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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH
ON POTTERY OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD E. V.



Daily Life in a Cosmopolitan World:
Pottery and Culture During the Hellenistic Period

Edited by Annette Peignard Giros

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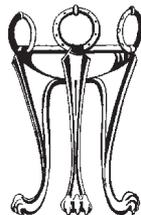
Volume 2

DAILY LIFE IN A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD: POTTERY AND CULTURE DURING THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

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Trading like a Roman?

Roman amphorae imitations in the Strait of Gibraltar region during the late Republican period (3rd–1st c. BC)

Antonio M. Sáez Romero – Max Luaces

1. Preliminary ideas and goals

Punic pottery workshops in the area of the Strait of Gibraltar (probably both in its southern and northern shores) produced Greek amphorae imitations inspired by the existing repertoires of the main eastern and central Mediterranean Greek commercial ports, at least since the Late Archaic period. Those imitations of Ionian or Corinthian amphorae became immediately part of the commercial instruments of the Phoenician-Punic cities of the Far Western Mediterranean linked to the international distribution of foodstuffs. In the case of Cadiz Bay those imitations have been identified in pottery workshops like Camposoto, where they were produced at least until the last decades of 5th c. BC¹, but other recent finds suggest that these western versions may have been produced in the Malaga region and perhaps some workshops of coastal Mauretania.

The replication of foreign transport vessels continued in those western Punic workshops in later stages, getting adapted to changes in both the political and the commercial prevailing dynamics during the Late Classical and Hellenistic stages². The incorporation of the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula to the Roman Republic in the late 3rd century BC (after 206 BC) might have strengthened and accelerated the process. From these early stages until the final stretch of the 1st century BC the production in many of these former Punic pottery workshops of Italic-style amphorae has been noted in the last decades by many authors. Anyhow, the southern area of the region, the Mauritania Tingitana, continued to be an independent territory until its annexation by emperor Claudius in AD 40–42, so it must be emphasized that the rhythm of growth of the Italic imitation phenomenon was not symmetric in every corner of the Strait of Gibraltar region (as a reflection of different political and economic tendencies, and also of a faster assimilation of Hispanic elites within the Roman sphere). Also, a lower urbanization index, a less developed monetary-based market economy and some particularities in its ethnic background would have contributed to create these differences between the two shores of the region.

The main goal of this paper is to provide an updated overview of the available data about the process of adoption of the Italic amphora types in the commercial structures of Western late-Punic (or early Roman) cities, determining both the typology and its wider economic context. Also, we will focus on the discussion of contents of the imitations and their role linked to the need of the western cities to adapt their production infrastructures to the new routes and markets opened after their integration into the Roman republican world. This paper is connected to the one devoted to the study of some case studies (shipwrecks located in southern Gaul) and aims to reflect about the coexistence in those ancient trading networks for the distribution of western food products of Roman merchants but also western Punic elites involved in the distribution of local/regional commodities³. As a result of the previous, the western Italizing transport vessels will finally be briefly discussed as part of a set of evidence that suggest a fairly fast economic and cultural “Romanization” of the provincial elites that promoted the amphorae production (especially linked to some products like salted fish and fish sauces) and the assimilation of Italic exploitation models such as the suburban or rural *villa*.

¹ RAMON TORRES ET AL. 2007.

AL. 2013.

² SÁEZ ROMERO – DÍAZ 2007; BERNAL CASASOLA ET

³ See LUACES – SÁEZ, in this volume.

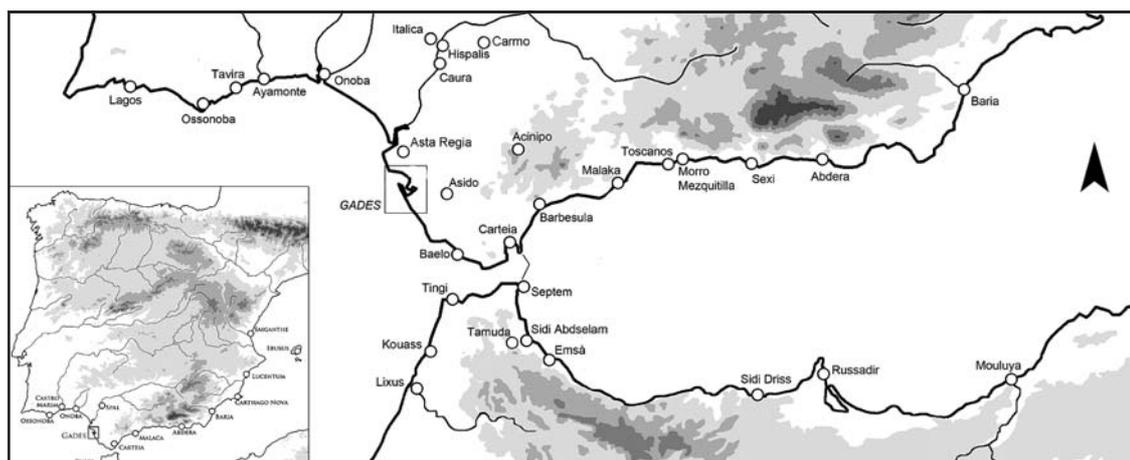


Fig. 1: Location of the main sites mentioned in the text referring to the Strait of Gibraltar region (drawing by authors).

2. Where and when: main production areas of the Western Mediterranean and typological background

Evidence of this western provincial imitations of Italic types has been uncovered with certain detail and scope in several key-areas of the region such as the coastal sectors of Cadiz, Algeciras Bay, Malaga and northern Mauritania, or even in the South of the Guadalquivir valley (fig. 1). They reveal crucial information about their typological evolution, the location and characteristics of the workshops and the relation established between the imitations and the traditional coeval regional Punic amphorae. In this section a panoramic overview of the available information about these *ateliers* and types produced is provided.

2.1. Cadiz Bay: a major production area

Cadiz Bay can be considered the main production area of the region and the most important historiographical reference nowadays. The first traces of the local manufacture of imitations of Greco-Italic amphorae were discovered in the late-80's in the workshop of Torre Alta, including among the finds the first example of stamp linked to those imitations⁴. During the last two decades much attention has been focused on this imitations not only for the case of Torre Alta, but also in numerous other workshops and industrial facilities (such as fish-salting plants), and many typological systematization attempts have been carried out⁵. The local production of Greco-Italic profiles and Dr. 1A or Dr. 1C in the ateliers located both on the island and around the coastal countryside is currently a well-known fact, and most of the dozens of workshops uncovered have provided traces of the local manufacture of those types⁶ (fig. 2).

Even so the local production of Italic types seems to be much more than a mere reflection of the process of “economic Romanization” of major industrial and port areas. For instance, the technological features of kilns and workshops also suffered deep transformations, and during the 2nd century BC some Italic kiln types were built to substitute the Punic traditional ones, as the local Dr. 1 amphorae were replacing the Punic traditional amphorae types. Examples like Pery Junquera workshop, with kilns dating mostly in the second half of the 2nd c. BC, can perfectly illustrate these changes, with kilns built with bricks without central column and the earliest example in Cadiz Bay of rectangular kiln⁷. The portable kiln flooring from Avenida Portugal, in the suburbs of *Gades*, dating from early 1st c. BC, can be also another example of these changes in local economic sphere⁸. Changes did affect as well the main industry of the city, fishing and fish-

4 PERDIGONES – MUÑOZ 1990.

5 SÁEZ ROMERO – DÍAZ 2007; BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2013.

6 SÁEZ ROMERO 2008.

7 LAGÓSTENA – BERNAL 2004.

8 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2004.

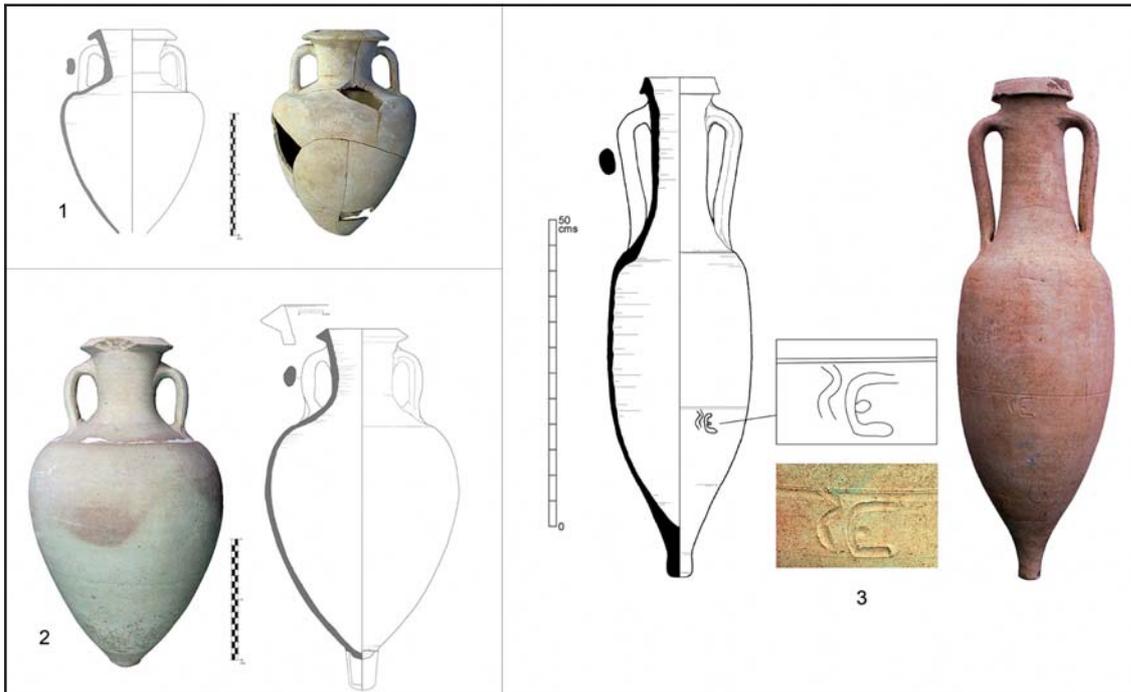


Fig. 2: Cadiz Bay productions: 1–2, Greco-Italic individuals uncovered in Torre Alta workshop in contexts of the second half of 3rd c. BC (after Sáez – García 2014); 3, Late Greco-Italic or early Dr. 1A vessel from Baelo Claudia (after BERNAL ET AL. 2007).

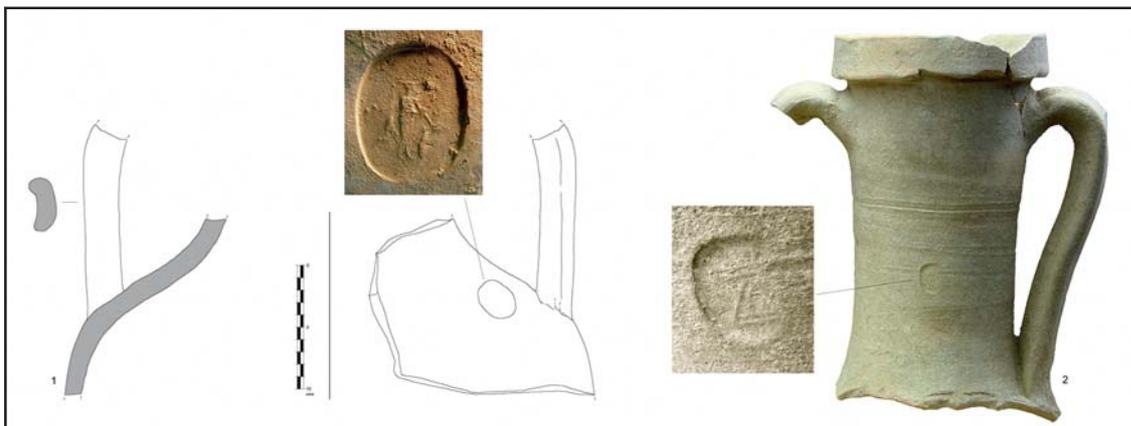


Fig. 3: Stamped individuals produced in Torre Alta workshop at Cadiz Bay: early Greco-Italic of the first quarter of the 2nd c. BC (1) and late Greco-Italic with Tanit motif stamp (2) (both after SÁEZ ROMERO 2008).

processing, and the facilities also were “Romanized” and optimized following Roman patterns⁹. At a social level, changes are also noticeable through local amphorae stamps (personal names written both in Latin and Punic [fig. 3]) and the rise of monetary-based economy (the local mint continued using Punic emblems until the late Republican period).

Roman annexation in 206 BC meant the beginning of those changes, but such modifications are not evident in the archaeological record until a few decades after¹⁰. Anyway, it seems that the Romanization of local elites and economy can be traduced, in land-planning terms, in major changes that included the abandonment of the fortified residential areas of the continental seaside and the concentration of the population in the northern insular area, which became a port node surrounded by industrial installations and the necropolis. The former Punic pottery

⁹ SÁEZ ROMERO 2014.

¹⁰ SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL. 2016.

workshops located on the island were not suddenly abandoned but declined, and from the last decades of the 2nd century BC archaeological data supports the emergence of a local version of the Roman villa rural settlement pattern. Those first attempts of *villae* grew in number and importance in later periods, occupying not only the insular territory but also large areas of the countryside nearby the bay. These *villae* usually included production facilities such as pottery *ateliers* or wine cellars, and maybe some of them were also linked in the seaside to the exploitation of salt and fishing resources. Also, from the late 2nd century BC an industrial belt grew around the insular residential area and the necropolis, connecting the fish-salting facilities with amphorae production and port docks, *horrea*, etc. In the late-Republican period and the early Imperial stage this trend crystallized into a phase of great splendor, with certain individuals of the local elites (like Balbus family, Columella, etc.) connected with the highest political and economic spheres in Rome.

The data provided by local workshops indicate that the production of Greco-Italic amphorae began during the 3rd century BC, much earlier than the Second Punic War, and those profiles continued in production without major changes until the second quarter of the 2nd century BC¹¹. During this century evolved Greco-Italic profiles turned into Dr. 1A imitations, and in the last years, into Dr. 1C versions. This later type was produced in local workshops during the 1st century BC, evolving in parallel to the Italic prototypes and becoming in the first half of the century one of the main transport groups of local workshops. Fabrics kept the former Punic tradition, with calcareous clays and moderate quantities of quartz sand tempers (and more rarely ferric or lime nodules¹²).

Other local pottery groups suffered a formal Romanization in these two centuries, such as the so-called “Kuass ware”, the local red-slip Hellenized tablewares, or even most of the series of the cooking wares. Nevertheless, from the late 2nd century BC local imitations of Italic types and Punic T-7433 amphorae were produced at the same time, and in the same kilns. The later was a successful form that was widely distributed all around the western Mediterranean basin and that was stamped both with Neo-Punic and Latin motifs. This joint production and their respective production arrangement could be seen as a testimony of the involvement of local Romanized elites in the pottery production business and maritime commerce¹³. On the contrary, the imitations have provided almost no stamps, dating the only example to the first half of the 2nd century BC. It is worth noting about these stamps that the earlier examples match with similar motifs stamped on the Punic types, and that some of evolved Greco-Italic variants were stamped with the so-called “Tanit motif” (fig. 3), an explicit picture of the cultural and economic hybridization in Cadiz Bay in those decades.

2.2. Algeciras Bay: the evidence from El Rinconcillo and Carteia

Algeciras Bay may have been another major scenario for amphorae production, fish-salting and maritime activities both in Punic and Roman times. *Carteia* was the main settlement from the 7th century BC, and it became a Roman colony re-founded in 171 BC. Additionally, from at least the early 1st c. BC many rural workshops raised around the city and in the main river valleys, probably following the *villa* settlement pattern. Recently, excavations carried out inside the settlement of *Carteia* have uncovered some fragments that suggests the existence of amphorae workshops inside the city, ateliers that may have produced T-7433 and perhaps Dr. 1⁴.

Additional evidence on the production of local versions of Dr. 1A and Dr. 1C was found some kilometers to the south of *Carteia*, in the workshop of El Rinconcillo (fig. 4). Salvage excavations undertaken from the 60's in the site uncovered some Roman-type kilns and residues of the production of local Dr. 1 as well as other Italic plain and cooking wares. The stamps found both in the workshop and in the nearby coastal site of *Baelo Claudia* allowed Etienne and Mayet

¹¹ SÁEZ ROMERO – GARCÍA VARGAS 2014.

¹² See GARCÍA VARGAS ET AL. 2012.

¹³ SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL. 2012

¹⁴ BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2011.



Fig. 4: Dr. 1 produced in El Rinconcillo workshop, and also details of the stamps found in the site and Baelo Claudia (bottom left), the characteristic fabrics (top right) and the Romanized typology of one of the kilns (bottom right) (after FERNÁNDEZ CACHO 1994 and ETIENNE – MAYET 1994).

(1994) to propose a direct link between the sites and with the Italic colonists of *Carteia*, and more recently it has been proposed that El Rinconcillo could have been a western office operated by the *Sestius* family¹⁵.

Unfortunately, excavations have not brought to light the main areas of the Republican atelier, and most of them remain unpublished or just partially published¹⁶. However, the fabrics of El Rinconcillo are quite easy to identify¹⁷, and the abundance of stamped Dr. 1C amphorae has made possible to verify the exportation of those vessels from the Atlantic to the Eastern Mediterranean (at Delos¹⁸). On the basis of published data, the available information supports a first phase of production in the late-2nd or early 1st century BC for local Dr. 1 amphorae, an a later mass production of Dr. 1C stamped amphorae during the rest of the 1st century BC (until this type was replaced by provincial Dr. 7/11 vessels¹⁹).

2.3. Malaka and the Mediterranean coast of southern Hispania

Regarding the Mediterranean coast of southern Hispania, some eastern cities such as Baria or Seks have provided some evidence about local amphorae production, based on the examination of particularities of fabrics observed for certain types²⁰. However, the majority of the available information comes from the Malaga coastal stretch. Excavations at Cerro del Mar, maybe the an-

¹⁵ BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2007; about the Italic names identified in the stamps see also LAGÓSTENA 2014.

¹⁶ FERNÁNDEZ CACHO 1994; BERNAL CASASOLA – JIMÉNEZ 2004.

¹⁷ GÓMEZ ET AL. 2001.

¹⁸ See BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2013.

¹⁹ See BERNAL CASASOLA –JIMÉNEZ 2004.

²⁰ RAMÓN TORRES 1995.

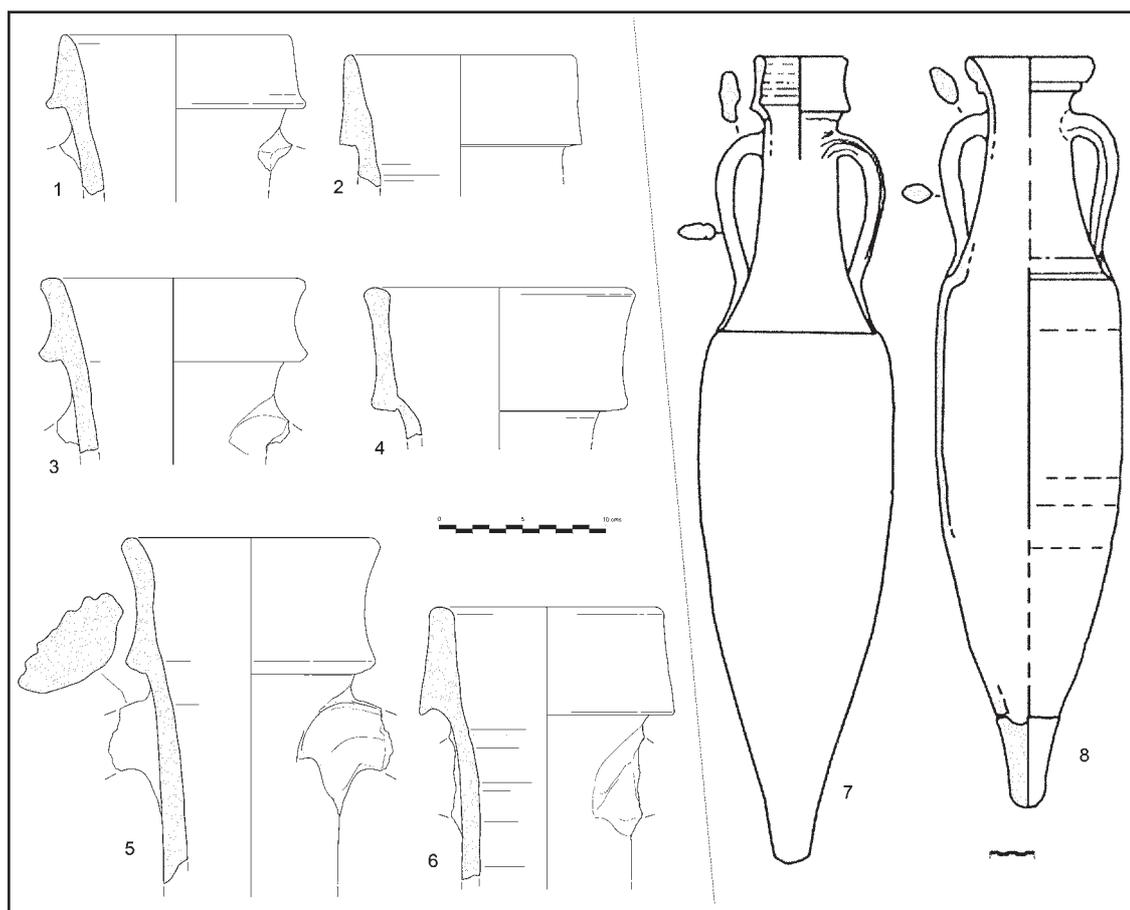


Fig. 5: Malaga Bay productions: 1–6, Dr. 1A and 1C produced in the kiln area of Carranque (after ARANCIBIA ET AL. 2012); and Dr. 1C (7) and Dr. 12? (8) uncovered in a salvage excavation in Calle Granada (after PÉREZ-MALUMBRES 2012).

cient *Maenoba*, uncovered in the early 80's some stratigraphical contexts dating from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC in which the regional Dr. 1 were abundant, together with late Punic types such as T-12111 and T-7433²¹.

In the last decade salvage excavations carried out in Malaga Bay and its suburbs have uncovered some pottery workshops dating to the 2nd century BC to imperial times, mainly devoted to amphorae production²². Some of them, Calle Granada or Avenida Juan XXIII²³ have revealed dumping pits linked to the production of local Dr. 1, T-7433, T-9111 and Dr. 21/22, and provided the first traces of local production of tablewares inspired in the Campanian black-gloss repertoires. Most likely, Malaca experimented a similar development of its amphorae production in Punic and Late Punic times to the one already described for the case of Gades, but it seems that the Romanization of the local repertoire drastically increased from the late 2nd century BC. Local production of late Greco-Italic or Dr. 1A has been attested, but from the early 1st century BC the type Dr. 1C seems to be massively produced together with T-7433 local variants. The manufacture of Dr. 1C probably continued all along the century, perhaps evolving in the last decades to Dr. 12 (fig. 5). Summarizing, the available information suggests that the Punic traditional shapes (T-12111 variants) would have been discarded before the last quarter of the 2nd century BC and replaced by Dr. 1 and T-7433 (also Dr. 21/22 and T-9111), showing a hybrid model result

²¹ ARTEAGA 1985.

²³ PÉREZ MALUMBRES 2012; ARANCIBIA ROMÁN ET AL.

²² MORA SERRANO – ARANCIBIA 2010; MATEO CORRE- 2012.
DOR 2015.

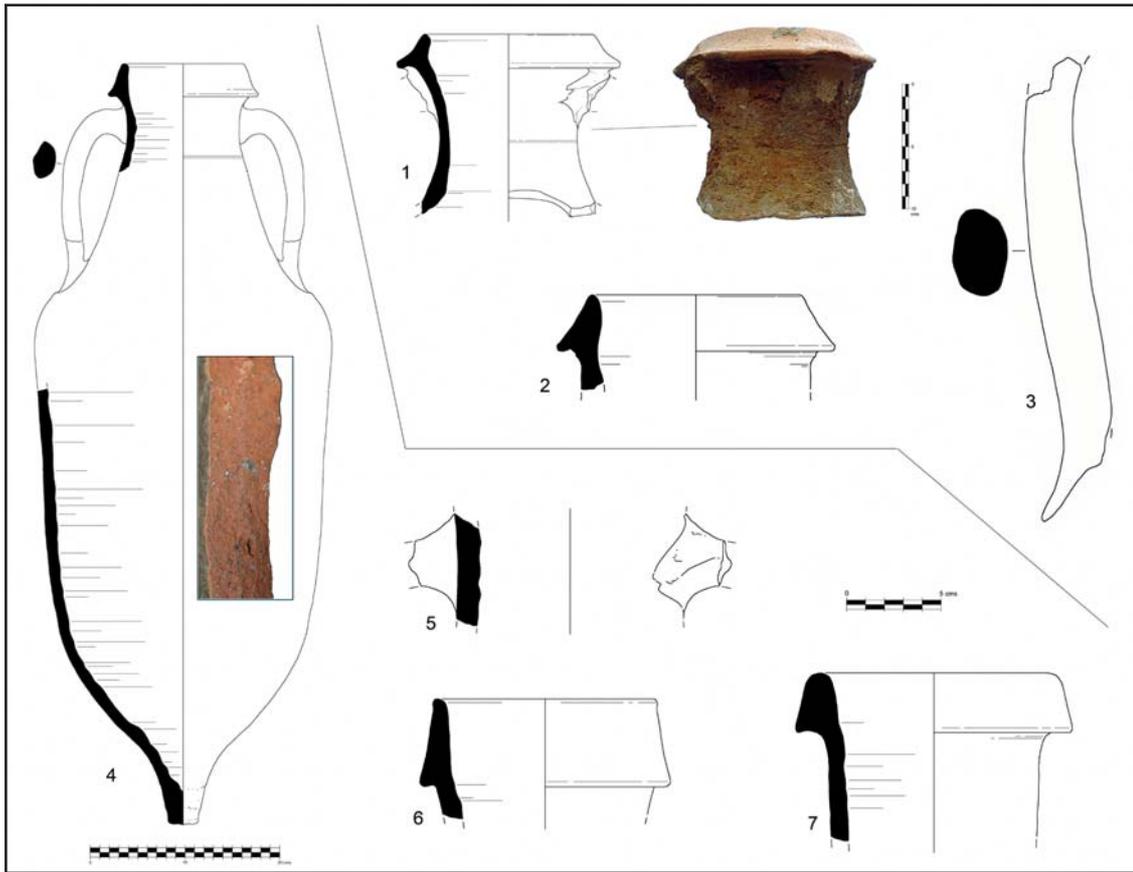


Fig. 7: First evidence of regional production of Greco-Italic in eastern Mauritania: 1–3, rims and handle collected in a recent survey at Sidi Abdselam (after Bernal et al. 2016); 4–7, fragments of Dr. 1 amphorae excavated at Tamuda, not far from a kiln site (after SÁEZ ET AL. 2014).

dating to the late Punic and Republican periods. The contexts analyzed in these first excavations at Kuass suggested the local production and consumption of Hellenistic-type red-slip finewares (similar to those from Gades²⁸), and also the local manufacture of T-7433 and Dr. 1 amphorae²⁹ (fig. 7).

However, there is still quite a lot to be reviewed and published, and the fabrics of this part of the region are not well defined yet, so for the moment we can only presume that Dr. 1 produced in Kuass, Lixus and other major nuclei could have been involved in the regional trade from the late 2nd century BC.

2.6. The Mediterranean façade of Mauritania

The data from the eastern side of western Mauritania is as well scarce. Only recent excavations at *Tamuda*, next to modern Tetuan, have revealed some evidence of pottery workshops, including a kiln dating from the early 1st century BC³⁰. Other finds at the site³¹, but also at Sidi Abdselam del Behar or Emsá³², suggests the production in this area of Greco-Italic and Dr. 1A imitations during the 2nd c. BC, and also local versions of Italic finewares and massive quantities of T-7433. The fabrics, still not enough defined, seem to be very similar to those from Malaga region, so it is possible that some of the amphorae exported from the area of Tetuan could have been classified together with other coming from Malaga region. The sites in the northeastern corner of

28 PONSICH 1969.

29 PONSICH 1968; KBIRI ALAOUI 2007.

30 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2014.

31 SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL. 2014.

32 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2016.

Mauritania may have had a close relation with the northern shore of the Strait of Gibraltar region, particularly with Algeciras Bay and Malaca, probably participating in regional routes linking both sides much earlier of the integration of Mauritania in the Roman political sphere (42 AD).

3. What: The contents of western imitations

Étienne and Mayet proposed in 1994, on the basis of the Dr. 1C found in *Baelo Claudia*, the possible regional production of that type for the commercialization of fish products. Recent finds in the *cetariae* of *Baelo Claudia* have proven this hypothesis, and some T-7433 and Dr. 1A from Gades workshops provided residues of tuna fish by-products³³. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that an important part of these western imitations were produced in the countryside between Cadiz Bay and the Low Guadalquivir Valley³⁴, and also in the inland plains surrounding Malaca, so the link with areas connected with wine production has also solid foundations. The recent finds at *Tamuda*, in the African side of the region, also supports the hypothesis in favor of the use of the western Dr. 1 to transport local wines³⁵. The absence of more explicit residue/faunal finds, or more unambiguous stamps or *tituli picti*, makes not possible to draw to a close the discussion about the contents, and a multi-functional role must be the choice if we take into account the available information. In the case of *Gades*, probably the most important production and commercial center of the region, both T-7433 and local Dr. 1 probably were used for wine and fish products (as it may have happened also in the *Ager Cosanus* and Populonia in Italy³⁶), but we cannot be sure for the case of previous Greco-Italic versions.

4. Why: economic and politic role of the western imitations

The western provincial production of those versions of Greco-italic or Dressel 1A – 1C amphorae seems to be a much more complex and widespread phenomenon that involved almost the whole region, implicating a large number of pottery workshops in both European and African sides of the Strait area (such as coastal key-nodes like *Gades*, *Kuass*, *Lixus*, *Carteia* or *Malaca* and even areas such as the Bajo Guadalquivir valley or the coastal stretch of Malaga-Granada). Unfortunately, just in a few sites of the main production areas it has been possible both to determine the sequence of evolution of profiles and also to achieve the first evidence regarding stamps and archaeometry of local fabrics (and providing some preliminary patterns of distribution of those imitations).

This phenomenon of imitation of foreign amphorae started in the region before the Roman annexation, and can be traced back at least to the early Punic period. Regional Greco-Italic versions were produced from the 3rd c. BC at least in the Bay of Cadiz, but probably in other main cities, particularly in the coast. There is no direct connection between the imitation of Greek archaic and classical amphorae and the later Italic western versions, but it appears that the production of Greco-Italic vessels in places like *Gades* started following a similar pattern: as a side secondary series that represented just a very small part of the total amount of the regional commerce based on foodstuffs packaged in amphorae. During the 3rd century BC regional Punic series would be still the main body of the exportations, as a reflection of a purely Punic infrastructure and maritime networks, in which the Italian Peninsula was not a primary target.

The importance of the regional production of late Greco-Italics or Dr. 1A increased during the 2nd c. BC, extending the trend to other major workshop-groups such as those located in the suburban belt around *Malaca* (also including the creation of genuine Italic ateliers like El Rinconillo). During the 2nd century BC there was a progressive substitution of regional Punic traditional shapes by Roman types. During the first two thirds of the 1st century BC, both in the coast

33 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2007.

2014.

34 GARCÍA VARGAS ET AL. 2011.

36 See GENOVESI – MEGALE 2016.

35 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2014; SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL.

and in main river valleys, the production of T-7433 and Dr. 1C was generalized to the majority of workshops, and dominated the regional exportation of packaged foodstuffs. Also from the central decades of the 1st century BC, the regional ovoid series, another imitation of a Roman type produced in the *Bajo Guadalquivir* and the Bay of Cadiz, became predominant in the western repertory³⁷. By then, former Punic types disappeared quickly. Such a phenomenon could be understood as an adaptation to new political and economic scenario, with formerly Punic elites wishing a fast growth of exports to the new markets and of their political influence. We should also consider the progressive cultural adaptation of these elites to the Roman culture, as a result of more than a century of deep connection with Rome.

Besides the finds from *Gades* and El Rinconcillo, there is a severe scarcity of stamped epigraphy. Both examples, with different chronologies and socio-economic contexts, show different models of exploitation and management of these western imitations. The first one as a result of cultural and economic hybridization, a progressive process of re-adaptation of the local infrastructures, commercial strategies and traditional routes to a new political scenario. In contrast to that, the second probably was a direct consequence of the Italic colonization and economic flourishing after the *deductio* of *Carteia* (171 BC)³⁸. Also, we must remark the poor data available about contents, and that the discussion remains completely open regarding the transportation of wine and/or fish products. More archaeometric approaches are needed at this point, but also a more detailed analysis of the local contexts of production (*figlinae*) and the presence of these western versions of Dr. 1 and ovoid Italicizing types in wineries, oil presses or fish-salting facilities.

Finally, little can be said about the Mediterranean distribution of these imitations beyond the regional limits, and only the epigraphy stamped on the amphorae from El Rinconcillo can be used as a reference of the real role played in the international trading routes of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC³⁹. The recent discovery of many of these western Dr. 1 amphorae in diverse contexts of the Atlantic façade of Hispania (Galicia, Tagus estuary, Algarve, etc.) suggests a significant role in the Atlantic routes together with the T-7433 type and the later ovoid series⁴⁰. But also the review of some French underwater contexts⁴¹ bring some light to the issue, and highlight that the Mediterranean distribution of Dr. 1 from *Gades*, *Malaca* and other coastal cities must have participated of the main trading routes connecting the Atlantic and the Italian Peninsula at least from the second half of the 2nd century BC.

We will need more references to examine the real weight of this provincial commerce in the whole of Roman maritime trading connections of the Late Republican period, but the increasing prominence of western elites in political and economic Roman spheres suggest that it was much more important than previously considered. It will not be surprising then that in near future western Dr. 1 (possible travelling together with Punic T-4733) would be identified in many coastal areas in central Mediterranean, in particular on the coast of southern Gaul, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy.

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37 GARCÍA VARGAS ET AL. 2011.

38 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2007.

39 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2013

40 PIMENTA 2004; FABIÃO – PIMENTA 2014.

41 See LUACES and SÁEZ, in this volume.

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Preface

The second volume of the International Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period e. V. (IARPotHP) presents the proceedings of the second conference organized by our Association.

This conference with the title *Daily life in a cosmopolitan world: Pottery and culture during the Hellenistic period* took place at the Université Lumière Lyon 2, from the 5th to the 8th of November 2015. It was a very successful conference with many lectures and posters, from which as many as 50, are included in this volume. The Board of the Association and myself would like to warmly thank all persons who were involved in the organization of the conference and participated in it, as well as, all persons involved in the preparation of these proceedings and especially, Dr Annette Peignard-Giros, the editor of the Association for the years 2015–2019.

Our thanks also go to the authorities of the Lyon 2 University, and the research team HiSoMA (UMR 5189 – Lyon) for hosting our conference, and for their support in organizing it.

We are also grateful to HiSoMA for its financial support for the printing of this volume. Equally, we would like to express our gratitude to our printing house, the Phoibos Verlag in Vienna.

The third volume of the IARPotHP conference series, the proceedings of the symposium held in Kaštela (Croatia) on the 1st–4th of June 2017, is now in the process of preparation by the editors, Ivanka Kamerjarin and Marina Ugarković, and will be published soon after the Lyon volume.

Our great honour is to call attention to the fact that during the General Assembly in Kaštela, Dr John W. Hayes, one of the most distinguished scholars in the field of research into Hellenistic (and Roman) ceramics, was elected as a honorary member of IARPotHP.

With the publication of this volume, the tradition of our association and conferences organized by it, is strengthened. Also, our association's contribution to research into Hellenistic pottery and its further development is being increased.

Krakow, 25. 09. 2019

Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka
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Introduction by the editor: the aim of the meeting

When J. G. Droysen applied the name of «Hellenistic» to the period following the death of Alexander the Great, he had in mind the image of a period of contact between Greek culture and the local people integrated in the newly conquered territories. The idea of an «Hellenization» of local “ethne” was replaced, during the last decades of the 20th century, by the concepts of interconnection and of “cultural transfers” between Greco-Macedonian settlers and local populations.

Since the end of 19th century, archaeologists have tried to use the artifacts, and particularly ceramics, to address the topic of interaction between Greek and local traditions, and the “identities” of the various ethnic groups that lived together, or sometimes simply side by side, in the large territories of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

From an economic point of view, some scholars have tried to interpret the Hellenistic period as the first globalization period, considering the trading networks that combine local and long-distance exchanges.

Pottery is one of the clues that can be used to address those complex questions. It is an artifact which is used everywhere and produced in almost every town or village in the Mediterranean during the Antiquity, and Hellenistic pottery has been frequently used to try to define what was Hellenic and what was local in the instrumentum used by people living in the areas conquered by Alexander and ruled by his successors.

The main impact of Alexander’s conquest was, for people who were not familiar with Greek culture, a direct contact with Hellenism. The «colonists» who were settling in areas far away from their native Macedonian or Greek cities, brought with them their customs, their own cooking and drinking traditions, and their traditional dishes. But after some time, they had to replace the broken or damaged pottery vessels, and needed to use local potters abilities, and supply sources. For instance, in some region of the Levant, there was no clay that could produce a good shining black gloss, nor a tradition of black slipped pottery. The Greek dwellers had some specific requests, and the local potters had to cope both with them, as well as with the technical possibilities they had. Most probably, the Greeks or their descendant had also to adapt to the local craftsmen abilities and clay supply. Their presence, and their relationships with local populations had an impact on both their own way of living, and the local people’s traditions. Can we imagine, for instance, that starting a family, or having local servants, would have no consequence on the food one would be eating (and would have access to)?

But this is a very general point of view, and there were certainly a large variety of situations in the various areas of the Hellenistic kingdoms. First of all, the economic patterns were different, for example, on the Ionian coast, compared to remote regions of Bactria or Syria. Some places were not deeply affected by the conquest, and the indigenous tribes and people continued to live as they had lived before, except that they were paying their taxes to a new king. Can we see on their pottery any impact from the Greek types? In some small villages of Mesopotamia, for instance, only a few sherds witness the importation of Greek pottery, and the influence of Greek shapes on local pottery is very limited: the inturned-rim bowls, for instance, are not slipped, and they lack the usual ring base of Greek examples.

In some other places, like in Palestine, the absence of Greek pottery can be interpreted as a mark of resistance against Hellenic eating and drinking habits, considered as unacceptable by the religious and/or social traditions.

On the other hand, pottery can also be a means of ethnic identification for Greek people: drinking wine, taking part of symposia, offering specific shapes to the dead or the gods, might be considered, for the descendant of the first colonist, as a way of marking their ethnic identity, and

make the difference with the local people. Some table customs imported by the conquerors were adopted by the local elites, in order to keep their rank and be associated to the new rulers.

Various questions arise when one tries to evaluate through pottery the impact of the Hellenistic “globalization” on everyday life in the various regions of the Hellenistic kingdoms:

- Who had a direct access to the Greek prototypes, i.e. how involved were the different regions in the large-scale trade?
- Which influence had large trade centers (which produced vases that traveled everywhere in the Mediterranean) on local products?
- What was the impact of Greek influence on shape, decoration, and use of the vases, considering a large variety of local situations?

The aim of the papers of this 2nd meeting of the IARPotHP was not to address the general concepts of «hellenization», «cultural transfer», or «middle ground», but to study precisely the material found in some specific sites, taking into account the nature of the deposits (houses, graves, shipwrecks ...). And to try to understand how we can interpret the data on pottery of a specific site, in a regional and international contexts.

The local studies of pottery deposits can give us the opportunity to see, at least at a regional level, how people really lived, ate and drank, using (or not) vessels from various traditions, and what it meant for them to live in a multicultural world.

The relations can be seen through the repertoire of vessel shapes (fish-plates, echinus bowls, carinated bowls ...), which are attested all over the Mediterranean, as well as through the amphoras travelling from east to west and vice versa.

Nevertheless, the two kinds of objects, vessels and amphoras, testify different levels of cultural interactions. Imports of Greek amphoras, mainly Rhodian or Cnidian ones, in various places of the Mediterranean are evidence of commercial networks, and were purchased for their contents. Consumption of Greek wine is a good indicator of new practices in the Levant, for instance. On the other hand, imports of Italian amphoras in the eastern Mediterranean show the new developments of Roman economy in the newly conquered regions.

Importation and imitation of Greek shapes are more related to daily life, and to social behaviours. They may be evidence of changes in cooking habits, or simply to new fashions in food or drink consumptions, or in table habits.

The papers collected in this volume show local situations all over the Mediterranean: during the Hellenistic period, all regions were affected by contacts with Hellenistic kingdoms, and the western Mediterranean was not disconnected from the Eastern regions. During the early Hellenistic period, Italy and Sicily were touched by the influence of Attic pottery, and the interaction between Italy and the Hellenistic east grew when the Romans started to interfere, both economically and politically, in the eastern Mediterranean, by the end of the 3rd c. BC. That is one of the main reasons why we have in this volume so many papers dedicated to pottery in Italy, Sicily, as from Greece, Asia Minor, and eastern parts of the Seleucid kingdom.

The aim of this series of papers is to focus on local situations, and try to find the evidence of new shapes and new decorations on table ware, cooking wares and transport amphoras, and try to evaluate, on this ground, how pottery illustrates, in various regions, the impact of Hellenism, and how Hellenism was adapted to or influenced by new local traditions.

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