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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*

Wien 2019

# IARPotHP

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Pottery of the Hellenistic Period e. V.

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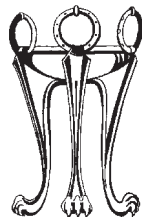
Volume 2

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

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# Late Punic amphorae in “Roman” shipwrecks of southern Gaul: the evidence of a trading route from the Atlantic and the Strait of Gibraltar region to the Tyrrhenian Sea

Max Luaces – Antonio M. Sáez Romero

## 1. Introduction

The area of the Strait of Gibraltar was marked by the settlement of several Phoenician communities during the Iron Age, in both sides of the strait<sup>1</sup>. Many ancient cities in this sector were former Phoenician colonies, as Carthage was. Gadir (modern Cádiz) and Malaka (Malaga) in Spain, or Lixus (Larache) and Tamuda (Tétouan) in Morocco, have provided significant evidence of this ancient Semitic past<sup>2</sup>. These Phoenician settlements subsequently became city-states, probably due to the weakening of their metropolises in Phoenicia<sup>3</sup>. The situation of these Phoenician communities in the Strait, their cultural proximity, as well as their economic interconnections, seems to have led to the formation of a particular cultural area. We should consider it as a real *Phoenician of the Strait* culture, distinct from the ‘cultural area’ of Carthage and the central Mediterranean. Such an idea is clearly visible archaeologically and has been defined by the concept of *Circle of the Strait* (fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>.

Following its defeat in the first conflict with Rome (264–241 B. C.), Carthage lost large portions of its territories. The central Mediterranean was ‘closed’ for the Carthaginians after their defeat, so they sought new areas of expansion. The abundant Iberian resources, often touted by ancient literary sources, designated this region as the perfect area to help the African metropolis to recover its former wealth. The fact that the aforementioned Phoenician populations occupied this area could have turned this process easier. Once established in Iberia, Carthage launched itself against Rome again in a second conflict known as the Second Punic War (218–202 B. C.). Due to the strategic importance of Iberia, it was a major operation theater during the conflict. But if Carthage had a certain control over the Phoenician of the Strait communities, they remained relatively autonomous civic communities<sup>5</sup>. The circuits of the Circle of the Strait seem to have been dominated by Gadir, a city with significant economic and cultural radiation<sup>6</sup>. Before the abuses of the Carthaginian army in Gadir and a prominent defeat, some of these cities changed sides, a fact that illustrates once again their autonomy. Such observation is clearly documented in the Roman sources, as they mention an embassy of Gaditan elites to side with Rome in the final phase of the conflict (Liv. 28, 37). This diplomatic endeavor was concluded by a foedus (206 B. C.), a treaty that protected the economic and internal political interests of the Gaditans.

By becoming politically Roman, the Iberian Phoenician cities of the Strait of Gibraltar region entered a new phase of their history. The one from the north-western African coast (Mauritania), only much later became Roman during the Early Empire, and during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C. these Mauretanian cities remained as an autonomous kingdom. But their political integration did not produce a sudden cultural and economic transformation. On the contrary, local

1 LUQUET 1975; AUBET 2001, 257–299; ARANEGUI GASCÓ – TARRADELL FONT 2001.

2 LÓPEZ CASTRO – MORA SERRANO 2002; BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2012; NIVEAU DE VILLEDARY 2015; PAPI 2014.

3 LÓPEZ CASTRO 2006.

4 TARRADELL MATEU 1960; PONSICH – TARRADELL MATEU 1965; CALLEGARIN 2008; DOMÍNGUEZ PÉREZ 2011.

5 RHORFI 1999; FERRER ABELDA – GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2007; FERRER ABELDA – PLIEGO VÁZQUEZ 2010.

6 SÁEZ ROMERO 2010; DOMÍNGUEZ PÉREZ 2011; SÁEZ ROMERO 2013, 219–220.

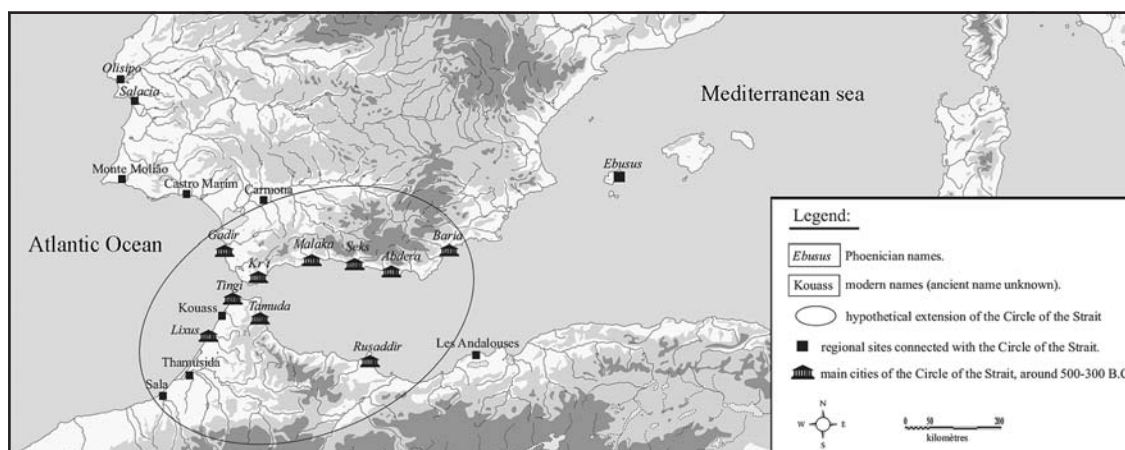


Fig. 1: Map of the Circle of the Strait area and of its main civic communities, along with some of the communities connected to it between Classical and Hellenistic time.

communities continued to write in the Punic language<sup>7</sup>, they used the same industrial techniques and manufactured the same forms of traditional Punic amphorae<sup>8</sup>, at least until the beginning of the 1st century B. C. This continuity was nevertheless overlapped with a gradual Romanization of the western economies and societies. It is to designate the new local amphora productions inspired by Punic forms but also gradually influenced by Roman types, that the Spanish archeologists have recently developed the concept of *Late Punic* amphora<sup>9</sup>. Considerations on these amphorae are particularly recent and their definition is just beginning. Therefore, there are many unanswered questions about this group, especially regarding their distribution.

Through recent studies, we have tried to highlight fresh evidence linked to the broad commercialization of late-Punic amphorae around the Mediterranean. Some of these new data will be discussed in this paper, focusing on selected shipwrecks located in the main trade routes linking Gadir/Gades, the southern coast of Gaul and the Tyrrhenian. Besides the interest of these records regarding the distribution of Late Punic amphorae, one of the main goals of our work will be the analysis of the gradual Romanization of western economies and elites. Such testimonies could open new perspectives for the historical analysis of the integration of Southern Iberia into the Roman World.

## 2. The Late Punic amphorae: quick review of an amphorae group recently isolated

Before continuing on the distribution of Late Punic amphorae, we should quickly define the main components of this group. These amphorae, as noted before, were recently isolated and are still relatively unknown. The Late Punic group seems to appear around 170/150 B. C., not so long after the Roman conquest of Southern Iberia<sup>10</sup>. Despite the fact that the Southern shore of the Strait remained autonomous during this period, this amphora group seems to have emerged at about the same time in various region of the Circle of the Strait. The end of their production is less homogeneous, and perhaps can be dated earlier in Gadir (around 80/60 B. C.)<sup>11</sup> than in Mauretania (60 B. C.–10 A. D.?), but there are still many doubts on the matter. In fact, several questions remain unsolved regarding the differences in production timelines between the distinct contexts, an aspect that just began being studied.

The late-Punic containers correspond to a group of amphorae marked by the mixture of forms and techniques of Punic and Roman origin. Beyond this first mix, it must be emphasized

7 ZAMORA LÓPEZ 2012.

8 GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ – GARCÍA VARGAS 2010, 117–121.

9 RAMÓN TORRES 2008; RAMÓN TORRES 2012, 223–

225; SÁEZ ROMERO 2008b, 491–492.

10 SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL. 2016.

11 SÁEZ ROMERO 2014, 1352–1354.

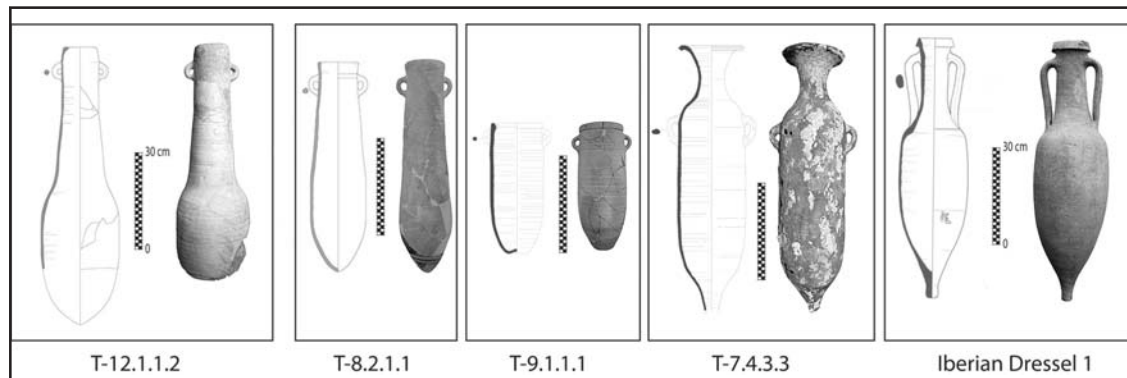


Fig. 2: Overview of the five amphoric types that could be defined as Late Punic production from the Circle of the Strait, with graphic representation and pictures. Material from French and Southern Spain archaeological deposits.

that they are commonly referred in bibliography as Roman amphorae, as part of the Late Republican material. From our current perspective, they should be considered as a specific amphorae group from the area of the Circle of the Strait<sup>12</sup>. But the name of “Late Punic” is also used for other ceramic groups and for other Punic areas (such as Sardinia, Sicily or Tunisia), so the terminological issue has become a really complicated and challenging debate<sup>13</sup>. In the case of the Late Punic amphorae from the Gibraltar area their appearance seems to be related to economic, political and cultural phenomena that marked the region after the first steps towards its integration into the Roman world. Nonetheless, a broader perspective regarding Punic amphorae manufactured during Roman times have still to be discussed.

Several types could be considered as Late Punic productions in the Strait of Gibraltar (fig. 2). Their typological denomination follows the classification of Ramón Torres when it comes to Phoenician-Punic morphologies<sup>14</sup>. In a diachronic perspective, we first have *Phoenician of the Strait* evolved forms, with T-12.1.1.2, T-9.1.1.1 and T-8.2.1.1 types<sup>15</sup>. Then, versions of Carthaginian forms made in most of the ceramic workshops of the Circle of the Strait, such as the T-7.4.3.3 type<sup>16</sup>. Finally, we should emphasize the presence of forms derived from a Roman tradition, with evolved Greco-Italic types and what could be defined as adapted Dressel 1<sup>17</sup>. To consider the latter type as a Late Punic production, even only in the case of a manufacture inside the Circle of Strait, is not without difficulties, we present another publication on this topic in this same volume.

We must point out that this Late Punic group experienced typo-chronological developments. Some types became secondary during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. and then disappeared, giving way to other containers. For example, if the evolved *Phoenician of the Strait* forms (T-9.1.1.1 or T-12.1.1.2) predominated around the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., the main role turned to the duo T-7.4.3.3 / Dressel 1, as early as 110 B. C. The data from various ceramic workshops suggest that both types were the main components of the repertory of the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.

Concerning their content, the majority of the Late Punic amphorae seem to have been used for the transport of fish by-products. It is a common ground regarding the T-12.1.1.2 type, a late version of the amphora better known as the Mañá-Pascual A4 type<sup>18</sup>. Other archeological data corroborate such content for the T-7.4.3.3 type<sup>19</sup>. Nonetheless, the use of some of these amphorae for wine transport should not be discarded. A wine content should also be considered for some Dressel 1 variants, mainly the Dressel 1A. There is also epigraphic indication for such a

<sup>12</sup> SÁEZ ROMERO 2008b, 491.

<sup>13</sup> SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL. 2016, 29–33.

<sup>14</sup> RAMÓN TORRES 1995.

<sup>15</sup> SÁEZ ROMERO 2008b, 497–498.

<sup>16</sup> RAMÓN TORRES 1995, 212–213.

<sup>17</sup> SÁEZ ROMERO 2008b, 498–499.

<sup>18</sup> RAMÓN TORRES 2004, 500.

<sup>19</sup> BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2007, 359–372.

product on T-7.4.3.3 amphorae from the Campiña, in the surroundings of the Bay of Cadiz<sup>20</sup>. However, in both cases there is no certainty and more residue studies and archaeometric data are needed.

Nowadays, the study of several ceramic workshops has made possible to obtain a better understanding on the production of Late Punic amphorae. As the main city of the Circle of the Strait, key evidence of this production has been uncovered in Gadir in the form of many ceramic workshops active within the Late Republican era. The contexts of Torre Alta<sup>21</sup>, Pery Junquera<sup>22</sup> or Avenida de Portugal<sup>23</sup>, are some of the most well known Late Punic workshops<sup>24</sup>. But what could be the most interesting information concerns the transformation of the artisanal environment connected with the development of Late Punic amphorae in the ancient Cadiz Bay<sup>25</sup>. Recently, we had the opportunity to deepen the problematic of this transformation in Gadir. It seems like the progressive changing of the social and economic structures of the Circle of the Strait transformed the technical and production environments of this area, which as a result influenced the amphorae repertory. To be more precise, the Italization of the local elites and of the economic institutions of the Strait, as a consequence of its political integration to the Roman world, have brought progressive changing to the techniques, among other in the ceramic production<sup>26</sup>. This phenomenon resulted in the transformation of the local amphorae into the Late Punic types. But such changing never was a disruptive phenomenon and was clearly a long-term process. Besides the case of ancient Cadiz, other cities from the Circle of the Strait area have provided testimonies of the manufacture of those containers, like in modern Malaga in Spain<sup>27</sup>, or Tétouan in Morocco<sup>28</sup>.

As mentioned above, the ‘Late Punic amphora group’ is the result of a mixture of several traditions. This situation implies recurrent confusion in their identification, even so when using older typologies as it is exemplified by the distinctions between T-7.4.3.3 type and its previous identification as Mañá C2b<sup>29</sup>. The case of the Dressel 1 from the Circle of the Strait is far more complex but is discussed in this same volume (see Sáez and Luaces). To provide a relevant identification of Late Punic amphorae requires a thorough expertise of their fabric and an updated vision of their production characteristic. Yet, as the first generation of Roman amphorae from Southern Iberia, their study could provide new perspectives regarding specific phenomena of the Late Republican era. The difficulties we mentioned beforehand regarding the identification of Late Punic types imply that they are often confused with other morphologic related amphorae. In the case of the Dressel 1 type, productions from Italy or Iberia are almost identical in their shapes and it is not easy to differentiate them. These identification difficulties partly explain why this material has long remained unidentified, and makes it very difficult to define the real map of distribution of each of these Late Punic amphorae types.

### 3. The ‘Moines 2’ and ‘Chrétienne M 2’ shipwrecks, two key sites to analyze the Late-Punic maritime trading routes

As mentioned before, it is easy to confuse Late Punic containers with other previous or later types of the same typological groups. It has been previously suggested that these amphorae had been exported just in limited circuits. The apparent absence of wrecks as much as their low level of distribution supported this hypothesis for long. The fact that some ancient cargoes had carried a few of these vessels also corroborated such considerations for many authors<sup>30</sup>. However, pre-

20 GARCÍA VARGAS 1998, 65–68.

21 SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL. 2016, 37–47.

22 CARRETERO POBLETE 2004, 429–432.

23 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2004.

24 SÁEZ ROMERO 2008b, 340–500.

25 SÁEZ ROMERO 2010, 998–917; LUACES 2015, 247–252.

26 SÁEZ ROMERO ET AL. 2016, 51.

27 ARANCIBIA ROMÁN ET AL. 2012.

28 BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL. 2014, 467.

29 RAMÓN TORRES 1981, 11–13; GUERRERO AYUSO 1986.

30 DUMONTIER – JONCHERAY 1991, 139–140.

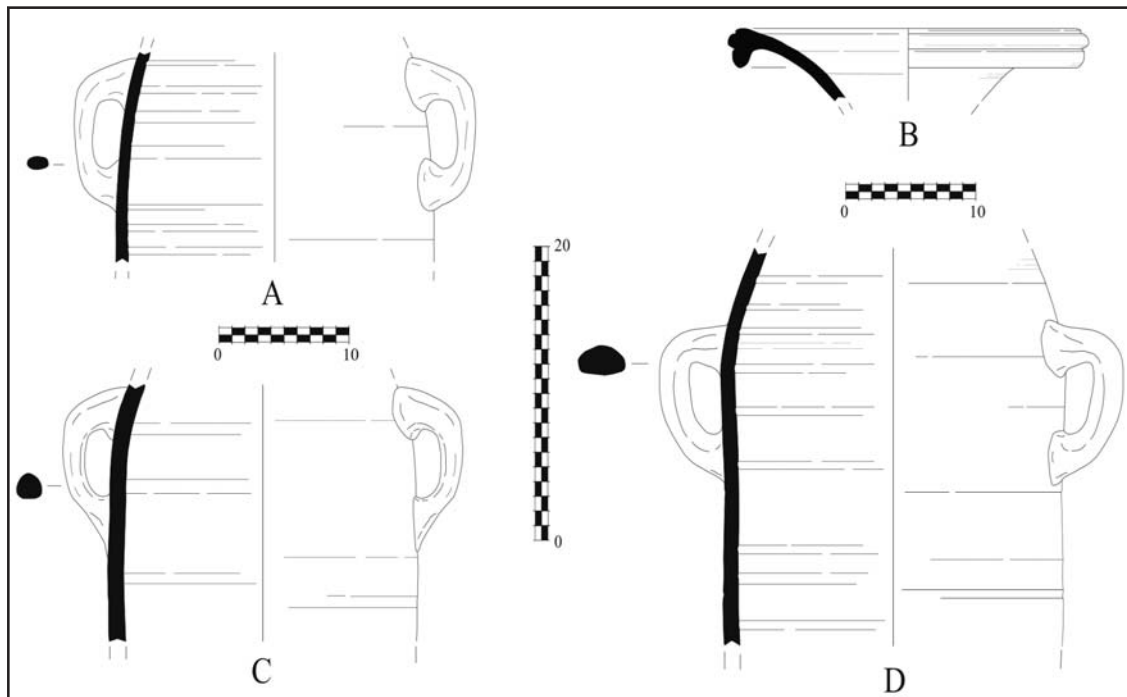


Fig. 3: Some examples of the T-7.4.3.3 from the Moines 2 wreck (France).

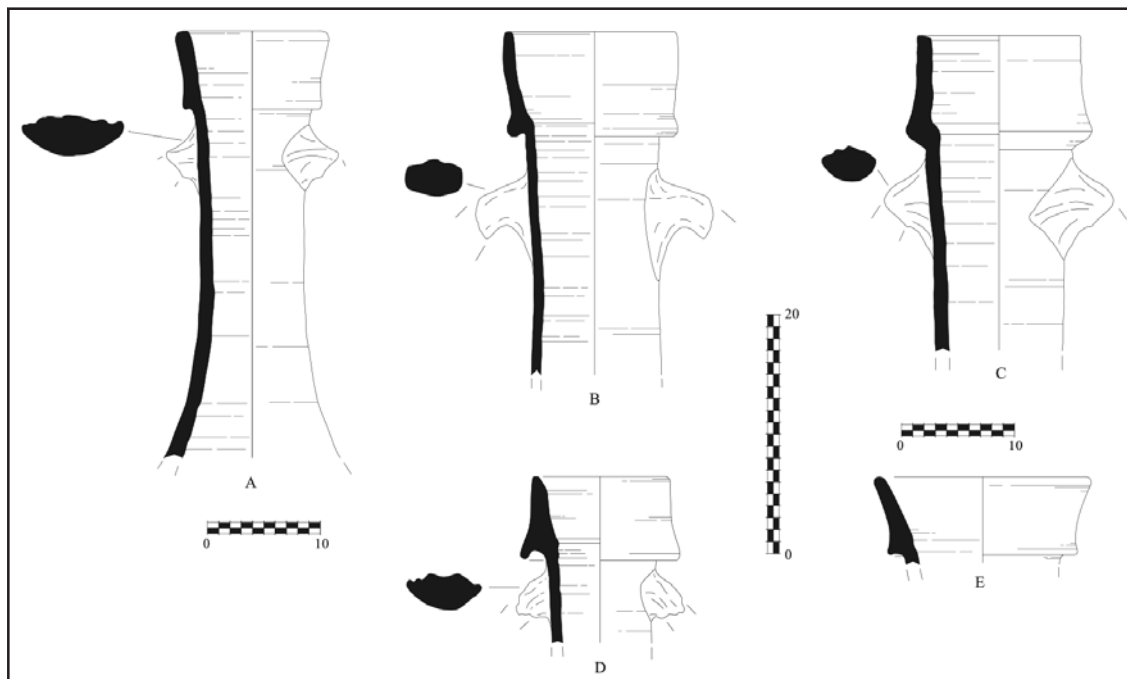


Fig. 4: Some examples of the Iberian and possibly Late Punic Dressel 1 from the Moines 2 wreck (France), with mainly Dressel 1C variant (A, B, D, E).

vious understandings on this material have not necessarily taken into account their complex identification. The assumption that their specific material configuration could have led to bias in the archaeological analysis is the foundation of our studies. To move forward on this issue, we decided to develop a collaborative study of various archaeological sites already excavated and preliminary published. Thus, we reviewed the amphorae assemblage from two significant shipwrecks as case studies for southern Gaul. In both cases there were hints regarding the presence of western Late-Punic amphorae: The *Moines 2* and *Chrétienne M2* shipwrecks. Results of this first ap-

proach to those shipments will be discussed in this section, as part of a wider systematic program of research recently developed by Max Luaces as part of his doctoral dissertation (2017).

### 3.1. The ‘Moines 2’ Shipwreck.

The reefs of the *Moines* are an important shoal that runs along the southern coast of Corsica (France), between the Gulf of Valinco and the Strait of Bonifacio. This sector of the coast of Corsica seems to have been one of the main ‘sea-freeways’ between Iberia and Italy, according to the Roman sources<sup>31</sup>. Several shipwrecks have been identified around this shoal, but it is the one belonging to the Late Republican period, identified as *Moines 2*, which concerns us here<sup>32</sup>. This underwater deposit provided some Dressel 1 amphorae, variants A and C, and other vessels identified as Mañá C2b. Through the study of the findings, the deposit was dated between the years 75 and 50 B. C. The subsequent revision of this ancient load, conducted as part of a Masters Degree dissertation<sup>33</sup>, led us to confirm the presence of western Late Punic amphorae. Some objects had been considered as material produced in southern Iberia when the wreck was discovered. But it was an hypothesis that concerned some fine wares and no specific research was completed to identify precisely the origin of the cargo. It is in these conditions that we began a joint and comprehensive study of the finds.

The group of Mañá C2b amphorae is a rather narrow portion of the total amount of transport vessels, including four particularly damaged individuals. Nevertheless, we obtained relevant samples of their fabrics and the examination allowed us to certify an Iberian origin. These four T-7.4.3.3 (initially described as Mañá C2b) are a rim fragment and three belly fragments with handles (fig. 3).

The excavation of this underwater deposit also offered three clay lids, used to seal the Late Punic amphorae. These lids were first produced in the western ateliers at the same time as the ‘Late Punic amphorae group’ of the Circle of the Strait, and evolved after that, linked to the manufacture of the latter Romanized provincial series of amphorae<sup>34</sup>. We noted the presence of two compositional groups among these fragments of amphorae. The first group can be probably connected to the production of Gadir-Gades, while the second group, observed on a single item (fig. 3, D), suggests a provenience from the area of the ancient city of Malaca.

The Dressel 1 amphorae represent the majority of the recorded material and seem to have been the main load of this merchant ship (fig 4). Fourteen individuals of this type were identified, with a majority of rim fragments.

While most studied amphorae correspond to the Dressel 1C variant, we also note the presence of Dressel 1A. The study of the bulk of the Dressel 1 fabrics has led us to consider them as Iberian productions, with three compositional groups. All of them seem to have been produced in the area of the Circle of the Strait. We should therefore consider this Dressel 1 as possible Late Punic productions and as a valuable record of the distribution of such amphorae to the Roman Mediterranean markets<sup>35</sup>. As for the case of T-7.4.3.3 vessels, the first two groups of fabrics almost certainly correspond to productions of Gadir, and only one fragment presents a distinct fabric identifiable as a product of Malaga area.

Despite the difficulties encountered by the underwater origin of these findings, it was possible to assign them a clear southern Hispanic origin. Both, Dressel 1 and T-7.4.3.3 amphorae show the same fabric patterns in this deposit. This suggests that the load as a whole came from the Circle of the Strait area, perhaps from Gadir-Gades itself. Regarding the typo-chronological point of view, our observation on this cargo provides enough evidence to nuance the dating that had been

<sup>31</sup> BOMBICO ET AL. 2014, 371–374.

<sup>32</sup> BERNARD 1999, 75–76.

<sup>33</sup> LUACES 2008, 112–115.

<sup>34</sup> BERNAL CASASOLA – SÁEZ ROMERO 2008.

<sup>35</sup> LUACES 2014, 36–38.

previously suggested. Taking into account other parallels and the data supplied by the latest research carried out on production and consumption contexts from the Bay of Cadiz, a date around 100/75 B. C. seems to be more suitable.

The archaeological deposit of the Moines 2 is located on one of the trading routes joining the Tyrrhenian façade of Italy and Iberia. This situation leads us to consider that the final destination of the cargo could have been the central area of Italy. Although the material evidence is not abundant for the case of this wreck (just a limited number of T-7.4.3.3 and Dressel 1 individuals), it provides meaningful information concerning the distribution of Late Punic amphorae.

### 3.2. The ‘Chrétienne M2’ Shipwreck

The shoal of *La Chrétienne* is located off the island of Eves, between Agay and the present-day port of Fréjus (France). Between shallow rock and a location exposed to the winds, it is an area known to be hazardous to navigation that is reported by the so-called Chrétienne maritime beacon. The dangerousness of this shoal is well illustrated by the numerous shipwrecks found in the area, most of them identified as ships dating from Antiquity<sup>36</sup>. Among the underwater deposits identified the one nicknamed as Chrétienne M2 was selected to be reviewed. The study of this shipwreck included a large batch of *Maña C2b* and Dressel 1 amphorae, the latter initially identified as Italic productions in previous publications. There are also several Campanian ceramics and a lead anchor that also provided various epigraphic finds, both written in neo-Punic and Latin. This material combination and the presence of several neo-Punic inscriptions, dated around 110/90 B. C., was a challenge for the initial investigation of the wreck<sup>37</sup>. Nonetheless, we interpreted them as hints of a connection with the same Late Punic economic phenomena discussed for the case of Moines 2. However, the number of items from La Chrétienne M2 is significantly larger, so we will focus our study on the most relevant material.

Amphorae *Maña C2b* do not represent the majority of the load of this wreck. However, it is a significant set of material, with 19 identified individuals. We present here the most characteristic variants of rims (fig. 5). These amphorae were connected to numerous ceramic lids, a material related to Late Punic amphorae.

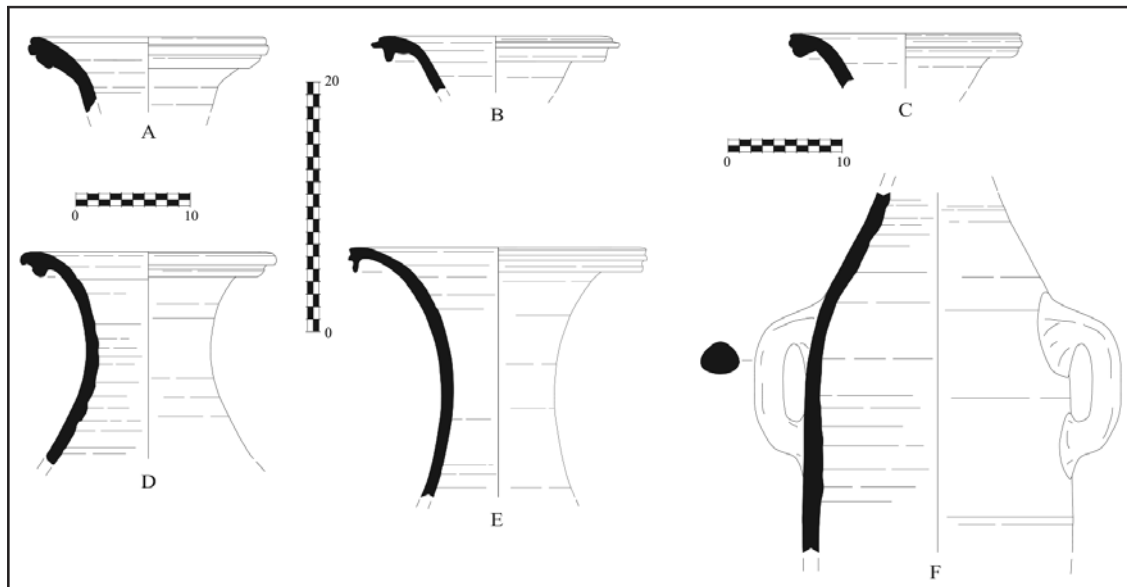


Fig. 5: Some of the T-7.4.3.3 from the Chrétienne M2 shipwreck (France).

<sup>36</sup> JONCHERAY – JONCHERAY 2002, 57–62.

<sup>37</sup> BRIQUEL-CHATONNET ET AL. 2004; BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 2007.

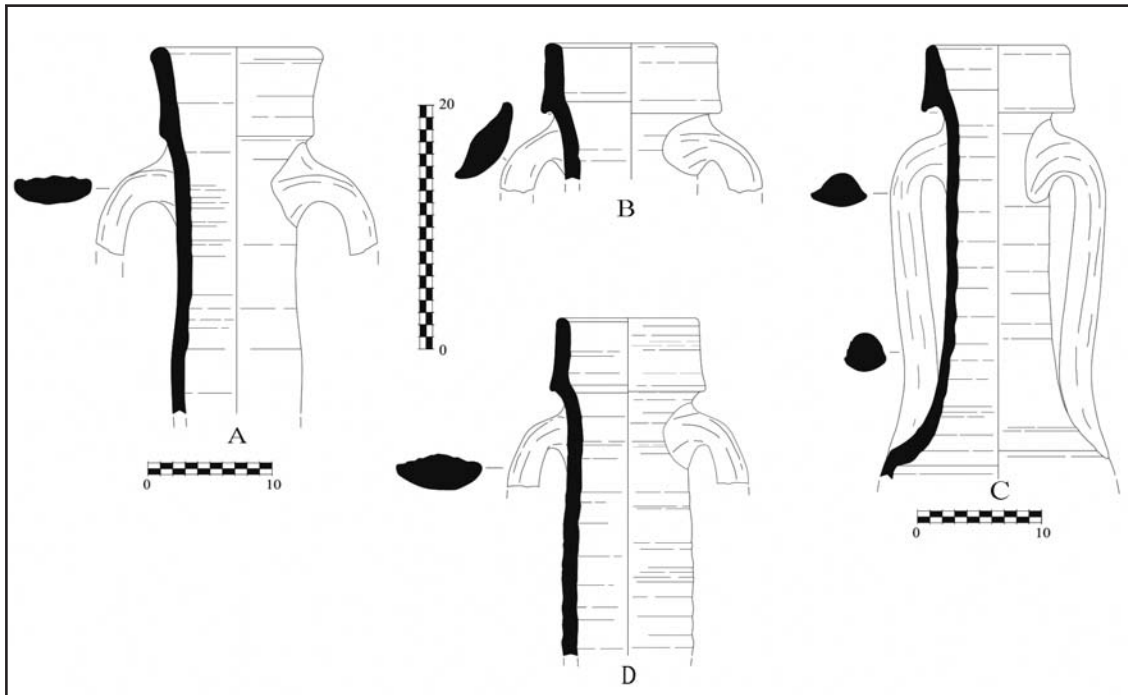


Fig. 6: Examples of the Iberian and possibly Late Punic Dressel 1 from the Chrétienne M2 shipwreck (France), with Dressel 1C variant only.

An initial examination had led us to identify them as T-7.4.3.3<sup>38</sup>. Further study on their fabrics and morphologies allowed a more precise observation. Besides a morphological disparity, we identified the presence of various compositional groups: The first two groups can most likely be linked to Gadir-Gades, and include the majority of the preserved fragments; also a second group was identified, but it has not been possible to determine its provenience yet. This disparity in morphology and composition could be understood as an illustration of the plurality of ceramic workshops that manufactured T-7.4.3.3 in the Strait of Gibraltar area during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C., and also suggests that the load was gathered in several ports of the region.

Most of the ceramic finds from the Chrétienne M2 wreck are variants A and C of Dressel 1 type amphorae, with more than a hundred objects (fig. 6).

The two variants of this type, however, are not present in the same proportions, and Dressel 1C vessels dominate clearly the load<sup>39</sup>. Dressel 1C suggest a significant typological uniformity, which is not the case for the Dressel 1A. The latter is much more diverse from the point of view of both fabric and typological features. The main interest of this material lies in its provenience. The examination of fabrics of all Dressel 1 fragments made possible to identify them all as Southern Spain productions (several Dressel 1 sherds show similar fabrics to those of T-7.4.3.3 amphorae).

Beyond the amphora findings, the Chrétienne M2 ceramic findings include several Campanian B and plain tablewares. Although quantitatively limited, this material stands out from the other ceramic findings because it was marked by a set of epigraphic inscriptions in Latin, Greek and neo-Punic (fig. 7, B, C and D). Ancient sailors seem to have the habit of signing their dishes<sup>40</sup>, so these marks probably illustrate the presence of a crew with multiple origins, or at least who mastered different types of writing.

<sup>38</sup> LUACES 2008, 86–89.

<sup>39</sup> JONCHERAY – JONCHERAY 2002, 106–108.

<sup>40</sup> BRIQUEL-CHATONNET ET AL. 2004, 193.

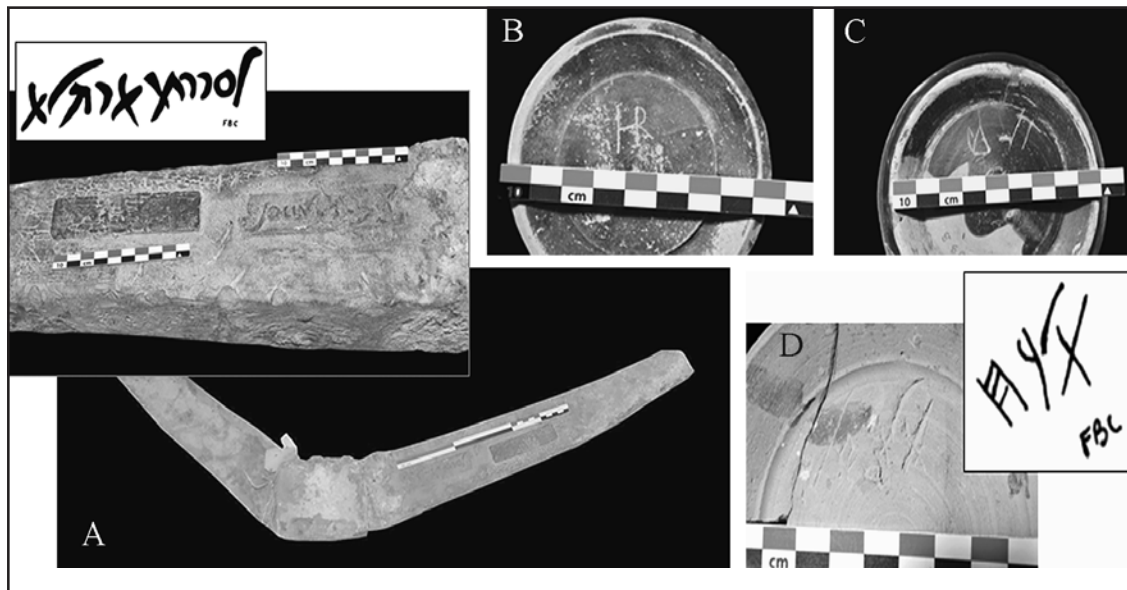


Fig. 7: Various epigraphic marks from the Chrétienne M2 shipwreck, with first a detail of the neo-Punic mark on the anchor, and then then Latin (B), Greek (C) and neo-Punic inscriptions (D).

Finally, we must highlight the presence of an epigraphic stamp (in neo-Punic) on the anchor, impressed four times on it, written within a rectangular cartouche (fig. 7, A). They all seem to reproduce the same inscription: BD ' / TMN SLM, which has been translated as “owned by Abdamon (son of) Shilem”<sup>41</sup>. This find allows considering that the owner of the ship could have been of Phoenician-Punic origin, perhaps a western merchant from Gadir-Gades or other coastal city of the region.

Several points must be emphasized about the amphorae material from the Chrétienne M2. First, the T-7.4.3.3 (Mañá C2b) vessels from this ship have been considered from Mauretania since the initial publication, but morphological and petrographic examinations led us to consider them as Iberian productions. Furthermore, fabric characterization of the Dressel 1A also suggest an Iberian origin for the majority of that group of amphorae. Additionally, the study of this shipment highlights again the presence of both T-7.4.3.3 and Dressel 1 as main components of the cargoes coming from the west in this period. As discussed above, this couple was the most representative amphorae group of the *Phoenician of the Strait* centers during the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B. C. Thus, the material from Chrétienne M2 deposit can be connected with the characteristics of the Late Punic Iberian productions and the quantitative results obtained through the study of the western workshops.

The interpretation of a western origin for this wreck seems particularly relevant when confronted to the analysis of its epigraphic marks. Both the anchor and the fine wares provide multiple accounts of a connection with the western Phoenician-Punic population. It seems very likely that the owner of the ship was of Punic origin. But there were also epigraphic marks in Latin and Greek, which concur to see this wreck at the crossroads of these Mediterranean cultures.

As already suggested, the ship probably was in route from the Circle of the Strait to southern Gaul or Italy seaports as a final destination. The main cargo of amphorae, the tablewares and the anchor from this wreck describe a cosmopolitan environment at the crossroads of the Punic and Roman worlds. Such an environment is in correspondence with the archaeological data and literary sources from the Circle of the Strait.

41 BRIQUEL-CHATONNET ET AL. 2004, 195–197.

#### 4. Additional evidence on the maritime distribution of western Late Punic amphorae: the testimonies of multiples trade routes?

The two contexts examined in the previous section attest the existence of shipments entirely dedicated to the distribution of Late Punic amphorae from the western provinces to the central Mediterranean markets during the late-2<sup>nd</sup> and early 2<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C. These two deposits show loads with a very similar composition, including T-7.4.3.3 and Dressel 1 amphorae from the Circle of Strait area as the main items traded (linked to salted-fish or fish sauces, and wine). Dressel 1 variants are the most represented transport vessels in both cargoes, a scenario that fits quite well with the archaeological records of the production contexts identified in the coastal cities of the Strait of Gibraltar region. These results invite us to consider that the Late Punic amphorae experienced a wider circulation to the central Mediterranean markets than previous historiography describes. It should be emphasized that this distribution seems to have reached its peak during the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. Nonetheless, these containers are still poorly known and barely identified in these areas, especially in the case of the types derived from a *Phoenician of the Strait* tradition, so the available information could be just the tip of the iceberg and further review of other deposits may reveal further surprises.

If the material we have presented brings to question previous considerations on the Late Punic amphorae as a minor commodity, it highlights the ambiguous identifications that it could have been subjected. Thus, it is not impossible that other Late Punic amphorae have suffered from the same confusion. In this perspective, we must point out the existence of other material that might be connected with the distribution of these amphorae. The *Hellenistic ship* of the ancient Pisa harbors offers several clues that could take into consideration the presence of Late Punic containers. This wreck is marked by the presence of faunal remains of a lioness, linked to Mañá C2b and Dressel 1 of an untypical morphology, and no concrete data has been provided about their fabrics or provenance<sup>42</sup>. As stated before, the location of the Moines 2 wreck, on one of the main sea routes to Italy, points to a wider presence of Late Punic amphorae in the Italian peninsula than suspected in previous bibliography.

A significant number of these same transport vessels have already been found in French underwater contexts<sup>43</sup>. Isolated material in submarine deposits also provided information about the distribution of other western Late Punic types, like the T-9.1.2.1 identified near modern Marseille (France)<sup>44</sup>. Many of them have been discovered near the main ports of the Narbonensis province, including those of Narbo Martius and Massalia. In association with the wreckage of La Chrétienne M2, this material suggests that ancient Gaul was a major destination for those products.

On the Atlantic side of western Mediterranean, it must be emphasized that many coastal sites of modern Portugal have provided fragments of Late Punic amphorae. This is particularly the case in the Late Republican contexts of Lisbon<sup>45</sup>, those of Castro Marim<sup>46</sup>, and of Monte Molião<sup>47</sup>. Quite recently, Portuguese researchers have identified commercial connections between Southern Portugal and the Circle of the Strait during the Classical and early-Roman times, as part of a “Gaditanization” of the area<sup>48</sup>, and also in the coastal settlements of present-day Galicia amphorae and other items from the southern ports of Iberia have been identified<sup>49</sup>. This trading links would have been amplified after the arrival of Rome to the region, and there are indications regarding the support provided by Gadir-Gades to the Roman expansion in the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula. More data on the distribution of Late Punic amphorae and other items will be uncovered in the near future by the ongoing research project directed by Professor Eduar-

42 BRUNI 2010, 75–82.

43 LUACES 2008, 27–30.

44 RAMÓN TORRES 1995, 228.

45 PIMENTA 2007, 223–228.

46 ARRUDA – PEREIRA 2008, 415–417.

47 ARRUDA – DE SOUSSA 2013, 107–118.

48 DE SOUSA – ARRUDA 2010.

49 GONZÁLEZ RUIBAL ET AL. 2007, 52–56.

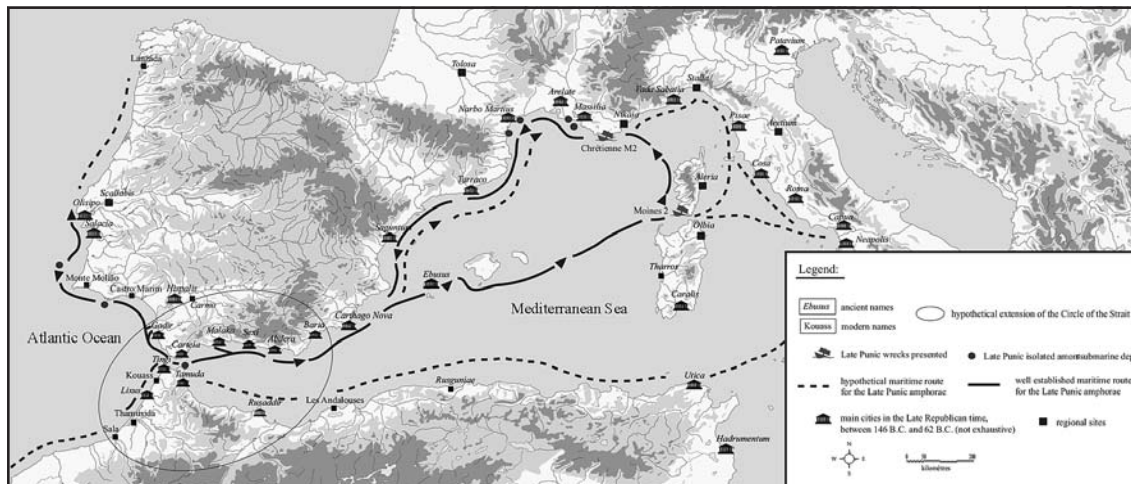


Fig. 8: A quick overview of the well-established and hypothetical maritime routes taken by the Late Punic amphorae during the Late Republican era.

do Ferrer Albelda *La Ruta de las Estrimnides. Comercio mediterráneo e interculturalidad en el Noroeste de Iberia* (HAR2015–68310-P).

These data highlights a broad maritime distribution for Late Punic amphorae both to the Atlantic and Mediterranean ports and markets. Together with the data on the ancient navigation routes<sup>50</sup>, the available evidence makes possible to propose the existence of several main routes for the commercialization of these products packaged in amphorae (fig. 8). Besides natural conditions, it is necessary to take into account the technical and naval capacities in the Circle of the Strait for it to be considered in depth<sup>51</sup>. Such a review of shipping routes and their conditions is currently underway as part of our post-doc research.

## 5. Conclusion.

The multiple amphorae currently associated with the Late Punic group have long been considered as marginal transport vessels in the Late Roman Republican commercial circuits. Conversely, the material data that has been discussed in previous sections reflect the wide-ranging distribution of such containers, from southwestern Iberia to the Mediterranean coast of modern France and to Italy. The archaeological contexts revealed by Moines 2 and Chrétienne M2 wrecks verify the existence of shipments almost exclusively linked to the commercialization of these western products. The composition of these loads, both including T-7.4.3.3 and Dressel 1 amphorae, is in correspondence with the documentation from production contexts widely excavated in Gadir-Gades, Malaga or northern Morocco. Taking into account all of this, it seems evident that the importance of the Late Punic amphorae distribution and other commodities from the western province of Ulterior was far from being marginal in the Late Republican circuits.

A first map of the maritime routes followed by these amphorae can be proposed at least as a working document, but even in this preliminary status the map reflects on the importance of these connections for the provincial economy. It also opens up future perspectives for the study of these containers and its implication for the analysis of ancient economies. Few Late-Punic amphorae have been formally identified in Italian Late Republican contexts<sup>52</sup>. But the geographical situation of some shipwrecks invites us to consider a more consistent presence of these containers in the Italian peninsula. There is still so much work to do concerning the identification of provincial Dressel 1 and other western amphorae in the central Mediterranean wrecks and consump-

<sup>50</sup> ARNAUD 2004.

<sup>51</sup> ARNAUD 2005, 20. 21

<sup>52</sup> BERNAL CASASOLA ET AL 2013, 265–268.

tion centers, so it can be expected that the map of western shipwrecks dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C. will grow in a significant manner.

Besides the archaeological interest of such study, we would like to emphasize its value for the analysis of the cultural integration of the provincial elites and societies into the Roman world. As we have seen through the material from Chrétienne M2 wreck, a mixture of Roman and Punic traditions can be perceived both in the amphorae and the graffiti. The pottery workshops and other industrial facilities at Gadir-Gades have provided interesting data of this economic and social progressive integration of Roman techniques and traditions in southern Iberia. A significant example of that could be the stamps impressed on Gaditan amphorae (both with names in Punic and Latin) and the presence of *tituli picti* in Latin for the case of some T-7.4.3.3. Far from being a sudden phenomenon, this integration seems to have been the result of social strategies and dynamics between the various communities of the Circle of the Strait and Rome, which could have been more of a local phenomenon than a regional one. From this point of view, the ‘Late Punic amphorae group’ could be a perfect analytical tool for the study of the modalities through which the western economies and elites became part of the Roman Republic during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C.

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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*  
*Chair of the IARPotHP*  
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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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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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