae in such a limited ground shows that at that spot on the left bank of the Dâmbovița River, on the southern periphery of the Dacian settlement, there will have been an acknowledged storage place or, more profane, an area for discarded waste.

The fragment of amphora handle bearing the fourth stamp (inv. no. I. V. 4044) (fig. 2/4) was donated to the museum in the fall of 2020 by the prior of the Orthodox cloister which is now on top of the rocky mound called 'Cetățuia lui Negru Vodă' (The Black Prince's Citadel), at an altitude of 725 masl, the high place where in the Late Iron Age the Dacian fortress functioned. It was found by chance under the small plateau on the top, on the slope that descends steeply to the west, to the Dâmbovița River, at the foot of which lies the settlement. The level difference between the settlement vestiges in the valley and the fortification traces on the top is over 160 m. It is a stamp of eponym, rectangular in shape (3.6 x 1.5 cm), with the inscription on two or even three lines. The preposition 'Epi' at the beginning of the first row is clearly distinguished, as well as the month of 'Badromios' filling the entire room on the bottom row. But, unfortunately, the name of the eponym completing the room on the first row, and continuing perhaps on a second row in middle of the stamp, remains illegible.

As found on the slope, this fragment of amphora handle most likely slipped from one of the Dacian complexes on the top of the hillock, where a local elite's residence dated 2nd-1st centuries BC, sheltered behind a stone wall, was identified and partially researched by Rosetti and Chițescu during the archaeological campaigns in 1958 and 1969¹⁴. We have no reason to doubt its origin from the fortified peak. Many

10 Chițescu et al. 1983, fig. 1.

11 Rosetti 1962, 83, 86, figs. 6-7, 9; Chițescu et al. 1983, p. 73, figs. 6/4, 12.

12 Wallace Matheson – Wallace 1982, 311.

13 Rosetti 1962, 86, fig. 7/2; Măndescu 2016, 362, pl. 3/E30.

14 Rosetti – Chițescu 1973.

archeological materials from the top must have slipped on the steep slopes after the site was abandoned and the fortification fell into ruin. The same situation in which debris and archeological materials slipped from the top of the hill on the slope and even to its base, after the place was left abandoned and unmaintained, is known elsewhere, a more famous case being the older materials (including amphora stamps) in a secondary position in the stratum 5 from Jerusalem-City of David¹⁵. This small batch of only four stamps, on the one hand, does nothing but confirm the chronology and peak of the Rhodian wine trade north of the Danube, but on the other hand it also manages to bring new clarifications on the great rhythms of this trade pattern.

Attested for the first time at Cetățeni, the eponym *Andrias* (fig. 2/1) joins the numerous names of eponyms from period V already recorded in this settlement (most of the whole lot, 17 out of a total of 31 attested names) and at the same time confirms and consolidates the peak of Rhodian presence here, clearly highlighted for two decades (140-121 BC)¹⁶. The other stamp of eponym (fig. 2/4) is illegible and cannot provide notable chronological details. Perhaps at most only a broad classification, in periods IV and V, given its general appearance and the manner of arrangement of the inscription. Even so, this amphora fragment is of great significance. It is the first discovery of this kind that we know coming for sure from the habitat structures on the 'acropolis'. This means that for the delight of the elites the wine was transported from the valley to the top of the hillock, climbing the steep slopes, in its original packaging, and not in more comfortable and lighter containers, such as wooden or leather ones. There are similar cases in the Thracian world, in which amphorae were not abandoned at the base of the slope, but were carried along with the wine to the place of consumption on the top of the heights. An expressive example is offered by the findings of Rhodian stamped amphora handles on the top of the Carevgrad hill from Veliko Târnovo, dating back from the first half of the 2nd century BC (the eponym *Xenophanes* and the fabricants *Aristion* and *Sokrates II*, all from period III)¹⁷.

The other two copies, both stamps of fabricant, bear the same name: *Linos* (figs. 2/2-3; 5/1-2). The wiped stamp found in the excavations made by Chițescu in 1981 (figs. 2/3; 5/1), which I attributed to *Linos* on the basis of the bunch of grapes cluster and the dimensions corresponding to the length of the name, and less on the basis of the clues offered by the almost invisible remains of the inscription could raise some assignment issues. The possibility that this stamp bears the name of the evanescent fabricant *Ainos* (mid 2nd century BC)¹⁸, certified on a small scale only at Olbia and Alexandria including *Gabbari* necropolis¹⁹, however, remains extremely unlikely. The rare stamps of this fabricant are either without any cluster, containing only the name so close in writing to *Linos*, or displaying as cluster a small rose flower placed centrally under the name²⁰. This is not the case of the stamp from Cetățeni, on which *Linos*'

15 Ariel 1990, 6-7.

16 Măndescu 2016, 359-360, table 3, figs. 2, 4/1.

17 Angelov 1973, 267-268, figs. 12-14.

18 Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 252.

19 Cankardeş-Şenol 2003, 215, cat. no. 2, fig. 2/a-b.

20 <http://www.amphoralex.org>, ALEX ABC 0313.25; ALEX ABC 0332.30.

own cluster, namely the bunch of grapes, is still very clearly distinguished. On the other hand, the bunch of grapes as cluster it is not, only *per se*, an infallible argument for identifying the fabricant as Linos. Many others Rhodian fabricants have used this cluster extensively, most of them, as well as Linos, active during the period V (i. e. Agathoboulos²¹, Apollonios II²², Midas, Themison, Menekrates II and Herakleon²³), but also fabricants from the previous stage, the period IV (i. e. Pelops²⁴) and from the successive one, the period VI (i. e. Alypos²⁵ and Straton²⁶). Moreover, the cluster of grapes was not the only device chosen by Linos. Some finds from Lindos²⁷ and Delos²⁸ show that this fabricant has adopted sporadically also the rose as device on his dies. However, judging by the fact that the other names of Rhodian fabricants mentioned above would hardly fit in the field of the wiped stamp (with the possible exception of Midas and Alypos – fabricants that have not been attested at all in this site so far) and taking into account the realities from Cetățeni, where Linos occurs with increased frequency, the assignment of this stamp to his workshop is to be maintained.

The fabricant Linos was certified so far by three stamps at Cetățeni, being the fabricant with the largest number of stamps here²⁹. Now the number of Linos' stamps found at the Cetățeni rises to five (fig. 5/1-5), a considerable amount that draws attention to the mechanisms of Rhodian trade in the Dacian territories north of the Danube. It is more and more obvious that the penetration of amphorae carrying Aegean wine to the Carpathians was not a sporadic, negligible occupation, or minor affair, but an organized operation that involved the transport of significative quantities of goods. The same observation resulted following the study of amphora stamps from another Late Iron Age site belonging to the same Dacian culture, but placed on the right bank of the Danube, namely the settlement from Satu Nou-‘Vadu Vacilor’, where relatively unitary lots of Rhodian amphorae reach their peak in the period III³⁰.

Half a century ago, the presence of the fabricant Linos in the Dacian culture's settlements was listed at a modest level, through two stamps only³¹. To this day, the amount of information has continued to grow and it becomes clear now that the amphorae produced in Linos' workshop have enjoyed a wide spread (perhaps the largest among Rhodian fabricants) in these settlements, (figs. 4-5). One might even say that the ‘barbarian’ territory of the Lower Danube would have been a favorite point of attraction especially for Linos' amphorae, if such kinds of trade mechanisms based on ‘privileged’ fabricants in certain regions had not been refuted with pertinent arguments not only with regard to the Black Sea area, but also on a large scale,

21 <http://www.amphoralex.org>, ALEX ABC 0303.36.

22 Matera 2014, 120, cat. no. 106.

23 Ariel 1990, 66, cat. no. S 327; Marangou 2009, 358, 361, 363, cat. nos. 17, 28-29, fig. 8.

24 <http://www.amphoralex.org>, ALEX ABC 0398.29.

25 <http://www.amphoralex.org>, ALEX ABC 0315.1-2, 4; 0355.10, 21, 23-24, 28, 30, 49; ALEX MGR 519.09; Ariel 1990, 67, cat. no. S 332.

26 Canarache 1957, 266, cat. no. 650.

27 Nilsson 1909, 247, cat. no. 286, b. 1.

28 <http://www.amphoralex.org>, TD 4261.

29 Măndescu 2016, 365, table 4.

30 Irimia et al. 2011, 128-129.

31 Glodariu 1974, 188, 198, cat. nos. 25/82, 79/d.

throughout the entire Mediterranean³². In addition to the five stamps from Cetățeni, there are five others found in four different sites (fig. 5/6-9). Two exemplars were discovered in the archeological excavations from 1956 and 1958 in the settlement from Popești (Giurgiu County), an important site located on the right bank of the Argeș River, where importations from the Greek and Roman worlds abound. The first stamp (fig. 5/6) is preserved whole and complete, measuring 5 cm in length³³, but the second one (fig. 5/7) is broken after the first three letters³⁴. Also fragmentary, but being the end of the name followed by the device (cluster of grapes) the part that remained preserved (Fig. 5/8), is the stamp found in the archeological excavations carried out from 1980 to 1984 at Pleașov (Teleorman County), a settlement located near the Olt River's spill into the Danube³⁵. Recently, a complete stamp of Linos was reported in the settlement of Cârломănești (Buzău County), found during the new series of archeological excavation campaigns conducted there from 2011 to 2016³⁶. Finally, in the same Dacian cultural horizon, the fabricant Linos is attested also south of the Danube, in Dobrogea: from an as yet unexplored indigenous fortified settlement located near Adâncata (Constanța County), comes an amphora handle fragment (fig. 5/9) carrying the whole stamp (4.6 x 1.4 cm), discovered on the ground's surface³⁷.

Out of a total of ten stamps of fabricant Linos found in the Dacian settlements, certainly three display reversed *nu* written in the inscription (fig. 5/2, 6-7). However, these stamps do not seem to have been applied with the same die. The peculiarity of erroneous (reversed) rendering of *nu* is quite frequent on Linos' stamps, as attested by the exemplars discovered in different places closer or further away from our area of interest, for instance at Callatis³⁸, Tanais³⁹, Halikarnassos⁴⁰, Alexandria⁴¹ or Tel Beersheba⁴². The largest known batch, the one in Alexandria, where no less than 45 stamps of Linos were registered⁴³, shows the same trend: about a third of the clearly legible stamps of this fabricant (nine out of 29 copies) displays reversed *nu* in the name's inscription.

As we anticipated, Linos is a very prolific fabricant. His amphorae spread throughout the almost entire area where the wine of Rhodes arrived. First of all, Linos' stamps are attested at home, on his island, both in Rhodes⁴⁴ and in Lindos⁴⁵. In the centre of the Cyclades archipelago, Linos is present with three stamps in Delos⁴⁶. In the northern territory of the continental Greece, in the Macedonia lands, Linos'

32 Palaczyk 2017, 232-235, pls. 38-40/a.

33 Vulpe 1959a, 342, fig. 10/2.

34 Vulpe 1961, 329, fig. 6/6.

35 Preda 1986a, 91, fig. 24/2.

36 Măgureanu et al. 2017; S. Matei (personal communication).

37 Irimia 2005, 337, cat. no. 25, fig. 4/1.

38 Sauciuc-Săveanu 1941, 257, cat. no. 18.

39 Matera 2014, 177, cat. no. 155.

40 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_2011-5002-150

41 Johnston 2020, 62, cat. no. 656.

42 Coulson et al. 1997, 54, cat. no. 21.

43 http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_liste_RF.php

44 Maiuri 1924, 269.

45 Nilsson 1909, 247, cat. no. 286, b. 1-5.

46 <http://www.amphoralex.org>, TD 3673, 4261, 4468.

amphorae reached Pella⁴⁷. In Asia Minor, Linos' stamps are present at Metropolis⁴⁸, Pergamon⁴⁹ and, very probable, at Halikarnassos⁵⁰. The presence of amphorae with the stamps of Linos in Egypt is especially noticeable in Lower Egypt, through the consistent group from Alexandria where 45 such stamps are inventoried coming from multiple spots of the city (for instance the Lux site and Diana Theatre)⁵¹ and other exemplars were lost long time ago⁵², but also from other places of discovery, such as Naukratis⁵³ and Tell Atrib⁵⁴. In Middle Egypt, Linos is represented by at least one stamp from Akoris⁵⁵. In Cyprus, Linos is attested both on the west coast, at Paphos⁵⁶ and Nea Paphos⁵⁷, and on the east, at Salamis⁵⁸. In the Levant, Linos' stamps reach Samaria/Sebaste⁵⁹, as well as Tel Beersheba⁶⁰. In the Black Sea area, Linos' stamps reach the Greek colonies on the western shore, Callatis⁶¹ and Tomis⁶², but also the hellenized 'barbarian' (Scythian) cultural milieu of the Crimean Peninsula, Neapolis Skythica⁶³ and Kara-Tobe⁶⁴. Another batch of stamps with the name of Linos comes from the Sea of Azov north region, from the Don Delta, namely from Tanais⁶⁵.

It should be noted that "fabricant" is in fact a modern purely conventional term⁶⁶. Basically, it is used to designate the person whose name is depicted on the die applied on one handle of Rhodian amphorae, in addition to the stamp of the eponymous priest of Halios imprinted on the opposite handle. Discussions on the status and real role of these persons in the production of amphorae, wine and the Rhodian wine trade have not ceased over time, without a consensus being reached among scholars. From simple potters to civil servants (officials) financing the manufacture of amphorae⁶⁷, the purpose and the mission of the fabricants was explained in an overflowing variety of ways. According to other opinions, we could see in them, rather under their names displayed on amphorae, collective characters, family businesses perpetuated for

47 Akamatis 2000, 101.

48 Cankardeş-Şenol 2001, 102-103, cat. no. 1, lev. 27/1.

49 Börker – Burrow 1998, cat. no. Rh F 256.

50 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_2011-5002-150 (the stamped amphora handle comes from the collection of Sir Charles Thomas Newton, the excavator of the ruins of Halikarnassos in the mid-19th century).

51 http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php; Cankardeş-Şenol 2010, 128, n. 13; Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 263.

52 Johnston 2020, 61-62, cat. nos. 655-656.

53 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1925-0119-463

54 Sztetyllo – Myśliwiec 2000, 103-104, cat. no. 87.

55 Kawanishi – Suto 2005, 128, cat. no. 212.

56 Nicolaou 2005, 186, cat. nos. 475-576.

57 Sztetyllo 1991, 75, 129.

58 Calvet 1972, 34, cat. no. 67.

59 Crowfoot et al. 1957, 383.

60 Coulson et al. 1997, 54, cat. no. 21.

61 Sauciuc-Săveanu 1941, 257, cat. no. 18.

62 Buzoianu 1980, 137, cat. no. 31; Buzoianu 1992, 150, cat. no. 356.

63 Zajcev 2005, 263, table 1, fig. 3.

64 Vnukov – Efremov 2017, 64, cat. nos. 96-97.

65 Pridik 1917, 29, 188, cat. nos. 708-710, inv. nos. 473t, 473g, 477m; Jöhrens 2001, 423-424, cat. nos. 221-224; Matera 2014, 177-178, cat. nos. 155-156.

66 Badoud 2017, 3.

67 Börker 2019, 78-90; Badoud 2019, 203-204.

generations⁶⁸, companies under the umbrella of which carried out their activity, in parallel, several associated potters⁶⁹, some of them even itinerant potters who can be detected by means of the different devices⁷⁰. It is certain that from the point of view of social status, the fabricants' "professional" group is very heterogeneous: citizens (like Linos), but also non-citizens, naturalized foreigners, metics, free or servile people, even former slaves⁷¹, but also women (perhaps managing workshops inherited within the family)⁷². The situation is further complicated by the diversity of workshops, located both on the island and in the Rhodian Peraea: some of them being public (managed by the city), and others being private, sometimes detectable by the defining elements of the stamps (shape, device – and from this perspective Linos does not seem to have runned a public workshop)⁷³.

Based on an extraordinary source, recently published, namely a stamp from Alexandria (Benachi Collection) that reveals Linos along with the demotic appellation, we can certainly reconstruct his belonging to the deme of Thyssanonte⁷⁴. So, from the point of view of his social status, we are dealing with a citizen⁷⁵. Even though Linos' origin is Peraea of Rhodes, on the southern Carian coast (Thyssanonte was one of the six Kamiran demes in peraea, to be located probably in the area of modern Söğüt)⁷⁶ and not the island itself, his workshop certainly worked in island and not in the peraea. It has been well established that the amphorae produced in the peraea differ from those produced on the island primarily by clay features (redder, with limestone, sometimes not very well burned, the outer slip is missing)⁷⁷, which is not at all the case with Linos' amphorae. These have the appearance and the typical pale pink color of the fine fabric, covered by the characteristic yellowish to whitish slip, identical to all the others amphorae produced in the workshops on the island. Moreover, Linos does not appear among the well-known fabricants of Rhodian Peraea, some of them famous, with a long activity⁷⁸, nor among those fabricants, most likely also from peraea, whose amphorae stand out by the peculiar features of the fabric⁷⁹.

The most important consequence in establishing the period of activity of this fabricant was provided by the association of his stamp with the stamp of an eponym named Nikasagoras on an amphora identified by Amedeo Maiuri in the Archaeological Museum in Rhodes and published with great impact in the interwar period. It was claimed then that Linos was an active Rhodian fabricant at the end of the 3rd century

68 Grace 1985, 12-13; Garcia Sanchez 2019, 212-213, fig. 3; Badoud 2017, 10-11, fig. 8; Badoud 2019, 199, figs. 13-14.

69 Şenol – Şenol – Doger 2004, 353.

70 Badoud 2019, 204.

71 Badoud 2017, 11-14, figs. 11-14; Badoud – Dana 2019, 174-178, tables 4-6; Badoud 2019, 195-209, figs. 1, 13-21.

72 Samojlova – Mateevici 2011, 279-283; Badoud 2017, 11, fig. 7; Garcia Sanchez 2019, 214-215, fig. 4; Badoud 2019, 199.

73 Badoud 2017, 14; Badoud 2019, 202.

74 Badoud 2019, 199-200, fig. 17; Badoud – Dana 2019, 175, tableau 2.

75 Badoud – Dana 2019, 175, 177.

76 Oğuz-Kirca 2014, 271-273, tables 1-2, maps 2-3; Fraser – Bean 1954, 59.

77 Şenol – Şenol – Doger 2004, 353.

78 Şenol – Şenol – Doger 2004, 353.

79 Rasmussen – Lund 326, fig. 1.

BC and especially during the 2nd century BC, since the eponym Nikasagoras was dated between 220-180 BC⁸⁰. Later on, the dating of the magistrature of this eponym was going to be substantially narrowed to about 185 BC⁸¹. Finally, new chronological refinements will place him at c. 172/170 BC⁸², 172/171 BC⁸³, or even more restricted, at 171 BC⁸⁴, in the period III^d. Of course, it's about Nikasagoras I, the one attested by an inscription discovered at Karakonero, near Rhodes⁸⁵.

But the existence, two generations apart, of a second eponym with the same name Nikasagoras, spotted for the first time by Virginia R. Grace on a Rhodian amphora from Nicosia Museum⁸⁶ (we leave aside the third homonym, Nikasagoras the Elder⁸⁷, much too early, in period I, to be related to the issue discussed here), made the high chronology of Linos, which was generated exclusively by the increasingly unlikely association with Nikasagoras I⁸⁸, be questioned. The magistrature year of this more recent eponym Nikasagoras II, son of Hippocles and adopted by Peisistratos⁸⁹, was, at first, proposed logically, on the basis of epigraphic arguments, shortly after 123 BC⁹⁰. Eventually, Nikasagoras II will come to be dated by more recent contributions in the frames of the period V^b, to c. 131 BC⁹¹ or 132 BC⁹².

There are small differences between the stamps of the two Nikasagoras separated by four decades, which has often led to confusion⁹³. Thus, it is not surprising that these confusions are perpetuated to this day and contributed to the maintenance of an earlier date for Linos, during period III – at least in terms of the findings from West and North of the Pontos Euxeinos region and the surrounding areas⁹⁴. In search of a conciliatory explanation, it was even proposed the possibility of the existence of two homonymous fabricants Linos, or only one with a very long period of activity⁹⁵, but without definite arguments.

Following closely the attested associations of this fabricant with Rhodian eponyms⁹⁶ other than Nikasagoras (be he I or II), namely Astymedes II (ca. 144 BC⁹⁷

80 Maiuri 1924, 268, Appendix, no. 1.

81 Grace 1985, 9.

82 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 192.

83 Lund 2011a, 278; Castelli 2017, 17, 24, n. 84.

84 Badoud 2015, 142.

85 Habicht 2003, 552; Badoud 2015, 176-177.

86 Grace 1985, 11, n. 21.

87 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 73.

88 Lund 2011a, 283; Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 69.

89 Habicht 2003, 559.

90 Grace 1985, 11, n. 21.

91 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 132, 136, 138; Badoud 2015, 143.

92 Palaczyk 2001, 328.

93 Şenol – Şenol 1997, 58-59; Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 69-79 (Nikasagoras I) and 80-100 (Nikasagoras II).

94 Badalianc 1980, 165; Buzoianu 1980, 122-123, fig. 2; Conovici 1986, 136, 139, n. 91; Buzoianu 1992, 150; Lungu – Trohani 2000, 143, n. 54; Irimia 2005, 337, cat. no. 25, fig. 4/1; Vnukov – Efremov 2017, 64, cat. nos. 96-97.

95 Măndescu 2016, 368-369.

96 Badalianc 1980, 165; Badalianc 2000, 270, 306; Matera 2014, 178, 189, 213; Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 263; Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 256.

97 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 128, 171, 195; Badoud 2015, 194-195, 200, fig. 70.

or 147 BC⁹⁸), Anaxandros (145 BC⁹⁹, 143/142 BC¹⁰⁰ or 143 BC¹⁰¹), and Polyaratos II (133 BC¹⁰² or c. 125 BC¹⁰³), the activity of Linos certainly falls in the frames of the period Va, probably starting in a slightly earlier time, in the last years of the period IVb, and covers also a significant fraction of the period Vb¹⁰⁴. If we look back to the moment that generated the early dating of Linos, Maiuri recognized the name Nikasagoras associated with Linos on the amphora in the museum in Rhodes as an eponym known especially from the associations with the fabricant Agathoboulos. The systematization of the Rhodian stamps from Alexandria highlighted the fact that the fabricant Agathoboulos is attested in association with several eponyms, in the same extent from period Va (Astymedes II, Thersandros, Aristakos, Andrias, Archembrotos I) and from the period Vb (Andronikos, Nikasagoras II, Kallikrates II, Aristogenes, Ieron II)¹⁰⁵. And in these circumstances, the possibility that Linos is in fact associated with Nikasagoras II (period Vb) and not with Nikasagoras I (period IIIId) gains in consistency. That it can not be about Nikasagoras I testifies also the reality that Linos does not appear in any feature in which the clearly identified stamps of this eponym are present, sometimes in significant quantities (eight to ten copies), as in Middle Stoa or in the Pergamon deposit¹⁰⁶.

Linus' stamps do not even appear in a single one specimen in the complexes or archaeological contexts that are considered significant for shaping the periods III and IV. Defining for period III, the Pergamon deposit does not know Linos. It is true that his name is among the fabricant stamps discovered at Pergamon¹⁰⁷, but not in the famous amphorae deposit that ends at around 160 BC¹⁰⁸. Linos is also missing from Carthage but also from Corinth, the destruction of these cities being the events that mark the end of period IV¹⁰⁹. Linos begins to make its presence felt only with the period V: for example, in Alexandria, in a layer dated in the second half of the 2nd century BC¹¹⁰. At Neapolis Skythica, Linos' stamps were discovered on the same layer (and sometimes in the same feature) with eponyms mostly from the period V, in

98 Palaczyk 2001, 328.

99 Palaczyk 2001, 328.

100 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 195, table 21.

101 Badoud 2015, 143.

102 Palaczyk 2001, 328.

103 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 171, 195, table 21.

104 Of all these associations of Linos with Rhodian eponyms, the one with Astymedes II, pointed out by Yu. S. Badalianc (1980, 165) and resumed later by the same author (2000, 270, 306), might require additional arguments. This specific association is not always considered reliable, so that in the most recent close-up view upon the seriation of the Rhodian fabricants (Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 256) it is not included. Eventually we chose to keep it among the other associations, however, since a connection between Astymedes II and Linos would not impinge noticeably on the lower limit of the chronology of the fabricant (given the temporal proximity to the eponymate year of Anaxandros which provides an undisputed landmark).

105 Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 255.

106 Grace 1985, 9; Börker – Burow 1998, 6-7; Lawall 2002, 316.

107 Börker – Burow 1998, cat. no. Rh F 256.

108 Lawall 2002, 318.

109 Coulson et. al. 1997, 48, 54.

110 Cankardeş-Şenol 2010, 128, n. 13.

the site's D chronological horizon¹¹¹. The year of the destruction of Samaria by the Hasmonean king of Judea, John Hyrcanus, namely 108 BC (the last year of period V)¹¹², gives a terminus ante quem for the beginning of Linos' activity, since he appears among the producers attested there¹¹³.

The Dacian settlements in which his stamps were discovered (Fig. 4) also greatly contribute to securing an accurate dating of Linos' activity. Maybe not necessarily the settlement from Cetățeni, having a long and fluid evolution, from the beginning of the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD, but certainly the other settlements in which the archaeological features were better documented. The stamp found in the 1956 excavations at Popești (Fig. 5/6) was part of an archaeological context that does not seem earlier than the middle of the 2nd century BC¹¹⁴. The second specimen from Popești (Fig. 5/7) was found in an even later layer, dating back from the first half of the 1st century BC¹¹⁵. The settlement of Popești was founded, according to the excavators' conclusions, 'around or shortly before 150 BC', of great importance in establishing this chronological milestone being the stamp of the eponym Pythodoros (period IVb, dated sometime between 150 and 147 BC¹¹⁶, or around 153 BC at the earliest on the basis of epigraphic clues¹¹⁷), discovered at the bottom of the earliest stratum of Dacian habitation¹¹⁸. This is the only Rhodian stamp belonging to period IV from Popești. All the other Rhodian stamps found in the habitation's layers here, and not a few (the eponyms Klenostratos, Timokles II and Aristonomos, the fabricants Philostephanos, Doros II, Sotas, Mnason of Antioch and, of course, Linos)¹¹⁹, date from period V and especially VI. Regarding the Dacian settlement from Cărlomănești, its beginnings are to be placed sometime in the second half of the 2nd century BC¹²⁰, so the amphora with the stamp of Linos couldn't get here until 150 BC, even if there are some cases of amphorae having long lifetime, measured in decades, such as the known examples from Marissa¹²¹. In the settlement from Pleașov, in addition to the stamp of the fabricant Linos (Fig. 5/8), three other stamps of Rhodian eponyms were discovered¹²², all from the period V, well anchored chronologically in the decades from the middle of the 2nd century BC second half: Andrias (period Va, between 137/136 and 134/133 BC¹²³, or 137 BC¹²⁴), Teisamenos (the final years of period

111 Zajcev 2005, 263, table 1, fig. 3.

112 Finkielsztejn 1998.

113 Crowfoot et al. 1957, 383.

114 Vulpe 1959a, 342, fig. 10/2; Lungu – Trohani 2000, 151, cat. no. 14.

115 Vulpe 1961, 329, fig. 6/6.

116 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 193, table 20.

117 Badoud 2015, 178.

118 Vulpe 1997, 166-167; Palincaș 1997, 184.

119 Vulpe 1957, 231, fig. 11/1 (Mnason); Vulpe 1959b, 314, fig. 12/5 (Klenostratos); Tudor 1967, 68, cat. nos. 118-119, figs. 5/108-109 (Philostephanos and Sotas); Conovici 1986, 136, 139 (Klenostratos, Doros II, Sotas and Linos); Palincaș 1997, 185 (Timokles II); Trohani 1997, 216, pl. 42/2 (Aristonomos).

120 Babeș 1975, 129; Babeș 2001, 135.

121 Ariel – Finkielsztejn 1994, 210.

122 Preda 1986a, 91, n. 49, fig. 24/1; Preda 1993, 191, 194, n. 1, figs. 7/7-8, 8/78.

123 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 195, table 21.

124 Palaczyk 2001a, 328.

Vb, 128 BC¹²⁵ or sometime between 124 and 122 BC¹²⁶, most likely 124 BC¹²⁷) and Aischinas (period Vc, ca. 116 BC¹²⁸ or 118 BC¹²⁹). This somewhat cohesive group of eponyms encourages us to admit that the stamp of fabricant cannot be too remote chronologically. Earlier (period III) are the Rhodian stamps of eponyms found at Adâncata (Ainesidamos II, Aristeidas and the alleged Nikasagoras I, but it may actually be Nikasagoras II)¹³⁰, but no archeological excavations have been performed here, and the stratigraphy of the site and the settlement's stages of habitation, widely dated in 5th–2nd centuries BC, remain unknown for the time being. Regarding the settlement from Cetățeni, it is relevant to point out that three of the four Rhodian eponyms attested in association with the fabricant Linos are present in the group of stamped handles discovered here by means of seven stamps (only Anaxandros is missing): a rectangular stamp of Astymedes II, four stamps of Nikasagoras II (three rectangular and one round with rose flower) and two round stamps (the well known Helios bust variant¹³¹) of Polyaratos II¹³².

Last but not least, the shape of the amphora handles stamped with the Linos workshop's dies found in the Dacian settlements should be additionally discussed. Even if only fragmentarily preserved, five handles (three of them from from Cetățeni, and one each from Pleașov and Adâncata) are relevant enough. All these handles, without exception, are always bent at sharp angle (fig. 5/1-3, 8-9), pattern adopted at a later stage in the evolution of Rhodian amphorae and generalized not earlier than the middle of the 2nd century BC. This shape feature characterizes the amphorae belonging to the 2nd century BC late series of Villanova variant and especially to a particular Alexandrian variant (last quarter of the 2nd century BC)¹³³.

We obtain the same result reporting the five handles to the newest typology developed for the shapes of the Rhodian amphorae handles, which clearly shows an evolution from the arched profile to the angular one¹³⁴. The handles from Pleașov and Adâncata (figs. 5 /8-9) belong to Form 2.b, a specific shape for the periods IIIe-Va¹³⁵ (roughly the decades in the middle of the 2nd century BC), and in the three handles kept fragmentary from Cetățeni (figs. 5/1-3) close variants of Form 2.c are to be recognized, a shape having a constant presence throughout the periods Va-VI¹³⁶ (second half of the 2nd century BC).

Therefore, from the data available so far, the period in which Linos operated as fabricant in Rhodes is a long one, most likely extending over the third quarter of the 2nd century BC, roughly pegged by the extreme office years of the eponyms

125 Palaczyk 2001, 328, pl. 49/13.

126 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 195, table 21.

127 Badoud 2015, 143.

128 Finkielsztejn 2001a, 195, table 21.

129 Palaczyk 2001, 328.

130 Irimia 2005, 336-338, cat. nos. 23-24, 26, figs. 7/1, 13/32-24, 26.

131 Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 255, 268.

132 Măndescu 2016, 360, 374-376, pls. 2/E14 ; 3/E38-31, 40-41.

133 Monachov 2005, 78, 80, figs. 5-8.

134 Lund 2019, 217-223, fig. 2.

135 Lund 2019, 219, fig. 6.

136 Lund 2019, 219, fig. 7.

Astymedes II (147 BC the earliest proposed date¹³⁷) and Polyaratos II (c. 125 BC the latest proposed date¹³⁸). For an even later date would plead a strange detail of Nikasagoras II's career. He is epigraphically attested at Lindos as the priest of Athana Lindia in 123 BC, and, in a natural order of offices, it was normal that only at a later stage of his career, for which one could wait even a quarter of a century, to reach in a higher (in fact utmost) dignity as a priest of Halios in Rhodes¹³⁹. Crediting the eponymous year of Nikasagoras II as 132 or 131 BC and not any other but after 123 BC, we must agree that we are facing one of the very rare situations (in any case not the only one example)¹⁴⁰ in which the order of the offices follows the unnatural and reverse path, from the supreme dignity in Rhodes to a lower honor and inferior status.

It is not excluded that behind this relatively long career of Linos and other fabricants in the same situation to hide social or family realities that are harder to detect: for example, a workshop perpetuated within the family by inheritance over several generations, the new owner (nephew) being named after his predecessor (his grandfather)¹⁴¹, according to the system of transmitting names in Rhodian families¹⁴². We would thus have to deal with a possible Linos II, grandson of Linos I, operating successively in the same workshop, the homonyms perpetuating the activity under the same brand over two or three decades. However, reaching a long period of activity was not such an extraordinary event for fabricants: almost 50 of the 241 fabricants attested in association with eponyms on Rhodian amphorae¹⁴³, so about 20%, have a long activity, exceeding 30 years, up to 50 years. At the same time, it is true that a significant number of the 241 fabricants, namely 32 (13%), are attested only for a single year, by the means of a single one associated eponym. The percentages are strictly related to the number of fabricants certified in association with eponyms, and can be misleading if we consider that the total number of Rhodian fabricants is estimated at over 400, a huge amount of which 394 names have been identified¹⁴⁴.

It should be noted that much of Linos' duration of activity overlaps a period of time when the import of Rhodian wine at Cetățeni was on an obvious upward trend, namely the decade 140-131 BC, preparing to reach its peak (an event that happened very soon, during the next decade)¹⁴⁵. This image is in stark contrast to the picture offered by the nearest area where the Greek and Hellenistic factors were plenary exercised, namely the Black Sea. Here, alike in the Greek cities on the western shore (Histria, Tomis, Callatis)¹⁴⁶, on the north shore (Olbia)¹⁴⁷ and Maeotian Lake (Tanais)¹⁴⁸, the influx of Rhodes amphorae registers, just during this period, obvious and significant

137 Palaczyk 2001, 328.

138 Finkielisztejn 2001a, 195, table 21.

139 Grace 1985, 11, n. 21; Habicht 2003, 567-568, n. 133; Badoud 2014, 25-26; Badoud 2015, 154-157.

140 Badoud 2015, 155-156, fig. 66.

141 Grace 1985, 12-13; Garcia Sanchez 2019, 212-214, fig. 3.

142 Bresson 1981, 345.

143 Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, Appendix, 221-234.

144 Badoud 2017, 13-14; Badoud – Dana 2019, 174.

145 Măndescu 2016, 372, fig. 4/1.

146 Conovici 2005, 104-107, figs. 5-6.

147 Lawall et al. 2014, 30, fig. 2.

148 Matera 2016, 193-194, fig. 1.

decreases. Also, a decrease of the importation of Rhodian amphorae to extinction is recorded after the middle of the 2nd century BC in the ‘barbarian’ territories adjacent to the Black Sea to the northwest¹⁴⁹ and in those of northeastern Thrace¹⁵⁰. But not in the Dacian territory, which makes us think that right now, soon after the middle of the 2nd century BC, the ‘barbarian’ lands between the Danube and the Carpathians were a well-targeted outlet for Rhodian traders, an ‘emerging market’ that could be reached, possibly, through new trade routes and mechanisms, other than the traditional West of the Pontos Euxeinos ones.

It has already been found that this clear decrease of the presence of Rhodes on the Black Sea markets, which should not be attributed at all to a crisis of wine production, which was still at high levels in the years 150-130 BC¹⁵¹, is offset by the intensification of production orientation to other markets, such as Lower Egypt and the Southern Levant¹⁵². In terms of this sales market’s fluctuation must also be interpreted the ascending trend of the presence of Rhodes at Cetățeni, in the Dacian milieu, starting with 140 BC, to the peak it will register here in the decade 130-121 BC¹⁵³.

The debate over the role that the Greek colonies on the western shore of Black Sea could have played in intermediating commercial transactions between Rhodian merchants and North Danubian ‘barbarians’ has a long, deep-rooted tradition in literature. Given the complete absence of written sources, the pros¹⁵⁴ or cons¹⁵⁵ can only be speculative, following the path of a more or less logical argumentation. However, the peak of the inflow of Rhodian wine to Cetățeni at a time when the West and North of the Pontos Euxeinos market are, as shown above, in obvious decline may also suggests the existence of alternative routes cut directly through the North Thracian lands and avoiding the Greek cities ‘help’ in reaching the ‘barbarian’ territory.

In any scenario, the role of the most important way for amphorae to enter the Dacian territory was played by the Danube, which directly linked the Black Sea to the ‘barbarian’ territories. This river enjoyed a privileged status as the main traffic artery, a real highway of Antiquity, as shown by the map of discoveries¹⁵⁶. Since the first half of the 2nd century BC the ships with Rhodian amphorae advanced upstream on the final course of the Danube, almost 1,000 km long, reaching close to the dangerous sector (and which remained inaccessible until late in the modern era) of the Iron Gates (Danube Gorge). A stamp of the eponym Kallikratidas II (period IIIc) found in a Dacian settlement on the northern bank of the Danube, on the western outskirts of Drobeta-Turnu Severin¹⁵⁷, is eloquent in this regard. For the last quarter of the 2nd

149 Mateevici 2009, 269.

150 Božkova 2010, 105.

151 Lund 2011b, 287-289, figs. 13/3-4.

152 Finkielstejn 2001b, 193-194, figs. 3-5.

153 Măndescu 2016, 372, fig. 4/1.

154 Irimia et al. 2011, 127; Măndescu 2015.

155 Glodariu 1974, 37; Tudor 1967, 45-46; Sirbu 1983, 65.

156 Glodariu 1974, pl. 2; Sirbu 1983, figs. 2, 4; Măndescu 2015, fig. 1.

157 Boroneaț – Davidescu 1968, 255, fig. 6.

century BC, a consecrated place for transshipment of Rhodian wine on the northern bank of the river, from where it was then taken inland, can be considered the spot accidentally discovered (and unfortunately destroyed during the discovery, before any archaeological survey of site) on the southeastern periphery of the current city Bechet, 3.5 km away from the Danube. The stamps found at Bechet unequivocally indicate period V: the eponym Agoranax, the fabricant Midas and a complete amphora having the handles stamped with the dies of the eponym Euanor and, most likely, the fabricant Damokrates III (with monogram under the name)¹⁵⁸. From such ‘consecrated places’ of moorage on the banks of the Danube, such as the one at Bechet, the amphorae of Rhodes spread in a fan-like shape area, deep to the north in the inland of the ‘barbarian’ territory, as shown by the discoveries from Mărgăritești (the eponym Timotheos, period Vb)¹⁵⁹, Godeni (the fabricant Dios III, period V)¹⁶⁰, Runcu (the eponym Theuphanes II, period IIc)¹⁶¹, Polovragi (the eponym Damothemis, period IIIa)¹⁶², Ocnița (the eponym Damon, period Vc)¹⁶³ and Govora¹⁶⁴. Beyond the aspects related to the illustration of some routes and trade mechanisms, given the very short time that elapsed between the manufacture of the amphora and its arrival at the destination (estimated at about one year only¹⁶⁵, although there are different opinions that considerably prolong this term¹⁶⁶) clearly shows the extraordinary potential as chronological vectors that Rhodian amphora stamps encompass, even more than coins, fibulae and other importations, for the internal chronology of the Dacian settlements.

The Rhodian amphorae reach at Cetățeni their terminus station, in the northernmost extremity to the Carpathians (and also in the largest known quantity in entire Dacian territory), after crossing a distance of about 160 km from the Danube, probably following a changeable water and land route along the valleys of Argeș and Dâmbovița Rivers (this road initially passing through the settlement of Popești)¹⁶⁷. This distance is almost three times longer than the route traveled by Rhodian amphorae from the Danube to the furthestmost spot reached to the south, in the ‘barbarian’ inland, represented by the above-mentioned habitat at Veliko Târnovo (only 60 km away, the route probably following mostly the course of the Yantra River). Benefiting from the generous flow of at least partly navigable rivers, it was not problematic for Rhodian amphorae to advance deep into the inland, sometimes up to hundreds of kilometers away from the main sea or river route. Relevant in this respect, the amphorae reach about 200 km away from the Black Sea coast to the northwest, in the Iron Age fortresses of Butuceni and Potârca, following the course of the Dniester and then Răut Rivers¹⁶⁸. Also from the Black Sea, but to the south, following the course of

158 Bondoc 1999; Bondoc 2004, 6-11, cat. nos. 1-3, with different readings of the pair of names.

159 Preda 1986b, 106, pl. 66/3, with different reading of the name.

160 Bondoc 2004, 12, cat. no. 4.

161 Tudor 1967, 44, 70, cat. no. 122.

162 Tudor 1967, 44, 70, cat. no. 121.

163 Berciu 1981, 67, pl. 108/2, with different reading of the name.

164 Glodariu 1974, 194, no. 54.

165 Finkielstejn 2002, 228.

166 Stolba 2007, 155-157.

167 Măndescu 2015, 257-258, fig. 1.

168 Niculiță et al. 2019, 61, 76, 77.

the river Sangarius (Sakaria), the Rhodian amphorae reach deep into the Phrygian inland, at Gordion, even if there we may have to deal with a different reason, namely a military one and not necessarily trade¹⁶⁹. The same military campaign explanation was given for the occurrence of Rhodian amphorae in the Germanic cultural milieu of northern and central Moldova (Poieniști-Lukaševka culture): rather prey from robbery expeditions south of the Danube and not necessarily expressions of trade relations with Greek colonies on the Black Sea shore¹⁷⁰.

The wine of Rhodes was the most favorite wine ever imported into Iron Age ‘barbarian’ lands north of the Danube. The distribution area and the quantity of Rhodian amphorae discoveries in the Dacian territory definitely surpass any other production center, be it Aegean or from Pontos Euxeinos¹⁷¹. This, probably, also as an expression of a very frequent and vivid commercial transfer program, since the wine of Rhodes was not one to suit the ageing process (unlike some other Aegean wines¹⁷²), but rather it was ordinary consumed, as young wine, in everyday life¹⁷³. With all this influx, large areas of pre-Roman Dacia seem to be left out of this process, strangely immune to the the appetite for this overseas desirable good. Apparently, the wine distribution network looks like that would stop on the mountains line¹⁷⁴. From the Dacian territory surrounded by the Carpathian arch (broadly corresponding to nowadays Transylvania) not even a single Rhodian stamp is known.

That is why the image left by the large number of amphorae provided by the settlement of Cetățeni at the foot of the southern slopes of the Carpathians is so surprising. The location of this settlement on the most important old road that crossed the Carpathians (main communication artery even today, through the mountain passage Rucăr-Bran, 1290 masl max. altitude), was the clue able to suggest a plausible explanation. Namely that the multitude of Rhodian amphorae potsherds does not necessarily represent the vestiges of a local consumption, but rather of a current program of redistribution to intra-Carpathian regions: here, at Cetățeni, the imported wine would have been transferred from the amphorae (which were abandoned on the spot) to containers more suitable to a rough road (wooden barrels and leather bellows), before taking the mountain path¹⁷⁵. In the same time, there are many reluctances expressed against this view. Firstly, based on the obvious risk of losing the quality of the transferred wine and on the nonsense of abandoning the amphorae (these being themselves a cherished ware as high-quality containers)¹⁷⁶. Then, in the perspective of some alleged peculiar and therefore different consumption and conviviality behaviors agreed by the inhabitants of this over the mountains part of Dacia. In other words, to bring the wine over the mountains with such great sacrifices – but for whom?, since in

169 Lawall 2008.

170 Babeș 1993, 73-74, 153.

171 Sirbu 1983, 55-57, figs. 4, 8.

172 Stolba 2007, 156.

173 Finkielstejn 1999, 26, n. 4; Lund 2011b, 287.

174 Opař 2013, 29, 42-43.

175 Eftimie 1959, 206, n. 44; Glodariu 1974, 30-32, 115-116, 123-124, 139; Măndescu 2015, 358-359, fig. 1.

176 Sirbu 1983, 62-63.

the intra-Carpathian lands the wine, as alcoholic beverage, would never have enjoyed a real success¹⁷⁷.

The trade maintained and developed by the Greek centers in the ‘barbarian’ lands¹⁷⁸ is a chapter still open, and the written sources in this respect cannot be considered exhausted. Our expectations regarding the highlighting through archeology or epigraphy of some details still unknown in this field should remain alive, since new discoveries still manage to fundamentally change the perspective in which the state of affairs has been considered so far. The best example is constituted by the inscription discovered in 1990 near Vetren, at Asar Dere (Bulgaria), dating from the middle of the 4th century BC, which tells about how the Thracian kingdom of Odrysae, among others, regulated and guaranteed the rights of Greek trade in the ‘barbarian’ realm and stipulated the trade routes to be followed by Greek merchants¹⁷⁹. Even if the discovery of such ‘gold mines’ as the Asar Dere inscription is a kind of event much less likely to happen in the lands north of the Danube, and this may very well be a vain hope, it would not be too late to start with much less spectacular, but fully honest and well-founded projects, such as the re-evaluation and proper publication of the unjustly ignored museum collections.

List of the recently found Rhodian amphora stamps from Cetățeni

Eponym stamps

1. Argeș County Museum, inv. no. I. V. 4043. Pink color with yellowish slip on the outer surface.

Cetățeni, archaeological excavations before 1972. Round, 3.4 cm in diameter. Fig. 2/1

Retrograde writing except the first *epsilon*.

Ἐπ[ὶ Ἀνδ]ρία Θε[σμ]οφορίου rose flower in the centre.

2. Argeș County Museum, inv. no. I. V. 4044. Pale pink color.

Cetățeni, chance find before 2020. Rectangular, 3.6 x 1.5 cm. Fig. 2/4.

Ἐπὶ [- - - - -]

Βα[δ]ρομίου

Fabricant stamps

3. Argeș County Museum, inv. no. I. V. 4041. Pale pink color with traces of yellowish slip on the outer surface, largely detached.

Cetățeni, archaeological excavations before 1972. Rectangular, 4.5 x 1.7 cm. Figs. 2/2; 5/2

Nu retrograde.

Αἴνου bunch of grapes.

177 Egri 2014 ; Egri 2019, 128-140, figs. 81-83, 85.

178 Bravo – Chankowski 1999.

179 Velkov – Domaradzka 1994; Avram 1998; Chankowski – Domaradzka 1999; Bouzek et al. 2002, 339-342.

4. Argeș County Museum, inv. no. I. V. 4042. Pink color with light yellowish to whitish slip on the outer surface.

Cetățeni, archaeological excavations, 1981 campaign, trench 2. Rectangular, 4.5 x 1.8 cm. Figs. 2/3; 5/1. Λ[ίvou] bunch of grapes.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

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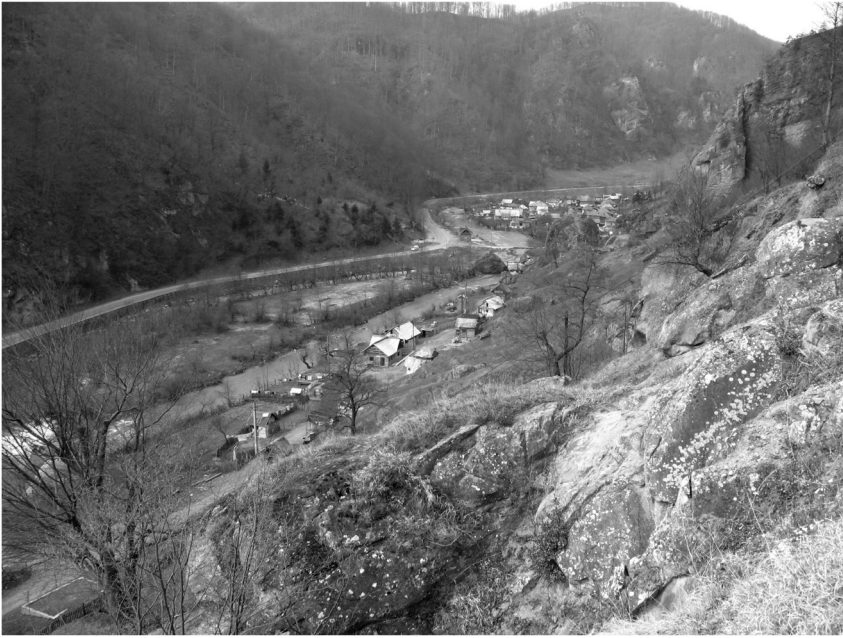


Fig. 1 The archaeological site from Cetățeni. 1 The site of the settlement (viewed from the Southeast); 2 The rocky hillock of the citadel (viewed from the West). Photos by the author.



Fig. 2 Cetățeni. Fragments of Rhodian stamped amphora handles. The rubbings of the stamps are enlarged x1.5. 1 Andrias, Rhodian eponym; 2-3 Linos, Rhodian fabricant; 4 Unreadable Rhodian eponym. Argeș County Museum collection. Photo by the author.



Fig. 3 Cetățeni. The sector of the 1981 archaeological excavations and the spot of the discovery of the Linos' stamp inv. no. I. V. 4042 (viewed from the East). Photos by the author.

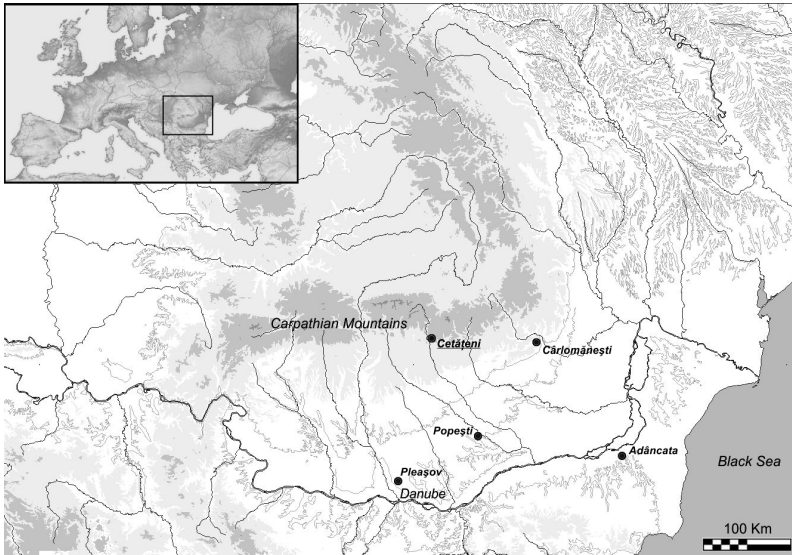


Fig. 4 Location of the archaeological site from Cetățeni and the other Dacian settlements where stamps of Rhodian fabricant Linos were found. Map by the author.

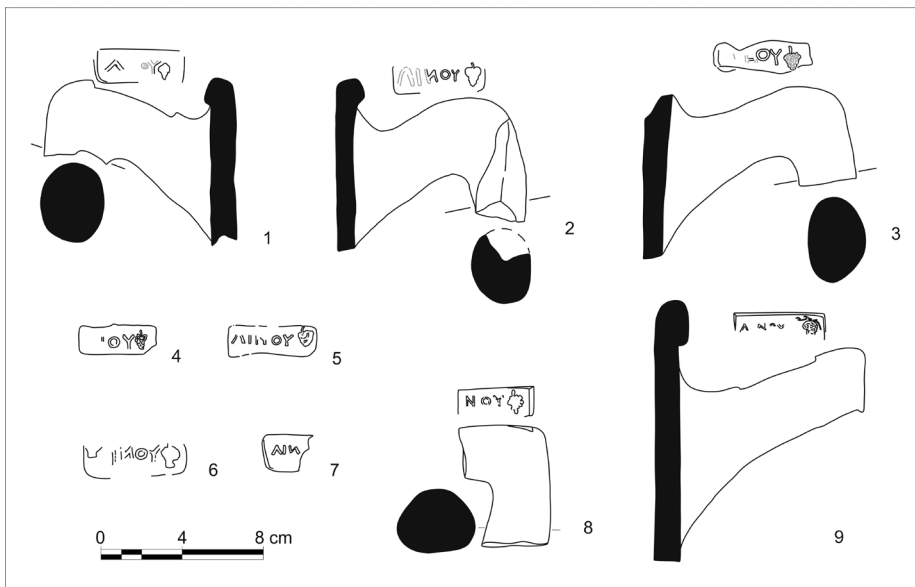


Fig. 5 Rhodian amphora handles from Dacian settlements stamped with Linos dies. 1-5 Cetățeni; 6-7 Popoști; 8 Pleașov; 9 Adâncata. Drawings by the author after originals (1-3) and after drawings by D. Tudor (4-5), R. Vulpe (6-7), C. Preda (8), and M. Irimia (9). The image of the stamp from Adâncata (9) is drawn after photography.

