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Trading Ancient Greek Pottery. Approaches and Methods

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Abstract: We present an editorial work focused on the key aspects of the Mediterranean trade of ancient Greek pottery (*ca*. 600–300 BCE). Reference studies and the latest research on this issue are considered to define major routes, emporic ports and the commercial agents involved. We emphasise the relevance of non-Greek markets, since they allow us to explore regional redistribution dynamics and the role of peripheral audiences in the acquisition of imported ceramics. In that sense, the pottery record of Western Mediterranean shipwrecks is covered as a case study to test archaeologically the functioning of the trade mechanisms of Greek pottery. Besides, we introduce chapters 2–14 in this section, placing them within the broader topics under analysis and hence providing a consistent rationale to the volume.

Keywords: Trade analysis, route definition, emporic ports, shipwrecks, regional markets, methodological review

Resumen: Presentamos un trabajo editorial que cubre los aspectos principales del comercio mediterráneo de cerámica griega (*ca*. 600–300 a.n.e.). Destacamos la relevancia de los mercados no helenos, puesto que permiten explorar dinámicas regionales de redistribución, así como el papel de las audiencias periféricas en la adquisición de cerámicas importadas. En este sentido, cubrimos el registro de los pecios del Mediterráneo Occidental como caso de estudio para testar arqueológicamente el funcionamiento de estos mecanismos comerciales. Paralelamente, presentamos los capítulos 2–14 y los ponemos en relación con los debates ya establecidos. De esta manera, hacemos hincapié en la cohesión de la presente propuesta.

Palabras clave: Análisis comercial, definición de rutas, puertos empóricos, pecios, mercados regionales, revisión metodológica

1.1. Introduction

The question of the distribution mechanisms and trade of ancient Greek pottery at a large scale has been sidetracked in the last years in favour of more specific studies of particular sites or focused on the resignification of a number of outstanding pieces in well-investigated contexts. This is partially due to the natural development of Greek pottery scholarship in some distal areas of the Hellenic world, like the Iberian Peninsula or the Black Sea, where the main studies on pottery distribution were published over 20 years ago and scholars have since moved to other questions (Trofimova 2007, 18–35; Domínguez-Monedero 2017). But it is now becoming more and more evident that, to be able to provide satisfactory answers to some of the more challenging questions we are faced with today, like purported chronological anomalies or the very question of the significance of Greek pottery abroad, we must have a better understanding of the dynamics by which the pots arrived in the distal areas in the first place, including trading routes, local dispersion and "marketing" strategies.

Which were the main trade routes east and west of the Mediterranean Sea? What was the nature of the pottery

trade and how was it organised? What were the drivers behind the trade of Greek pottery? What can commercial contexts, i.e. ports, shipwrecks and warehouses, tell us about the trade dynamics? How were pots redistributed in distant lands? How were they incorporated into the material culture of the receiving peoples? How shall we approach the study of Greek pottery trade? Through a series of case studies and synthesis papers, including previously unpublished material, the 13 contributions that comprise this peer-reviewed edited volume seek to answer these and other related questions presenting new insights and spurring new discussions about large-scale trade dynamics, commercial networks and consumers' preferences.

1.2. Market-driven productions, *emporia* and distant audiences

A. Domínguez-Monedero (*Chapter 2*) opens the volume with an introductory paper aimed at reflecting on the many aspects involved in the trade of Greek pottery and its study. He focuses on a specific production –Attic tableware dated *ca*. 425–350 BCE– to cover the three fundamental agents of any commercial enterprise: the producing centre, the receiving markets and the intermediaries. To do that, the author examines thoroughly the pottery record of Iberia and the Black Sea region, finding some differences but also great similitudes. The first issue relates primarily to the specific preferences of local audiences, supporting the existence of a consumer choice that favours the reception of some series, shapes and iconographies –or even techniques– over others.

The production centre, Athens, is also responsible for the stated divergences. We find instances of Attic workshops producing specific series oriented to peripheral target markets, as in the case of the Kerch vases with Pontic iconography that concentrate on the Black Sea region. This process is what business studies have coined as "market-driven" productions (Tang *et al*. 2021). Similarly, the increase in Attic exports towards the two extremities of the Mediterranean in the late fifth century BCE seems to be related to a commercial decision of Athens to exploit other markets. Such decision was related to the establishment of figured pottery workshops in Southern Italy and Sicily, what made the Central Mediterranean a less appealing area for the trade in Attic fine ware. The definition of this active commercial role of Athens occupies a central part of the paper of A. Domínguez-Monedero. Apart from reviewing the pottery record, he works on primary written sources that allude to this topic. We find that the ports in Attica constituted major trade hubs, not only for the export of locally produced goods but also in a broader commercial sense. Classical authors, and especially Demosthenes (*Against Zenothemis*, 32.1–5), describe that, at least in the fourth century BCE, many international litigations on Mediterranean trade were solved in Athens, including those involving distant Greek colonies, like Marseille or Phaselis.

Emporia and "Ports of Trade" –coastal hubs open to international enterprises and normally organised around a sanctuary to ensure neutrality (Polanyi 1963)– play an essential role in the scheme of large-scale Mediterranean trade, as they constitute the main intermediaries between production centres and distant audiences. In the last decade, novel studies have been published that either address the term *emporia* from a theoretical point of view (Demetriou 2012; Krämer 2016) or present regional applications (Gailledrat *et al*. 2018). However, these works are mostly focused on archaic and early classical emporic ports, like Tartessian Huelva, Tyrrhenian Tarquinia, Siceliote Gela or Naukratis in Lower Egypt. A. Domínguez-Monedero offers a survey of some of the main commercial hubs of the late Classical period involved in the peripheral trade of Attic vases. These are the colonies of Panticapaeum and Apollonia Pontica in the Black Sea, Etruscan Spina in the northern Adriatic, Punic Carthage, and the western Phocaean colonies of Marseille and Emporion. All the mentioned emporic enclaves share a series of characteristics:

- Located in coastal spots the topographic characteristics of which favour their independence and the establishment of a natural port. Peninsulas, offshore islands or estuaries are sought-after locations.
- Founded close to pre-existing nuclei –may present different cultural filiations– to secure the establishment of commercial relations but distant enough to preserve political autonomy.
- Integrated into three simultaneous circuits. A: major maritime routes through which Mediterranean imports are supplied; B: a cabotage network to trade between nearby ports; C: the enclave is the coastal end of a natural inland penetration route that allows the exchange of products with inner settlements.
- Classical texts and the archaeological record present *emporia* as multi-ethnic centres where a common commercial interest facilitates and stimulates cohabitation.

A. Domínguez-Monedero defines Etruscan Spina and the four Greek colonies mentioned as clear redistribution centres of Attic pottery. Concerning Carthage, written sources define this Punic city as one of the major commercial ports of the central Mediterranean (Rainey 2004, 58–60). Despite this fact, the Attic pottery record of the site is fragmentary, leading A. Domínguez-Monedero to consider the role of Carthage, and of the Punic colonies in general, as "problematic" in this matter. The excavation campaigns conducted in the modern site of Carthage over the last century have revealed the difficulties of reaching pre-Roman strata due to the uninterrupted occupation of the enclave, preventing us from having a real idea of its pottery record. However, the latest interventions in the Bir Massouda sector have uncovered many contexts corresponding to the Middle Punic period (*ca*. 480–300 BCE) from which large sets of Attic pottery and Greek transport amphorae were documented (Bechtold 2007,

493–528; Telmini *et al*. 2014, 133–136). The series and percentages represented in these assemblages –for both figured and black-glaze vases– are symmetrical to the import horizon of Greek colonies like Marseille, Emporion or Selinunte, thus evidencing the insertion of Carthage into the major circuits of Attic pottery trade.

The active role of Punic traders in the large-scale redistribution of these goods is given by the record of south-western Mediterranean sites, where archaic Greek pottery concentrates almost exclusively in Phoenician enclaves (Botto 2023), and classical Attic vases appear always associated with amphorae and tableware of Punic origin. In that sense, we present the case of El Sec, a fourth-century BCE merchant ship that wrecked off the coast of Mallorca and that we are lucky enough to excavate (Figure 1.1).

This underwater site has provided a large assemblage of Attic pottery –263 Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI)– that constitutes the production of a single workshop, that of the Black Thyrsus Painter (Garés-Molero *et al*. 2025). The recent excavation campaigns have allowed us to study the ship's architecture, which is of Semitic tradition (De Juan-Fuertes 2024). Moreover, the galleyware identified is Punic and, among the recovered products, we find a set of Carthaginian bronze coins and Attic vases with ownership marks in a late Phoenician script, hence characterising El Sec as a Punic enterprise trading Greek pottery. In short, studies on ancient Greek pottery trade must deal with a complex picture in which workshops and audiences maintain an active dialogue on the development and reach of ceramic productions, thanks to the participation of Greek pots in the major Mediterranean trade circuits controlled by Greeks and Phoenicians, but also in a large series of regional exchange networks. These ideas are explored in depth in the following sections.

1.3. Archaic Mediterranean connections

The archaic Mediterranean (*ca*. 800–500 BCE) is characterised by its interconnectedness. The existence of previous trade relations with distant territories was used by Phoenicians and Greeks in their colonial expansion towards the West. This process had a direct impact on the material culture of the affected regions, with the spread of a shared common 'orientalising' style (Feldman 2019). In the field of Greek ceramic production, we see a great development of new shapes, techniques, motifs and iconographies that rapidly evolve from Near Eastern models to a language of its own. We must also highlight the appearance of regional divergences, as most cities, colonial centres and trading posts of the archaic Greek world were producing pottery, for both inner consumption and exporting (Sourisseau 2011; González de Canales *et al*. 2023). In that sense, colonial workshops would follow the ceramic tradition of their metropoleis but adapting it to their own needs, to the preferences of their target audiences or to the influence of external ceramic productions (Mannack 2012, 100–136; Balco 2019). This complex map of craft connections and archaic supply routes is explored in the second section of the present volume.

A. Farinholt Ward (*Chapter 3*) covers the production and mobility of a specific late-archaic ceramic type: relief wares. Relief-decorated ceramics constitute an interesting subject matter to analyse the questions mentioned above. They are not products of a specific workshop, polis or region, but an "international" type manufactured in multiple centres of different ethnicity. A review of the

Figure 1.1. Selected materials from El Sec shipwreck (Calvià, Mallorca), *ca*. 350–330 BCE (Museu de Mallorca, own photographs).

different Mediterranean territories producing relief wares demonstrates that a single diffusion line with a nuclear centre –Corinth, for previous literature– cannot explain the great divergences that exist across production areas. The diversity of shapes, figurative arrangements and subsidiary decorations talks about parallel traditions with different origins influencing each other. This fact allows A. Farinholt Ward to propose a decentralised network system, as opposed to a more traditional core-periphery model. The decentralised network hypothesis is tested in a limited but multiethnic territory, Western Sicily, with positive results. Four production centres can be established in the Greek colonies of Himera, Selinunte, Agrigento and Gela. Their products are documented in the religious and residential areas of these colonies, in Phoenician Mozia, and in inner indigenous settlements, like Terravecchia di Cuti or Vassallagi, via regional trade. In the latter three sites, we also record many examples that can be identified as locally produced, based on ceramological characteristics and the use of original decorative arrangements. In that way, A. Farinholt Ward's decentralised network model is solid and original, and his contribution serves to illustrate the many layers of connections that characterised ceramic production and trade in the archaic Mediterranean.

A. Attout (*Chapter 4*) also explores the interconnectedness of archaic ceramic traditions by studying the influence of Ionian vase-painting in the production of a specific Athenian black-figure workshop, that of Amasis (*ca*. 560–525 BCE). Although this topic has already been covered by earlier scholarship (Johnston 1987), this paper offers a new interpretation based on the trade implications of such connection. Recent excavations in Zeytintepe (Miletus) have identified three examples of a new series of Droop cups by the Amasis workshop decorated with clear Milesian motifs. This fact leads A. Attout to hypothesise the existence of a market-driven production. A substantial part of the vases attributed to the Amasis workshop are decorated with Eastern Greek ornaments and they are mainly recorded in Naukratis and in Gravisca. These, like Miletus, are emporic ports of Ionian filiation. Moreover, some of the vases by the Amasis workshop documented in the three sites bear dedicatory marks written in Ionian scripts. These data, treated in isolation, support the hypothesis that the Amasis workshop is producing vases intended for an Ionian audience, hence the nature of the mentioned Milesian ornaments. However, from a broader perspective, we see that the record of Miletus is minimal and that the findings of almost any archaic Attic production concentrate in southern Etruria and the Nile Delta, as Gravisca and Naukratis were two of the major trading ports of the sixth-century Mediterranean (Giudice and Giudice 2008, 327–330). At the same time, the Ionian ceramic tradition counted with a large diffusion in the late Archaism, with its motifs and shapes being imitated by most Greek pottery centres, from the Black Sea Region to Huelva (González de Canales *et al*. 2023). Therefore, it can be said that whether the Ionising series by the Amasis workshop are a market-driven production or not, they reflect the high degree of interconnection of the different areas of the archaic Greek world via trade and craft transmission.

K. Kathariou (*Chapter 5*) studies the distribution patterns of one of the latest Attic productions of black-figure vases of large module, that of the Euphiletos Painter (*ca*. 530–500 BCE). The importance of this contribution falls within the lack of trade studies focused on Attic series of this chronology. K. Kathariou redefines the productive characteristics of this painter and his workshop that allow the attribution of new fragments coming from excavations in Antissa (Lesbos) and Hephaistia (Lemnos). This is followed by a proper commercial analysis. The overseas distribution of the vases by this workshop provides information of great interest regarding the commercial circuits of the late Archaism: the large-scale routes that connected Athens with East Greece and with the Tyrrhenian ports are maintained, while the previous Attic supply towards the South Mediterranean is dismantled due to the late-sixth-century Persian conquest of Egypt. This event would favour the trade circuits involving the Aegean islands, Cyprus and the south-western Anatolian coast. To access these markets, the Euphiletos workshop develops a new ceramic shape that replicates a local prototype, that of the Phoenician-Cypriot pyriform jug (Amiran 1969, 272–273), a highly successful vase among semitic audiences (cf. Almagro-Gorbea *et al*. 2000).

Archaic Mediterranean trade not only had an impact on the diffusion of ceramic shapes, techniques and decorative motifs, but also meant the promotion of complex iconographies that rapidly became pan-Mediterranean (Rodríguez-Pérez 2021a). The last contribution of this section explores this phenomenon (*Chapter 6*). L. Neill studies the transmission of the representation of the Hydra and Kerberos across ceramic traditions through trade and cultural contacts. To do that, she develops an innovative map-based network analysis. The resulting output offers a picture of continuous borrowing, imitation and reformulation of both iconographies. They served overlapping but different regional markets, mainly Greek and Tyrrhenian. The Hydra counts on the earliest representations as part of the orientalising Corinthian repertoire. Vases with this iconography concentrate throughout the Archaic period on sites of Greek filiation, especially in Athens. Kerberos appears in Greek vase-painting around mid-sixth century BCE and is rapidly adopted by Etruscan workshops. Precisely, most Greek vases with this iconography come from Tyrrhenian funerary contexts, suggesting that its representation had an added value on the acquisition of vases. Despite this conclusion, further research is required to determine if the asymmetrical distribution of pots according to iconographic criteria can be related to the existence of a strong consumer's choice or to a productive adaptation of Greek workshops to their target audiences, being non-mutually exclusive.

1.4. Trade routes and peripheral distribution

Research on trade routes and peripheral distribution is essential to understanding the commercial networks in which Greek pottery participates. Literature on Greek fine wares that addresses trade normally focuses on presenting the geographic dissemination of the products of a given workshop or production centre (Osborne 1996). Although these approaches give relevant information on the overseas popularity of certain series, they do not offer a complete reading of the commercial processes, circuits and agents behind it. To get the whole picture, the Mediterranean trade routes active in the Archaic and Classical periods must be defined in the first place. Motion of winds, sea currents, locations of trading posts, cultural and political dynamics, written sources and, of course, the distribution of Greek wares, but also of complementary products, are some of the many factors that must be considered. X. Nieto-Prieto and M. Santos-Retolaza (2008, 292–309) applied all these features to propose an efficient model of the pre-Roman trade networks of the Western Mediterranean, defining two major permeable circuits, a Greek-Tyrrhenian route and a southern Punic route.

The first circuit connects bidirectionally the Strait of Messina with the Gulfs of Lion and Roses following the western coast of the Italian peninsula. This route includes the main Western Greek *emporia*. Secondly, the southern circuit combines deep-sea navigation with coasting to connect counterclockwise major Punic ports like Carthage, Mozia, Nora, Ibiza and Cádiz. These two circuits efficiently explain the distribution and concentrations of Greek pottery in western territories. S. Medas (2020) has recently developed an updated proposal that integrates the whole Mediterranean basin but focuses on archaic Phoenician trade. We part from both proposals, complementary reference works (Dies-Cusí 1994 and 2005; Giudice and Giudice 2008; Beresford 2012; Strauss 2013; Leidwanger and Knapett 2018; Mauro 2014 and 2019; Garés-Molero 2023) and the papers included in this volume to propose an integrated model that covers the major routes of Greek pottery trade *ca*. 600–300 BCE (Figure 1.2).

Regional redistribution networks also constitute a substantial dimension to consider. The theoretical studies of M. Patton (1996), and of P. Horden and N. Purcell (2000) present cabotage –that is to say, coastal shipping between nearby ports– as the commonest expression of maritime trade of the Ancient Mediterranean. Even major routes, for the most part, can be partly analysed as a concatenation of cabotage operations. According to this model, once products reached a trading post, they may enter a second commercial circuit: another large-scale maritime route, a regional cabotage line or a local inland network. The latter two are necessary to explain the dissemination of most overseas findings of Greek pottery. Despite this fact, regional distribution networks can be difficult to characterise and, because of that, studies on Greek pottery rarely cover them. Research on peripheral Mediterranean territories is changing this view, and we now count with scientific publications that define regional distribution networks in northern Greece and Thrace (Manakidou and Avramidou 2019; Tsiafaki *et al*. 2022), the Gulf of Lion (Bats 1990; Sacchetti and Sourisseau 2013) and the Iberian Peninsula (Jiménez-Ávila and Ortega-Blanco 2004; Ferreira 2022; Garés-Molero and Pulido-González 2023).

The late archaic shipwrecks documented in the Western Mediterranean allow us to reconstruct how this commercial system of interconnected circuits worked (Figure 1.2). Near the coast of Gela, two Greek commercial ships were found in the year 1988 (Panvini 2001). We focus on Gela 1 (*ca*. 500–480 BCE) due to the information it offers. The recovered ceramic cargo (102 MNI) is mainly made up of tableware and transport amphorae produced in East Greek workshops, Laconia, Corinth, Attica and Magna Graecia. However, such a diverse cargo must not be interpreted as the result of the ship doing numerous stops in different Aegean and Southern Italian ports. Ethnoarchaeology shows that pre-industrial deep-sea vessels had to be stowed at once to distribute the cargo's weight to achieve correct flotation and hence in a harbour with specific infrastructures (Nieto-Prieto 1997). Therefore, the loading of Gela 1 had to take place in a single emporic port, possibly located in Sicily or Magna Graecia, where all the recorded productions could be easily found as the result of previous commercial enterprises (Figure 1.3). From these areas, ships like Gela 1 trading Aegean and Southern Italian products would follow the western littoral of Italy to reach their destination port. Main Campanian and Tyrrhenian coastal hubs like Cuma, Gravisca or Fonteblanda were plausible final destinations, judging by the late archaic import record of these sites (Ciampoltrini 2018, 148–149; Bisciotti *et al*. 2022). The shipwrecks of Giglio, located near Orbetello (Bound 1991), and of Circeo, found close to the island of Ischia (Gianfrotta 1989), are clear examples of the high commercial traffic of this route in the sixth century BCE.

Other trade initiatives headed upper north to the Gulf of Lion. The east coast of the gulf before reaching Marseille lists one of the greatest concentrations of ancient shipwrecks of the whole Mediterranean. Among them, we highlight the late archaic ship of Pointe Lequin 1A (*ca*. 520–500 BCE) for its large ceramic shipment (Long *et al*. 1992). Tableware constitutes the bulk of the cargo, with 2550 examples. Despite the elevated number, the great majority can be grouped in four typological sets: Western Ionian B2 cups (64.54 per cent), Attic black-glaze cups of type C (9.34 per cent), Attic patterned Cassel cups (8.21 per cent) and Attic black-figure eyecups (7.34 per cent). In other words, these are large production sets that are traded together, implying that all the intermediaries between the workshops of origin and the intended destination, conceived these sets as single indivisible products. Regarding transport amphorae, they sum 90 examples and present similar origins to the record of Gela 1, but now Etruscan amphorae are represented. These data suggest

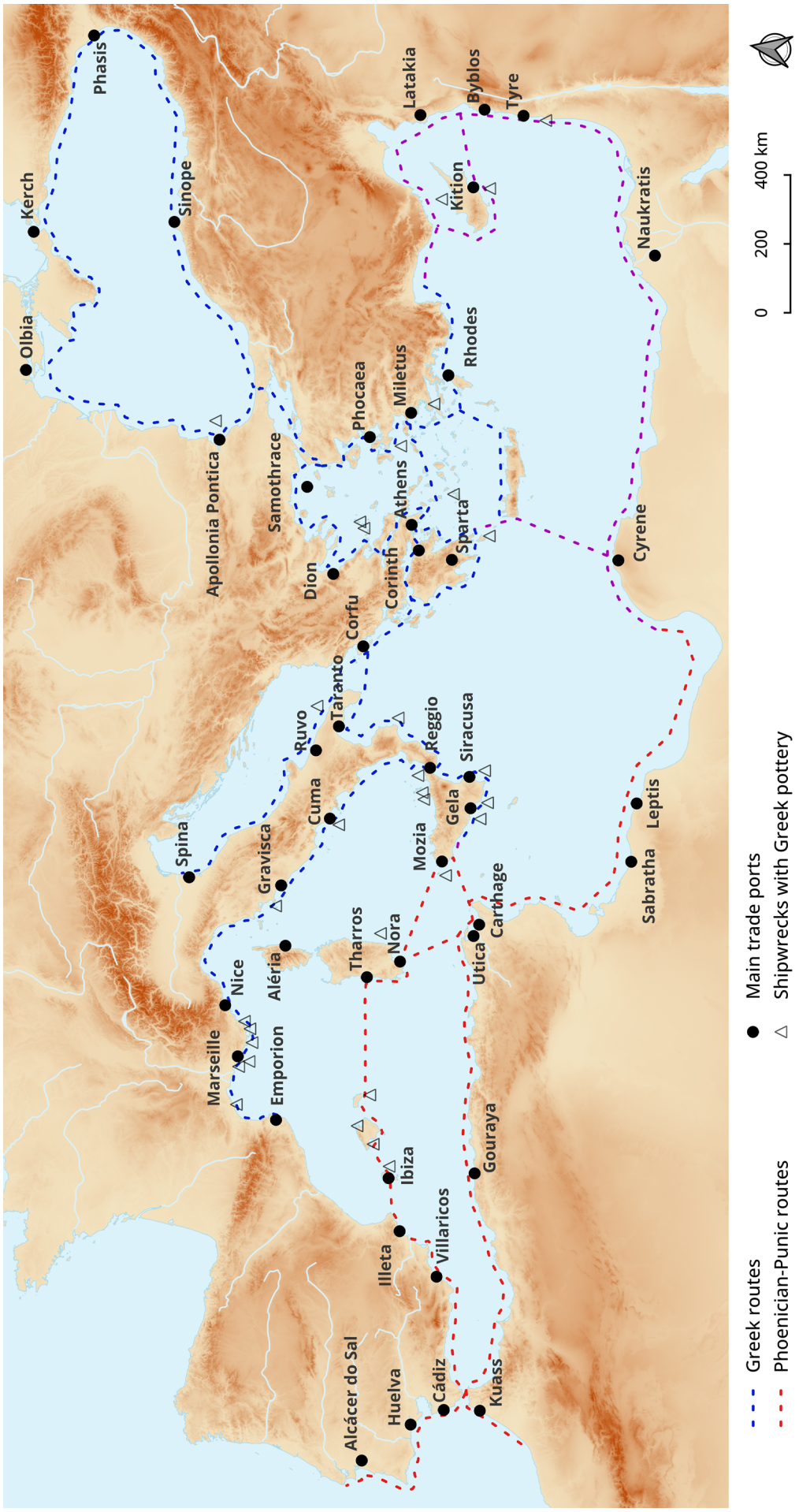

Figure 1.2. Major Mediterranean trade circuits, *ca.* 600–300 BCE: an integrated proposal. Work by A. Garés-Molero. Ancient coastlines are shown.

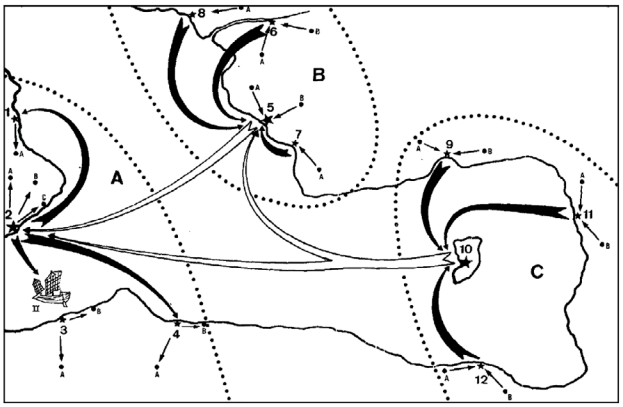

Figure 1.3. A theoretical model of maritime trade organisation in antiquity (After Nieto-Prieto *et al*. 1989).

Point Lequin 1A was stowed in a Tyrrhenian port, acquiring products brought by Greek commercial ships and Etruscan goods that would be produced nearby or have reached the commercial hub by cabotage or inland trade.

The last site considered is Cala Sant Vicenç shipwreck (*ca*. 510–500 BCE), on the north coast of Mallorca (Nieto-Prieto and Santos-Retolaza 2008), as it illustrates a commercial enterprise of a slightly different nature. Archaeologists recovered a significant cargo of tableware and transport amphorae that, in general terms, is in line with the record of the late archaic shipwrecks mentioned above, as Attic, Aegean, Southern Italian and Etruscan workshops are represented with a total of 78 individuals (Figure 1.4.A). Of special interest is a homogeneous assemblage of 13 Ionian cups –B2 and B3a types– recovered from the shipwreck, illustrating once more that ancient trade was based on the exchange of complete productive sets. Archaeometric analysis has been performed on some of these and other vases from Point Lequin 1A and from Emporion (Krotscheck 2015). The result from this study is that all the sampled cups come from the same Magna Graecian workshop, evidencing once more the reach and cohesion of Greek commercial enterprises along the Tyrrhenian route, and therefore, the consolidation of this circuit in the Late Archaic period. In addition, the ceramic record of the site is completed with a large set of Iberian wine amphorae from the *hinterland* of Emporion –29 MNI– and with nine examples of tableware produced by Massaliote and Emporitan workshops (Figure 1.4.B) (Nieto-Prieto and Santos-Retolaza 2008: 102–119). These western vases are considered part of the sailors' galleyware, as they show clear signs of use on board and mending, what would indicate that the Greek colony of Emporion was the origin port of this commercial enterprise.

Further, the site of Cala Sant Vicenç falls away from major commercial routes and hence must be interpreted as a trade initiative inserted into regional redistribution circuits that would allow the exchange of products from the gulfs of Roses and Lion towards the local markets of the Balearic Islands. All things considered, the largely neglected western record of late archaic shipwrecks offers precious information to reconstruct the pan-Mediterranean and regional mechanisms through which Greek pottery was traded overseas.

The papers included in the third section of this volume advance our understanding of the development of the late archaic trade networks into the Classical period in both extremities of the Mediterranean world. R. Morais, D. Ferreira and C. Mauro (*Chapter 7*) offer an interesting study

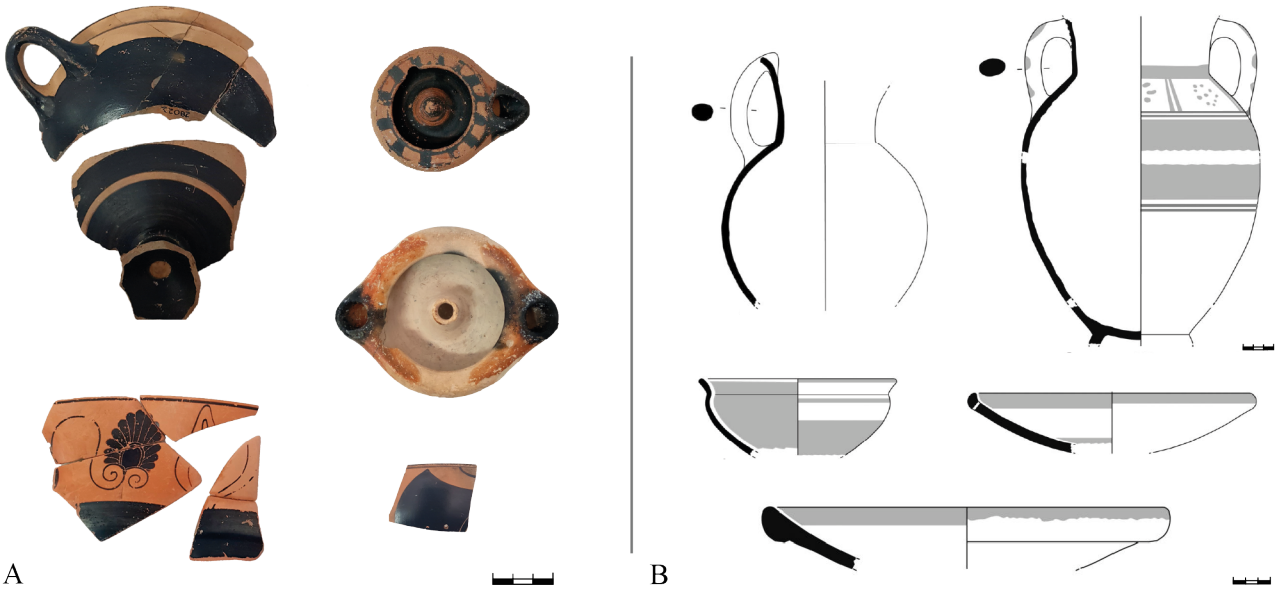

Figure 1.4. Selected tableware from Cala Sant Vicenç shipwreck (Pollença, Mallorca), *ca*. 520–500 BCE. A. Oil-lamp and Ionian cups of Magna Graecian origin, Western double-decker lamp, Chalcidian black-figure cup, and fragment of Attic black-figure eyecup with repair holes. B. Emporitan gray oinochoe and Massaliote painted wares (Museu de Mallorca. Own photographs. Drawings by M. Santos-Retolaza).

considering both the functioning of the Attic export system and the distribution of Athenian vases towards Atlantic territories, mainly the coast of modern-day Portugal. For that aim, they first present a full review of the ports and kilns of Attica active *ca*. 500–300 BCE. This approach is of interest because it opens the possibility of the existence of new departure points for overseas enterprises trading with Attic products and of coastal kilns aimed at supplying such enterprises. Secondly, major Mediterranean routes are re-evaluated and the distribution process followed by these products towards Atlantic ports are covered. The results evidence the existence of a complex trade network used by Punic merchants to trade Attic vases and other imports with local markets in exchange for metals and other raw materials, hence inviting us to consider these territories as non-peripheral areas of Mediterranean trade circuits.

The study of the import record of Western Mediterranean sites also contributes to the characterisation and dating of Attic fine-ware series. In that sense, we highlight the contribution of A. Garés-Molero, M. Chidiroglou and P. Huerta-Segovia (*Chapter 8*). Specialised literature established the end of the production of Athenian black-figure vases in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE. However, most of the cup-skyphoi in this technique found in western territories are documented in late-fifth-century contexts. To account for this phenomenon, the authors analyse the pottery record from Athens and the Iberian Peninsula. They establish the continuity in the production of late Attic black-figure cup-skyphoi throughout the fifth century BCE, with a final series that is only documented in the Western Mediterranean. This late production, previously unattributed, is characterised as a new workshop, the *Ullastret Group*, with four distinguishable hands. We can relate this circumstance to the existence of Attic series that are rare in the Athenian record but abundant in peripheral contexts, as is the case of black-glaze inset-lip cups of *Cástulo* type, which seem to be oriented to Iberian and Punic audiences (Shefton 1990). In the second place, a commercial study of the Ullastret Group is carried out, defining two lines of maritime supply, the main ports receiving these products and a series of inland routes operated by local merchants. In that sense, this study emphasises the importance of considering well-excavated contexts from overseas territories to characterise Attic series, as they may offer original information worth cross-checking with the Athenian record. At the same time, the important role of local agents in the inner distribution of Attic pottery is emphasised.

The inland redistribution of Greek imports in the Iberian Peninsula is the central topic of the paper by G. Pulido-González, P. Miguel-Naranjo and E. Rodríguez-González (*Chapter 9*). The Guadiana River is one of the main fluvial courses of the Peninsula and, in its fertile middle valley, a local Tartessian community flourished *ca*. 600–400 BCE. This culture stands out for its grand public large buildings where large volumes of Mediterranean imports are recorded, including hundreds of Attic vases, Macedonian glassware, Etruscan bronzes and even a sculpture made of Pentelic marble. This import record is of greater interest if we consider that the Middle Guadiana Valley is more than 200 km away from the closest harbour. This extraordinary situation has led researchers to test the possible ports and inland routes responsible for this supply. Import horizons, paleolandscapes, traditional roads and settlement models are some of the features covered with interesting results. A south-north route following the fluvial valley to the Gulf of Cádiz postulates itself as the more optimal solution, linking the described supply with Punic trade. However, the co-existence of multiple inner circuits cannot be excluded. This contribution, therefore, reflects the high degree of complexity of inland trade, which can be paralleled to the described sophistication of maritime circuits.

Similar scenarios are also recorded in the other extremity of the Mediterranean. Precisely, *Chapter 10* explores this phenomenon in Northern Greece and the Black Sea region. D. Tsiafaki, Y. Mourthos, N. Michalidou and M. Karta present a holistic approach to the reception of Attic pottery in ancient Thrace. For this purpose, an innovative analysis is conducted by implementing a data management software of their own, AtticPOT. This approach allows the definition of Apollonia Pontica as the main entry port of Attic pottery. From this point, imported ceramics would be redistributed into the inner settlements of the Maritza and Tunja basins. Concerning regional consumption practices, specific regional preferences can be established in terms of shapes, functionality and iconographies, and also in differentiated patterns of use. In that way, ancient Thrace can be considered a highly productive region for studying Attic pottery trade and consumption. At the same time. AtticPOT is regarded as an interesting tool to address and present these complex phenomena more handily. An open-access version of it would be of great help to the research community and, with the inclusion of further territories, it could become the future of data management in our field of studies, along with the Beazley Archive Pottery Database *(BAPD)*.

1.5. Regional markets, local uses

The consumption of Greek pottery is a complex phenomenon to cover, as it comprises different but interrelated socio-cultural and economic dimensions. Supply-and-demand dynamics (Langridge-Noti 2015), the possibility of the consumers' choice (Carpenter *et al*. 2016), local tastes, beliefs and patterns of use (Kopytoff 1986) are some of the factors influencing the final acquisition and consumption of imported products. Greek pottery reached a plurality of markets and audiences that differ significantly in the appreciation, interaction and use of certain ceramic shapes, types or productions (Paleothodoros 2012 and 2022; Schmidt and Stähli 2012; Walsh 2014). In that sense, approaches that study regional and/or micro-contextual evidence must be prioritised, as a proper understanding of the immediate conditioning factors surrounding the use of

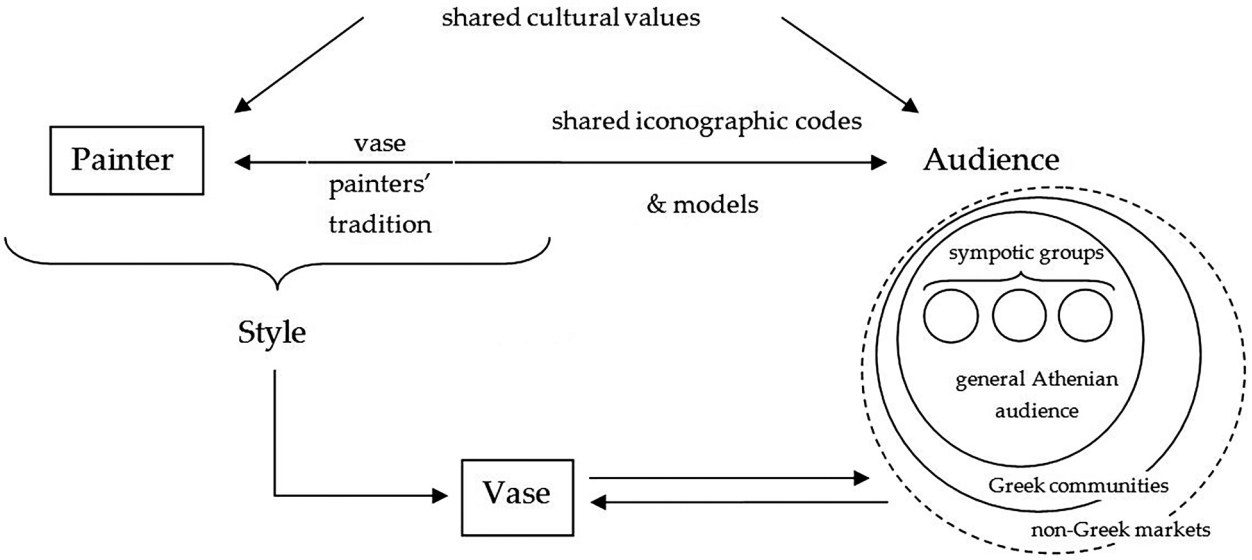

Figure 1.5. An integrated scheme of the dynamics of production - visual consumption of Attic figured vases (after Ulieriu-Rostás 2013).

pottery is essential to address the study of consumption dynamics. In recent years, innovative works on this matter have been carried out. We find studies focused on the ancient curation of Greek vases in peripheral territories (Reiterman 2016; Rodríguez-Pérez 2021b), papers that explore the social use of Attic pottery in specific sites (Smith and Volioti 2019; Amorós-López and Vives-Ferrándiz 2022) and cultural areas (Peruzzi 2016; Bundrick 2019), and some others that provide a conceptual framework to the reading of painted-pottery iconographies by non-Greek audiences (Langridge-Noti 2013; Volioti 2017; Figure 1.5).

Precisely, the last section of the present volume is devoted to exploring the question of Greek pottery consumption, with four contributions focused on Iberian and Italic audiences. M. I. Moreno-Padilla (*Chapter 11*) examines the socio-cultural value of Attic red-figure bell-kraters among the Iberian populations of the Upper Guadalquivir region. The pottery assemblages of a series of aristocratic burials are studied to achieve this. Attic kraters constitute representational objects within these contexts at two levels. In the first place, they are used as funerary urns and seem to have undergone a selection process. Secondly, kraters are integrated into the memorial heritage of the Guadalquivir communities, since several instances of delayed depositions are recorded. At the same time, M. I. Moreno-Padilla characterises the existence of Iberian fourth-century workshops producing local vases inspired by anachronic krater prototypes.

There are other Iberian territories where necropoleis do not exist and hence Greek vases undergo different socialisation processes. This is the case of ancient Edetania, studied by A. Macián-Fuster (*Chapter 12*). This region is located on the central Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula, though not integrated into major maritime trade circuits. Despite this fact, the arrival of Greek imports, mainly Attic, from the Late Archaic to the Hellenistic periods can be defined through the study of the pottery record of Edetanian sites. Greek vases concentrate on aristocratic *oppida,* linked to communal practices of conspicuous consumption. They are also found in port enclaves and in natural open spaces linked to religious practices. A selection process of certain productions above others seems to have existed, as most recorded vases correspond to black-glaze series that find clear functional and formal parallels within the local ceramic repertoire. Despite this fact, is not clear whether the local audiences are responsible for that selection or, most possibly, are the intermediaries, either Punic or Greek, who trade products according to the tastes of their target markets: we have observed similar dynamics in all the other areas covered in this volume. All in all, although further methodological development is needed to cover this issue completely, the papers of M. I. Moreno-Padilla and A. Macián-Fuster give us a good understanding of the complex selection and resignification processes involving the reception of Attic vases in the Iberian world, a distant but highly connected region to Greek production centres.

The audiences of Tyrrhenian Etruria are the main target markets for the Attic pottery industry. This strong commercial relationship would incentivise Athenian workshops to adapt part of their production to the traditional shapes and iconographies of the Etruscans, an issue that has been widely covered by literature since the eighteenth-century CE (Rodríguez-Pérez *et al*. 2016). But, is this the situation with other non-Greek Italic markets? The last contributions of the volume address this issue with the cases of Peucezia and Etruria Padana. E. Giudice and G. Giudice (*Chapter 13*) study the commercial relationship between Athens and the Peucetian indigenous site of Ruvo

di Puglia. The analysis of the classical Attic pottery curated at the Jatta Museum allows to examine this question. Productions dated *ca*. 410–370 BCE are well represented, as opposed to a generalised drop in the arrival of Attic imports at that time to other areas of Magna Graecia and Sicily. Moreover, there is evidence of special commissions, as late fifth-century Attic versions of Peucetian kantharoi –a local ceramic type– are widely documented and most of them produced by a single workshop, that of the Group Bonn 94A. In that sense, it is possible to argue for the existence of market-driven productions for Ruvo di Puglia, which would indicate a more-or-less direct commercial relationship between this Peucetian site and Athens. The proven relevance of southern Adriatic trade routes supports this hypothesis (Giudice and Giudice 2008, 320–322). Regarding consumption practices, an assimilation of the Greek practice of *symposia* is defended, together with the maintenance of regional ceramic types, both in local ware and their Attic versions.

D. Vendrell-Cabanillas (*Chapter 14*) presents a parallel reading of the late-fifth-century pottery record of Valle Pega Necropolis of Spina, the economic and political centre of the ancient region of Etruria Padana. This paper focuses on two specific contexts, tombs 323B and 30C, that outstand for their rich assemblages. The study of the grave-goods determines that these are representational assemblages in which the status and role of the deceased –aristocratic middle-aged female individuals– are emphasised by the inclusion of sets of Attic vases, among other objects. The assemblages seem to have been pre-designed, documenting the inclusion of specific vase shapes that are systematically repeated in these and parallel burials. A single red-figure column-krater is recorded in both graves: they show feminine bathing scenes, which connect with the performed female aristocratic ideals of the two contexts. Therefore, a selection process of the Attic imports included in both dowries seems to have taken place based on functional and semiotic principles. This selection could be carried out at a regional level –i.e., setting aside for funerary use certain types of the total imports reaching Spina– or can be related to the arrival of closed sets already designed for the Spinetic market at the production centre or in intermediate trading posts. To answer this question, a further systematic study of the archaeological record from the habitat and funerary contexts of Spina is necessary.

The present volume, therefore, presents selected pieces of research that efficiently cover some of the key questions raised by specialised scholarship in recent years regarding the large-scale trade dynamics of ancient Greek pottery, its commercial networks and consumers' preferences. It is a conscious attempt to move the focus away from the central hubs of Greek pottery production to recover the voices and perspectives of those who entangled with these goods and their traders at the distal ends of the ancient classical world. Beyond presenting the latest research on these matters, the volume also showcases the research of scholars from different traditions and backgrounds, at different stages of their careers, in another conscious attempt to diversify our field. Let's now sail over the wine-dark sea following the footprints of the ancient traders and sailors, guided by our expert authors.

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