



Rhodian Amphoras from Butrint (Albania): Dating, Contexts and Trade

Nadia Aleotti

The paper focuses on Rhodian amphoras from the *Butrint Roman Forum Excavations Project 2011–2014*, carried out under the direction of the Notre Dame University (Indiana, USA) in collaboration with the Albanian Institute of Archaeology in the ancient city of Butrint (southern Albania). Considering their great informative potential, Rhodian amphoras are studied in terms of both dating and trade, focusing on the contexts they come from, on precise dates given by stamps and on the contribution of Rhodian amphoras to investigate and assess the commercial trade of Hellenistic Butrint.



The *Butrint Roman Forum Excavations Project* was carried out in the ancient city of Butrint (southern Albania) from 2011 to 2014 by an international and multidisciplinary team under the direction of the Notre Dame University (Indiana, USA) in collaboration with the Albanian Institute of Archaeology¹. The project was mainly designed to investigate the Roman forum, but the excavation deepened under the level of the forum pavement reached pre-Roman contexts as well, adding new important data to our knowledge of Archaic and Hellenistic Butrint.

Despite the involvement of Butrint in the Trojan saga, the Mycenaean frequentation still remains archaeologically unknown, while recent excavations confirm that the first settlement was strictly connected to the Corinthian colonisation. The strategic position of the headland on the Lake of Butrint, connected by the Vivari Channel to the Ionian Sea just in front of the Island of Kerkyra, was the reason for the growing interest of the Corinthian colony of Kerkyra towards the mainland during the 7th century BCE and also determined the destiny of the settlement until the Venetian period. Corinthian influence gradually decreased during the Classical period and starting from the 4th century BCE, Butrint was instead totally involved in the Epirote events, as independent settlement, as part of the koinon of Epirotes and then at the head of the koinon of Prasaiboi, until the foundation of the Roman colony in 44 BCE.

Thanks to the *Butrint Roman Forum Excavations Project 2011–2014*, very important archaeological data connected to all these phases came to light. For the first time, Archaic and Classical contexts were reached in the lower part of the headland and connected to previous finds from the acropolis of Butrint. Passing to the Hellenistic period, the continuation of the

1 I take this opportunity to thank all the team, and in particular the directors of the project, Prof. D. R. Hernández and Prof. Dh. Çondi, and the Editorial Board of the JHP for the great opportunity to publish here this paper. All the drawings and the photos were made by the author. Fig. 1 was prepared by Prof. D. R. Hernández.

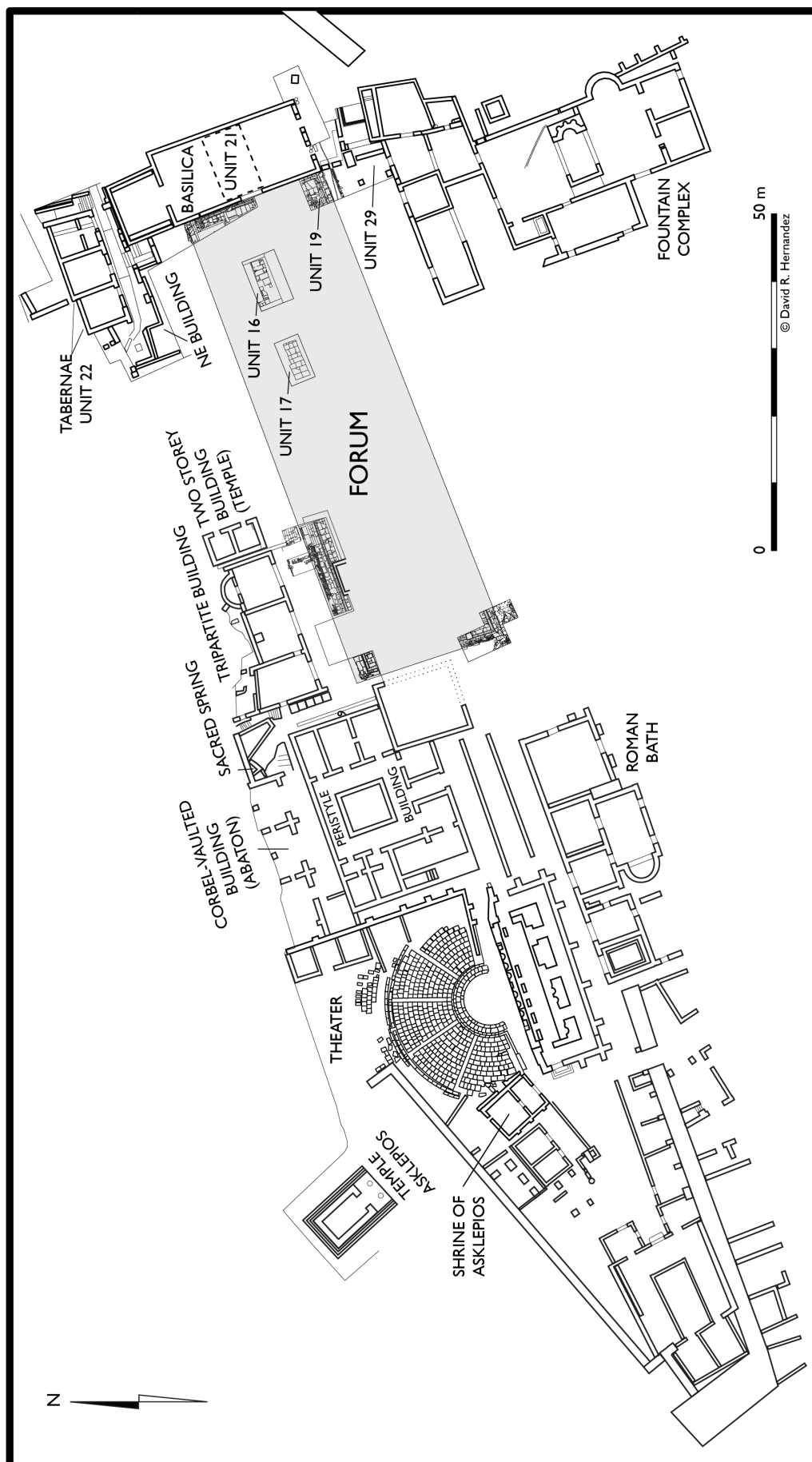


Fig. 1: Butrint Roman Forum plan.

South Stoa, identified in the 2007 excavations of the western part of the forum, was found, confirming the location of the Greek Stoa, supposed to have been replaced by the Roman Forum in the same area between the end of the 1st century BCE and the beginning of the 1st century CE. Finally, the extension of the Roman Forum was definitely identified, with most of the limestone slabs still in situ: measuring ca. 20 x 70 m., it extended from the eastern side of the complex of the Sanctuary of Asclepius until the Eastern Building, the Basilica (**fig. 1**)².

Hellenistic pottery came to light in soundings deepened under the Roman Forum in different areas: from Units 16, 17 and 19 under the Forum pavement, from Unit 21 under the pavement of the Basilica and from Unit 29 just outside the southern limit of the forum (**fig. 1**). Rhodian amphoras were retrieved in all of the investigated areas, and they can be considered as some of the most diagnostic indicators of the Hellenistic period. Their great information potential derives from their dating value, especially when stamped, and from the study of the trade route connecting the eastern and western Mediterranean Sea, by-passing Butrint.

Dating

Before analysing Rhodian amphoras in the framework of the contexts they come from, each single diagnostic fragment is presented here, together with technical features and the dating suggested by stamps and comparisons³.

2403 111 (**fig. 6, 1**)

Knob toe with conical depression at the base; part of the slightly flaring wall preserved.

Fabric: Micaceous fine orange-pink clay (7.5YR 8/4) on the exterior, two layers on the interior: one brownish red (5YR 4/6) and one darker (7.5YR 4/2).

The toe can be compared to the Monachov's type II ›short necked‹ dated to the early 3rd century BCE⁴; Empereur and Hesnard published a similar toe dated to the end of the 4th century BCE⁵ (similar to Monachov's ›Kyrenian variant‹ 1a type, dated to the late 4th – early 3rd century BCE, but it has a more elongated body and less flaring walls⁶). In the evolution of the profile of Rhodian amphoras suggested by Finkielsztejn the knob toe with conical depression belongs to early Hellenistic variants as well⁷.

1602 258 (**fig. 12, 1**)

Fr. of vertical thick-strip angular handle; ivy leaf stamp on the upper face.

Fabric: Smooth, light beige fine clay.

According to Finkielsztejn, the ivy leaf stamp is mainly used by the fabricant Ἐπίγονος I, Period IIb and IIc (219–199 BCE)⁸, yet no letters were preserved on the stamp found.

2341 324 (**figs. 2 and 14, 1**)

Fragment of a vertical strip handle; only the upper part with the attachment to the wall preserved; on the upper face stamp in rectangular field (3,7 x 1,9 cm.):

ΕΠΙΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ
Υ[ΑΚΙΝΘΟΥ]



Fig. 2:
Rhodian stamped handle
from context 2341.

- 2 A preliminary report of recent excavations was presented at the 6th International Meeting on Southern Illyria and Epirus in antiquity (HERNÁNDEZ – ÇONDI IN PRESS). For Greek and Roman Butrint in general see ARAFAT – MORGAN 1995; HAXHIS 1998; HANSEN 2009; HANSEN – HODGES 2007; HERNÁNDEZ 2007; HERNÁNDEZ – ÇONDI 2008; HERNÁNDEZ – ÇONDI 2011.
- 3 Only diagnostic fragments (rims, handles and toes) are presented here, and all the comparisons with other amphoras types are based on diagnostic parts as well.
- 4 MONACHOV 2005, 86–88 fig. 9, 1.
- 5 EMPEREUR – HESNARD 1987, pl. 2 no. 7.
- 6 MONACHOV 2005, 72–73 fig. 1, 1.
- 7 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, pl. A no. 2, more elongated body, but similar toe, end of 4th / beginning of 3rd century BCE.
- 8 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 103.

Fabric: Fine light beige clay (7.5YR 6/4) with lighter exterior surface (5Y 8/2), but partially altered in section (dark gray)⁹. Finkielsztein's period IIIb, he suggests 183 BCE¹⁰; the same eponymous was dated in Pergamon to period III (205–175 BCE)¹¹, while it is attested in Albania in a Rhodian amphora from Shkodra, from a context of the second half of the 2nd century BCE¹².

2349 285 (fig. 13, 1):

Vertical thick rim, slightly sloping internal face; small section of the vertical strip handle attached below preserved.

Fabric: Light brown fine clay (10YR 8/4).

The rim is similar to that from context 2278 (see below), but this one has a more sloping internal face and the handle seems to be more angular; similar to Monachov's ›Type I-E-1‹ dated to the mid- and second half of the 3rd century BCE¹³ (but his typology is based especially on handle and bottom, the rim is considered less). A similar rim is attested in Apollonia, Albania, dated to the beginning of the 1st century BCE¹⁴.



Fig. 3:
Rhodian stamped handle
from context 2349.

2349 293 (fig. 3)

Fragmentary vertical thick-strip angular handle, with a stamp in circular field on the upper face. Rose? Stamp illegible.

Fabric: Light brown fine clay



Fig. 4:
Rhodian stamped handle
from context 2278.

2278 397 (figs. 4 and 16, 1)

Vertical rim, thick on the external face, with flat upper face; angular vertical strip handle attached below the rim. Rim diameter 12 cm. Stamp in rectangular field (3,9 x 1,7 cm.) on the upper part of the handle:

ΕΠΙΑΓ[ΕΜΑΚΟΥ]
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ
ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ

Fabric: Light orange fine clay (5YR 7/6) with lighter external surface (10YR 8/2).

Finkielsztein's period IIIc, he suggests 181–179 BCE¹⁵. Börker's and Burow's period III (205–175 BCE)¹⁶.

42278b (figs. 5 and 16, 3)

Fragmentary angular vertical thick-strip handle, only in the upper part preserved. Stamp on the upper face only partially legible, with rose, in circular field:

[Δ]ΑΜΟΘΕΜΙ[Σ]---ΑΔ?

Fabric: Light brown fine clay, lighter on the external surface.



Fig. 5:
Rhodian stamped handle
from context 2278.

9 The waterlogged nature of the deepest contexts and the micro-environmental conditions of the subsoil with water and organic substances, have sometimes altered the fabric of pottery, in some cases partially or totally gray, both in surface and section. This occurred especially in the deepest Archaic-Classical contexts, but as well in some deep Hellenistic contexts as well.

10 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 190–193 tab. 19.

11 BÖRKER – BUROW 1998, 39 and pl. 13 no. 340 (associated to the month ›Υακινθος‹) and pp. 101–102 nos. 384–390.

12 LAHI 2009, 70 no. 30.

13 MONACHOV 2005, 77 fig. 3, 6.

14 LAHI 2009, pl. 2 no. 20.

15 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 190–193 tab. 19.

16 BÖRKER – BUROW 1998, 18 and pl. 1 no. 20 (associated with the adjectives second ›Δευτερος‹ and month ›Παναμος‹), and pp. 79–80 nos. 11–21 from Pergamon.

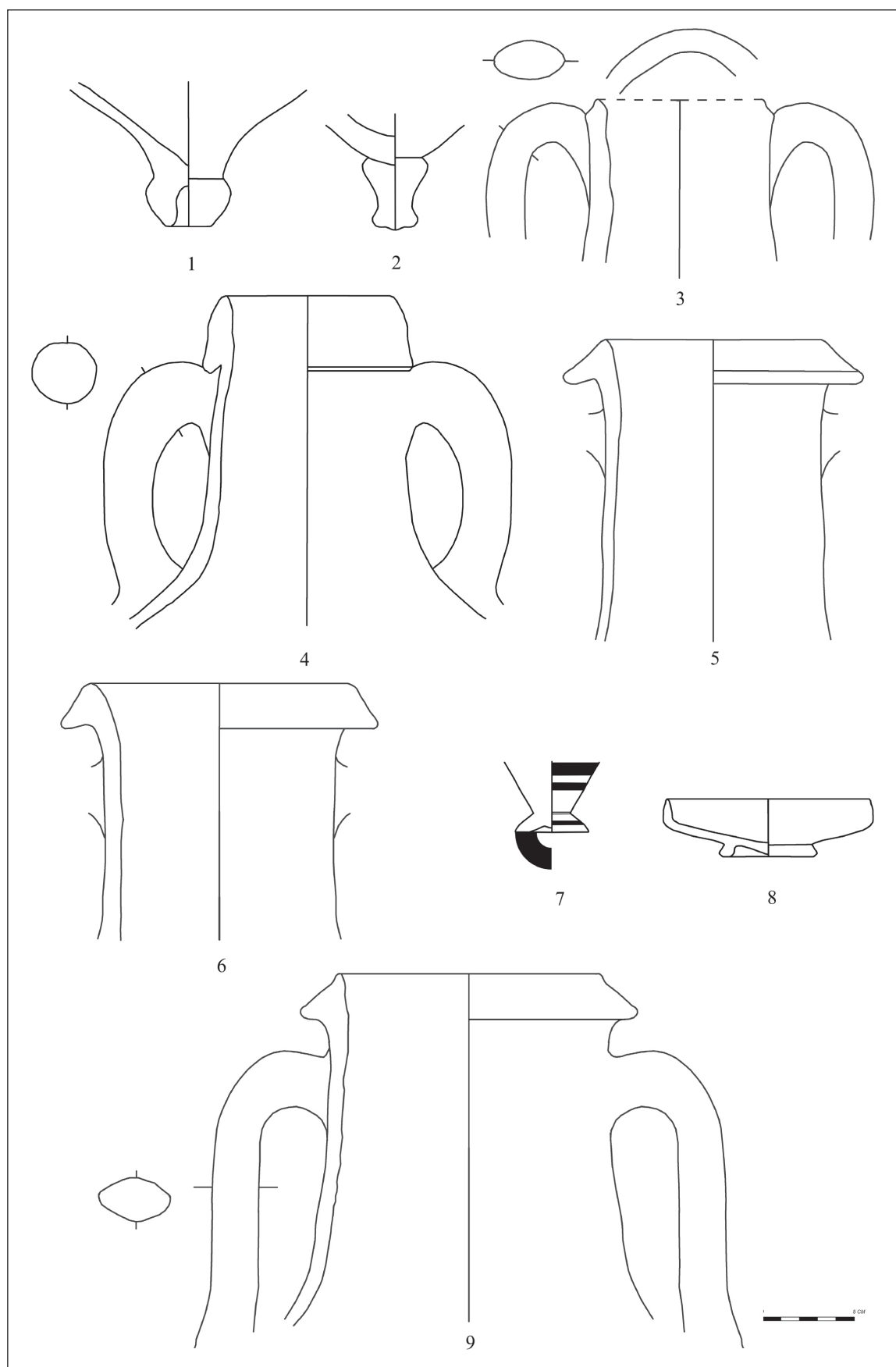


Fig. 6: Context 2403.

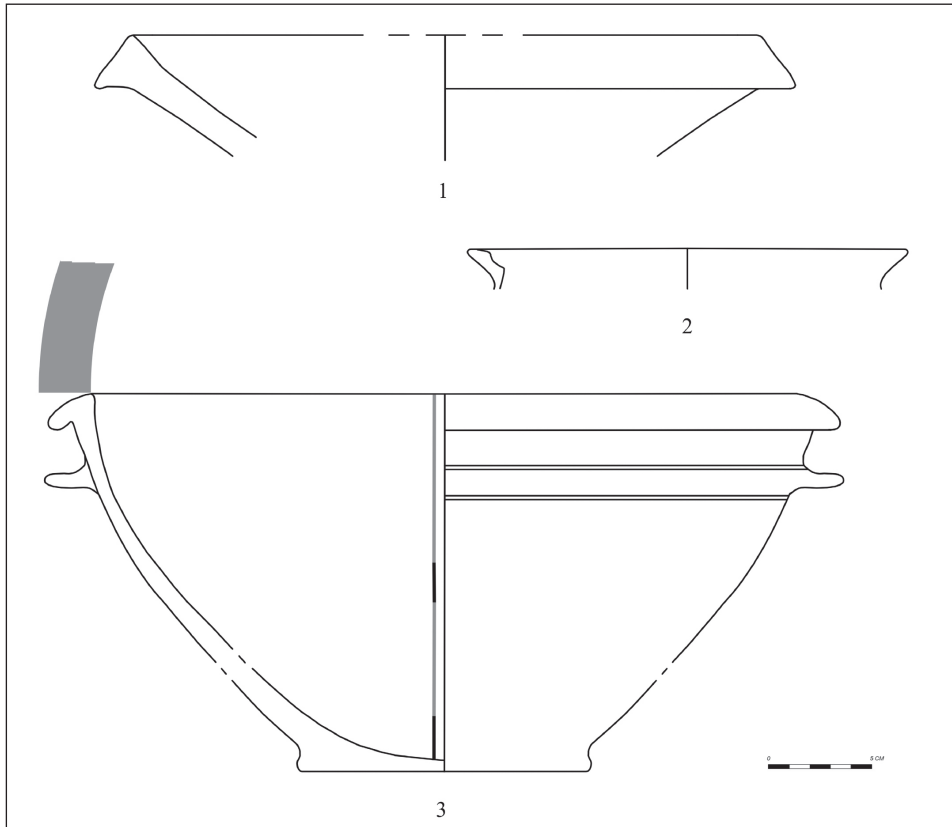


Fig. 7:
Context 2403.



Fig. 8:
Fragments of kyma kan-
tharoi from context 2403.

Finkielsztejn's period IIIa, he suggests 191 BCE¹⁷. Börker's and Burow's period II–III (240–175 BCE)¹⁸.

1552 68 (fig. 18, 1)

Cylindrical solid peg toe.

Fabric: Light pink fine clay (5YR 7/4)

»Le pied à la forme du cylindre plein «typique» de l'amphore rhodienne«¹⁹ can be dated to the 2nd century BCE²⁰.

2324 571 (fig. 19, 1)

Cylindrical solid peg toe.

Fabric: Light pink fine clay (5YR 8/4); internal resinous coating.

For comparisons and dating see 1552 68.

Contexts

Passing to the analysis of the fragments together with other materials they are associated with, the earliest Rhodian amphora found is the knob toe from context 2403 (fig. 6, 1), its diagnostic pottery suggests a 3rd century BCE consistent and homogeneous dating. Together with the Rhodian toe dated to the early 3rd century BCE, we found Corinthian A1 and B Hellenistic types (fig. 6, 3–4)²¹, as well as the earliest variants of the Greco-Italic type

17 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 190–193 tab. 19.

18 BÖRKER – BUROW 1998, 27 pl. 7 no. 166, with rose, from Pergamon.

19 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 50.

20 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, pl. C no. 15.

21 The same Corinthian types are attested in Apollonia, Albania (LAHI 2009, pl. 1 no. 4 – with a more pronounced bevel – and no. 8, from first half of the 3rd century BCE) and in Phoinike (GAMBERINI 2015, 92 no. 20; GAMBERINI IN PRESS, pl. 6, 3, 3rd century BCE).



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Figs. 9–11: Fragments from context 2403: 9. Epirote fish plates; 10. Small black-glazed amphora; 11. Black-glazed lamp.

(fig. 6, 5–6; 6, 9). The type of a small toe from the same context remains uncertain (fig. 6, 2), but the best comparisons (Corinthian type A1 and an amphora from Knidos) are dated to the same century²². Passing to black-glazed pottery, a skyphos is the best preserved shape confirming the early Hellenistic dating of the context (fig. 6, 7)²³, together with a little cup (fig. 6, 8)²⁴ and potsherds of cyma kantharoi, Epirote fish plates, small plates with vertical rims (figs. 8–9)²⁵, and a fragment of the wall of an Epirote small amphora of one of the earliest variants (first half of the 3rd century BCE) (fig. 10)²⁶. A black-glazed lamp is the latest diagnostic fragment, dating from the late 3rd century BCE (fig. 11)²⁷. Finally, in context 2403 the 3rd century BCE Rhodian toe is associated with a mortar, a chytra and a lekane with internal banded decoration (black bands on the red internal surface) that can all belong to the same century (fig. 7, 1–3)²⁸.

22 For the Corinthian type A1 compare KOEHLER 1992, pl. 2c, and for Knidos DOKSANALTI 2014, 333–334 pl. 17 no. 27.

23 Skyphos ›Corinthian type‹ from a late 4th century BCE grave from Phoinike, GAMBERINI 2016, 62–63 pl. 4 no. 53, similar shape but slightly different banded decoration.

24 The cup is very similar to some 2nd century BCE regional cups, GAMBERINI 2016, 317–319 pl. 33, but no precise comparisons have been found. It can be also compared to small saltcellar from 3rd century BCE contexts at Phoinike, GAMBERINI 2015, 92 no. 7–8.

25 All these black-glazed shapes are among the most wide-spread in regional production. In this context they are attested respectively by the characteristic strip vertical handles with rectangular tongue (›cyma kantharoi‹), the ring on the inner bottom (Epirote fish plate) and the short vertical rim (small plate with vertical rim, see fig. 13, 8 and fig. 14, 4). The best summary of the evolution of these regional shapes is the recent typology of the black-glazed local production in Phoinike, GAMBERINI 2016, the main reference for this paper.

26 GAMBERINI 2016, 70–74 pl. 7 no. 77.

27 Ag. 34 A type, late 3rd – 2nd century BCE, HOWLAND 1958, pl. 42, 449 and pl. 16, 448–449.

28 Similar chytra from Phoinike, GAMBERINI 2015, 92 no. 35, 3rd century BCE. The shape of the lekane is very similar to the Athenian lekane form 2 (shallow, ROTROFF 2006, 110–111 fig. 42, 251–253, dated to the late 4th – 3rd century BCE), but they have different handles and they have no internal red glaze; there is a similar vestigial handle on a late Classical lekane from Corinth, but the shape of the body and the decoration are totally different (McPHEE – PEMBERTON 2012, 142 fig. 62); similar rim and profile to a krater from Corinth, dated ca 300 BCE (EDWARDS 1975, 108 pl. 21 no. 616); similar vestigial handles on a lekane from Ephesus, similar downturned rim as well, but different wall profile, dated 3rd – 2nd century BCE (GASSNER 1997, 90–91 pl. 22); profile similar to a late 4th century BCE lekane from Athens, with black-glazed banded internal decoration, but very different handles (SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 213–214 fig. 15 no. 1820).

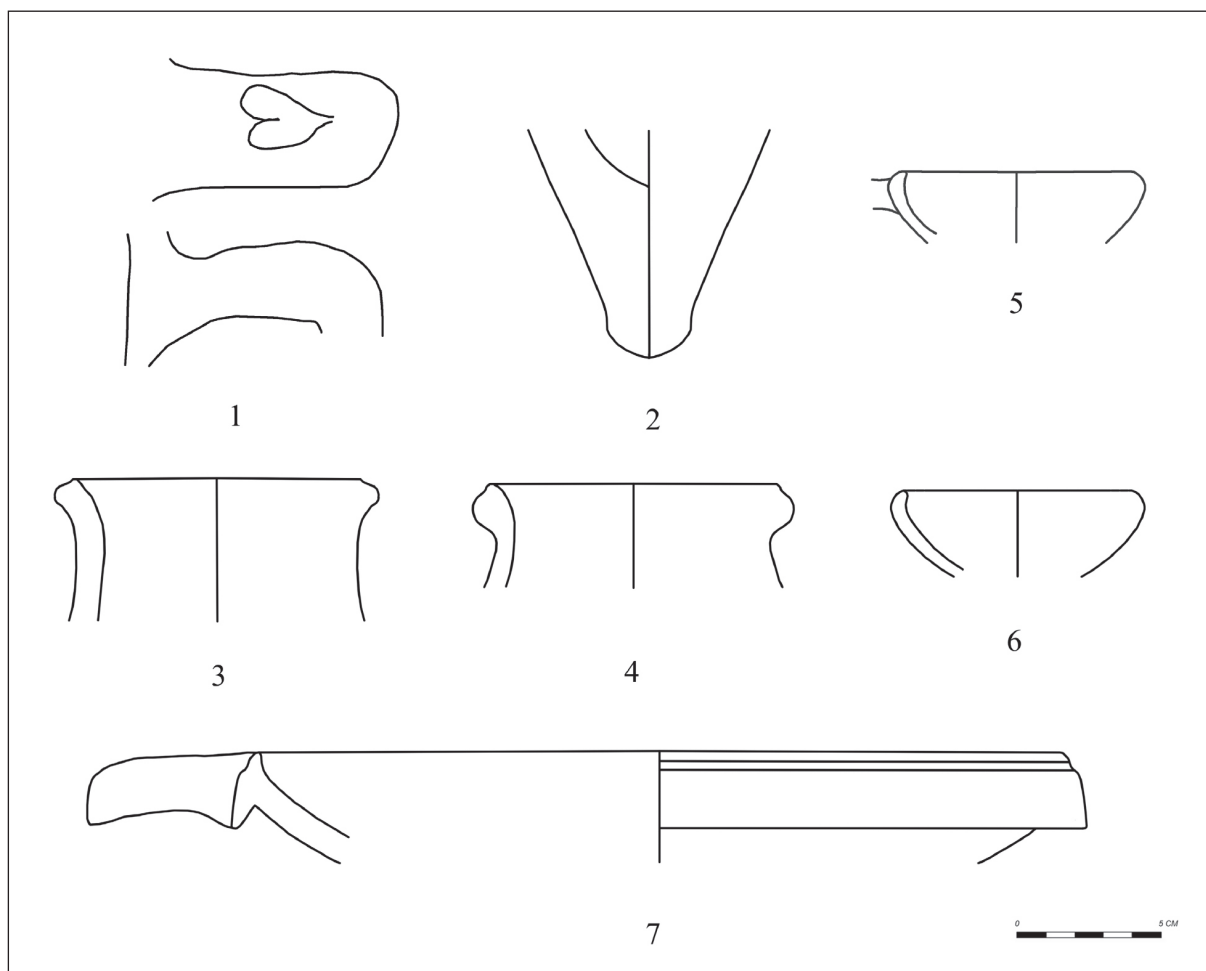


Fig. 12: Context 1602.

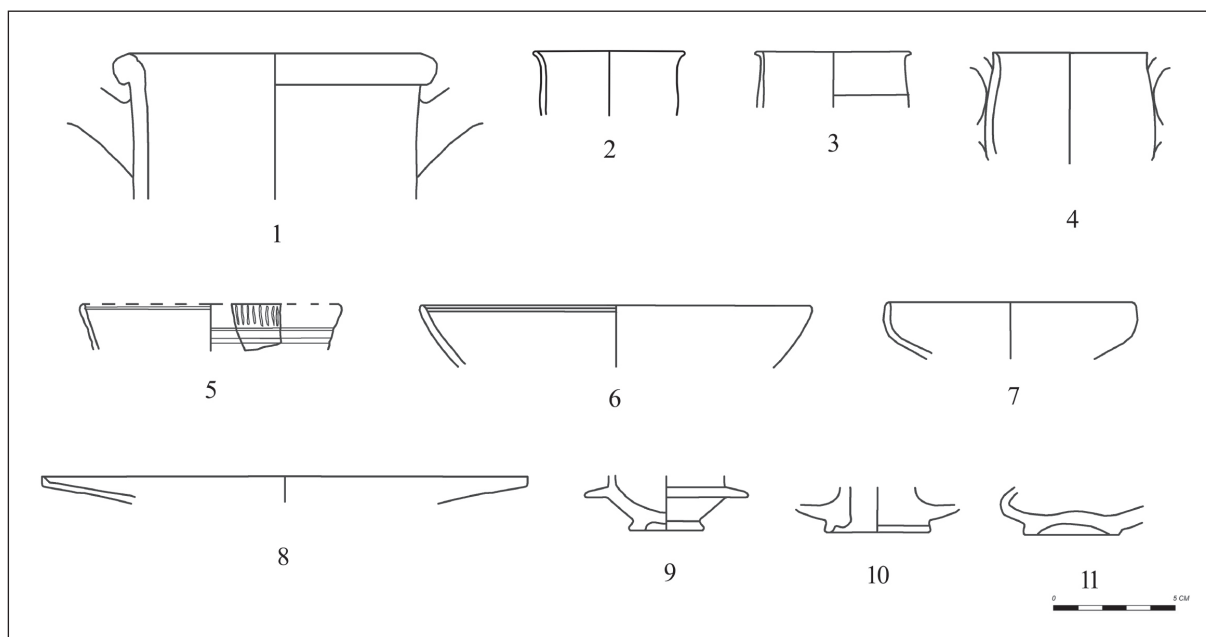


Fig. 13: Context 3349.

Fig. 14:
Context 2341.

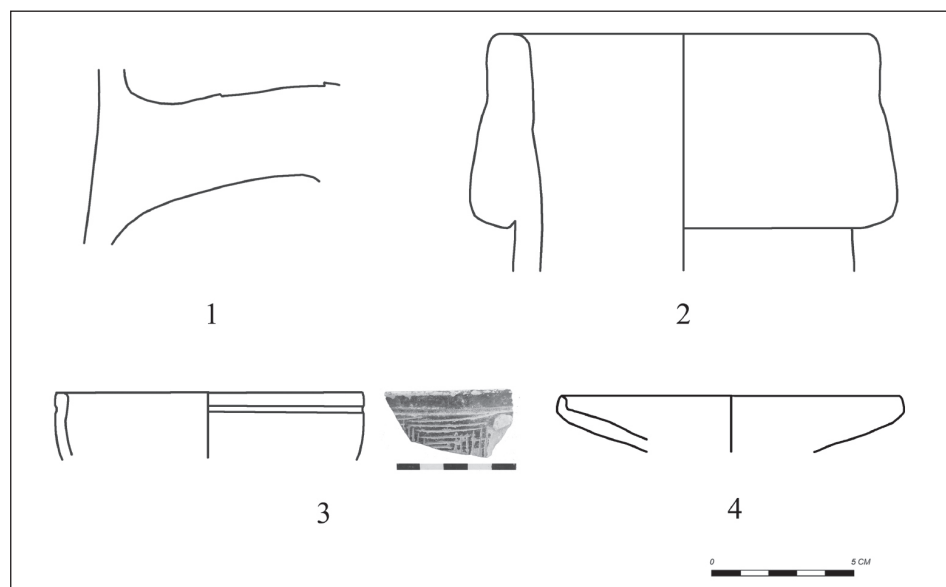


Fig. 15:
Fragment of a spout of a guttus.

The dating of the not explicit Rhodian handle with ivy leaf stamp (**fig. 12, 1**) remains uncertain, but it comes from a context that does not seem to pass the 3rd century BCE (Context 1602 Unit 21). This is mainly suggested by Corinthian type B Hellenistic amphoras (**fig. 12, 2–4**) and black-glazed one handler bowls of the second half of the 4th century BCE (**fig. 12, 5–6**)²⁹, together with a mortar that has comparisons in the 3rd century BCE (**fig. 12, 7**)³⁰.

Three Rhodian amphoras come from contexts 2349 (rim and illegible stamp with rose in circular field, **fig. 13, 1** and **fig. 3**) and 2341 (handle with stamp, **fig. 14, 1**), both fluctuating between the 3rd and the 2nd centuries BCE. Here, Rhodian amphoras are still associated with Corinthian types A1 (**fig. 14, 2**) and B Hellenistic amphoras³¹ and with 3rd century BCE local black-glazed shapes, as cyma kantharos (**fig. 13, 2**)³², conical and hemispherical cups (**fig. 13, 5–6** and **fig. 14, 3**)³³, echinus

29 Even when the handles were not preserved, the shape has been recognized by the profile of the bowls, very similar to a local one-handler bowl from Phoinike, dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE, GAMBERINI 2016, 102–104 pl. 29. For comparisons of Corinthian type B Hellenistic amphoras see note 21 and for the toe on **fig. 12, 2** see PREKA-ALEXANDRI 1992, 51 fig. 13 from Corfu, second half of the 3rd century BCE.

30 Hellenistic Corinthian raised-lip mortars, see VILLING – PEMBERTON 2010, fig. 23, 56, dated to the first half of the 3rd century BCE. Athenian Hellenistic mortar Form 1, ROTROFF 2006, 99–102. Similar mortars from Phoinike are dated to the 3rd – beginning of the 2nd centuries BCE (GAMBERINI *IN PRESS*, pl. 5, 5–6). A similar mortar is associated with Corinthian type B amphoras in Phoinike as well, in a context dated to the 3rd century BCE, GAMBERINI 2015, 94 no. 37.

31 Fragments of Corinthian type B Hellenistic amphoras from context 2349. For the comparison of the Corinthian type A1 from context 2349 see note 21.

32 For comparisons see GAMBERINI 2016, 247 no. 13 pl. 2, and pp. 54–57 for the evolution of the shape.

33 For comparisons see GAMBERINI 2016, 251 nos. 67. 68. 72 pl. 6 and pp. 66–69 for conical cups. The hemispherical cup can be compared for both shape and decoration to a hemispherical cup from Athens, dated 270–250 BCE, ROTROFF 1997, no. 327; the same decoration on an Epirote fish plate from Phoinike and on a plate from Itaca, both dated to the 3rd century BCE, GAMBERINI 2016, 264 no. 157 pl. 19, with related bibliography.

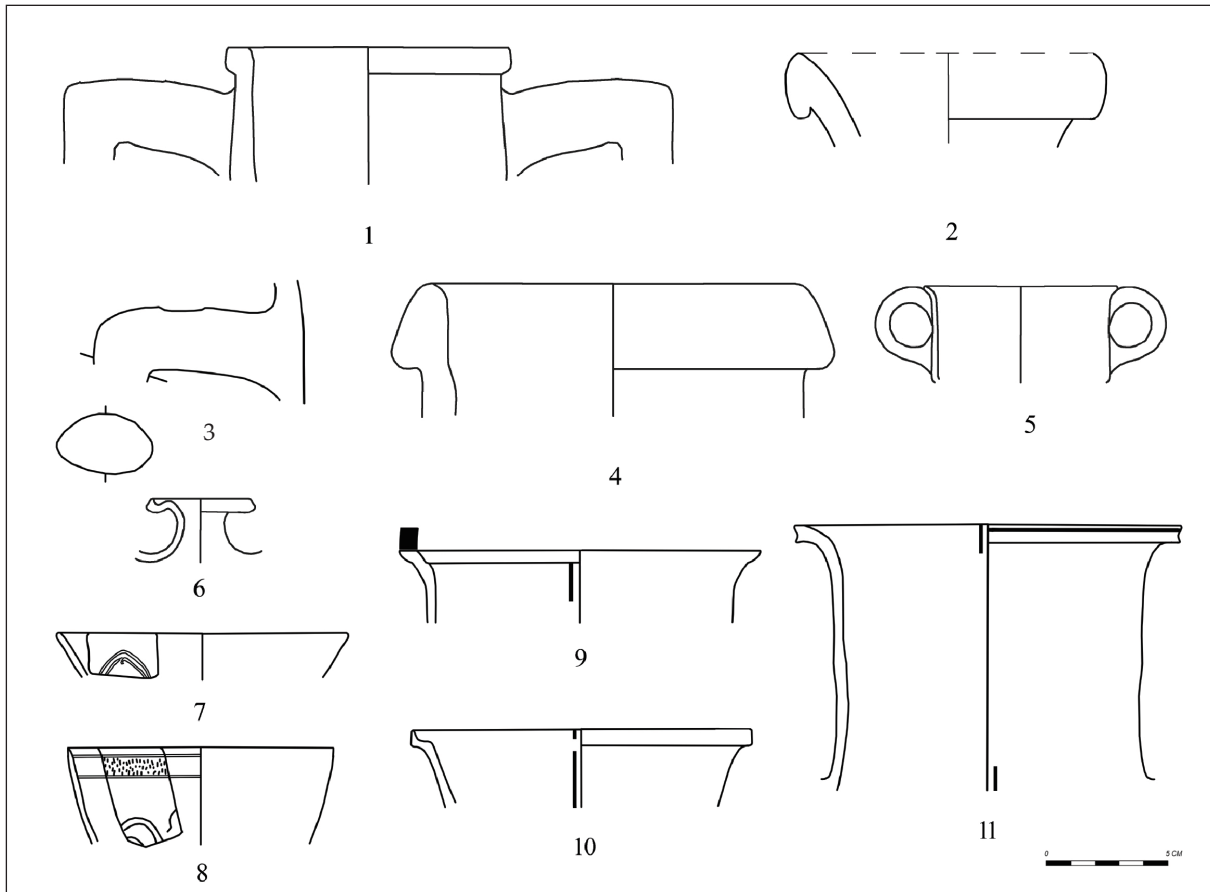


Fig. 16: Context 2278.

bowls (**fig. 13, 7**)³⁴ and a fragment of a lion-head spout of a guttus (**fig. 15**)³⁵, together with kantharoi with ear-shaped handles (**fig. 13, 3–4**)³⁶, small plates with vertical rim (**figs. 13, 8; 14, 4**), lamps (**fig. 13, 10–11**) and a cylindrical pyxis (**fig. 13, 9**) that continued to be locally produced during the 2nd century BCE as well³⁷.

Two Rhodian handles with stamps dated from the late 3rd century to 175 BCE come from the late Hellenistic context 2278 (**fig. 16, 1, 3**), where few 3rd century BCE fragments (local hemispherical cups, **fig. 16, 7–8**)³⁸ are associated with more consistent 2nd–early 1st century BCE vessels. The most interesting fragment among them is the Punic amphora

34 For comparisons see GAMBERINI 2016, 106–107. 276 no. 298 pl. 31.

35 A similar lion-head spout is attested in Phoinike, from a context dated late 4th – 3rd century BCE, GAMBERINI 2016, 281 no. 350 pl. 36.

36 For **fig. 13, 3** the best comparisons come from Phoinike, GAMBERINI 2016, 58–62 pl. 4, 43–44. The concave-convex body and the features of wall, rim and handles (higher than the rim?) of **fig. 13, 4** seem very similar to a kantharos of the local production of Ambracia, from a grave dated in the third quarter of the 2nd century BCE (ANGELI 2009, 168 fig. 11); only photographic comparisons, no drawing. See also BERETI 1997, 118 nos. 4Le. 5Le pl. 84, from Amantia, 2nd century BCE.

37 For the plate with vertical rim and its dating to the 3rd – 2nd century BCE see GAMBERINI 2016, 100–101 pl. 27–28. For the lamp see HOWLAND 1958, pl. 14, 396, Type 27 Variants (fig. 270) and GAMBERINI 2005, fig. 8.55 no. 12, Agora 34 type (fig. 269). A very similar pyxis from a grave of Phoinike, used as a lid of an amphora, compares to a pyxis from Ioannina, date 3rd – middle 2nd century BCE, GAMBERINI 2016, 205 pl. 42 no. 407.

38 For the shape see note 33.



Fig. 17: Fragments of black-glazed plates from context 2278.

rim (fig. 16, 2), which is one of the very rare attestations of western imports to Butrint³⁹. A similar dating is suggested by the Lamboglia 2 rim (fig. 16, 4) and by the decorated rim plate both local and extra regional late Hellenistic comparisons (fig. 17)⁴⁰. Other black-glazed shapes from the same contexts are the kantharos with ear-shaped handles (fig. 16, 5) and the rim that could belong to an unguentarium with cylindrical body, well attested at other regional sites in late Hellenistic contexts as well (fig. 16, 6)⁴¹. Finally, three enigmatic rims with banded decoration (fig. 16, 9–11) come from context 2278. They are not of the typical local fabric, but their origin remains uncertain. In the Albanian territory, Hellenistic banded pottery is attested at Apollonia, and amphoras with banded decoration come from the Hellenistic cemetery of Lubonja (near Amantia)⁴². For all these items, better comparisons come from Lubonja, where amphoras with similar rims and decorations are dated to the middle of the 2nd century BCE⁴³.

Two 2nd century BCE Rhodian toes were found in contexts 1552 (Unit 19, fig. 18) and context 2324 (Unit 29, fig. 19). The first context is still associated with many 3rd century BCE fragments (conical cups – fig. 18, 2–3 – and Epirote fish plates of the earliest variant – fig. 19, 4–7)⁴⁴, and among other diagnostic fragments from the same context, only a black-glazed bowl seems to belong to the 2nd century BCE (fig. 18, 8)⁴⁵. Context 2324 yielded more 2nd century BCE fragments, like Lamboglia 2 amphoras of the late 2nd century BCE (fig. 19, 2–3), fragments of rims of kantharoi with ear-shaped handles and mold-made bowls, a pyxis with diluted black glaze (fig. 19, 7), a plate with rolled rim of uncertain origin, yet very similar in shape to an Athenian plate with rolled rim with the same external groove, dated to the first quarter of the 2nd century BCE (fig. 19, 4)⁴⁶, together with two well preserved Hellenistic mortars (fig. 19, 8–9) and a chytra (fig. 19, 6)⁴⁷. Finally, from context 2324 comes one of the most beautiful fine ware fragments from *Butrint Roman Forum Excavations Project 2011-2014*. It is the rim of a West Slope

39 Compact red-brown paste (5YR 7/6), with very few traces of a lighter external coating (10YR 8/3). For the shape see Ramon Torres 7.6.2.1 type, see RAMON TORRES 1995, 218 fig. 182 no. 295. Together with other two Punic rims of Mana C2 amphoras (from contexts 2276 and 2277, Unit 21) and one Pascual 1 amphora (from context 1592, Unit 21) they are the only western amphoras from Hellenistic contexts of Butrint.

40 For the shape see local >piatti con orlo a tesa rialzata< from Phoinike, compared to late Hellenistic regional finds and Athenian offset rim plates, GAMBERINI 2016, 94–95 pl. 23 no. 194–198.

41 For the kantharos with ear-shaped handles see note 36. For the rim of the unguentarium there are no precise comparisons, but the shape is provided by the preserved shoulder/wall, suggesting a cylindrical body. For the regional diffusion of cylindrical unguentaria see GAMBERINI 2016, 124–125, and in particular for those from late Hellenistic contexts see STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2009, 259 fig. 1 and SERMPETI ET AL. 2009, 233–235 fig. 2.

42 BERETI ET AL. 2007, 135. 144 fig. 65, 2 for Apollonia and BERETI 1997, 113–114 for Lubonja.

43 BERETI 1997, 113–114 nos. 3Lu and 4Lu.

44 For the evolution of the shape of the local Epirote fish plates see GAMBERINI 2016, 90–94; the earlier variant is characterized by the groove on the upper internal rim, see pl. 18 nos. 148–151, while in the later variants the rim is downturned. For the local conical cup of the 3rd century BCE see note 33.

45 A similar bowl comes from an Augustan context from Phoinike, but the shape in local production is dated from the 2nd century BCE, GAMBERINI 2016, 107–108 pl. 32 no. 308.

46 ROTROFF 1997, fig. 48 no. 676.

47 Similar to Corinthian raised-lip mortars, see VILLING – PEMBERTON 2010, fig. 23. The chytra has a more horizontal rim than those dated to the 3rd century BCE, see fig. 7, 2.

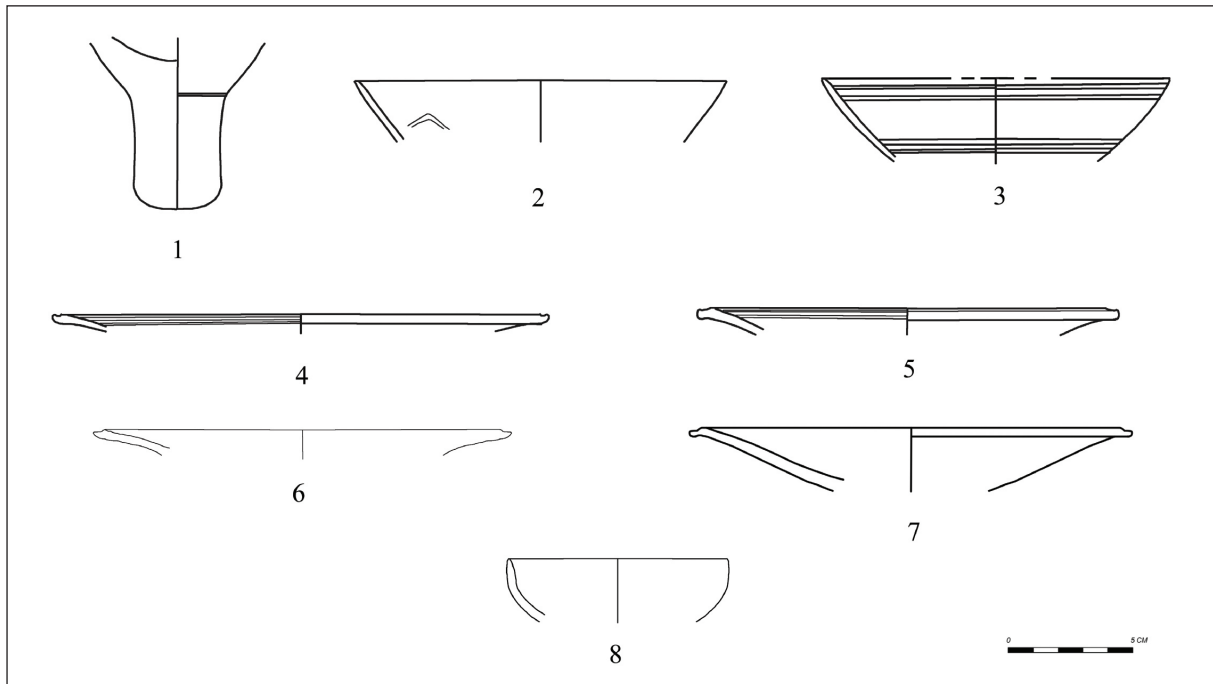


Fig. 18: Context 1552.

amphora (a non-joining wall fragment was found in context 2278 just above 2324, **fig. 19, 5** and **figs. 20–21**). It has spearhead necklaces with traces of white glaze on ribbons, incised links and white pendants on the neck, while the shoulder is decorated with incised ivy tendrils with leaves added in red, between two unglazed grooves. Under the lowest groove, traces of ribbed decoration are visible. Fabric, rim-shape and decoration can be compared to Athenian West Slope amphoras of the 3rd century BCE, suggesting that the fragments from the Butrint contexts are residual⁴⁸.

Trade

After presenting the Rhodian amphoras from Butrint, their dating and the contexts they come from, the third step in the study of the Rhodian amphoras from the *Butrint Roman Forum Excavations Project 2011-2014* comprises the evaluation of the Rhodian amphoras in the overall framework of the trade in which Butrint was involved in the Hellenistic period.

Except for the 3rd century BCE toe from context 2403 and the uncertain ivy leaf stamp, all other Rhodian amphoras found in Butrint belong to the 2nd century BCE, a crucial century for Butrint. From the study of Butrint Hellenistic pottery, striking differences clearly emerge between the early (late 4th – 3rd century BCE) and the late Hellenistic period (2nd – 1st centuries BCE), and Rhodian amphoras are among most important indicator of this change. From the late 4th and throughout the 3rd century BCE, amphoras reveal a certain restricted circulation of goods, attested by the predominance of local / regional types and in

48 Fabric: Light orange fine clay (5YR 7/6); lustrous black glaze int./ext. The rim is similar to Athenian amphoras, but the preserved wall seems more flared (see ROTROFF 1997, fig. 25, no. 414 for outturned rim and similar decoration, and no. 415 for similar rim, both dated to the middle 3rd century BCE). Similar decoration occurs on other Athenian West Slope vases, yet very close parallels for the decorative scheme and the style of the amphora from Butrint (necklaces, pendants, ivy leaf and ribbed wall) are attested in some eastern West Slope productions (imitating the Athenian models), and in particular at Pergamon, see ROTROFF 2002 (in particular fig. 1.1 and 1.2 for the comparison between Athenian and Pergamene shapes) and ROTROFF – OLIVER 2003, 43 for the discussion of the shape and eastern imitations, and SCHÄFER 1968, fig. 3 pl. 18 for Pergamene decoration.

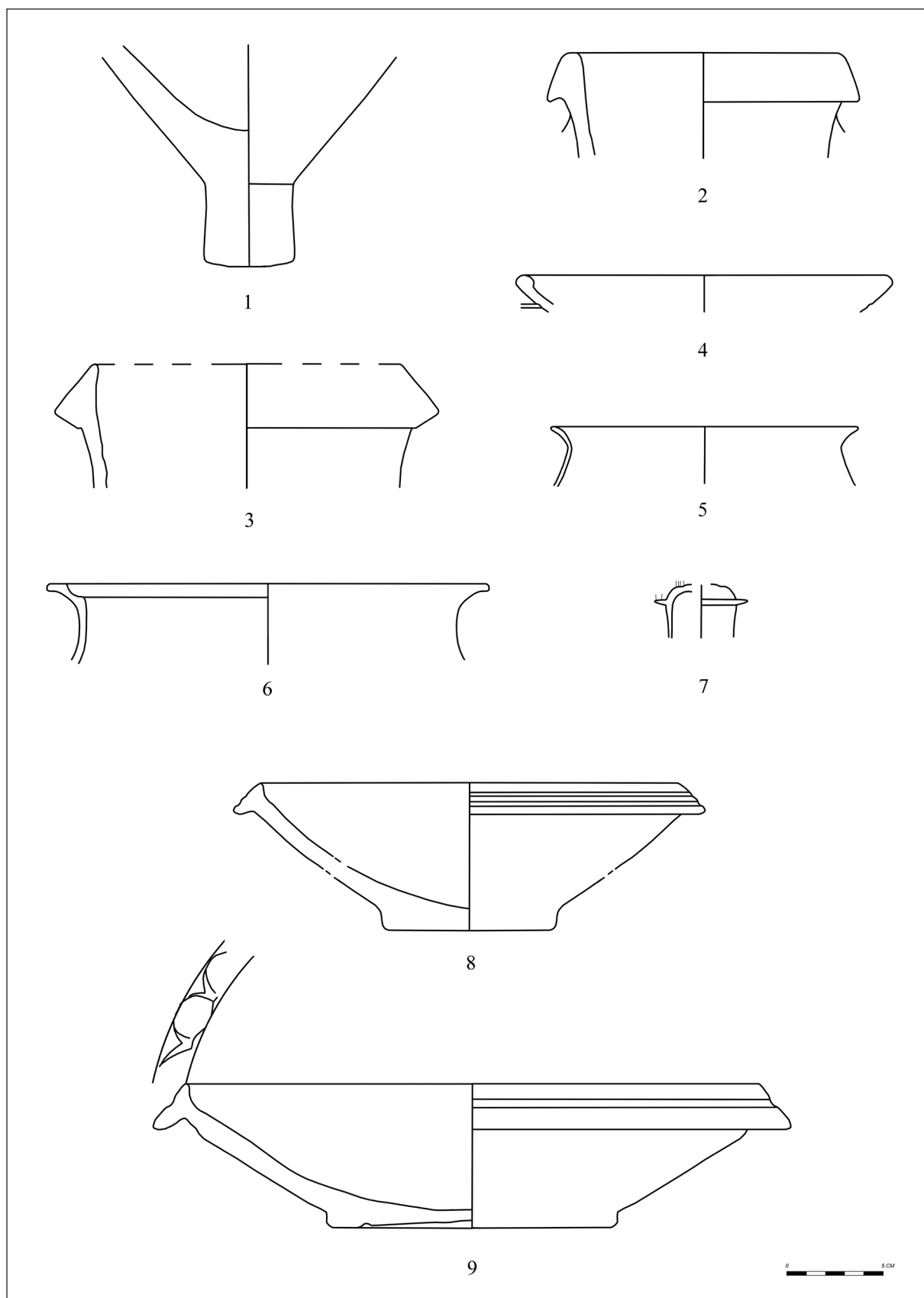


Fig. 19: Context 2324.



Fig. 20: Rim of West Slope amphora.



Fig. 21: Wall of West Slope amphora.

particular of the Corinthian type B Hellenistic type (79 %), probably locally produced⁴⁹. During the entire 3rd century BCE they are associated virtually only with Greco-Italic amphoras of local / regional or at most Adriatic origin (20 %), and the 3rd century BCE Rhodian toe from context 2403 (**fig. 6, 1**) is the only Eastern import. These data suggest that the city of Butrint was self-sufficient in wine provision and that the volume of the regional wine production met the requested needs, with a surplus for export as well, marketed in Corinthian type B Hellenistic amphoras. The same self-sufficiency can be assumed for olive oil, in this case without a surplus for export, since the few Corinthian Type A1 amphoras (3rd century BCE) are the only oil amphoras attested. This early Hellenistic agricultural development of the region is primarily connected with the definition and the strengthening of the political and commercial autonomy of Hellenistic Butrint, which integrated itself into a Ionic-Adriatic commercial circuit. However, starting from the 2nd century BCE and continuing throughout the late Hellenistic period, local pottery (both amphoras and fine ware) become predominant, and the best attested types are the regional / Adriatic types like Greco-Italics and Lamboglia 2 (80 % of 2nd – 1st century BCE). Among the now attested imports, Rhodian amphoras are predominant (almost 15 % of all the amphoras attested), confirming the importance of the spread of the excellent Rhodian wine far beyond the need of a

region that must have continued to make wine and to meet its regional needs. Moreover, the trade engaged in eastern imports is documented by the great quantity of mold-made bowls of Ionic origin, well attested in late Hellenistic contexts, after the almost absolute presence of local fine wares in the early Hellenistic period (from the late 4th century and during the 3rd century BCE). Furthermore, the low but very important percentage (almost 5 %) of Punic amphoras from the late Hellenistic contexts can be considered the first western contact evidence in an almost closed Ionic / Adriatic system with only eastern imports. The change is part of the development of trade in which Butrint became involved, starting at that moment and continuing throughout the Roman period. The trade openness witnessed in the pottery from the 2nd century BCE and throughout the late Hellenistic period, poses a strong contrast to the almost absolute prevalence of local / regional amphoras of the 4th – 3rd century BCE and reveals the involvement of Butrint in the new political trade dynamics resulting from the growing success of Rome in the Mediterranean Sea and the resulting new economic and commercial balances.

49 For the hypothesis of a local production of the type and for the problems in defining production centres in the region see GASSNER 2011 and GASSNER 2015. I suggested the local production of most of Hellenistic Corinthian type B amphoras from Butrint and its connection with the definition of the political and commercial autonomy of Butrint in a poster presented at the 6th International Meeting on Southern Illyria and Epirus in antiquity, ALEOTTI – BOLZONI IN PRESS.

Bibliography

- ANGELI 2009 A. Angeli, Ελληνιστική κεραμική από το δυτικό νεκροταφείο της Αμβρακίας, in: *EllKerEpirus*, 163–178
- ALEOTTI – BOLZONI IN PRESS N. Aleotti – G. Bolzoni, Contatti commerciali nel basso Ionio tra l'età ellenistica e l'età imperiale: i dati delle anfore da Butrinto, in: *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité 6. Actes du VI colloque International de Tirana (20–23 Mai 2015)*
- ARAFAT – MORGAN 1995 K. W. Arafat – C. Morgan, In the Footsteps of Aeneas: Excavations at Butrint, Albania 1991–2, in: *Dialogos. Hellenic Studies Review* 2, 1995, 25–40
- BERETI 1997 V. Bereti, Quelques remarques sur la céramique hellénistique provenant des nécropoles amantines, *EllKer* 4, 110–118
- BERETI ET AL. 2007 V. Bereti – V. Dimo – J.-L. Lambolay – B. Vrekaj, La céramique d'Apollonia, in: V. Dimo – P. Lenhardt – F. Quantin (eds.), *Apollonia d'Illyrie. Mission épigraphique et archéologique en Albanie 1. Atlas archéologique et historique, CEFR 391* (Athens 2007) 129–144
- BÖRKER – BUROW 1998 C. Börker – J. Burow, Die hellenistischen Amphorenstempel aus Pergamon, *PF* 11 (Berlin 1998)
- DOKSANALTI 2014 E. M. Doksanalti, Three Hellenistic Tombs and Ceramic Finds from Knidos, *EllKer* 8, 323–336
- EDWARDS 1975 G. R. Edwards, Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery, *Corinth* 7, 3 (Princeton, NJ 1975)
- EMPEURER – HESNARD 1987 J. Y. Empeurer – A. Hesnard, Les amphores hellénistiques, in: P. Lévêque – J.-P. Morel (eds.) *Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines II* (Paris 1987) 9–71
- FINKIELSZTEJN 2001 G. Finkielsztejn, Chronologie détaillée et révisée des éponymes amphoriques rhodiens, de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ. Premier bilan, *BARIntSer* 990 (Oxford 2001)
- GAMBERINI 2005 A. Gamberini, La necropoli meridionale. Osservazioni preliminari sui corredi, in: S. De Maria – S. Gjongecaj (eds.), *Phoinike 3. Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2002–2003* (Bologna 2005) 135–144
- GAMBERINI 2015 A. Gamberini, Osservazioni sui materiali ellenistici dagli scavi dell'agorà, in: S. De Maria – S. Gjongecaj (eds.), *Phoinike 4. Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2011–2014* (Bologna 2015) 91–100
- GAMBERINI 2016 A. Gamberini, Ceramiche fini ellenistiche da Phoinike: forme, produzioni, commerci (Bologna 2016)
- GAMBERINI IN PRESS A. Gamberini, Polybius' Phoinike through the Analysis of Material Culture, *EllKer* 9, in press
- GASSNER 1997 V. Gassner, Das Südtor der Tetragonos-Agora. Keramik und Kleinfunde, *FiE* 13, 1, 1 (Vienna 1997)
- GASSNER 2011 V. Gassner, Amphorae Production of the Ionic Adriatic Region, in: FACEM (version 06/06/2011) (http://facem.at/img/pdf/Amphorae_Production_of_the_Ionic_Adriatic_Region_06_06_2011.pdf)
- GASSNER 2015 V. Gassner, Le anfore greco-occidentali: Riconsiderando la loro evoluzione e l'identificazione dei centri di produzione, in: R. Roure (ed.), *Contacts et acculturations en Méditerranée occidentale. Hommages à Michel Bats, Actes du colloque de Hyères, 15–18 septembre 2011* (Arles / Aix-en-Provence 2015) 345–356
- HANSEN 2009 I. L. Hansen, Hellenistic and Roman Butrint (London 2009)



- HANSEN – HODGES 2007 I. L. Hansen – R. Hodges (eds.), *Roman Butrint: An Assessment* (Oxford 2007)
- HAXHIS 1998 K. Haxhis, Preliminary Report on the Study of Pottery on the Acropolis of Buthrotos, *Iliria* 28, 1–2, 1998, 223–225
- HERNÁNDEZ 2007 D. R. Hernández, Novità archeologiche da Butrinto: Gli scavi del foro, *Groma* 1. Archeologia tra Piceno, Dalmazia ed Epiro (Bologna 2007) 93–98
- HERNÁNDEZ – ÇONDI 2008 D. R. Hernández – Dh. Çondi, The Roman Forum at Butrint (Epirus) and its Development from Hellenistic to Medieval Times, *JRA* 21, 2008, 275–292
- HERNÁNDEZ – ÇONDI 2011 D. R. Hernández – Dh. Çondi, The Roman Forum at Butrint and the Development of the Ancient Urban Center, in: J.-L. Lamboley – M. P. Castiglioni (eds.), *L’Illyrie méridionale et l’Épire dans l’Antiquité* 5. Actes du Ve colloque international de Grenoble (8–11 octobre 2008) (Paris 2011) 243–257
- HERNÁNDEZ – ÇONDI IN PRESS D. R. Hernández – Dh. Çondi, The Agora and Forum at Butrint: A New Topography of the Ancient Urban Center, in: *L’Illyrie méridionale et l’Épire dans l’Antiquité* 6. Actes du VI colloque international de Tirana (20–23 Mai 2015)
- HOWLAND 1958 R. H. Howland, Greek Lamps and their Survivals, *Agora* 4 (Princeton, NJ 1958)
- KOEHLER 1992 C. G. Koehler, A Brief Typology and Chronology of Corinthian Transport Amphoras (Russian with English Summary, in: V. I. Kac – S. J. Monakhov (eds.), *Grečeskie amfory. Problemy razvitiya remesla i torgovli v antičnom mire, tematicheskii nauchnyi sbornik* (Greek Amphoras. Problems of the Development of Craftsmanship and Trade in the Ancient World, a Thematic Scholarly Collection) (Saratov 1992) 265–283; English Online-Version in: The AMPHORAS Project: <http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/amphoras/corab92.htm>
- LAHI 2009 B. Lahi, Amfora transporti të shekujve 3–1 pr. Kr. në Shqipëri (Tirane 2009)
- MCPHEE – PEMBERTON 2012 I. McPhee – E. G. Pemberton, Late Classical Pottery from Ancient Corinth. Drain 1971–1 in the Forum Southwest, *Corinth* 7, 6 (Princeton, NJ 2012)
- MONACHOV 2005 S. J. Monachov, Rhodian Amphoras. Developments in Form and Measurements, in: V. F. Stolba – L. Hannestad (eds.), *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period 400–100 B.C.*, *BSS* 3 (Aarhus 2005) 69–95
- PREKA-ALEXANDRI 1992 C. Preka-Alexandri, A Ceramic Workshop in Figareto, Corfu, in: F. Blondé – J. Y. Perreault (eds.), *Les ateliers de potiers dans le monde grec aux époques géométrique, archaïque et classique. Actes de la table ronde organisée à l’Ecole française d’Athènes*, 2 et 3 octobre 1987, *BCH Suppl.* 23 (Athens 1992) 41–52
- RAMÓN TORRES 1995 J. Ramon Torres, Las ánforas fenicio-púnicas del Mediterráneo Central y Occidental, *Collecció Instrumenta* 2 (Barcelona 1995)
- ROTROFF 1997 S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, *Agora* 29 (Princeton, NJ 1997)
- ROTROFF 2002 S. I. Rotroff, West Slope in the East, in: F. Blondé – P. Ballet – J.-F. Salles (eds.), *Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines. Productions et diffusion en Méditerranée orientale (Chypre, Égypte et côte syro-palestinienne)*, *Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient Méditerranéen* 35 (Lyon 2002) 97–115
- ROTROFF 2006 S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. The Plain Wares, *Agora* 33 (Princeton, NJ 2006)
- ROTROFF – OLIVER 2003 S. I. Rotroff – A. Oliver Jr., The Hellenistic Pottery from Sardis. The Finds Through 1994, *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis* 12 (Cambridge, MA 2003)

- SCHÄFER 1968 J. Schäfer, Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon, *PF 2* (Berlin 1968)
- SERMPETI ET AL. 2009 E. Serbeti – T. Panagou – A. Eustathopoulos, Ελληνιστική κεραμική από το νεκροταφείο των Οινιαδών, *EllKer 8*, 259–266
- SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970 B. A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C., *Agora 12* (Princeton, NJ 1970)
- STAVROPOULOU-GATSI 2009 M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Ελληνιστικά ταφικά σύνολα από το Θύρρειο της Ακαρνανίας, *EllKerEpirus*, 231–244
- VILLING – PEMBERTON 2010 A. Villing – E. G. Pemberton, Mortaria from Ancient Corinth : Form and Function, *Hesperia 79*, 2010, 555–638