Change and Continuity in the Consumption of Attic Pottery in Cyrenaica in Classical Times: The Case of Euesperides

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The coastal cities of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in north Africa (fig. 1) were significant importers of Attic pottery from the early 6th century BC until, at least, the first half of the 3rd century. The lack of studies, however, focusing on the volume of Attic pottery at individual sites in these regions over time makes its role into the process of trade and exchange in the Mediterranean world difficult to assess, and its meaning acquired in communities far away from the production centre rather obscure. This paper is a first step towards an evaluation of the Attic fine wares imported into this part of north Africa and aims to illuminate issues related to their consumption and distribution in the 5th and the 4th centuries BC.

My starting point will be the ceramic evidence from ancient Euesperides (mod. Benghazi in Libya, fig. 2) which derived from the excavations that took place between 1999 and 2007 at the site, under the joint auspices of the Society of Libyan Studies, London, and the Department of Antiquities in Libya.[1] This project inaugurated a fresh approach to the study of pottery, building upon the total quantification of all ceramic groups from the site – namely fine ware, coarse ware and trade amphorae – supported by targeted

Fig. 1: Map of the Mediterranean basin showing Greek and Punic sites in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.

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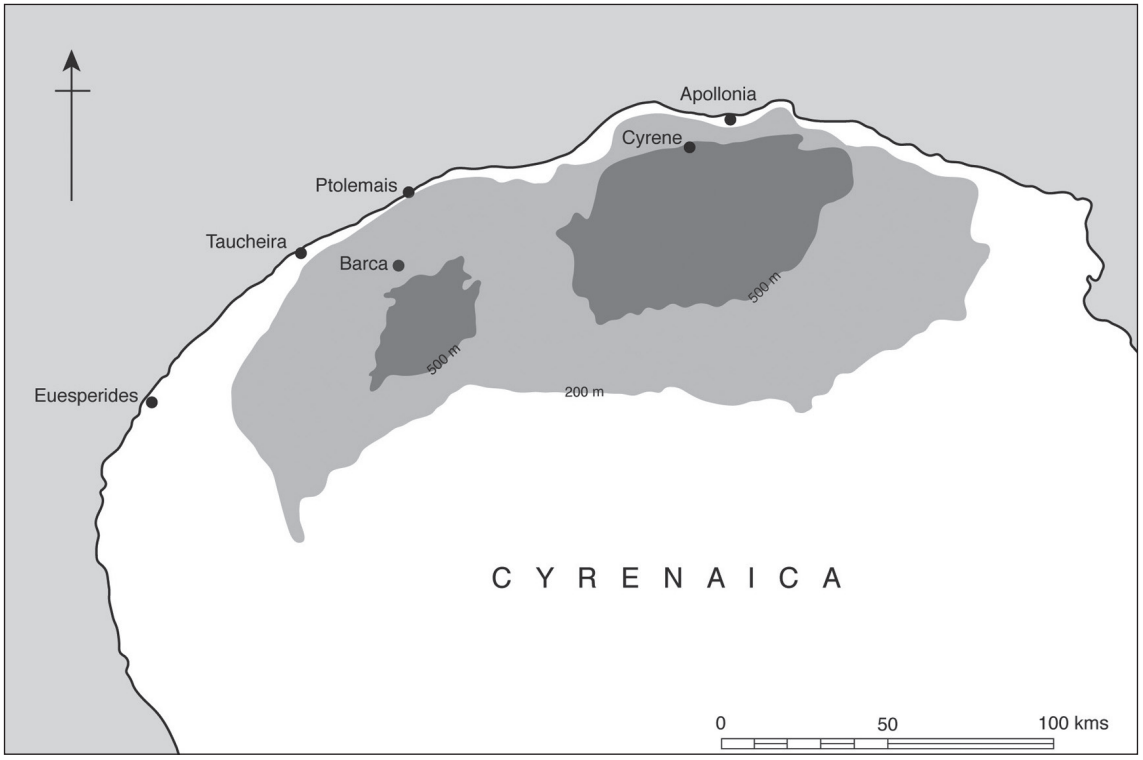

Fig. 2: Map of Cyrenaica with the Greek settlements.

clay scientific analysis, aimed at provenancing pottery, so as to use it as an indicator of intra- and extra-regional trade in other perishable goods.[2] This perspective could, eventually, contribute to a better understanding of the multiplicity of patterns of the city's economic behaviour, its integration into long-distance trading networks and its connectivity with the wider Mediterranean.

Euesperides is an ideal case study because it provides ceramic evidence from domestic assemblages, mostly well-stratified and, so far, missing from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania for the pre-Roman era where published Attic pottery has been recorded primarily from sanctuaries, mortuary deposits and public building complexes.[3] Furthermore, Euesperides was a natural port providing easy access to the Mediterranean Sea (fig. 3), standing as it did at a vital crossroads of ancient maritime and land routes between the Greek, Punic and Italian worlds. Lastly, the site had no subsequent occupation and was not overlain by modern structures providing a secure *terminus ante quem* for the stratified material.[4]

Euesperides, on the outskirts of the modern city of Benghazi, was probably founded before 600 BC[5] following the establishment of Cyrene prompted by the Delphic oracle which may have also encouraged further waves of settlers from across the Greek world to come to Cyrenaica.[6] The settlement was boosted with newcomers during the time of Arcesilas IV in 462 BC[7] and was eventually abandoned around 250 BC when

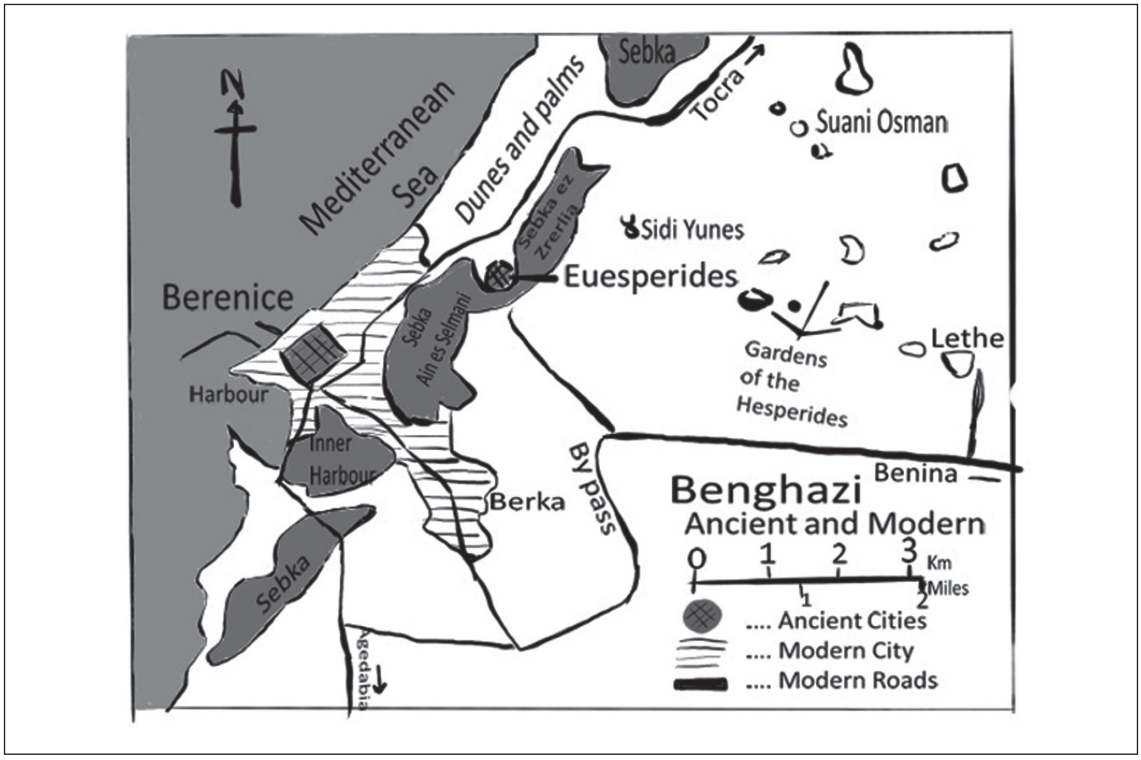

Fig. 3: Map of the region of Benghazi showing the location of ancient Euesperides.

the Ptolemies regained control of Cyrenaica.[8] It is noteworthy that the population of Euesperides was a mix of people of different origins and from diverse cultural backgrounds, which constantly changed during the various phases of the city's life due to the influx of new settlers following political and military developments in the city itself or in the wider region of Cyrenaica and the Greek world.[9] This population diversity and mobility combined with a considerable volume of trade that the Greek settlement of Euesperides developed with both the East and the West are reflected in the pluralism of the imported pottery from this site featuring imports from Cyrenaica, Greece, the Aegean, Cyprus, Italy, Sicily and the Punic north Africa.[10]

Attic pottery reached Euesperides in the first half of the 6th century and circulated for three centuries until the abandonment of the site. Over 7,000 fine ware fragments and nearly complete pots have been quantified from the excavations, of which c. 40% is Attic. Its wide distribution both in wealthy and poor households across the site dating to different phases of the city's life offers us every reason to assume that access to Attic imports was not at any time socially restricted.[11] A similar image emerges from the evidence of the Cyrene necropolis. Attic pots served as funerary offerings to burials of both distinguished and more humble people during the Classical period, and their basic shape range (i.e. the krater, pelike, oinochoe, hydria, lekanis, skyphos, cup, conical cup, bowl, etc.)[12] is comparable to that from the domestic assemblages at Euesperides.

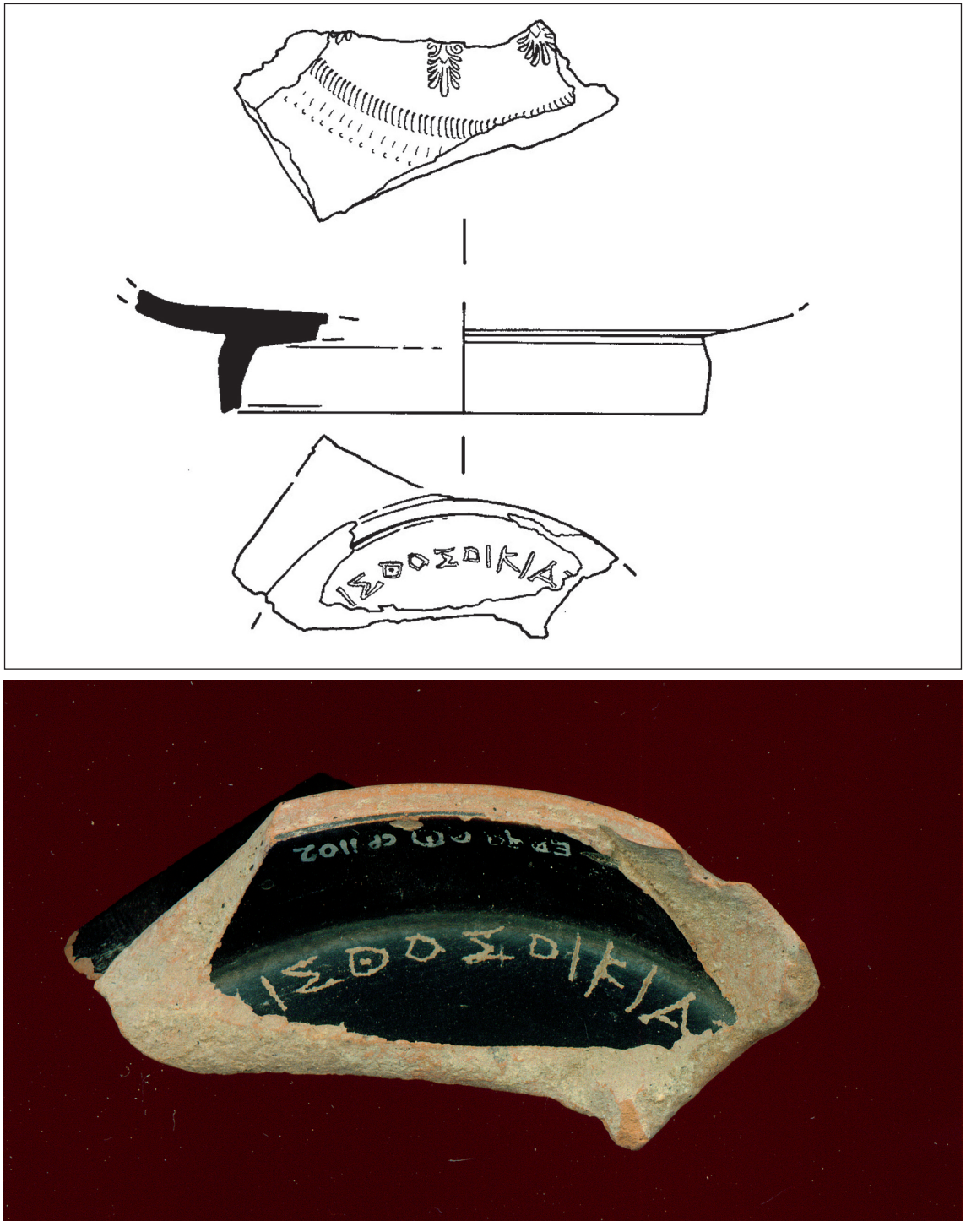

Fig. 4: a–b: Inscribed base of an Attic black-glazed bowl (diam. 8,8 cm; second quarter of the 4th century BC): graffito on the underside, palmettes and rouletting on the floor (Area Q, CP1102).

In the Classical times, the focus of Attic imports at Euesperides was upon drinking vessels for wine consumption, either during the symposium, or at any stage of a group dining. The fragmentary graffito preserved on the underside of a small bowl reading [...] ΙΣΘΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΑ [...] (fig. 4)[13] may imply that borrowing of pots between neighbouring households during banquets was a common practice, and that the vessels were often inscribed with a name so as to be returned to their owner. It is therefore very likely that banqueting was an important social activity at Euesperides, and it is not surprising to find it also reflected in the grave offerings from the limited burial record from the site.[14] Taking into account that Attic pots were travelling to Cyrenaica as part-cargo of a more significant volume of trade commodities (in amphorae, or not), merchants may have initially chosen them in the hope that they would be saleable in this region, or as ceramic products that could always find a market. Merchants built up knowledge about markets, nature of demands and customers' preferences as they travelled to different territories around ancient Mediterranean.[15]

In the fifth century BC, an increase of Attic pottery occurred at Euesperides during the second half the century. A closer look at the chart (fig. 5) demonstrates that among 5th-century Attic black-glazed ware, the majority dates between 425 to 400 BC. A similar pattern is observed for the contemporary red-figure Attic pots (fig. 6). If this is not coincidental and due to the fact that fewer contexts of the first half of the 5th century BC have been excavated, the boost in Attic imports may be linked with the flourishing of the city, following Arcesilas' 'refoundation' of Euesperides (c. 462 BC) after a time of political upheaval in Cyrenaica (see above p. 98 and note 7).[16] Furthermore, the limited range of such imports during the first half of the 5th and even in part of the third quarter of the same century, complies with the sporadic occurrence of Attic black-glazed pottery that has been observed in other sites in Cyrenaica[17] probably implying strong interconnections between centre (Cyrene) and periphery. At Euesperides 5th-century Attic black-glazed pots outnumber the figured examples which count for only c. 4% by total

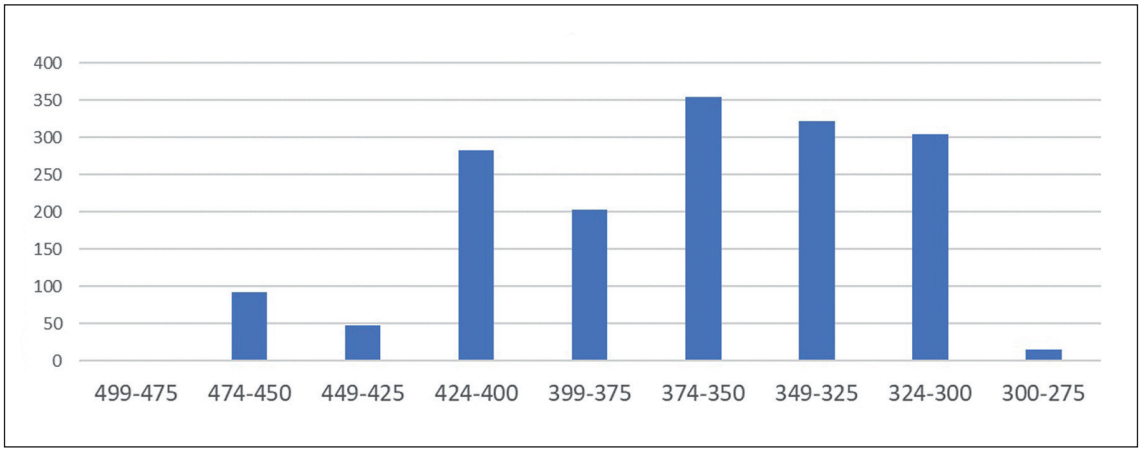

Fig. 5: Chronological distribution of Attic black-glaze imports at Euesperides.

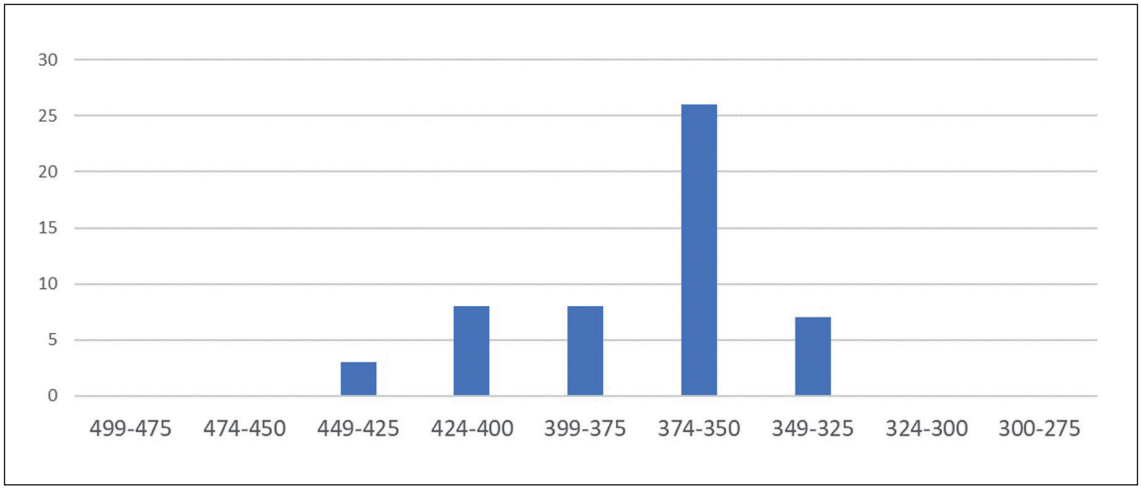

Fig. 6: Attic red-figure pottery from Euesperides by quarter of a century.

sherd count (RBHS); predominant forms include Attic A type skyphoi, kylikes – along with a few stemless cups with inset lip (the so-called 'Castulo cups'), bolsal cups and lidded lekanides with the ribbon handles (fig. 7).

The occurrence of 'Castulo cups' at Euesperides (fig. 8) comprises the missing link in Shefton's distribution map of this form[18] which was one of the 'most far-flung Attic pots of the 5th century BC', widely distributed from the Atlantic to northern Black Sea, with its greatest concentration in southern Italy and the Iberian peninsula.[19] 'Castulo cups' have been found at Punic sites in north Africa, such as Sabratha, Lepcis Magna and Carthage, but in Cyrenaica this type of cup is only, as yet, attested at Euesperides.[20]

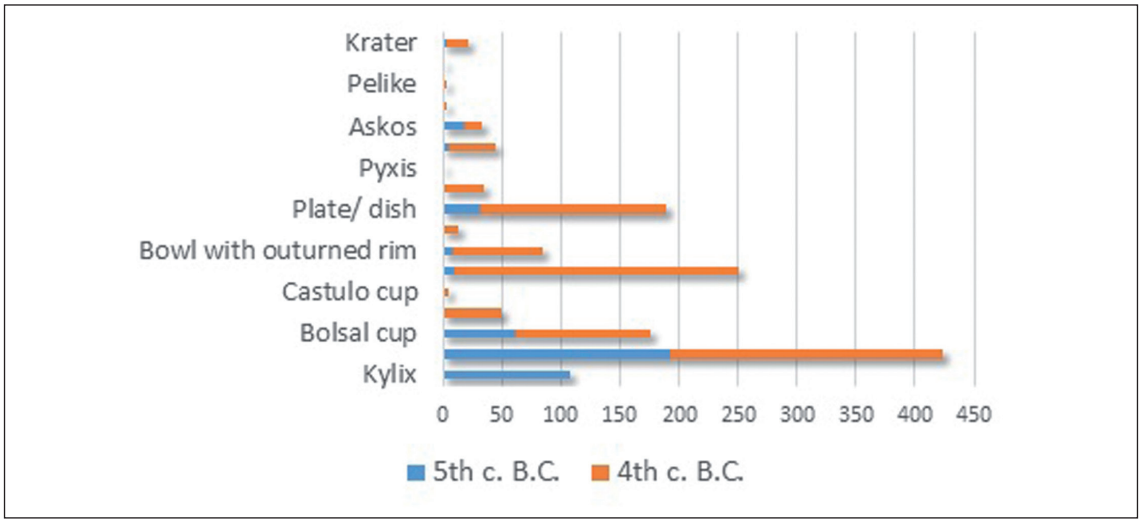

Fig. 7: Attic fine wares from Euesperides (5th–4th century BC) by shape.

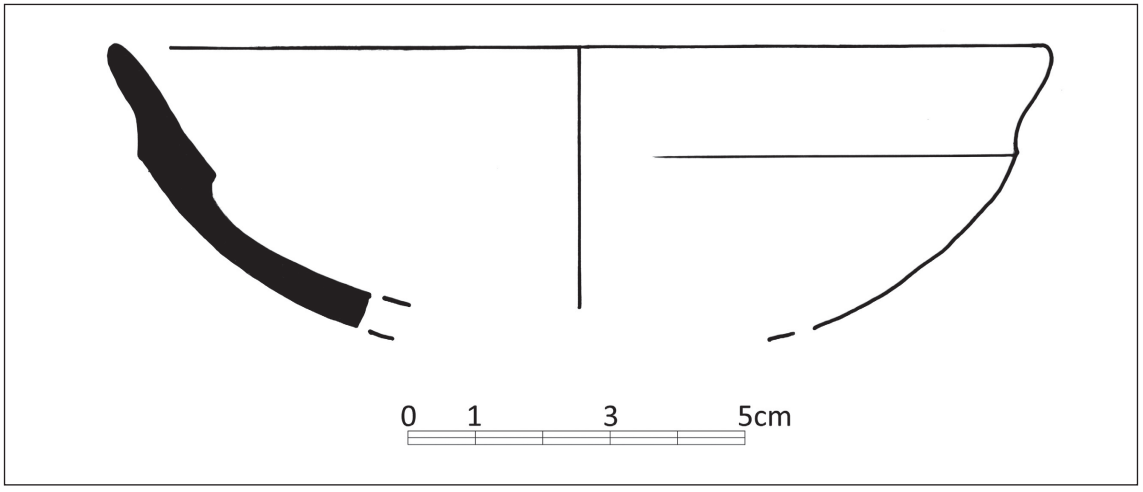

Fig. 8: Fragment of a 'Castulo cup' (Area Q, CP8227; diam. 13,9 cm; third quarter of the 5th century BC).

It is worth mentioning that the imported Attic fine ware from the Punic settlement at Sabratha in Tripolitania and from tombs excavated at Lepcis Magna present a similar range of types to those from Euesperides. Skyphoi of the Attic type A and bolsals, by far the most prominent forms, as well as single examples of the 'Pheidias' mug, the Corinthian type skyphos, the one-handler and bowls with outturned rim have been included to the published corpus from Sabratha.[21] Attic pottery at Sabratha has been compared to that of Al Mina in Syria and, to some extent, of Spina in the Adriatic, often raising claims among scholars about the role of the Phoenician merchants in the distribution of Attic pottery in the West during the 5th century.[22] Furthermore, the excavations of the Punic graves under the stage building of the Roman theatre at Lepcis Magna yielded, among other pottery finds, Attic black-glazed skyphoi and 'Castulo cups',[23] while Attic pottery from the Punic level (500–241 BC) of a public building at the northeast margin of the Old Forum included 5th-century stemmed and stemless kylikes and skyphoi of the Corinthian form.[24] The repertoire of Attic fine wares imported in other sites in Punic north Africa seems to be comparable to that of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.[25]

There seems to be no preference for figured drinking vessels among the imports at Euesperides, at least from the second half of the 5th century onwards, despite the possibility that the Euesperitans may have just drawn their drinking containers from a given repertoire made available to them. Red-figure cups of the second half of the 5th and the 4th centuries BC are also only sporadically found in the sanctuaries in Cyrenaica (e.g. Demeter and Kore in Cyrene[26]), the necropolis of Cyrene[27] and elsewhere in the region.[28] Drinking from an Attic plain black-glazed cup seems to have been favoured.[29] What qualities did these cups have that convinced individuals to choose them? What, ultimately, did they mean to their owners and to other people in the community who witnessed their consumption? Attic cups were probably considered 'a luxury for sen-

suous pleasure',[30] a plausible hypothesis taking into consideration the range of local clays at Euesperides which seem not to be suited to the production of good black-glazed surfaces.[31] The results may have been satisfactory for jugs and other pouring vessels, but they would hardly compare against Attic glazed drinking vessels even though the imported pieces were not always of the highest quality. The superiority of Attic cups is, thus, likely to have lain not in their decoration, but, as Morgan has noted in relation to the finds from the northern Black Sea region, in the finesse of their manufacture and their gloss, or in the 'sensuous experience of drinking from them'.[32]

On the other hand, red-figure kraters, pelikai, hydriai, oinochoai, askoi, and squat lekythoi are sporadically represented in 5th-century assemblages at Euesperides[33] and Taucheira,[34] but more consistently at Cyrene.[35] Moreover, from the Punic settlements of Tripolitania, such as Sabratha, the published Attic pottery from the excavations that took place between 1948 and 1951 includes only a very limited number of 5th century BC red-figure fragments from kraters and cups,[36] as is also the case with published examples from Lepcis Magna.[37]

Although each site and region within Cyrenaica and Tripolitania may have employed different mechanisms to acquire Attic pottery, because of differential access to such imported material, and its use may have also varied due to local cultural practices, the involvement of both the Greek and Punic coastal settlements in the trade networks within which Attic pottery circulated in the 5th century BC is uncontested. Yet the potential for localised differences within the same region should not be ignored or underestimated. On the other hand, the more complex phaenomenon of the interrelation of people and objects reflected in the possession and disposition of Attic pots to mark identities, such as social status, ethnicity or any kind of group identity, or as an indicator of cultural contacts cannot be compellingly argued based on the present evidence from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. Despite of any plausible symbolic value and meaning associated with their acquisition, the fact remains that the majority of Attic fine ware were widely distributed household pots rather than elite commodities.

Regarding the 4th century BC, a significant volume of Attic fine ware seems to have reached Euesperides. A slight drop in the number of fragments is noticeable for a short period in the first quarter of the century, to be followed by an increase between 375 and 300 BC (fig. 7). A similarly reduced flow of Attic red-figure and black-glazed pots, often correlated with a low frequency of the imported Panathenaic amphorae, has been also observed in other Cyrenaican sites during the first decades of the 4th century.[38] A different pattern, however, is noticed in the last quarter of the century; according to present evidence, Attic fine ware began to tail off from the third quarter onwards in Cyrenaica, as is the case in other regions in the western Mediterranean, but remained popular at Euesperides.[39]

Furthermore, in this century, Attic fine ware seem to have fulfilled a wider range of functions at Euesperides (fig. 7). The increase of the toilet and trinket containers may indicate together with customers' preferences, the significant scale of that market in the

Fig. 9: a–b: Fragments of an Attic red-figure lekanis lid representing female figures holding cistae and an embroidered tainia (Area Q, CP1104; diam. 18 cm; 370–360 BC).

4th century BC. Red-figure lekanides are commonly decorated with animals or women's scenes on the lid (fig. 9) as is the case with examples from elsewhere in Cyrenaica.[40] One further trend which is reflected in the breakdown of the Euesperides assemblages relates to a significant increase in a) black-glazed small bowls, some of which may have had an intended use as serving vessels for herbs and spices or other types of food, b) in bowls with outturned rim, c) Lykynic lekanides and d) salt-cellars, as well as in dispensers for special liquids (gutti/askoi, 'feeders/fillers', etc.). Shallow red-figure and black-glazed askoi with a dome-shaped top are prevalent among contemporary oil containers, while squat lekythoi are also represented. At Cyrene and Apollonia, the picture is not dissimilar. [41]

Black-glazed cups continue to count for a large proportion of Attic imports at Euesperides – skyphoi and bolsal cups (fig. 10) predominate, but kantharoi are also present – while kraters (fig. 11) seem to be popular red-figure containers. Elsewhere in Cyrenaica, besides a significant proliferation of Attic red-figure pelikai and hydriai during the first half of the 4th century BC,[42] the pattern of Attic imported ceramics[43] corresponds to that from Euesperides. The popularity of the krater versus the hydria and the pelike reflects the different types of assemblages we are comparing, namely domestic at Euesperides and funerary or religious at other Cyrenaican sites.[44]

The predominance of Attic black-glazed skyphoi, bolsal cups and small bowls over red-figure vessels, especially from the second quarter of the 4th century onwards, and an increase of the red-figure kraters, are also attested in the native coastal site of Lattes.[45] This may signify connectivity links between the Hérault river region in the Gulf of Lion[46] and Cyrenaica, either as a result of common trade networks or of distribution patterns of Attic pottery circulating west of Sicily and in north Africa.[47] On the other hand, a different repertoire of Attic black-glazed pots was distributed in the Punic sites of Tripolitania in the second and third quarters of the 4th century BC, with a clearly intended serving use, as the numerous bowls, plates and fish-plates indicate.[48]

The appropriation of the Attic small bowl with incurving or outturned rim seems to have been shared throughout the western Mediterranean since the first half of the 4th century BC, as the evidence from shipwrecks[49] and land sites (both indigenous, Punic and Greek)[50] demonstrates. The bowl with incurving rim ('echinus bowl'), in particular, is a 4th century creation and seems to have gained popularity beyond Athens very soon after its production.[51] The reasons for its wide distribution may be sought in fashion trends or, possibly, in its small size and ease to be stacked and accommodated in ship cargoes as well as in its widely accessible price, or even its multi-functionality.[52] At Euesperides, this bowl is the second commonest form after the skyphos (fig. 12).

In conclusion, the quantified evidence from Euesperides indicates that Attic pottery was widely consumed in the different echelons of the local society during Classical times. Its distribution in different periods of the city's life might have been affected by economic factors and varied with commerce of Attic products or, possibly, proximity and relations to Athens. Although at this stage the quantified material is only partially

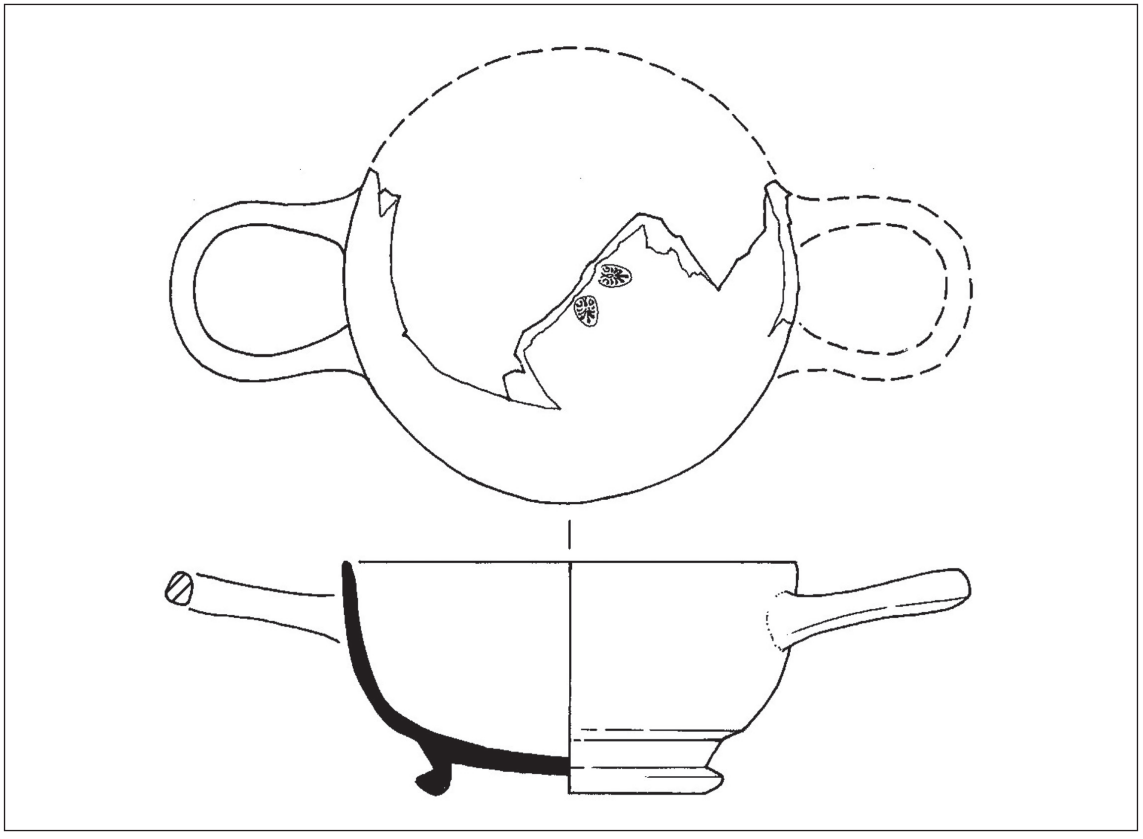

Fig. 10: Fragmentary Attic black-glazed bolsal cup decorated with stamped palmettes (Area P, CP1101; rim diam. 9,8 cm; early 4th century BC).

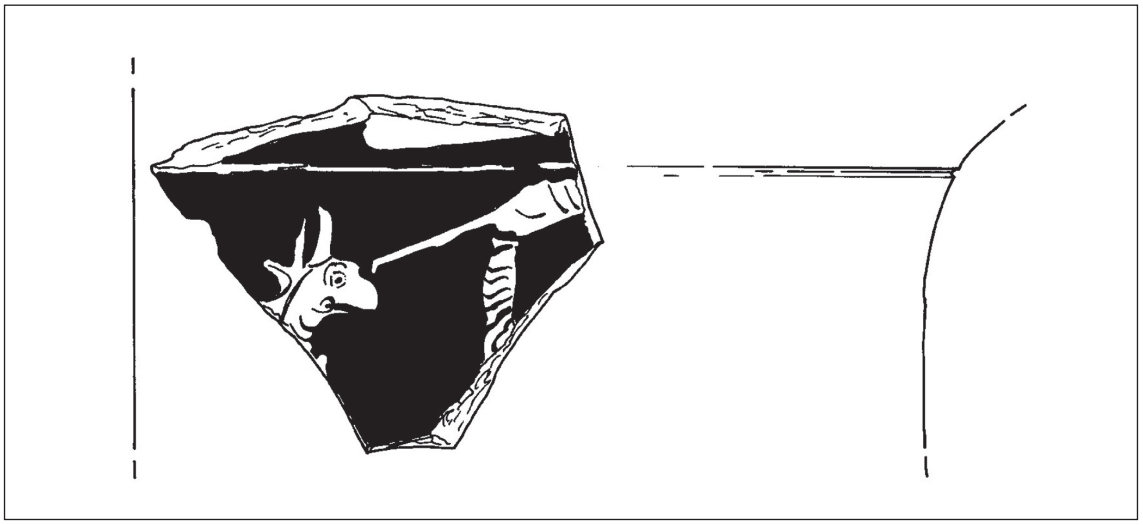

Fig. 11: Fragment of a krater depicting part of the hand and spear of an Arimasp attacking the head of a griffin (Area Q, FV126; c. 370–360 BC).

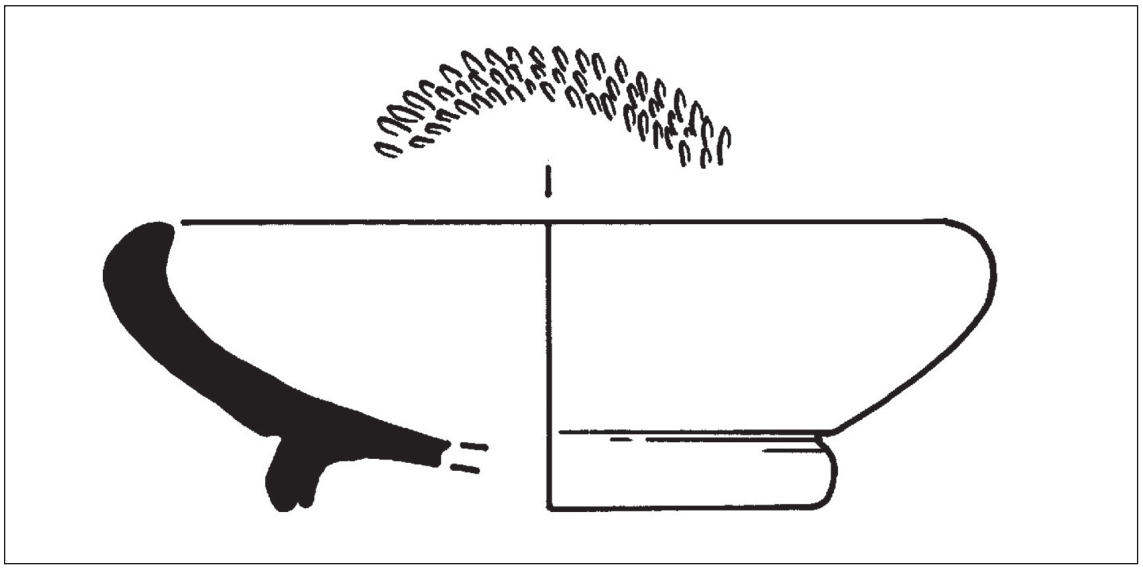

Fig. 12: Fragmentary bowl with incurving rim and rouletting on floor (Area Q, CP2186; rim diam. 9 cm; second quarter of the 4th century BC).

studied, the range of Attic pottery from certain 5th-century contexts from the site, especially from area Q, evokes an emphasis on communal drinking activities and the use of a certain array of black-glazed forms, which is similar to those from late Archaic and Classical residential and civic dining assemblages in the Athenian Agora.[53] Changes noted in consumption patterns at Euesperides over time,[54] however, may also depend on social variables, such as the diversity and mobility of the population, the change of local expressions of preference or changed attitudes towards purchasing pottery according to fashion trends, needs and availability.[55]

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Andrew Wilson, professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire at the University of Oxford and joint director of the excavations at Euesperides (modern Benghazi, in Libya) between 1999–2007, for his constructive feedback on an earlier version of this paper.

Notes

[1] For preliminary reports on the excavations and the finds from the residential areas of the site, see Libyan Studies 30–37 (1999–2006). Between 1952 and 1997, intermittent excavations have revealed successive phases of houses, industrial areas, a group of graves, the harbour and the city's defensive wall, for an overview see Zubi 2015, 111–119.

[2] Wilson 2006, 146. For the importance of an integrated approach to the study of ceramic assemblages in relation to trade and economy, see Archibald 2013, 140–141 (with bibliography).

[3] With the exception of Sabratha where Greek pottery comes from residential contexts.

[4] Goodchild 1952, 208. 212. Also Wilson 2006, 141.

[5] This chronology is based on pottery evidence from the site, e.g. unpublished fragments of Ionian rosette bowls from a well in area Q (Wilson et al. 2006, 135–136) which was excavated in 2007. For the foundation of the city, see also Wilson 2003, 1650. For pottery of the first half of 6th cent. BC, see Zimi, in Wilson et al. 2005, 160, fig. 18; Zimi in Wilson et al. 2006, 148–150, figs. 16. 18.

[6] The origins of the settlers at Euesperides are not clear as is also stated by Gill 2004, 398. For possible Cretan, East Greek/Aegean and Laconian settlers in Cyrenaica, see ibid. 403. Cf. Jones 1985, 28. 31 where he claims that Euesperides was founded by Greek settlers from Cyrene or Barce.

[7] Applebaum 1979, 29–30. Vickers et al. 1994, 125: 'Arcesilas IV tried to create a safe haven against the day when his regime might be overthrown…'; also Gill 2004, 394 citing Theotimus, FgrH 470; Gill et al. 2007, 205.

[8] Wilson 2003, 1652–1655. 1660–1661. For the date and circumstances of the city's abandonment, see Wilson 2006, 142–146 and Laronde 1987, 390–393.

[9] See note 7 above. In addition, the city expanded around 405 BC after the resettlement of the Messenians from Nafpaktos who arrived at Euesperides in support of the local population during the attacks by the local tribe of Nasamones [Laronde 1987, 27–28; Buzaian et al. 1996, 129; Gill 2004, 394 citing Pausanias (4.26.2) and Diodorus (14.34)]. Some of these Messenians returned to their homeland after the foundation of the city of Messene by Epaminondas in 369 BC (Vickers et al. 1994, 125). It is also possible that some of the Athenian families who followed Ophellas in his expedition against Carthage in the last decade of the 4th cent. BC (Diod. XX.40.1–42.5; also, Applebaum 1979, 49) may have eventually settled at Euesperides. Interestingly, the presence of the nomadic indigenous people is not obvious in the archaeological record, even if there was one.

[10] Zimi in Wilson et al. preliminary reports on the excavations in: Libyan Studies 30–37 (1999–2006).

[11] Dietler 2010, 255 made a similar observation for the role of imported ceramics within indigenous societies in the 'ancient Mediterranean France' (i.e. Lattes).

[12] Thorn 2005, 605–619.

[13] Zimi in Wilson et al. 1999, 161.

[14] Buzaian et al. 1996, 142.

[15] On the strategies of 'merchant ventures', see Dietler 2010, 132; Morley 2007, 31.

[16] Buzaian et al. 1996, 129. Very little is known about the history of Euesperides between 515 BC when the Persians reached the city during a 'punitive expedition sent by the satrap of Egypt', and 462 BC; the city 'played a part in the downfall of the Battiads' (Vickers et al. 1994, 125), while between 413 and 401 BC

was heavily engaged in war with the Libyan tribes (Applebaum 1979, 46; Vickers et al. 1994, 125). Also, Euesperides' earliest coinage dating in the period 480–435 BC was struck at Cyrene (Buttrey 1994, 137).

[17] Elrashedy 2002, 95. 168 fig. 3. Boardman – Hayes 1973, 92–94 (Taucheira, sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone). For Attic black-glazed ware of the last quarter of the 5th century from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Cyrene, see Kenrick 1987, 2 nos. 1–3 pl. 1 (the lack of earlier examples may be due to the selective presentation of the 5th century material).

[18] Shefton 1995, 137, but on ibid. 136 fig. 3 Cyrenaica is marked on the distribution map of the 'Castulo cups'; Shefton 1996.

[19] Shefton 1995, 136 fig. 3.

[20] For additional examples from Euesperides (in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), see Elrashedy 2002, 76, 127 nos. 17–19; 172 pl. 1.

[21] Gill 1986, 275–276. 279–282. 285–286.

[22] Gill 1986, 276–277 in accordance with the results from the study of Attic pottery from Languedoc, Rousillon and Catalonia which show different trade patterns than those occurring in Sabratha (Jully 1982, 295–326). Cf. Elrashedy 2002, 95–96 who claims that this may only apply to the Phoenician sites of Sabratha and Lepcis Magna or to other sites in north Africa further to the west, as Phoenician graffiti on Attic pots may indicate, and suggests that different merchants were active in the Cyrenaican sites which are seen 'as part of Eastern Mediterranean, rather than the west', in terms of their commercial activities. See also, Dietler 2010, 139–140 on the issue of 'the anachronistic projection of modernist conceptions of nationalist mercantilism' regarding the trade in the western Mediterranean, and his proposal of a 'more realistic scenario of a heterogeneous mixture of private emporoi, naukleroi and sailors from various cities, and of mixed origin ship cargoes.

[23] De Miro – Fiorentini 1977, 64–66, fig. 94.

[24] Carter 1965, 127. 131 pl. 33 C, D, E.

[25] E.g. Morel 1983, 733–736 pl. 135.2–5 (from a Punic necropolis in Gouraya in Algeria).

[26] McPhee 1997, 71–72 mentions a few fragments of skyphoi and cups dated between 460 and 410 BC and notes that 'surprisingly, there are no skyphoi of the fourth century' and 'no cups or stemless cups from the sanctuary after the middle of the fifth century'.

[27] For the occasional example from the cemeteries of Cyrene, see Thorne 2005, 607 no. 54 (kylix M1308), fig. 419 p. 774 (430 BC); 607–608 no. 56 (kylix no. 1320) fig. 425 p. 780.

[28] For a red-figure pelike from a tomb near Aslaia, see Vickers et al. 1971, 75 pl. 28b–c; for black-glazed Attic pots from the same tomb, see ibid. 75–76 pls. 29–30. For further examples from Cyrenaica, Elrashedy 2002, 25–26 nos. 23–25, 27 pls. 12.2, 21.3–4, 23.1.

[29] See also examples from the necropolis of Cyrene in Thorne 2005, 609–610. 614–615.

[30] Morgan 2009, 158 citing Pindar (Fr.124ab) in relation to drinking from Attic cups either figured or fully black-glazed.

[31] Zimi 2020, 640–641.

[32] Morgan op. cit. note 31.

[33] Zimi in Wilson et al. 1999, 61 fig. 12; Zimi in Wilson et al. 2001, 170 fig. 10; Zimi in Wilson et al. 2006, 148–150, fig. 17.

[34] Boardman et al. 1973, 93 pls. 41–42 (a pelike and kraters).

[35] Elrashedy 2002, 19–32 pls. 14–22. 24–27 (pelikai, kraters, hydriai, oinochoai/chous, askoi). McPhee 1997, 71–72 pls. 20–33 (kraters, oinochoai). Thorne 2005, 606–609 pls. 318. 337. 381. 382. 409 (kraters, hydriai, squat lekythoi).

[36] Kenrick 1986, 296 pl. 64b.

[37] Carter 1965, 127 pl. 33D (handle of a red-figure kylix).

[38] Elrashedy 2002, 95. 167–169 figs. 1, 3, 5. See also, McPhee 1997, 76–77 charts 1–2.

[39] Zimi 2020, 636 (chart 2)–638.

[40] Elrashedy 2002, 63–64. 232–233 nos. 78–81 pls. 61–62.

[41] For Lykynic lekanides, Elrashedy 2002, 129. 138. 173. 282–283 nos. 38, 147–151 pls. 4, 111–112; for askoi, ibid. 69, 197–198 nos. 35–36 pls. 26.2, 27.1; 93 nos. 143–144 pl. 110. For squat lekythoi, ibid. 59–60, 228 nos. 73–74, 69, pl. 57 in which is noted that this type reached Cyrenaica in the second quarter of the 4th cent. BC. For 'feeders', Elrashedy 2002, 94 nos. 153–155 pls. 112–113. For 4th-cent. Attic black-glazed pottery from Cyrene, see Thorn 2005, 609–610. 615 nos. 63–67, 92–94 (bolsals, kantharoi); Kenrick 1987, 2 nos. 4–6 pl. 1–2. For examples from Apollonia, see Maffre 2010, 171–172 figs. 4–8, 10–12 (squat lekythoi, bolsals, salt-cellars); Maffre 2015, 177 fig. 10 (small bowls, lekanides et al.); White 1976 115–126 pl. 20f (feeder), 21e (Lykynic lekanis), 22b, c (bolsal), 24c, d (bolsal, Lykynic lekanis), pl. 24e (hydria), pl. 25d, e (squat lekythos) [from the Museum necropolis zone at Apollonia]. For examples from Tocra (ancient Taucheira), see Boardman et al. 1973, 94. 2360. 2362. 2363 fig. 42 pl. 42 (bowls and a bolsal cup).

[42] Elrashedy 2002, 32–59. 68. 95; McPhee 1997, 71. 80–81 nos. 10–14 pls. 14–15 (from the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene); Thorne 2005, 605–606 nos. 48–50 fig. 308, 325, 327, 337, 344, 351, 354, 370, 381, 400 (from the necropolis at Cyrene). For examples from Apollonia, see Maffre 2015, 176–177. 182–183 figs. 5–8 (from the west necropolis).

[43] E.g. McPhee 1997, 71. 85–88 nos. 38–52. 57–60 pls. 22–27. Thorne 2005, 606–607 nos. 51–52 fig. 318, 321, 322, 337, 382, 398–399. Caillou 2010, 182 fig. 11 (fragments of kraters from Kallikrateia).

[44] Elrashedy 2002, 68 observes that number of 4th-cent. Attic red-figure kraters in Cyrenaica is smaller than that of the liquid-holding containers, such as pelikai and hydriai.

[45] Py et al. 2000, 170. 172–173. 176–177. 185–188 figs. 4–6, 8, 16, 18–20.

[46] The evidence from funerary and residential assemblages at Marseille (Gantès 2000) present affinities with Attic pottery from Cyrenaica. For analysis of Greek pottery data-sets from southern France, Spain, Portugal focusing on the change of shapes and functions over time, see Walsh 2014, 141–152. 158–163.

[47] MacDonald 1979, 172–175 states that '…much of the commercial activity shifted (from Marseille) westward, to sites around the Gulf of Lion' (ibid. 173). He also suggests (ibid. 177) that Punic merchants may have an increased role in the distribution of Attic pottery at sites in north Africa and southern Spain by the late 5th and early 4th cent. BC. However, Punic merchants were not the only ones being active in the west during this period, see Reed 82–84 about merchants' attested states of origin. On the question of shipwrecks and traders see, Dietler 2010, 133–145, esp. p. 142 where he claims that 'cooperation in commercial ventures was clearly not constrained narrowly by ethnic boundaries'; ibid. 144–147 for the role of the indigenous people of the Gulf of Lion and beyond, in the river and longer distance sea-borne trade.

[48] For Sabratha, see Gill 1986, 276–277. 288–290 (small bowls and salt-cellars); 290–293 (plates and fish-plates). He observes that similar material is found in indigenous settlements in the Iberian Peninsula, 'which may suggest that Sabratha was either on the same trade route or used the same traders' but had

'few points of contact with southern Italy or Sicily'. For drinking vessels, ibid. 284 no. 72 (bolsal cups); 285 nos. 73–74 (kantharoi). For Lepcis Magna, de Miro – Fiorentini 1977, 8–12. 42–44. 64–72 (skyphoi, bolsal cups, bowls with incurving rim, fish-plates). Also Morel 2000, 261–262.

[49] E.g. for examples from the El Sec shipwreck, Cerdà 1987, 244–293. 308–323.

[50] The variants of the small bowl were very popular in the Iberian Peninsula. E.g. Dominguez et al. 2001, 446–448. 195–200 nos. 65–95 ill. pp. 334–343. 225. 227 nos. 246–247. 261–263 ill. pp. 361–363. 235–236 nos. 298–301 ill. pp. 374–376. 263 nos. 470–472 ill. pp. 407–408. 315 nos. 931–937 ill. pp. 420 [from funerary contexts in eastern Andalusia: a) bowls with outturned rim (diam. 11–15 cm or 20–33 cm) used as lids for kraters or/and pelikai or to hold offerings, b) echinus bowls have a smaller diameter and were less frequently used as lids. They have been more popular in south-east Iberia and probably replaced in Andalusia by the red-figure cups, 'which were scarcer in the other Iberian regions'). Also, Principal-Ponce 2000, 222–223 fig. 4; Cura Morera 2000, 230–232 figs. 3–4; Sanmarti 2000, 235 fig. 2; Martín 2003, 192–259, 315–398 nos. 274–867 figs. 41–124 (from La Illeta dels Banyets).

[51] Sparkes et al. 1970, 131–132. Rotroff 1997, 161–162 and note 53 for its distribution in Greece, in the East and the Black Sea region.

[52] Sánchez Fernández 2017, 187 suggests a likely use as lamps for the small bowls with incurving rim. Hudson 2016, 218 fig. 15 based on the evidence from a Hellenistic household assemblage at Tell El-Timai in Egypt, claims that these vessels could have served a drinking function.

[53] Rotroff et al. 1992, 26–27 and note 66. Lynch 2011, 169–173.

[54] Walsh 2014, 1–5. 75–89.

[55] People may have preferred imported small pots rather than large ones (as indicated by an increased number of small bowls with incurving and outturned rim from the second quarter of the 4th century onwards), glazed pots to figured ones, or pots intended for a certain utility (drinking vessels instead of pouring containers in the 5th century BC).

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Fig. 1: Google Earth. – Fig. 2: Drawing by A. Wilkins. – Fig. 3: After Goodchild 1952, 211, fig. 2; digital editing V. Stasinaki. – Fig. 4a: Drawing by D. Hopkins. – Fig. 4b: Photograph E. Zimi. – Fig. 5: Graphic by author. – Fig. 6: Graphic by author. – Fig. 7: Graphic by author. – Fig. 8: Drawing by S. Goodale. – Fig. 9a: Drawing by D. Hopkins. – Fig. 9b: Photograph by E. Zimi. – Fig. 10: Drawing by D. Hopkins. – Fig. 11: Drawing by D. Hopkins. – Fig. 12: Drawing by D. Hopkins.

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