

# Greek Imports at the Extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: Reflections on the Case of Iberia in the Fifth Century BC

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I propose in this paper to consider some problems arising out of a review of Greek material of the fifth century BC found on the Levant coast of the Iberian Peninsula. The choice of area commended itself by virtue of the fact that during the crucial century of the later archaic and the classical periods it seems to have been peculiarly subject to hellenizing influences despite the fact that there is no solid evidence for any Greek colonial settlement in the region (Shefton 1989, 212 n. 25; Domínguez 1991, 123ff.; Shefton 1994, 74). Such reflections may also turn out to have some bearing upon our general theme of the development of urbanism in the Peninsula, as the mass import after the middle of the fifth century is bound to have had an impact upon social development.<sup>1</sup>

As a foil I propose to make some observations on and comparison with Greek exports of the same period at the other end of the Mediterranean, that is the Near East, in this case particularly Israel and the Palestinian area, because rather surprisingly there is a strange congruence in the type of material which found its way to these two extremities, a congruence worth looking into.

However we start in the West. Certainly the situation here was now different from that which had earlier prevailed on the Southern Coastal Strip of Andalucía, where urban settlements either Tartessian or Phoenician attracted, especially during the sixth century, strong currents of Greek imports at a time when Phocaeen links with that part of the Peninsula were particularly lively. That Phocaeen activity had during the advancing sixth century extended north-eastwards along the coast as far as the Cabo de la Nao, if not beyond (Shefton 1982, 354–7.). However before the end

of the century the impetus nourishing these links seems to have abated for reasons which are not yet entirely clear. The decrease in the Southern Coastal Strip may have been connected with the decline of Tartessos,<sup>2</sup> it may also have affected the activities along the Levant coast of Spain. New but weaker impulses, perhaps from Sicily via Ibiza, can perhaps be discerned now, but none of this is as yet convincingly demonstrable (Shefton 1982, 365 n. 83; 1990, 193–4). The end of the sixth and the early fifth century are thus in some respect a trough, a point of recession, before stronger new forces took over. To identify these new forces is by no means easy and clear cut results are only beginning to emerge. It is however increasingly likely that in these new impulses the Greek colony of Ampurias is at last beginning to play a part. Whether such endeavours, new at the time,<sup>3</sup> are illustrated by the recently found letter on a sheet of lead from Ampurias, dated by its interpreters to the late sixth century, is still a moot point. That the letter mentions the relations of an Ampuritan entrepreneur with Sagunto is now generally accepted (Sanmartí and Santiago 1988, 9–13; Santiago 1988) and I am increasingly inclined to believe that the links illustrated there are indeed significant also in a wider sense, standing for the incipient relationship of Ampurias with the coastline reaching quite far to the south. It is worth perhaps attempting to identify indicators, unambiguous if possible, of these new links emanating from Ampurias.

Characteristic of this period is a certain prevalence of Attic black cups type C, which has been noted along the coast of Castellón, also further south at Cabezo Lucero, though the numbers are, apart from about 13 cups at Cabezo Lucero, never large on any one site.<sup>4</sup> They are datable in a broad spectrum to the end of the sixth and the early fifth centuries (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 91–2, pl. 19). These cups are known also in some quantity on several sites along the crescent of native settlements skirting the Gulf of Lions, thus from Montlaurès, La Monédière, Pech Maho and Ruscino (Gallet de Santerre 1977, 48; 1980, 189–90; Sanmartí and Gusi 1976, 216) and there can be little doubt that their distribution came through the Greek colonial centres of Marseilles and Ampurias. Indeed from there they also reached late Hallstatt settlements of inland Gaul, of which the princely grave at Vix is perhaps the best known example (Shefton 1982, 358 n. 60; Rolley 1987, 416; 1988, 100 fig. 9). Their sturdy build tended to ensure survival over terrestrial routes. Their distribution southwards along the Levant coast can surely most reasonably be explained as emanating from Ampurias. Thus they can rank among the early diagnostic indicators of Ampuritan activity southwards beyond the immediate vicinity of Catalunya. Recently Sanmartí has even spoken of a horizon of cups type C, when discussing the phases of urbaniz-

ation in Catalunya, elevating these cups to the role of type fossils (Padró and Sanmartí 1992, 187).

It is only on rare occasions that at this period we run across a more ambitious piece to give further substance to this view of Ampuritan influence. Pride of place amongst such must go to the red figured battle scene on a late archaic cup (type C) recovered in Cabezo Lucero, part of which graces the front cover of Rouillard's recent book on Greeks and the Peninsula (Rouillard 1991; Rouillard *et al.* 1990, 551 fig. 7; 1993, pl. 69 A-B). This cup, datable early within the first quarter of the fifth century, is hardly of the very top rank but it yet qualifies as a piece which can scarcely have arrived at the Segura mouth except by way of Ampurias where its siblings and coevals can be found.

Much of the further evidence for the new role of Ampurias as the redistributor of Greek (predominantly Attic at this time) prestige vessels along the coast stretching to the south comes rather later, though beginning still within the first half of the century. Indeed it almost seems that for a time at any rate Ampurias may have been the sole source of supply of such goods to the Iberian native areas. It is also interesting to note that much of this evidence is concentrated at certain sites near the mouth of a particular river system which reaches far inland. Here the possibility of access to the hinterland is likely to have played as important a role as the presence at the coast of a market for prestige goods available to the local élite. We refer to the Segura river, mentioned already, and the Vinalopó which are, as far as we know up to now, the most significant, as they open up towards the present day Elche and further inland to important settlements in the province of Murcia. Here in the Segura catchment area there are indeed signs of earlier penetration of Greek imports within the second half of the sixth century already,<sup>5</sup> but there is no reason at all to connect these with Ampurias. More systematic links seem only to have been established in the advancing fifth century, links which now can with some confidence be attributed to Ampuritan activity. The earliest imports under this heading are some late black figure cup-skyphoi of the Attic Haimonian workshop, several of them in silhouette technique. Such pieces are known in fair number from Ampurias and even more so from the neighbouring native settlement of Ullastret, where they have been reported in very large quantities.<sup>6</sup> Further south however they have turned up so far in only minimal quantities. For all that in their context there they are precious indicators of the Ampuritan connection. The few such fragments, all of them only recently identified, are especially worth noting in this connection. Several come from Cabezo Lucero, near the coast (Rouillard 1993, pl. 67 B), but others travelled quite far inland. Thus one comes rather unexpectedly and out of context from the fourth century

Iberian necropolis of Archena (Cabezo del Tio Pio) on the Segura river well upstream from Murcia. Due north of Murcia, near Fortuna another fragment has been reported by García Cano and Virginia Page.<sup>7</sup> The Archena fragment is a stray without grave context. Another fragment of similar kind comes from the Puig of Alcoy in Contestania, that is to say a little further north, also inland (Rouillard 1991, pl. 9, 1). The date of these vessels should be near enough mid-fifth century, though dates considerably later (and earlier) have been advocated by some!<sup>8</sup>

Not unexpectedly most of the early relevant material seems to have come from coastal sites, but certainly towards the middle of the century these objects spread further inland, as we have seen in the case of the Haimonian cup-skyphoi.

We have already referred to in passing to another category of imports which one would be inclined to attribute to Ampurias. These are high grade, finely painted red-figured vases of the kind one would expect to see in major destinations of Attic export such as the principal Etruscan sites or as far as the Iberian Peninsula is concerned, Ampurias rather than anywhere else. On this score we have already mentioned the battle cup from Cabezo Lucero. For the late archaic period the cup so far stands alone as an export to the native settlements of the Levant coast. However at the end of the second quarter and beyond these exceptional pieces seem to have become rather more frequent. We note here again a concentration near the mouth of the river Segura. In addition to the necropolis of Cabezo Lucero, which since the Hispano-French excavations between 1980 and 1985 has primacy in the quantity, though not the quality of material, El Molar, also a coastal necropolis, now on the north bank of the river, but then probably an island site, holds a position of special importance, but there are also Santa Pola (Portus Illicitanus) and Alcudia di Elche (Illici), all of them in close proximity to each other<sup>9</sup> as is shown on the sketch map here Figure 2. Some of these had had Greek imports going back well into the sixth century BC,<sup>10</sup> but, as we said already in connection with the imports further inland within the province of Murcia, there is no reason at all to assume any Ampuritan involvement in the movement of these early imports.

Now however in the early classical period and just beyond the position is quite different. Let us consider some of these more ambitious pieces especially some very fragmentary neck-amphorae found in this area of a shape and quality otherwise unknown in the Peninsula outside Ampurias.

El Molar has produced several fragments coming from such a shape. There is the magnificent shoulder fragment showing a very fine head of a woman, her hair gathered in a sakkos, followed by a male, lost apart from his petasos hat, which has been attributed to the Polygnotan School, and

must have been quite an early work in it (Trias 1968, pl. 176, 1; Rouillard 1991, pl. 10, 4; Monraval 1992, 49 no. 50, illustr.). The same site has produced the mouth and beginning of the neck of the same shape, probably with twisted handles, an elaborate piece evidently, with ovolo frieze on the outer edge and traces of the handle root and the beginning of the neck ornament.<sup>11</sup> It is impossible to judge from the publication whether the two pieces belong together or come from two different amphorae, the mouth fragment being perhaps the one slightly later in date. Again the Museum of Alicante had on exhibition in the autumn of 1993 fine neck fragments with figure decoration (standing women) from an amphora with twisted handles of similar shape, though rather later, well within the second half of the century. This is the neck amphora from Santa Pola mentioned several times by Ricardo Olmos.<sup>12</sup> We have thus gathered here already a remarkable, indeed for the Peninsula unique concentration of roughly mid-fifth century (and beyond) amphorae of fine quality, a phenomenon, which certainly deserves comment.

This concentration is not without relevance when we consider the hitherto puzzling and at first sight quite isolated arrival of such high grade material into the hinterland on the western edge of Contestania, I mean of course the fine fragments in Valencia Museum from one or two neck-amphorae found in two different 'departamentos' on the fortified Iberian settlement of Bastida de les Alcuses,<sup>13</sup> not far from Mogente. Here we may still be in the early classical period, and the intriguing point is that at last, unlike the case of the other amphorae, the subject of the main picture on the vase body can be identified from the fragments. We have the remnants of an elaborate representation of the myth of the Departure from Eleusis of Triptolemos seated on his winged chariot, seen off by Demeter and Kore to spread the mysteries of agriculture to mankind. These pieces, let it be stressed, are entirely isolated in date and character from the relatively plentiful supply of Attic imports of the late fifth and the fourth centuries on the site.

I have again little doubt that this amphora or couple of amphorae made the journey to the site from Ampurias, perhaps even via the Segura mouth.

We have then identified several categories of material within the first half of the fifth century or soon after, which appear to point strongly to a newly developing role of Ampurias as the source of supply of Greek imports to sites along the Levant coast and some way inland from there as well. Of these the late archaic battle cup from Cabezo Lucero and the neck amphorae of the early classical and succeeding period can count as élite-tied luxury imports.

To these special luxury imports we must add the very large-sized cup

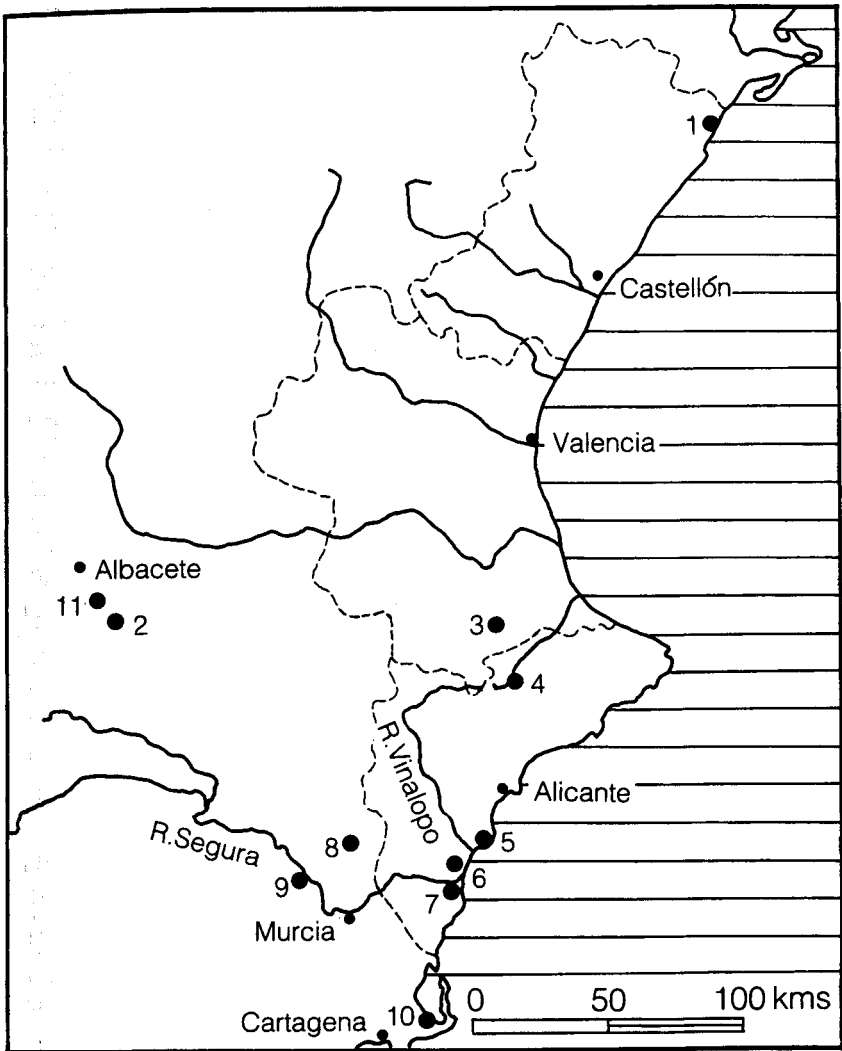
type B by the Pentesilea Painter, a work of the early classical period. It was found in the habitation site of the Iberian township of El Puig near Benicarló, Castellón, a little way south of the Ebro delta (Sanmartí and Gusi 1976, 213, pls 1–2). Here Enric Sanmartí, who published the find in the Castellón Cuadernos, said all that needs to be and he too argued for the arrival of this cup from Ampurias. Perhaps the Ampurias lead letter with its mention of wine in the cargo may suggest something of the background to this onward distribution of Attic pottery. However with the finer and often vulnerable pieces, such as the huge stemmed kylix from Benicarló, the motivation for incurring the additional risk of breakage must have been specially powerful. We cannot know how far such special despatches were sent as personal gifts and there may have been different reasons for each case and who knows whether the preference for the fine amphorae at the Segura mouth may have had a quite bizarre explanation which we cannot even guess at.

Before passing on though we must recall another early import which arrived through Ampuritan agency and went even further south than any of those mentioned hitherto. They are the significant finds at Los Nietos on the Mar Menor, just north-east of Cartagena and in immediate proximity to the mines at Unión (Diehl *et al.* 1962, 59–60 nos. 1 and 2, pls 16, 17, 1–2; Trias 1968, pl. 177, 1–2; García Cano 1982, pls 17, 1–3, 18, 1; cf. Shefton 1994, 73). Here the coral ('intentional') red dish with handles, quite early in the fifth century, is an almost self-proclaiming arrival from Ampurias,<sup>14</sup> and the same though less certainly, is likely for the rather later Pentesilean School cup (Painter of Bologna 417) from the same site. Here too this early material is quite isolated from the plentiful imports of Attic of much later date.

Pentesilean cups, it should be added, also reached further inland to Llano de la Consolación, near Albacete (Trias 1968, pl. 188, 1) and there can be little doubt that they too came via Ampurias, which had plenty of them.

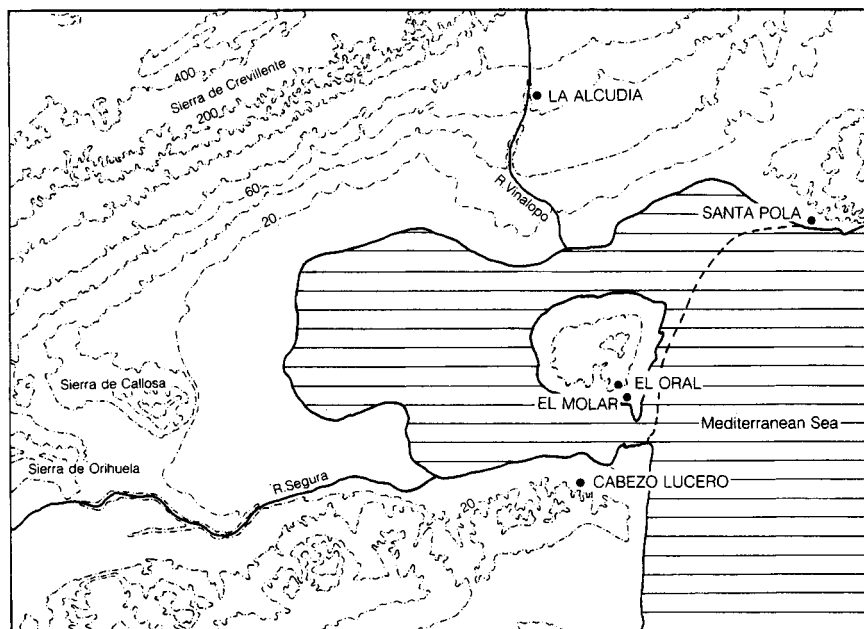
With this tally we have practically exhausted the list of Greek imports to native sites on the Levant coast and indeed, apart from the neighbourhood of Ampurias, to the Peninsula as a whole during the period under review, that is the first half of the fifth century and just beyond.<sup>14 bis</sup> These imports were cups of various kinds and amphorae. Were they used for wine unmixed in the barbarian fashion?

We have marked the pertinent sites on the map Figure 1, though we have not entered the find places of black cups type C.<sup>15</sup> Apart perhaps from El Molar these early imports are almost everywhere isolated phenomena in their several localities which in turn are, with the exception of those on the Segura mouth, well scattered along the Levant coast and its hinterland.



- |                           |                 |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 BENICARLÓ               | 7 CABEZO LUCERO |
| 2 LLANO de la CONSOLACIÓN | 8 FORTUNA       |
| 3 BASTIDA de les ALCUSES  | 9 ARCHENA       |
| 4 ALCOY                   | 10 LOS NIETOS   |
| 5 SANTA POLA              | 11 POZO MORO    |
| 6 EL MOLAR                |                 |

**Figure 1.** Distribution of Attic imports in the Levant during the early and mid-fifth century BC. Redrawn by Alison Wilkins.



**Figure 2.** Mouth of the river Segura with hypothetical coastline in Antiquity (note 9). Redrawn by Alison Wilkins.

On the map Figure 2 we have noted the special concentration along the mouth of the river Segura, then perhaps a bay which may have provided an unusually favourable point of entry.

For other categories, which may have begun to arrive already in the first half of the century, though perhaps quite late in it, and go on into the second half the position is more ambivalent. A brief consideration of the case of the Attic column-kraters will illustrate this.

The advantage of paying some attention to the column-krater is that we can be reasonably confident, even where no figure work is preserved, that the bulk of fragments are likely to date within the second and third quarters of the century, when this shape flourished particularly. In the Peninsula their dispersal outside Ampurias is not particularly dense but more widespread perhaps than the categories considered so far, not unnaturally seeing that the time span covered here is more extended. Whether some of these kraters were part of exceptional arrivals too, such as we claimed for the neck-amphorae, we cannot say with assurance. Where we have these column kraters in a reasonably complete state of preservation the answer must be discouraging. None of them are particularly exceptional work, though they include erudite mythological subjects, such



as the spell of the Orpheus' music over the Thracian barbarians (García y Bellido 1948, pl. 131; Trias 1968, pls 194, 195, 1), a subject not inappropriate perhaps in Villaricos at the mouth of the Almanzora river and at the time largely west Phoenician or rather Carthaginian in character. Such kraters may have come from Ampurias too as commonplace goods or they may be harbingers of a stream that was, as we shall see, in the second half of the fifth century to come in some volume from southern Italy and perhaps Sicily too. We cannot be certain here and any judgment is bound to be arbitrary. I may perhaps refer to my remarks in the 1989 Taranto Convegno on this very problem ('La Magna Grecia e il lontano Occidente' — Shefton 1990, 195), where I have also provided a list of find places.<sup>16</sup> I have not included these sites in the map Figure 1. Perhaps I should have done so, but I was not sure that any of them are earlier than the third quarter of the century except the one from Cabezo Lucero (Rouillard 1993, pl. 65 — with a later date)

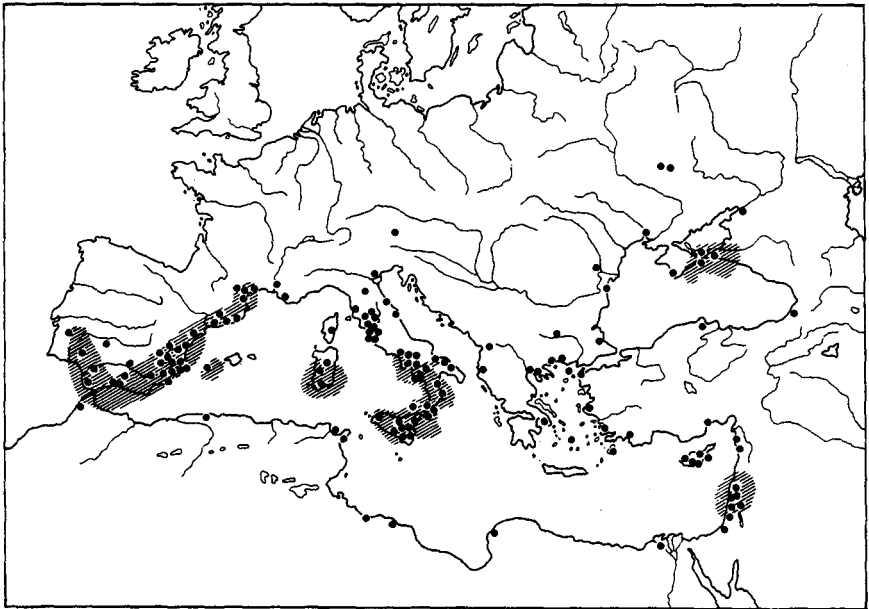
Stepping back then for a few moments we realize that with the enumeration of the foregoing categories we have virtually exhausted the earlier fifth century presence of Greek imports in the Iberian world altogether. The conclusion does rather impose itself that apart from Ampurias there was at this time no other source of Attic material available. Yet even if we accept such a conclusion, the question still arises why during the first half of the century Greek material did not reach this area in greater quantity, even if it had all to come through Ampurias. Was it that at this time the demand was restricted to a small élite section of the population, in contrast to what was to come later?

This question gains in urgency when we contrast the situation during this same period with that observable in the North Western Crescent of the Gulf of Lions between Ampurias and Marseilles, that is Roussillon and Languedoc (Shefton 1994, 69). The difference could hardly be more striking. Here there is on the sites Attic red figure of the fifth century in some profusion, including its first half, no doubt re-exported from the Greek colonial settlements of Marseilles and surely also Ampurias. This time they are not exceptional pieces, special gifts as it were, but the whole range from indifferent to the very fine. They are cups by preference, but also other shapes such as lekanides, and kraters, including the more choice calyx krater. These go to a whole chain of native hill settlements running almost within sight of the Mediterranean coast. They include the well-known native settlements of Ensérune, Montlaurès, La Monédière, to name just a few. These are symptoms of a process of hellenization of which the Pech Maho document so recently published, is a welcome witness.<sup>17</sup>

The reason for the absence of a similar volume in the regions from south of Ullastret right along the Levant coast cannot then be a shortage

of potential supply. There must have been some other reason which, as we said, has not yet been fully formulated. The different degrees of urbanization of these two areas may not be unrelated to this disparity in acceptance.

Let me now briefly touch upon the phenomenon of the Castulo cup.<sup>18</sup> It is a specially sturdy creation of the Athenian potter first current at the beginning of the second quarter of the fifth century, if not already at the very end of the preceding quarter. Its currency lasted a good long time without too much change, almost to the end of the century and in modified shape and decorative detail perhaps somewhat beyond it. Over the years it must have been produced in many scores of thousands. No other shape approaches it in either numbers produced or the extent of distribution. It is the most far-flung Greek product of the fifth century, from Atlantic Morocco to the Ukrainian plains east of Kiev. From Austrian Hallein near Salzburg to sites deep in Israel (here map Figure 3). Yet few are found in Attica itself, few indeed within the Aegean, except in certain crucial areas which open up to routes far afield into the continental hinterland, thus the sites in the northern Aegean, which are perhaps on the way inland to the Balkans and again in Rhodes, on the sea route to the Near East. It is in fact clear that the shape and the thickness of the fabric was specifically



**Figure 3.** Distribution of Castulo cups. Areas of concentration are shaded (note 18). Redrawn by Alison Wilkins.

designed to survive bone-shaking overland transport after the cups had reached their destination at the end of their sea journey (Shefton 1995 forthcoming a and b).

Now it has become clear that there are certain areas which are specifically rich in Castulo cups. Such areas are southern Russia, and the region of Acre, perhaps other areas in Israel too, on the way inland to the incense route towards the Red Sea and Arabia — but this has yet to be more fully investigated.<sup>19</sup> Turning to the West there are rich finds on native sites in Sicily and specially in southern Italy, where we can find them in clusters of dozens at a time. In Etruria their scatter is also wide, but each time in small numbers only. In North Africa they are virtually absent from the Greek settlements of the Cyrenaica, but significantly perhaps relatively thick on the ground in the Punic areas, including, it is getting increasingly clear, Carthage itself. They are thick on the ground in Punic Sardinia, and as far as one can see in Ibiza too. Their greatest concentration anywhere in the world though is in Iberia. If they reached southern Italy and Sicily in their many hundreds, they must have reached Iberia in their scores of thousands. Let me give an example. In September 1993 during a brief visit to the Museum of Burriana Norbert Mesado Oliver very kindly let me open two or three bags of surface sherd from Orleyl (Vall d'Uxó, Castellón).<sup>20</sup> Within ten minutes or so I had sorted out some eighty fragments of Castulo cups. Some of these fragments may of course have come from one and the same cup, there is no telling. That they represent however a very substantial number cannot be doubted. I should add that the distribution of these cups includes Ampurias and the sites in the crescent of the Gulf of Lions, the North Western Crescent, as I have called it, though more detailed study has yet to be undertaken there.

Let me add one more point on these Castulos — namely about their date. There can be no doubt that in Italy and in Sicily there is a strong concentration dating to the second quarter of the fifth century, sometimes quite early in it, and there is evidence too that in Etruria many of these cups are early, that is the second quarter of the century (Shefton 1995 forthcoming a), and I have recently been informed by M. L.-F. Gantès that in Marseilles in the tunnel de la Majeure a substantial find of Attic material of the first half of the fifth century has included quite a few Castulo cups which are early too.

Now the interesting point which I still find very puzzling, is that the finds of Castulos in the Iberian Peninsula are according to the unanimous verdict of the Spanish excavators not earlier than the second half of the fifth century and even go into the fourth century.<sup>21</sup> Even at Ampurias Enric Sanmartí tells me that they occur not before the second half of the century and his view is based on his published find associations. The area

which produced the famous letter on lead also has some fragments, which could indeed be second quarter, as is some of the accompanying material.<sup>22</sup> However there is also later material well within the second half of the century and there is therefore no closely datable context here. Also at Ullastret Marina Picazo reports, and she has confirmed this to me personally, that the Castulo cups occur in late contexts, even early fourth century (Picazo 1977, 102–4.). We shall come back to this puzzling problem presently.

It appears then that mass Attic import starts after the middle of the fifth century in the form of Castulo cups and this stream evidently carries on for almost half a century. Undoubtedly other shapes were involved too, such as bell-kraters, but here the state of fragmentation makes it difficult to assign any meaningful dating to a rim fragment for instance. Unlike the column-krater whose currency is restricted in time and whose fragments are thus indicative, those of bell-kraters are not, unless of course figure work or other diagnostic features are preserved. Even so there is some reason to believe that bell-kraters did not arrive *en masse* until the third quarter of the century<sup>23</sup> and in their earliest grave association at Cerro del Real, Galera (Tutugi) they are in fact accompanied by Castulo cups (here Figures 4 and 5) in what may well be their earliest datable context within the Peninsula.<sup>24</sup>

It is time now to turn, as we have promised to do, from the western extremity of the Mediterranean to the eastern shores. A comparison or contrast was after all going to be one of the features of this paper. Speaking very summarily, there are of course some very obvious differences between these extremities, principally the fact that the coast of Phoenicia and to its south was occupied by a number of ancient city states, both Phoenician and erstwhile Philistine. Indeed the old Philistine centres such as Ashkelon, Ashdod and Gaza were by the time of the Achaemenid empire largely inhabited or at least controlled by Phoenicians too.<sup>25</sup> All these urban sites are during the fifth century the recipients of quantities of Attic pottery of high quality. We find Attic red figure on ambitious and expensive shapes,

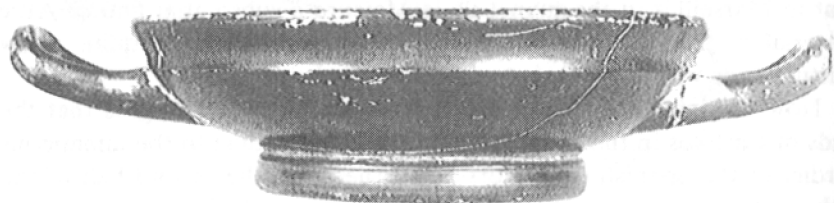
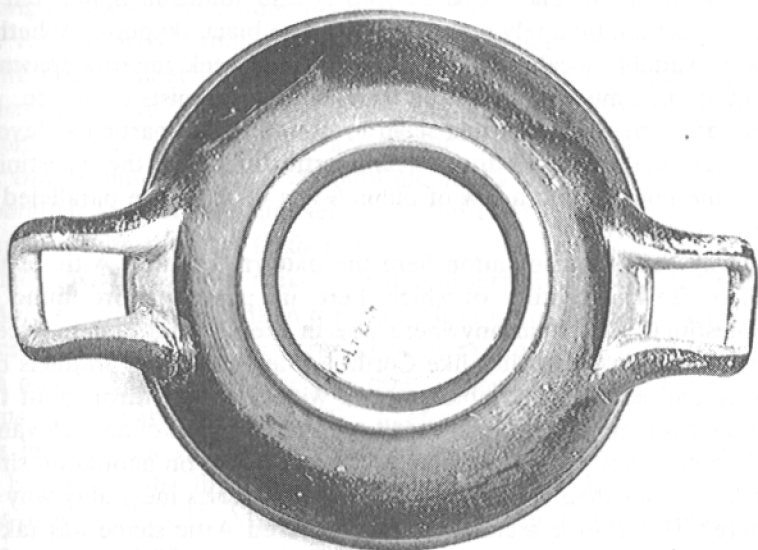
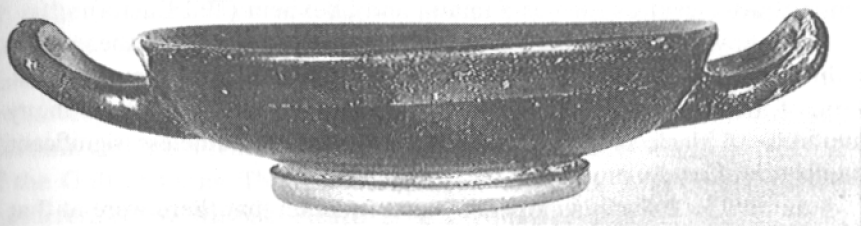


Figure 4. Castulo cup in Galera grave 34 or grave 11 (note 24). Photo. courtesy Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.



**Figure 5.** Castulo cup from Galera grave 20 (note 24). Photo. courtesy Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.

such as calyx kraters and fine hydriai, there are even volute kraters of high quality, in several instances also with intricate mythological subjects, which should perhaps no longer surprise us. At Dor at any rate, it has been argued by the excavator that there was a presence of Greek settlers (Stern 1993, 361–2) and there are even graffiti to lend support to such a view. After all Dor was, it seems, incorporated in the first Athenian Tribute List of 454 BC.<sup>26</sup>

But of such things we shall not talk any further in this particular context. Let me confine myself to saying that these high grade imports

are concentrated in the coastal city states and in some major imperial administrative centres such as Samaria and Shekhem (Tell Balata).

What however is the staple import of Greek pottery on these sites, both the major ones just referred to and even of the many minor ones, some of them well inland? Here the answer is very clear. We have many hundreds of black skyphoi<sup>27</sup> and far fewer, but nonetheless significant numbers of Castulo cups.

I am told by Palestinian archaeologists in Israel that there were at that time no local shapes of cups which were at all suitable for drinking wine.<sup>28</sup> Evidently the mass imports of Attic skyphoi and of Castulo cups must have provided the bulk of acceptable drinking vessels. The combination of black skyphos and black Castulo cup is also found in Spain, but in reverse proportion. Infinitely more Castulos than black skyphoi.<sup>29</sup> Whether there were suitable local drinking cups, before Greek imports spawned local imitations, I must leave for the Iberian archaeologists to decide.

There are other shapes which seem to have enjoyed particular favour in the eastern end of the Mediterranean, particularly so in the Palestinian area. Let me point just to a few of them. Some of these are paralleled in the West, others are not.

Primarily one has to mention here the pattern lekythoi, Attic of the first half of the fifth century, of which there are possibly more found on these Palestinian sites than anywhere else in the Mediterranean, except perhaps in Attica itself or sites like Corinth. They are cheap products but with lively and easily identifiable pattern, widely spread throughout the country, a mass import. There can hardly be a site in Israel of any relevance here which does not provide fragments of such pieces on habitation sites, be it noted, rather than in graves.<sup>30</sup> The question arises inevitably why so many here? The answer seems that the imported Attic shape has taken over as a more attractive product the place and also perhaps the ritual function of a Phoenician shape which had served as unguent bottle for centuries,<sup>31</sup> a shape which itself at its time had given the impetus to the development of the East Greek and subsequently the Attic lekythos. Ironically now some centuries later the Attic grandchild of the Phoenician shape returned to the country of its origins and widely dislodged the ancestral local shape. No such factor existed in the Far West and the relatively limited number of late black figure lekythoi can more easily be explained as an overspill of the huge Attic import of the shape to Sicily (Shefton 1982, 365 n. 83; 1990, 193-4). They in any case are mainly black figure rather than pattern lekythoi, though Ampurias has its share of those too.<sup>32</sup>

Let me turn now to some common material which is paralleled in the Far West, under certain circumstances at any rate. First of all let us look

at the Haimonian silhouette cups and cup-skyphoi of the mid-fifth century or rather earlier. They are known from Attica too, also Boeotia, the Corinthia and elsewhere within Greece.<sup>33</sup> In Israel they again occur on almost every site in small quantities and they are a characteristic part of the archaeological profile even of minor sites.<sup>34</sup> They appear also in Adriatic Picenum and are a feature on several sites in the North Western Crescent of the Gulf of Lions. They have also been noted and well published and characterized by Marina Picazo in her *Ullastret* volume (Picazo 1977, 20–5). I do not want to make too much of this parallelism of the North Western Crescent and the east Mediterranean coastline and indeed the interior of Israel, except to note that such pottery would have been objects for long-distance destinations (even if via Marseilles or Ampurias) with some volume production and it may well have been felt that telling silhouette figures meet the barbarian understanding more readily than the sophisticated ware.<sup>35</sup> We have noted earlier that some few of these Haimonian silhouette cup skyphoi and similar shapes reached the Levant coast and its hinterland too, no doubt mediately via Ampurias. Here then the parallels are between the Near East and the North Western Crescent rather than with the sites further south along the Levant coast of Iberia. We shall have occasion to make the same observation several times again.

More striking perhaps than the parallelism of the silhouette cups is the replication of a fine and rare type of Attic product, which for Israel is in fact a novelty revealed for the first time during the course of my investigations there in the spring of 1993. I refer to the delicate small handled bowls in coral red and with a black lip, dated to the first quarter and a little beyond of the fifth century (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 99–100 — ‘Class of Agora P 10359’). There seems to be an almost bizarre parallelism in the concentration in Israel on the one hand and in the North Western Crescent between Marseilles and Ampurias, on the other. In Italy the type is hardly known at all. In Israel such coral red bowls occur on a variety of sites, often in minute and hardly recognizable fragments, none of them published, from Tell Keisan in the Galilee to Ashkelon and specially Tell Jemmeh, which has yielded a tidy number of them,<sup>36</sup> in the south. All in all this amounts to a surprising concentration, which increased the admittedly small total for these bowls hitherto known from anywhere by a very considerable margin. I ought to say that perhaps not unexpectedly several have also been found in Cyprus.<sup>37</sup> As far as the Achaemenid empire is concerned we may think of them as a discreet Attic nod in the direction of the gold bowls and phialai current in the Persian realm. Some do have the horizontal rifling or corrugation, a feature which in my Damascus paper of 1969 on Achaemenid Gold and Attic Black Glaze I associated

with the corresponding corrugation on Achaemenid gold and silver gilt vessels (Shefton 1971, 109, pl. 20).

Now the only similar concentration of such coral red vessels known to me comes from the North Western Crescent sites such as Ruscino, Ampurias (in several examples) and from there by extension, as we said earlier in this paper, also Los Nietos, near Cartagena.<sup>38</sup> Ampurias is particularly interesting.<sup>39</sup> Not only has the site provided several examples of the bowl, but also in the house where the Ampuritan lead letter was found, Enric Sanmartí uncovered a fragment of such a bowl with the rare horizontal rifling (Sanmartí and Santiago 1988, 6 fig. 2, 23), of the kind which we encountered in Israel (Tell Jemmeh). In the Near East I so far know them only from Israel, but others beyond the borders will surely turn up once investigators have been made aware of the type. Here in the Near East the kind of explanation I offered a moment ago, an allusion to gold or silver gilt vessels may seem plausible, but such an explanation will hardly carry much conviction for the Far West or rather the North Western Crescent. I cannot think of any particular reason except awareness in some quarters in Athens that on a Herodotean view of the world the Far West had certain features in common with the East, that the immediate destination of Marseilles, which had been known until very recently as the entry point to the gold-rich hinterland of the Hallstatt Celts (Shefton 1994, 68-9), might be a suitable recipient for such gold allusions for passing on northwards. That these pieces were in fact diverted to the Coastal Crescent is of course another matter.

Once alerted to the phenomenon we become aware of other congruences which deserve noting and perhaps further exploration. I confine myself to two, whose significance is perhaps not as clear as some of the examples just pointed out. The Attic black skyphos with the enhancement of laurel or floral wreaths and berries in superimposed colour is relatively frequent on Israeli sites.<sup>40</sup> It is rare, though not unknown elsewhere in the Mediterranean,<sup>41</sup> but is richly represented in the crescent of sites in the north-west, where some years ago it gave the impulse to Marina Picazo's and Pierre Rouillard's paper on this type (Picazo and Rouillard 1976). Finally I draw attention to the frequency of plastic vases of the more elaborate kind in the Near East, a point noted by several scholars in the past such as Lily Kahil (1972) and Keith De Vries (1977, 546). The perplexing presence of such a piece as the sphinx at the remote Pech Maho in the West is surprising and in the context of our observations perhaps significant (Solier 1976, 258 fig. 5).

All this has raised more questions than can at present be answered. It is also possible that on further work some of these congruences may turn out to be illusory and the problems raised non-existent. Sufficient however



is likely to remain as points for further discussion.<sup>42</sup> What is particularly significant is that the resemblances are less with the finds in Spain than with those on the north-western sites between Marseilles and Ampurias. We have noted earlier already the much greater richness of imported material there as compared to Iberia in the earlier fifth century at any rate.

To revert to the West. What we got in Iberia so far were by and large morsels from the table of Ampurias, some of them fine morsels admittedly — I refer to the exceptional pieces alluded to earlier, but morsels from another person's table nonetheless — until the onset of the flood of Castulos with the second half of the fifth century. Enric Sanmartí again speaks of the horizon of Castulo cups, setting it off against that of cups type C, though there must have been some chronological gap between them (Padró and Sanmartí 1992, 187).

Where precisely this flood originates more immediately we do not know. We have already referred to the puzzle of the late arrival of this type even in Ampurias and Ullastret. My own view, which I have argued several times in print, is that this new stream comes from southern Italy and Sicily, though the precise modalities are still obscure (Shefton 1987, 136; 1990, 196, 199). By this time it seems quite misleading to speak still of a Phocaeen element in the trade or even in the cultural influence conveyed. We should rather speak of western Greek influence and in this sense the theme of the recent Taranto Convegno of 1989 could not have been more appropriate. This western Greek influence in the advancing fifth century is perhaps more pervasive than has been realized. Even on the Jaén sculpture from Cerillo Blanco (Porcuna) certain iconographic details such as the scallops stylization for the chops either side of the lion's mouth finds good parallels in western Greece and Sicily, but also elsewhere in the Greek world (Shefton 1962, 380 n. 4).

Other links with western Greece are provided by the Attic duck askoi, long known from the Archena cemetery (Cabezo del Tío Pio) in Murcia Museum (Trias 1968, pl. 181; in drawing from all sides García Cano and Page 1990, 133 fig. 2 below) and now reinforced by the find of another from Cabezo Lucero (Rouillard 1993, pl. 70, 73). Here the nearest equivalent finds come from southern Italy (Shefton 1987, 136). This together with other powerful evidence from mercantile graffiti make a route from southern Italy or Sicily certain for the second half of the fifth century.<sup>43</sup> Considerations of this nature might also help to explain the late arrival of Castulo cups in Spain, if we assume that they came across in the wake of this new surge. This might be a happy explanation for the Levant coast and the south of the Peninsula, less satisfactory though for Ampurias and Ullastret. There I am still at a loss.

Who knows whether it is from southern Italy too that some of the classical period imports from Etruria come to the Spanish Levant. In several cases Campanian sites such as Nocera provide Etruscan material corresponding precisely to Spanish finds. I may refer in this respect to an unpublished Etruscan fifth century BC bronze strainer of well-known type in the Museum of Murcia, which is virtually a replica of one from Nocera.<sup>44</sup> Similarly one of the two bronze oinochoai from Alcurrucen, near Cordoba published by Marcos Pous and again by Dirce Marzoli, whether Greek or Etruscan, is of a type widely distributed in Campania and further south,<sup>45</sup> and could easily have come from there in tow of the Attic mass imports just referred to. The case for an arrival via southern Italy will not necessarily apply to all Etruscan bronze imports in the Peninsula. A route directly from Etruria or along the Ligurian coastline and the Gulf of Lions cannot be excluded,<sup>46</sup> as it is demonstrably used for certain south Italian or Etruscan pottery imports to the north of the Peninsula.<sup>47</sup> For the Levant and south however strong links with southern Italy provide the most natural approach route.

This attempt to isolate some of the varied currents which brought Greek (and other) goods to fifth century Iberia can only touch upon part of the phenomenon and has perforce to ignore adventitious factors which from time to time can be surmised to have enriched the spectrum of goods involved. We may mention under this heading goods brought back by leaders of Iberian mercenary troops active in the central Mediterranean and even further east.<sup>48</sup> Such factors are however only marginal to the wider panorama which is beginning to reveal itself — but there is still a great deal to be done. How far this focusing upon the earlier and the mid-fifth century in the Levant will have contributed to explaining the hellenizing so evident in much of the local sculpture of perhaps this very period must therefore at present still remain uncertain.

### Postscript

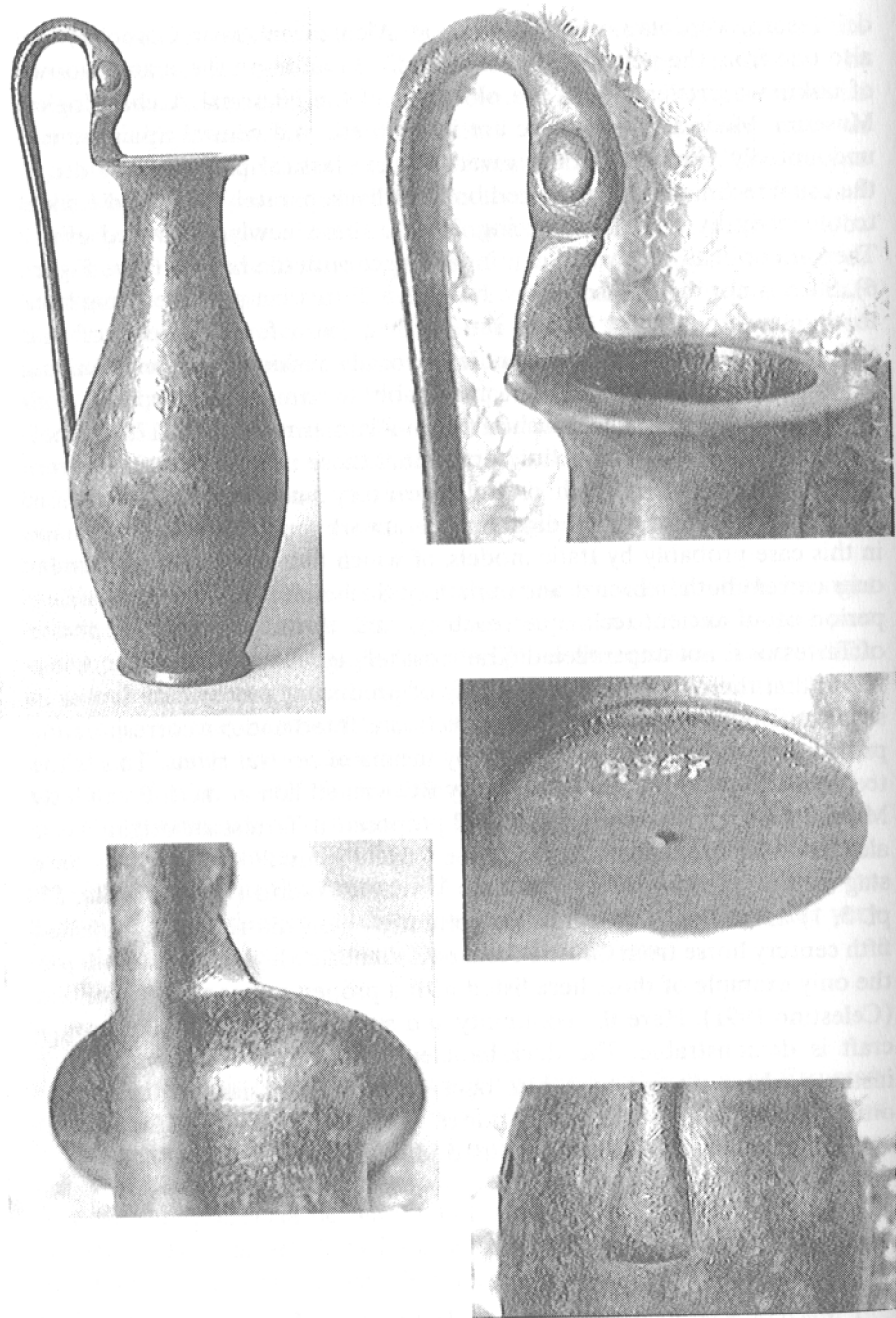
I want to take this opportunity to challenge the identification as Etruscan of a bronze ewer of elegant shape with a looping handle which terminates at the upper end in a duck's bill and is of one piece with the body of the vessel. It has recently featured prominently in the 1990 Barcelona conference on the 'Presencia de material etrusco en la Península Ibérica' and since then also in an article by Dirce Marzoli<sup>49</sup> in the *Madri der Mitteilungen* and there is a real danger that this attribution will gain uncritical acceptance.

Such bronze ewers of identical make and shape have turned up recently on a number of sites, thus at El Oral (on the Segura mouth), at Cabecico

del Tesoro, Verdolay (near Murcia), at Alcurrucen (near Córdoba) and also one from the neighbourhood of Cádiz. In addition there are also two of unknown provenance in the old stock of the National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.<sup>50</sup> Now there are in southern and central Spain several undoubtedly Etruscan bronze ewers of the classical period. They are in the usual technique of hammered body with a separately cast handle, fixed to the body by rivet or soldering. Not so these newly recovered ewers. They are of heavy body and cast in one piece with the handle (here Figure 6). Such is not the Etruscan way, but it is a Tartessian practice going back to the seventh century at any rate, with quite a few examples of that technique extant, where the handle of locally fashioned phoenicianizing bronze ewers is in one casting (presumably by *cire perdue* process) with the body instead of being attached (Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 173–4; Shefton 1982, 361 n. 65). I have little doubt that these newly recognized ewers are latter-day, perhaps fifth or fourth century, successors to an ancient south Iberian tradition of indigenous metalwork, influenced in their shape in this case probably by Italic models, of which there were several similar ones current both in bronze and in pottery. Such a survival into the classical period of an ancient technique reaching back to the orientaling period of Tartessos is not unparalleled. The most telling analogy lies in the recognition that there was a Tartessian way of producing cast bronze figures in sections. The recessed sleeve of one section is fitted under a corresponding protrusion on the other and joined by means of several rivets. This is the technique used on the seventh century BC winged lion at the J. Paul Getty Museum for which some years ago I proposed a Tartessian origin;<sup>51</sup> it is also used for the British Museum deer 'from Spain',<sup>52</sup> and it recurs on a stag in the collection of D. José Luis Várez in Madrid (Olmos 1992a, 53, pl. 3, 1) as well as — and most importantly — on the recently published fifth century horse from Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena) in Badajoz, the only example of those here listed with a proper archaeological context (Celestino 1991). Here the continuity and survival of a Tartessian bronze craft is demonstrable. The duck-handled bronze jugs must be another instance where we can recognize once again a Tartessian workshop tradition which though over the centuries it adapts to changing fashions of styles, yet preserves something of its traditional craft practice.<sup>53</sup>

## NOTES

1 Much of what follows represents a development of ideas first expressed in Shefton 1990 and for some points more detailed references can be found there. I was able to gather further material on a visit to Spain in autumn 1993 and am



**Figure 6.** Details of the bronze oinochoe Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional inv. 9857 (note 50). Ht. 18.9 cm (24.2 cm with handle). Photo. author.

greatly indebted to the generosity of Enrique Llobregat and his colleagues in Alicante, to José Miguel García Cano and Virginia Page at Murcia and Mula, as well as to Paloma Cabrera at the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid. As ever I relied on Ricardo Olmos for help and advice. In addition the National Archaeological Museum provided the photographs for Figures 4 and 5. They also allowed me to examine and photograph the bronze oinochoe, here Figure 6. I am greatly obliged for their courteous help.

In connection with the Near Eastern portion of this paper I am deeply grateful to my hosts, the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, for their perfect hospitality in the spring of 1993, when I was in the country on a British Academy Exchange Fellowship.

2 This decline is nowadays associated with a decay in the exploitation of local mineral resources, for which in turn a variety of external reasons are proposed; cf. some bibl. in Keay, S.J. 1992, 277.

3 On the early role of Ampurias *vis à vis* the south of the Peninsula, cf. Shefton 1994, 71–2.

4 On Attic cups type C in the region: Rouillard 1977, 11 with notes 19, 20; Sanmartí 1976, 219, 225; Rouillard 1991, 167 n. 82; 1993, 89 (Cabezo Lucero).

5 At El Molar on the coast (see note 10 below) and inland at Archena (Olmos 1983; García Cano and Page 1990, 116 no. 56 fig. 15, 6; 1991, 381 figs 3–4, Attic Droop cups and such like). These should all be part of Phocaeen activity based on the south of the Peninsula, cf. Shefton 1982, 349 fig. 4.

6 Ampurias: Rouillard 1991, pl. 2, 8. Ullastret: Trias 1968, pl. 128; Picazo 1977, pl. 4, 1–2 (with discussion).

7 Archena: García Cano and Page 1990, 116 no. 57 fig. 15, 8. Fortuna: *ibid.* 123 n. 23.

8 Mary Moore 1986, 49, pls 103–4 places the bulk of the silhouette cups and skyphoi into the early fifth century BC, basing herself largely on the evidence of the rectangular rock cut shaft and some well groups in the Athenian Agora. Other evidence however supports a longer currency for them, thus Palmer 1964, pls 50 (no.) 333, 55 (no.) 346–mid-fifth century contexts. There seems to be little support for a later date suggested, e.g. in Picazo 1977, 21. Relevant material with profile drawings and bibl. now in M. Pipili, *Attic black-figure skyphoi*. CVA Athens Fasc. 4 (Athens 1993), 67–70; also *ibid.* 26 (on pl. 13).

9 The ancient configuration of the coastline is uncertain. The suggestion embodied in our Figure 2 largely tallies with a map on display in the Archaeological Museum of Alicante. The details of the contours are based on Abad and Sala Sellés, *MM* 35 (1994), 185 fig. 2, which shows the present situation with full entries of the archaeological sites. Our map has only a selection.

10 See note 5 above. For the material from El Molar, cf. Shefton 1982, 355 n. 51, fig. 6 (Attic cup by Griffin-bird Painter); *ibid.* 359 n. 61 (East Greek faience aryballos); for which also Aranegui Gascó 1981, 55, pl. 2, 3. Both pieces are reproduced in drawings by Monraval 1992, nos. 42–4 (aryballos); 46–8 (Attic cup). Olmos 1990a, 7, pl. 7 adds the Ionizing Attic Little Master cup in the Municipal Museum of Archaeology, Elche, but Rouillard tells me that it was bought by Ramos Folqués in the market and has no Spanish provenance. On El Molar see also L. Abad Casal, *El poblamiento ibérico en la provincia de Alicante*. In

A. Ruiz and M. Molinos (eds), *Los Iberos. Actas de las I Jornadas sobre el Mundo Ibérico. Jaén 1985* (Jaén 1987), 157–169, esp. 160. The Attic Little Master (lip-) cup in Elche is also cited in R. Olmos, *Le facteur grec à Malaga et dans le contexte des installations phéniciennes du littoral andalou*. In J. Gran-Aymerich, *Malaga phénicienne et punique. Recherches franco-espagnoles 1981–1988* (Paris 1991), 140–143, esp. 142.

11 J.J. Sennent Ibáñez, *Excavaciones en la necropolis del Molar* (MemJuntSupExcAntig No. 107) (1929/30), pl. 12, 5-third one down. Redrawn in Monraval 1992, no. 62. The ovolo frieze along the mouth of these neck amphorae, usually with twisted handles, begins with the Niobid Painter's work, thus T.B.L. Webster, *Der Niobidenmaler* (Leipzig 1935), pl. 17; M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt* (Frankfurt/Main 1989), pls 28 (N 71; N 72), 33 (no.) 2 (GN 98). It goes on for much of the remainder of the century.

12 Illustrated in Sanchez *et al.* 1986, 50 fig. 25. Comments in Olmos 1990a, 9; 1990b, 231.

13 Trias 1968, pl. 159, 1 (body fragments), 2 (neck fragments). For excavation reports Fletcher *et al.* 1965, 34 no. 6 with drawing (neck). Fletcher *et al.* 1969, 280–1 nos. 11–12 (body).

14 For the coral red bowls see notes 38 and 39 below.

14 *bis.* The early red figured cup type C from Pozo Moro (just south-east of Albacete), perhaps still end of the sixth century BC, is the most notable absentee from our review (M. Almagro Gorbea, *MM* 24 (1983), 186–7, pl. 14, a-c; cf. Shefton 1982, 358 with n. 60). I offer no view whether it came via Ampurias or not.

15 See references in note 4 above. Entering the find spots would hardly affect the picture projected in the map Figure 1, apart from Punta de Orleyl (Vall d'Uxó), just south of Castellón.

16 Shefton 1990, 195 n. 21. Pertinent entries (details in that note): Cabezo Lucero; La Escuela (next door to El Molar and El Oral on the island, as in map Figure 2); El Molar. All these are on the Segura mouth! Further inland is El Puig, Alcoy (map Figure 1). Further away still are Villaricos, Castulo and Cerro Solomon. To these localities add now: Torre de la Sal (along the coast a little north of Castellón), *CuadernPrehistArqCastellon* 13 (1987–88), 249 fig. 75–6, 14 (Fernández Izquierdo) and La Alcudia, Elche (several fragments exhibited in the Monographic Museum of La Alcudia; cf. also Olmos 1990a, 8 n. 7). I note that Carmen Aranegui and José Pérez (1990, 237 map fig. 11) have a rather different list of sites with Attic column-kraters, several of which I do not know.

17 Lejeune *et al.* 1988 with Shefton 1994, 70; 84 n. 62 (bibl.).

18 On these so far only Shefton 1982, 403ff. fig. 23 with map fig. 24; supplements in Shefton 1987, 137. Two detailed studies (Shefton 1995 forthcoming a and b) have been in the press far too long! The map (Figure 3) here is based upon that in Shefton 1982, but brought up-to-date. Only the Iberian Peninsula has been left largely unchanged. For this see now the map Rouillard 1991, 120–1 map 5; note also the study by Carmen Sánchez 1992.

19 For Israel we can add now two fragments from Tell Jemmeh in the National Museum of Natural History, Washington D.C. which I came to know in October 1994 through the courtesy of the excavator Gus van Beek.

20 On the site Lazaro Mengod *et al.* 1981.

21 For a selection of pertinent Spanish excavation reports on Castulo cups and their dating, cf. Cruz Pérez 1990, 148, but his date in the first half of the century for Cerro Macareno is based upon a misapprehension cf. Sanchez 1992, 330.

22 Sanmartí-Grego and Santiago 1988, 6–7 with fig. 2.

23 For these early arrivals Shefton 1990, 199 n. 33. In addition to the bell-krater fragment from El Molar, Trias 1968, pl. 176, 4-Polygnotan, we may perhaps add the fairly complete one from Santa Pola, Sánchez *et al.* 1986, 52 fig. 26, though this one is already in the last quarter of the century. For the interpretation of its subject Simon 1990, with figs 1–3; cf. also Olmos 1990b, 231–34.

24 On the three Galera tombs with Castulo cups, Shefton 1990, 196. The following gives further details. *Grave 11* (warrior grave): D.J. Cabré and D.F. de Motos, *Memorias Junt Sup Exc Antig* 25 (1918) (Madrid 1920), 24–5 pl. 14 top right; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España* 1, 3 (Madrid 1954), 394 fig. 267 top right. The cup is quite like that on Figure 5, from grave 20 below. Also bell-krater, Group of Polygnotos (ARV<sup>2</sup> 1054 No. 56 *bis*), Trias 1968, pls 203 and 205, 1. *Grave 34*: Cabré and de Motos (as cited), 32–3 pl. 15 top right. The Castulo cup, here Figure 4, is entirely black, including the outside of the foot. This is unusual for the presumed period of the grave's deposition. Also bell-krater by the Painter of Munich 2335 (ARV<sup>2</sup> 1163 No. 43), Trias 1968, pl. 204. The richly furnished *grave 20*, which had no Attic bell-kraters, also contained a Castulo cup, here Figure 5a, b [the cup has 'early' characteristics: a reserved strip between the handle roots; outside of foot reserved]. J. Cabré Aguiló, *BolSocEspExcurs* 29 (1921), 14 fig. 4 top right; cf. also Cabré and de Motos (as cited), 26–7. Its other material included the well-known Phoenician alabaster goddess of seventh century BC date, glass amphoriskoi and the ring handle of a bronze mesomphalic phiale of the Galera/Olynthus class, which apart from one in Ibiza, is otherwise found only in northern Greece, the Balkans and the Black Sea area; cf. Shefton 1991 arguing that it came to Iberia as part of the possessions of an Iberian mercenary captain, who had served in the Aegean area and who may have been the tenant of *grave 20*. To the ring-handled phialai of the Galera/Olynthus class add now the fine new example Munich inv. 4366, without provenance (K. Vierneisel, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 43 (1992), 188–9 figs 2–3).

For the Galera tombs now Olmos 1992b, 72 nos. 1–2 (*grave 20*); 77 nos. 1–2 (*grave 11*) – some illustrations with commentary.

I learn from Alicia Rodero, Curator in Chief of the Department of Iberian Prehistory in the National Archaeological Museum, Madrid that it is not possible to determine which of the two Castulo cups from Galera belongs to *grave 11* and which to *grave 34*. The positive assignment in our note 24 to the two graves respectively should therefore be modified in the sense that the cups might have to be switched round. The caption to Figure 4 (inv. 1979/70/422) here reflects this uncertainty. The alternative possibility then would be the cup described in note 24 under *grave 11* (inv. 1979/70/421). The pertinence of the third cup however, our Figure 5 (inv. 1979/70/T 20/9), to *grave 20* is certain. — On this *grave 20* see also Sanchez 1992, 331 with fig. 1,1 (profile drawing of the Castulo cup here Figure 5); Olmos, *Apuntes Ibericos* (as in Shefton 1991), *TrabPreh* 48, 1991, 301–3 with fig. 1 (ring handle).

25 Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus*, sect. 104.

- 26 Meritt *et al.*, *ATL* III, 9–11, 174–5; cf. *ibid.* I, 483 (Gazetteer).
- 27 On black skyphoi Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 84–5, pl. 16. For examples in Israel: Tell el-Hesi 111–15 nos. 102–26.
- 28 See also De Vries 1977, 545.
- 29 On skyphoi in Iberian Peninsula Rouillard 1991, 167; cf. also García Cano 1987, 116–8.
- 30 Some pattern lekythoi in Israel: Samaria pl. 69 m.n; Gerar [= Tell Jemmeh] pl. 46, 1, 2; Tell el-Hesi 107–11 nos. 74–99 (several varieties).
- 31 See also De Vries 1977, 544–5.
- 32 Trias 1968 pls 36, 38. On scent bottles in Iberia, cf. García Cano 1987, 118–22.
- 33 See note 8 above.
- 34 Iliffe 1932, pl. 9b (Tell Jemmeh and Ashkelon); Gerar [= Tell Jemmeh] pl. 46, 5–7, 12; Tell el-Hesi 96–7 on nos. 29, 30, 32, 34.
- 35 Note their despatch in quantity to the north Black Sea, Vinogradov and Zolotarev 1990, 116, pl. 7. Note also the pattern lekythoi there (and in Colchis).
- 36 None are published. Tell Jemmeh has perhaps the richest concentration so far identified. On my visit to the National Museum of Natural History, Washington D.C. in October 1994 Gus van Beek very generously allowed me to study his finds from the site and identify the remnants of several more such handled bowls in addition to the fragment with horizontal ribbing in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.
- 37 For Cyprus see Richter 1953, 20–1 nos. 56, 57, pls. 35 and 42. To these add one from Marion in Berlin, Diehl *et al.* 1964, pl. 16b. More from S. Russia (Olbia).
- 38 On these already Shefton 1990, 197 n. 26. More now in Shefton 1994, 85–6 n. 79. At Los Nietos Cruz Pérez 1990, 163 fig. 134 claims to have recovered more fragments of coral red ware. The shapes represented seem however neither to be of the right date nor the right kind for this technique. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish intentional (coral) red from accidental.
- 39 Regrettably in Shefton 1994, 85–6 n. 79 I omitted under Ampurias to cite the series of very welcome profile drawings of coral red shapes in Rouillard 1991, fig. 17, 1–4.
- 40 I have looked in vain for a publication of such pieces from Israel. There are fragments on exhibition in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, nos. 853; 854 from Samaria.
- 41 Thus C. Albore Livadie, *RivStudLig* 44 (1978), 116 no. 5, fig. 27 from Nocera, Campania. A few more from the region are cited there.
- 42 I hope before long to deal with this problem again and more from a Near Eastern standpoint.
- 43 For the mercantile graffito in question on the Galera bell krater foot and interpreted by A.W. Johnston as strongly suggesting a passage via south Italy or Sicily, cf. Shefton 1982, 366 n. 87; *ibid.* 404–5 n. 101; Shefton 1987, 136. Cf. also Amadasi Guzzo 1987, 16–17 n. 22 (on the Phoenician term used in the graffito).
- 44 Nocera bronze strainer: *BullArchNapol* (1857), pl. 3, 1 reproduced in Guzzo 1970, 106 pl. 5 fig. 8, 1.
- 45 Marzoli 1991a, 220 pl. 1; ead., 1991b, pl. 28, a. Unfortunately Marzoli's studies combine too many different classes of oinochoai under one heading for



her to come to any valid conclusions. If Weber 1983, pls 14–15 is to be followed the Alcurrucen oinochoe is Greek rather than Etruscan.

46 There is an interesting (unpublished?) local grave group with an Etruscan bronze strainer (or pan) of the mid-fifth century in Béziers, Musée de Biterrois, which illustrates the point tellingly. The remainder of the material consists of arms (Celtic and Iberian) as well as an Attic St. Valentin kantharos with lozenge pattern.

47 The distribution of the south Italian black-figured Pagenstecher lekythoi of the fourth century is indicative here. To the list in Shefton 1987, 137 (Populonia, Ampurias, Ullastret) add Agde (B. Lescure and M. Aubert (eds), *Voyage en Massalie* (exhib. cat. Marseilles, Vieille Charité 1990), 189 no. 25, illustr.), which helps to fill the gap nicely. Is there also one from Orley, Castellón (Lazaro Mengod *et al.* 1981, 57 fig. 20, 12)?

48 See here note 24 above (grave 20).

49 Marzoli 1991a, 221 pl. 2; *ead.*, 1991b, pl. 28, b. She tacitly assumes the piece to be Etruscan on the strength of its find association at Alcurrucen.

50 For reliable information on these oinochoai, Abad 1988 and García Cano 1991, 375–6. Weber 1983, 162–3 n. 8 misidentifies one of the two pieces in the National Museum, Madrid and wrongly takes both as originating from the Marquis of Salamanca's collection (i.e. of Italian provenance) thus introducing a false trail into the argument. I have been able to examine one of them in Madrid (inv. 9857, Thouvenot No. 482), here Figure 6, and can confirm Abad's report about the techniques used (cast all in one piece; thick walled and heavy).

51 Shefton 1990, 189–93, pl. 2. After seeing the piece again in October 1994 I have to register some caution pending metal X-ray investigation by the Museum. The rivets on further examination appear to be the ends of rods which pass through the hollow space within the trunk of the lion. Otherwise the joint of the two sections through overlapping sleeves is as described in our text.

52 British Museum G&R 1910. 4–16.1. Blázquez 1975, pl. 19A; for further references Shefton 1990, 192 n. 10; now also Fernández Castro 1989.

53 I am delighted to see that Abad 1988 in his addendum 345 also now inclines towards a local production in the south of the Peninsula.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND NEAR EASTERN EXCAVATION REPORTS

ARV<sup>2</sup>: Beazley, J.D., *Attic red-figure vase-painters* (2nd ed.) (Oxford 1963).

CVA: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.

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**Greek imports at the extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: reflections on the case of Iberia in the fifth century BC**

An attempt to identify the source of Greek imports to the Levant coast and hinterland during the fifth century BC. The contribution of Ampurias is examined in some detail and is shown to be virtually the sole source of supply in the first half of the century.

The situation changes after the middle of the century when powerful impulses emanating from southern Italy and perhaps Sicily reach the Levant coast. This impact is marked by the appearance of Castulo cups in overwhelming numbers. It is suggested that some of the Etruscan imports of metal vessels and implements in the south of the Peninsula also arrived there via southern Italy.

Attention is drawn to a surprising congruence of Attic imports in this period with those reaching the other extremity of the Mediterranean, the Near East especially Israel. This congruence is explored and some explanations are suggested.

In a postscript a special type of bronze oinochoe with duck's head handles, found in the south of the Peninsula and recently assigned to Etruria or Italy, is argued to be of local production in the Tartessian tradition.

**Importaciones griegas en los extremos Oeste y Este del Mediterráneo: reflexiones sobre el caso de Iberia en el siglo quinto a.C.**

Se trata de identificar la fuente de las importaciones griegas hacia la costa de Levante y el interior durante el siglo quinto a.C.

La contribución de Ampurias se examina con algún detalle y parece ser virtualmente la única fuente de suministro en la primera mitad del siglo.

La situación cambia después de la mitad del siglo, cuando impulsos fuertes que surgen del sur de Italia y quizás de Sicilia alcanzan la costa Levantina. Este impacto destaca por la aparición de copas de Castulo en grandes cantidades. Se sugiere que algunas de las importaciones de vasos de metal y utensilios Etruscos en el sur de la Península también llegaron allí por el sur de Italia.

Se presta atención a la sorprendente congruencia de importaciones áticas con aquellas que alcanzan el otro extremo del Mediterráneo, el Próximo Oriente y especialmente Israel, durante este periodo. Se investiga esta congruencia y se sugieren algunas explicaciones.

En una apostilla se conforma que un tipo especial de jarro de bronce con asas en forma de cabeza de pato, encontrado en el sur de la Península Ibérica y recientemente asignado a Etruria o Italia, sea en realidad de producción local en la tradición Tartésica.