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Exploring the Neighborhood

The Role of Ceramics in Understanding Place in the
Hellenistic World

Edited by Ivanka Kamenjarin and Marina Ugarković

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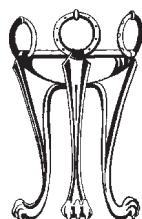
EXPLORING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

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The Role of Ceramics in Understanding Place in the Hellenistic World: The Fish Plates of Etruria

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Abstract

In Caeretan red-figured pottery, fish plates produced during the last third of the 4th century B. C. can be found. They are Etruscan imitations of the better-known fish plates of southern Italian red-figured vase painters who were active during the second half of the 4th century B. C. It is a type of plate found in Attica, but also in Sicily, Apulia and Campania. The adoption of this shape in Etruria was influenced by the pottery from Magna Graecia. In Etruscan pottery, this type is rare: so far, only five Etruscan specimens have been discovered, four made by the Caeretan Fish Plate Painter and one by the Hoffmann-Erbrecht Caeretan Painter (similar to Campanian Torpedo and Bremen Painters). Later, a fragment of a red-figured fish plate from Tarquinia was attributed by Susanna Businaro to the Caeretan Fish Plate Painter. A torpedo, a cuttlefish, and a pair of identical fish (sea perch or wrasse) are depicted around the central depression (which contained fish juices, sauce, or both); a pair of breams is depicted only on one fish plate, the one created by the Hoffmann-Erbrecht Caeretan Painter. The adoption of the fish plate (accompanied by typical food traditions) in the pottery production of *Caere* is important. This is probably the reason why marine themes also appear on the Genucilia plates produced in nearby *Ager Faliscus*. However, it could also be due to the fact that *Caere* possessed at least three ports. The marine life represented on Etruscan fish plates reflects the variety of sea life found in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the Etruscan coast.

The purpose of this conference is to investigate how pottery can help us understand individual places in the Hellenistic world. As we know, some eating habits can often also be transferred along with the use of certain shapes of vases (see, for example, the spread of sushi in the modern era). For this reason, I decided to deal with the red-figured Etruscan fish plates¹, to understand better the consumption of fish in Hellenistic Etruria. Scholars often focus on identifying the fish represented on the fish plates or attributing them to individual painters without looking at the perception and consumption of fish in antiquity². As is well known, McPhee and Trendall have identified various productions of red-figured fish plates: Attic, Corinthian, Chalcidian, Sicilian, Campanian, Paestan and Apulian³. A regional Adriatic production is now proposed by Marina Ugarković for the red-figured fish plate from Issa⁴. Specimens are known both in black-glazed⁵ and in plain pottery. In the Apulian area, some very rare fish plates made of painted marble were also produced⁶. Although it is not unlikely that black-glazed fish plates would be made in the same workshops as the red-figured fish plates⁷, I will not deal with them in this study because it seems that they have been used in real life, while the red-figured ones are thought to have been

1 DEL CHIARO 1976–77; DEL CHIARO 1979; DEL CHIARO 1991; DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993). I would like to dedicate this study to the memory of Mario Del Chiaro, a truly special person who has always inspired and supported with love my studies on Etruscan pottery of the Hellenistic period.

2 KHATCHADOURIAN 2005–2006, 82. I gave a lecture on the topic “The Etruscans and the food fish consumption” during the *Festival del Mare at Genoa*, Museo del Mare, 18th May 2019.

3 MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987. For the Paestan, Campanian and Sicilian fish-plates found in Etrusco-Latial coast see now AMBROSINI 2019, 228f.

4 UGARKOVIĆ 2013.

5 SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 147–148; ROTROFF 1997, 146–149.

6 Fish Plate. Marble and Paint. Greek, South Italy or Sicily but NFS. Getty V, 95. AA. 58. 1–3 (400–300 B. C.). In the holdings of the Getty Villa, Malibu, CA, USA.

7 MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 20 with references.

treated as heirlooms⁸. Attic production, which appears to have been destined for the foreign market (northern Aegean and Black Sea, Northern Italy, Spain and North Africa), especially for the Greek colonies on the Black Sea⁹, seems to have begun just before 400 B. C. Attic fish plates do not reach southern coastal Etruria, but they are attested only in the Po Valley Etruria (in Spina and Monterenzio).

The ancient name for this shape of vase remains uncertain¹⁰: *oxybaphon* (scratched on the black-glazed fish plate from Olynthos)¹¹ (fig. 1) or *pinakískos ichtuerós* (*pina* is scratched on an Attic red-figured fish plate from Spina) (fig. 2)¹². The solution is seemingly provided by the inscription on the black-glazed fish plate found in tomb 11 of *Paestum* – Andreoli, which can be dated to the last thirty years of the 4th century B. C.¹³ (fig. 3). The inscription, published in 1981 by Emanuele Greco¹⁴ and again by Albio Cassio in 1983¹⁵, is “*opsophóros Dionusío*”, which should be interpreted as “I am the *opsophoros* of *Dionysius*“. Albio Cassio later stated that the word *opsophoros* names the fish plate. Literary sources in fact make it clear that the word *opson* denotes food eaten with bread, but from the 5th and 4th centuries B. C. it means fish. A testimony in this sense could come from two inscriptions (one over-painted and one black-painted) on an unpublished red-figured fish plate, probably in a language of ancient Italy, which I found in a private collection and I have analyzed together with Paolo Poccetti. A black-glazed fish plate sherd kept in the Museum of Classical Archaeology of Cambridge was apparently found on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis with dedicatory graffito and remains of twenty-five lines of incised writing on the upper surface¹⁶. The text, which mentions *probouloi*, can be dated between late 413 and May 411 B. C.

Some contend that red-figured fish plates were decorated with representations of the edible seafood they were intended to hold; the central depression probably collected the juice coming out of the fish and that could then be mixed with another fish sauce¹⁷. The fish was probably also served in rectangular trays both of wood, which have not been preserved, and pottery, of which we have some examples¹⁸.

Most of the fish plates, however, have been found in funerary contexts (as grave goods), so it might be surmised that the fish images could represent symbolic offerings for the dead. I wonder if the fish representation is just a *trompe l'oeil*, or if they really were used for eating fish. There is no reason to think that the so-called fish plates have served exclusively for fish¹⁹. On some of them, not only fish remains were found, but also chicken (in a tomb of Spina)²⁰. On a fish plate from hypogeum 36 of the Punic necropolis of Palermo, fish and skin residuals²¹ were

8 MORGAN 2004, 215. At the foot of Mozia's M 22 altar, a fish plate cut out and intentionally pierced for libations was discovered, see NIGRO 2004, 55 pl. XIX; NIGRO 2009, 704). For the fish plates from Mozia, see TOTI 2014. Fish plates generally have a height ranging from 2.6 to 4 cm and a diameter generally between 18 and 28 cm, while the central depression has a diameter of about 4.2 to 6 cm: MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 20f.

9 From Spina come 21 Attic specimens, all dating from the first twenty years of the 4th century B. C. See BERTI 2005.

10 MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 22; MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1990, 32f.; UGARKOVIĆ 2013, 84f.

11 ROBINSON 1933, 255 pl. 191, 1057.

12 UGARKOVIĆ 2013, with references (BERTI 2005 from the tomb 324 Valle Pega).

13 For small sockets of this plate, compare the Campanian tray at the Manchester Museum (BLANCK 1987, 113) and the painted plaster tray in Tomba dei Rilievi of Caere (BLANCK – PROIETTI 1986, 41, pl. XIX, d). See also the tray on the Campanian vase from S. Agata dei Goti (BLANCK – PROIETTI 1986, 42 fig. 31).

14 GRECO 1980.

15 CASSIO 1983.

16 WOODHEAD 1953.

17 MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 21f.

18 Manchester Museum, Campanian fish-tray (BLANCK 1987, 113); Louvre, Flatfish Painter, Apulian red-figured fish plate ca. 350/25 B. C. Dimensions: H. 4.50 cm; W. 22.20 cm; L. 14.20 cm. Piot Collection, 1891. Accession number K 590. Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, Sully, 1st floor, room 44, case 18. See also the tray on the Campanian vase from S. Agata dei Goti (BLANCK – PROIETTI 1986, 42 fig. 31).

19 MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1990, 33.

20 For the use of black-glazed fish plate in Athens see SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 311 no. 1075; for the deposition of food offerings (chicken bones are preserved) at the right shoulder of the deceased in the tomb 1136 of Spina, see MUGGIA 2002, 149 (a two-year-old child). 193, dated 350–325 B. C.

21 TAMBURELLO 1979, 54; MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 66 IB7 pl. 15, c.

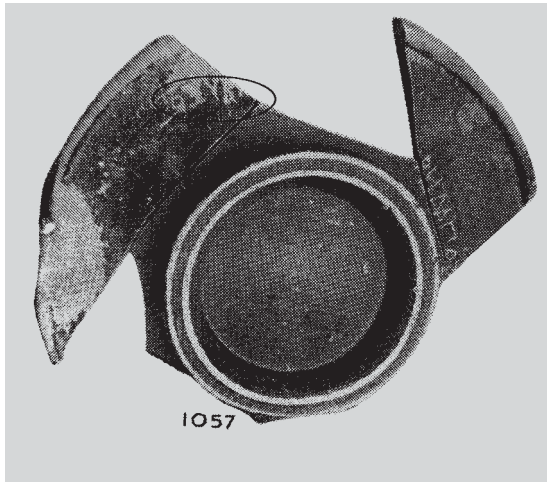


Fig. 1: Black-glazed fish plate from Olynthos with the inscription oxyba(phon) (after ROBINSON 1933).

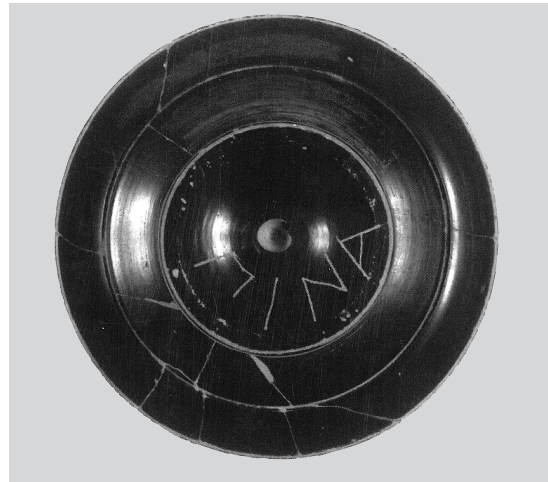


Fig. 2: Attic red-figured fish plate from Tomb 324 of Valle Pega, Dosso B at Spina with the inscription pina(x) (after BERTI 2005).

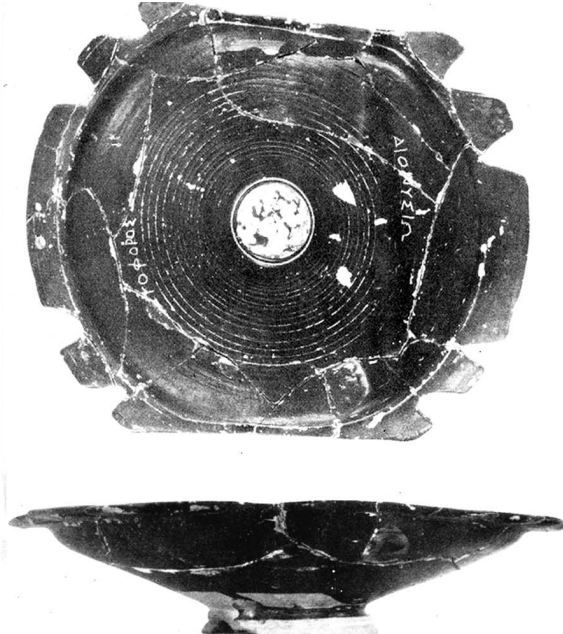
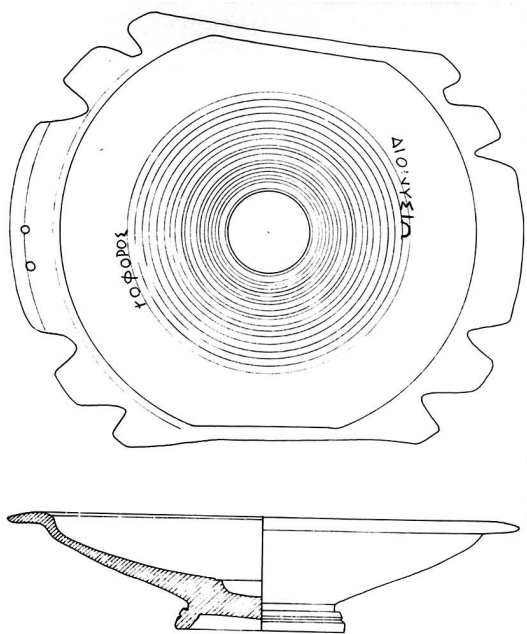


Fig. 3: Black-glazed fish plate from tomb 11 of the Andreoli necropolis at Paestum with the inscription opso-phóros Dionusío (after GRECO 1980).

found: the fish was probably placed as a funeral offering after the banquet, and fish vertebrae were also found in a plain pottery fish plate from the Drakano tower of Ikaria²².

For this conference, I'd like to deal with the Etruscan production of red-figured fish plates identified by Mario Del Chiaro in the mid-seventies of the last century²³. However, it needs to be said that it was the Hungarian scholar Janos Szilágyi²⁴ who first attributed to an Etruscan production the fish plate stored in the Museum of Cerveteri.

²² Ikaria Archaeological Museum, ground floor, wooden case, nos. 27, 28, dated 2nd-1st century B. C.

²³ DEL CHIARO 1974, 85-86 pl. 90; DEL CHIARO 1976-77.

²⁴ SZILÁGYI 1970, 260 no. 60; DEL CHIARO 1974, 86

with references. According to McPhee and Trendall, an imitation of the Gallatin plates of the end of the 6th-early 5th century B. C. was produced in Etruria as an antecedent of the production of red-figured fish plates (MCPHEE - TRENDALL 1987, 25f.).

Mario Del Chiaro identified an Etruscan fish plate production located in *Caere* (fig. 4), starting with a specimen from the tomb 264 of the Monte Abatone necropolis at *Caere*²⁵, and then he identified two other fish plates found in *Caere* and kept in Vienna²⁶, initially attributed to the Campanian production²⁷ (figs. 5. 6). To these plates, a fish plate of the Castellani Collection at the Capitoline Museums²⁸, also probably found in *Caere* just like much of the Castellani Collection (fig. 7), and a fish plate of the Hoffmann-Erbrecht Collection at Langden-Oberlinden (fig. 8, up) were then added by McPhee and Trendall²⁹. In total, Mario Del Chiaro has attributed four Etruscan fish plates to the Caeretan Fish Plate Painter and one to the Hoffmann-Erbrecht Caeretan Painter³⁰. Later, a fragment of a red-figured fish plate from Tarquinia was attributed by Susanna Businaro to the Caeretan Fish Plate Painter³¹ (fig. 8, below).

Etruscan production can be recognized by the absence of over-painted decorations and by the foot, which is particularly developed and molded into a triple *torus* which, even though it does not have precise comparisons, shows similarities with the feet of Campanian fish plates³².

According to Del Chiaro, Etruscan fish plates imitate the production of Southern Italy, particularly that of Campanian Torpedo and Bremen Painters of the second half of the 4th century B. C.³³, while McPhee and Trendall compare them to those of the Campanian Lyons Painter³⁴. One can therefore think that these fish plates served as models for Etruscan fish plates. Three out of four fish plates attributed to the Caeretan Fish Plate Painter are in the Campana Collection, which collects materials found mostly in *Caere*, and one comes from Tarquinia (from the so-called “complesso sacro-istituzionale”). At least one workshop responsible for Etruscan fish plates was located at *Caere*, and it employed two vase painters during the last third of the 4th century B. C. The transmission of this model appears to be localized in *Pyrgi*, one of the harbors of *Caere*. In fact, it is particularly important to stress the find in the *Pyrgi* southern sanctuary of a Campanian fish plate attributed to the Lyman Alley Painter³⁵.

Among recently published Ostia's finds, I could identify a Sicilian fish plate, probably by the Bastis Painter, mistakenly attributed to Etruscan production³⁶. In addition to harbors, fish plates often come from the sanctuaries of Central Italy. One fish plate of Paestan production and one of Campanian production come from the votive deposit of Casarinaccio at Ardea³⁷. A fish plate that is difficult to classify comes from the votive deposit found behind the *Auguratorium* on the Palatine Hill at Rome³⁸. Some hints (i. e. accessory decoration and some fish details) suggest to me that it could be a Falisco-Caeretan or Faliscan production.

25 Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Cerite. DEL CHIARO 1974, 85f. pl. 90; DEL CHIARO 1976–77, 11, no. 1. 2 figs. 1. 2; DEL CHIARO 1979, pl. 14; MARTELLI 1987, 206 figs. 154; 319, 154; MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 149 E1; DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993), 146 no. 1 pl. XLVIII, a. b.

26 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. IV 4040–4041; DEL CHIARO 1976–77, 11 no. 2. 3. 13, figs. 3; 4, 14; 5; 6; MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 149 E2–E3; DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993), 146 nos. 2. 3 pls. XLVIII, c. d; XLIX, a. b.

27 DEL CHIARO 1976–77, 11.

28 Roma, Musei Capitolini, Castellani Collection, inv. 349; MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 149, E4; DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993), 146 no. 4 pl. XLIX, c. d.

29 Dr. L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht Collection at Langden-Oberlinden. MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 149, E5; DEL CHIARO 1991, 916 figs. 1. 2; DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993), 146 no. 5 pl. L, a. b.

30 DEL CHIARO 1976–77; DEL CHIARO 1979; DEL CHIARO 1991; DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993).

31 BUSINARO 2001, 56 fig. 63; 57.

32 SZILÁGYI 1970, 260 no. 60; see MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, pl. 64, 3.

33 DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993), 148.

34 MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 149.

35 The Cassandra Painter Workshop (370–350 B. C.) found in the fill of the northern square in the southern sanctuary of *Pyrgi* (BAGLIONE 2000, 370; BAGLIONE 2004, 98; BAGLIONE 2013, 97; GDALETA – TODISCO 2013–14, 17. 24 C12).

36 OLCESE – COLETTI 2016, 99f. fig. 1 cat. 1. 2; 244f. cat. 1. 2; 494 color pl. 1 cat. 1. 2. The fragments cat. 2 in OLCESE – COLETTI 2016 have even been attributed to the Genuclia plates group. Vincent Jolivet guessed that this is not a Genuclia plate, but he erroneously attributed the two fragments to an Etruscan fish plate made in *Caere* (JOLIVET 2019, 222f. fig. 10). The fragments belong to only one Sicilian (not Etruscan!) fish plate, maybe by the Bastis Painter, see MCPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 66 IB/5 pl. 15, b, from the Punic necropolis of Palermo, tomb 142; see now AMBROSINI 2019.

37 DI MARIO 2002, 45 VII.19, with references; CECARELLI 2005, 151f. attributed to Paestan production; GDALETA – TODISCO 2013–14, 14.

38 From the Saggio G–J, favissa of the Temple of Victory (PENSABENE 1983, 73 fig. 18; AMBROSINI 1999–2000, 256; VUONO 2010, 197f.).



Fig. 4: Etruscan red-figured fish plate from tomb 264 of the Monte Abatone necropolis at Caere (after DEL CHIARO 1974).



Fig. 5: Etruscan red-figured fish plate from Caere, kept in Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, inv. IV 4040 (© *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*).

The fish plate discovered in the southern sanctuary of *Pyrgi* recall the discovery in sacred areas: that of the miniature³⁹ fish plate offered in the Brauron sanctuary⁴⁰ and those of Isthmia and Delphi⁴¹. Etruria is an area where vases made in Magna Graecia and Sicily are very rare, so the fish plates found in this region, all of which are small in size and therefore easy to carry, do not seem to be necessarily connected to the pottery trade, but can rather be considered as objects brought by persons who visited the sanctuaries in this area. These Campanian or Paestan vases were perhaps offered to symbolize the practice of preparing, consuming and supplying food as a part of funerary rites⁴².

The practice of placing fish plates in Etruscan tombs as a funeral offering after the banquet would seem to be supported by the depiction present in the lost Tomb of Inscriptions at Tarquinia where a young man is offering a fish (perhaps roasted on a rack) to an old man. We know of this scene thanks to Carlo Ruspi's drawings, which were made in 1835⁴³. Fishing scenes are present on the pottery of the 7th century B. C.⁴⁴ and in the famous Tomb of Hunting and Fishing of Tarquinia⁴⁵ and on a poorly painted pottery plaque found in the sanctuary of Portonaccio in Veii. On this plaque is a figured leaning on a stick and holding a fishing tackle (perhaps a dummy) on the shoulder, from which a net may be falling, a small dolphin on the right, a stingray, two other fish and mollusks⁴⁶.

39 Some miniature black-glazed fish plates come from Athenian Agora (McPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 20).

40 McPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 19, 43 no. 117 with references.

41 McPHEE – TRENDALL 1987, 21.

42 GADALETA – TODISCO 2013–14, 16.

43 BLANCK – WEBER-LEHMANN 1987, 67 fig. 9 (left).

44 See the famous plate from Acqua Acetosa – Laurentina (Rome) tomb 65 and the ship on the biconical vase

from Veii (CRISTOFANI 1983, 28–29, 33 figs. 12. 16).

45 STEINGRÄBER 1984, 299–300 pls. 41–51 with references.

46 STEFANI 1953, 71, 78–80 no. 37 fig. 54, a. b; GIULIERINI 2007, 61. cf. BOARDMAN 1991, 62 fig. 119 an Attic red-figured cup by the Ambrosios Painter (510–500 B. C.) with a boy fishing with lobster-pot and a shy octopus.



Fig. 6: Etruscan red-figured fish plate from Caere, kept in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. IV 4041 (© Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien).



Fig. 7: Etruscan red-figured fish plate of the Castellani Collection, inv. 349 at Musei Capitolini – Roma, probably found in Caere (photo: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini CA 339, foto d.22228-9, © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali).

Ancient literary sources⁴⁷ tell us little about fishing in Etruria. We know from Strabo (V, 2, 6 and 8) that there were locations on the promontories of Argentario and Populonia which served as observation points for the passage of tuna. Athenaeus (VI, 224 c) mentions the fish that came to the market of Rome from *Pyrgi*, where a fishing fleet was active in the 1st century B. C. As far as the food is concerned, even more rare are fish leftovers, due to the perishability of fish bones and shellfish shells. As for archaeological evidence, fishing hooks, needles and net weights, and little else remain⁴⁸. The *Pyrgi* sanctuary seems to have played an important role in when it comes to fish offerings: some of them were found (a mussel and a patella) inside a *phiale mesomphalos* in the K votive deposit dated to the middle of the 5th century B. C. and were dedicated to the Etruscan god *Śuri* (an underworld Apollo)⁴⁹. From the same sanctuary also come two rare Attic *askoi* of the Class of Seven Lobster-Claws⁵⁰ dated to 460 B. C. These *askoi* were intended to contain oily substances probably used to season fish⁵¹. *Pyrgi*'s fish first reached *Caere* where, like in *Ager Faliscus*, the presence of the stingray are attested on at least four plates of the famous *Genucilia* group⁵². The stingray also appears on a Faliscan red-figured *oinochoe* of the Beazley form VII found in the tomb XXXIII at Musarna, probably made by the Full-Sakkos Painter⁵³. In the Faliscan area, there is a special link between satyrs and dolphins. They often appear together,

47 GIULIERINI 2005, 74; GIULIERINI 2007, 44–46.

48 GIANFROTTA 1987, 56; GIULIERINI 2005, 75; GIULIERINI 2007, 52–58.

49 BAGLIONE 2000, 344 fig. 9; BAGLIONE 2013, 85.

50 BAGLIONE 1997; BAGLIONE 2000, 358f. fig. 30; BAGLIONE 2004, 97; BAGLIONE 2013, 97.

51 BAGLIONE 1997, 22, for the use of the *askos* also as a container of honey or wine for libations, see 19f. with

references.

52 From Corchiano, La Lista, tomb I (DEL CHIARO 1957, 282 no. 1; BARBIERI 1987, 154 no. 26 fig.), Evan Gorga Collection – Roma – Palazzo Altamps (C. Giobbe, in CAPODIFERRO 2013, 345 fig. 27, 6), Sammlung Neumann, Giessen (RECKE 2008, 6 fig. left, 7).

53 EMILIOZZI 1974, 66 pl. XXIII, 2 mistakenly identified with a jellyfish.

both in the *paterae* of the Satyr and Dolphin Group⁵⁴ and on red-figured *kylikes* and *skyphoi*⁵⁵. However, it is an indirect link because it refers to the well-known transformation of the Tyrrhenian pirates who kidnapped Dionysus into dolphins (VII Homeric Hymn)⁵⁶; the satyrs are a part of the Dionysus' court. It is to be assumed that *Caere* exported fish even to *Ager Faliscus*, an internal area. In the Hellenistic age, the marine life represented on Etruscan fish plates reflects the variety of sea life found in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the Etruscan coast. If representations of specific fish on pottery (not intended to drink, but to eat) reflect certain food uses, we can deduce that in *Ager Faliscus* stingrays were particularly appreciated. Edible mollusks probably also arrived to *Ager Faliscus*, as the shell seen on the Faliscan red-figured *oinochoe* in Paris⁵⁷ suggests. Del Chiaro recognized some fish depicted on the Etruscan fish plates produced at *Caere*: a horn shell (*ceritium vulgatum*), cuttlefish, torpedo, wrasse, bream. However, on the Tyrrhenian coast, a greater variety are attested: not only comber (striped perch) or wrasse or bream, cuttlefish, ray or torpedo, but also mussels and *patellae* and probably lobster to eat with a sauce contained in the *askoi* of the Class of Seven Lobster-Claws (found at the *Pyrgi* harbor). Unfortunately, sporadic discoveries of hooks and net needles from the urban area of *Caere* could suggest the existence of processing facilities or the presence of neighborhoods occupied by groups of people carrying out the same activity⁵⁸.

In conclusion, maybe we do not have to speculate too much on these representations because, as Del Chiaro says: "It is indeed difficult to say, and perhaps should not be speculated, whether or not the marine life represented on Etruscan fish plates is actually derived directly from Campanian models or, which may be very likely, merely reflects the variety of sea life drawn from the Tyrrhenian Sea off the Etruscan coast which found its way to the bustling markets of Etruscan centers such as *Caere* or its major port *Pyrgi* (Santa Severa)"⁵⁹.

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Fig. 8, top: Etruscan red-figured fish plate in the Hoffmann-Erbrecht Collection at Langden-Oberlinden (after DEL CHIARO 1992 [1993]); fig. 8, bottom: Etruscan red-figured fish plate sherds from Tarquinia (after BUSINARO 2001).

54 AMBROSINI 1999–2000; AMBROSINI 2001.

55 See, for example, the satyr walking with a dolphin in the right hand and a jellyfish in the left painted on a Faliscan skyphos by the Fluid Group (EMILIOZZI 1974, 171 pl. CXX, 224), probably found in the Viterbo area.

56 See the famous Etruscan black-figured hydria at

Toledo by the Vatican 238 Painter (near to the Micali Painter) dated to 510–500 B. C. (MARTELLI 1987, 177 figs. 130. 311 no. 130).

57 JOLIVET 1984, 38 pl. 15, 13 a miniature hydria.

58 GIULIERINI 2007, 86.

59 DEL CHIARO 1992 (1993), 148.

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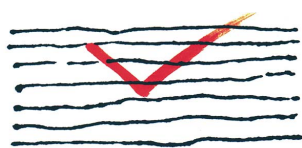
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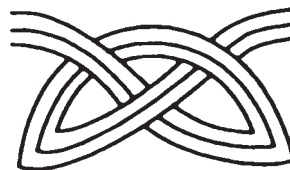
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Contents

Preface by the Chair of the IARPotHP	11
Introduction and Acknowledgments	13
General	
JOHN LUND	
The Possible Impact of Globalised Hellenistic Economy on Local Fine Ware Production in the Eastern Mediterranean	15
NORBERT KRAMER	
Neue Märkte – Neue Techniken – Neue Produkte. Das Aussagepotential von Keramik für die Interpretation von Akkulturations- und Innovationsprozessen in der hellenistischen Welt	23
ALEXANDROS LAFTSIDIS	
Setting a Common Table for the Hellenistic World? Revisiting the Hellenistic Ceramic “koine”	39
SUSAN I. ROTROFF	
Drinking without Handles in the Age of Alexander	61
ISSABELLA HODGSON	
Polychrome Mattfarbenkeramik zwischen lokaler Variation und hellenistischer Koine	73
PAOLA PUPPO	
Production, Import and Consummation During the Hellenistic Period: Focus on a Particular Cylindrical Container	83
Spain, Southern France, Corsica, Sardinia	
ANTONIO SÁEZ ROMERO – MAX LUACES	
The Ramon T-7433/Maña C2b Amphorae from the Strait of Gibraltar Area (2 nd –1 st centuries B. C.). An Updated Snapshot	91
HÉCTOR UROZ RODRÍGUEZ – ALBERT RIBERA I LACOMBA – NORA HERNÁNDEZ CANCHADO	
Closed Contexts in the Destruction of the Iberian Oppidum of Libisosa (Lezuza, Albacete-Spain) During the Sertorian War: Import Pottery	105
GIUSEPPE INDINO – DANIELA COTTICA	
La ceramica a vernice nera come <i>marker</i> della “romanizzazione” nel Grande Sud della Francia: dal Mediterraneo occidentale all’Atlantico meridionale	119
KEWIN PECHE-QUILICHINI	
Les vaisselles produites en Corse nord-orientale à l’époque hellénistique : technologie, typologie et connexions avec l’Etrurie insulaire et littorale	133
LUCA ZAMPARO – LARA MARITAN – JACOPO BONETTO – CLAUDIO MAZZOLI	
Punic Black-Gloss Ware from the Site of Nora (Sardinia): an Integrated Archaeological and Archaeometric Approach	145

Italy (Apennine peninsula)

- GERWULF SCHNEIDER – MALGORZATA DASZKIEWICZ
Chemical Classification of *Vernice Nera* in Aquileia and Altino, Italy 153
- ELENI SCHINDLER KAUDELKA – S. MAGNANI – VALENTINA MANTOVANI –
LARA MARITAN – ANAIS ROUMÈGOUS – ROBY STUANI
Il vasaio *Nikostratos*: le testimonianze di *Altinum*, Verona e *Aurasio* 163
- ANDREA GAUCCI
Black-Gloss Ware Produced in the Etruscan City of Spina During the Hellenistic Period.
A Preliminary Report from the Valle Trebba Necropolis 179
- LAURA AMBROSINI
The Role of Ceramics in Understanding Place in the Hellenistic World: The Fish Plates
of Etruria 193
- CLAUDIA NOFERI
Rotte commerciali e dinamiche economico-sociali a Tuscania (vt-Lazio-Italia): circolazione
di persone e di manufatti ceramici nel mosaico culturale dell'Italia centro
meridionale ellenistica 203
- JOSIPA MANDIĆ – CESARE VITA
Black-glazed and 'Gnathia style' Pottery from the Grave Goods of the Necropolis of
San Brancato (Basilicata, Italy) 213

Sicily

- MARCO MIANO
Le arule nella Sicilia di età ellenistica: il caso di Finziade 225
- MARIACRISTINA PAPALE
Modellini fittili di imbarcazione dal centro ellenistico di Finziade: riflessioni e spunti 235
- ALESSIO TOSCANO RAFFA
"Sombros de copa" from the Hellenistic city of Finziade: a contribution to the study
of circulation in Sicily 245
- MARTA VENUTI
Hellenistic Medallion Bowls in Sicily 259

Eastern Adriatic (Kvarner and Dalmatia)

- VEDRANA GLAVAŠ – ANA KONESTRA – ASJA TONC
Wine Consumption in the Kvarner and sub-Velebit Area (NE Adriatic) in the
Last Centuries BCE: Evidence from Amphora Finds 271
- IRENA RADIĆ ROSSI – MAJA GRISONIC – KATARINA BATUR
The Newly-discovered 4th-century B. C. Shipwreck at the Island of Žirje (Croatia) 287
- MARINA UGARKOVIĆ – LUJANA PARAMAN
Appropriation of the Hellenistic Relief Ware in Ancient Trogir (Central Dalmatia,
Eastern Adriatic): Preliminary Observations 301
- BORIS ČARGO – IVANKA KAMENJARIN
Hellenistic Mouldmade Pottery from Issa (Vis) and Siculi (Resnik – Kaštela), Croatia.
(A Preliminary Report) 327

Contents

ADAM LINDHAGEN A Central Dalmatian Origin of the Adriatic Wine Amphorae? New Evidence from Xrf-analyses	343
BORIS KAVUR – MARTINA BLEČIĆ KAVUR – BRANKO KIRIGIN The Face From the Other Side	353
IGOR BORZIĆ Hellenistic Pottery from Kopila Hillfort’s Necropolis (Island of Korčula, Croatia)	363
Southern Adriatic-Ionian region	
PIOTR DYCZEK Ancient Rhizon – Hellenistic Economic Centre in the Light of Polish-Montenegrin Archaeological discoveries	377
PIOTR DYCZEK – JORDI PRINCIPAL – ALBERT RIBERA – JAVIER HERAS Main Trade Dynamics in Hellenistic Risan (Kotor, Montenegro): Preliminary Evidence from Tableware and Amphorae	387
NADIA ALEOTTI Hellenistic Pottery from Butrint (Albania). New Data from the Butrint Roman Forum Excavations (RFE) Project	401
ANNA GAMBERINI Hellenistic Wares Found in Phoinike: Trades and Cultural Influences	415
CARLO DE MITRI – GIOVANNI MASTRONUZZI – DAVIDE TAMIANO La ceramica a vernice nera nel bacino ionio-adriatico tra produzioni locali ed importazioni: la penisola salentina	429
Greece and the Aegean	
MARIA NASIOULA From Macedonia ... With Love	445
GUY ACKERMANN Les vases à boire d’Érétrie à la haute époque hellénistique : une nouvelle perspective sur le voisinage eubéen	461
SARAH JAMES Long-Term Patterns in Regional and Extra-Regional Trade at Corinth: A Preliminary Study of Imported Hellenistic Fine Wares and Amphorae	475
ELISABETH TRINKL – PAUL BAYER – ADISA DRINIC – MARTINA ITZINGER – REGINA KLÖCKL – HANS SCHERER Der Stadtberg von Pheneos, Arkadien, in hellenistischer Zeit	485
ANNE-SOPHIE MARTZ La patina, de Délos à Zeugma : témoin d’une acculturation gastronomique ?	497
ANNETTE PEIGNARD-GIROS Delos, an Emporion in an Aegean Network: the Evidence of Pottery Vessels	507
NATACHA MASSAR Cretan Hellenistic Pottery between Modernity and Tradition	517

Asia Minor and the Black Sea

GEORGIY LOMTADZE – DENIS ZHURAVLEV Fine Ware from the House of Chrysaliskos (Taman Peninsula, Black Sea Region)	533
GÜLSEREN KAN ŞAHİN Hellenistic Pottery Finds from Sinope: A Preliminary Report	555
ZEYNEP KOÇEL ERDEM – H. ARDA BÜLBÜL The Hellenistic Ceramics from Inner Settlements of the Gallipoli Peninsula (Thracian Chersonese) in Turkish Thrace	575
ANDREA BERLIN A Tale of Two Places: Hellenistic Sardis and its Rural Surroundings	583
ERGÜN LAFLI – SAMI PATAÇI A Bull’s Head Rhyton from the Museum of Tarsus in Cilicia, Southern Turkey	593
VASILICA LUNGU – PIERRE DUPONT Hellenistic Mould Made Relief Bowls from Celaenae (Kelainai)/Apameia Kibôtos	603
UTE LOHNER URBAN Hellenistic Central Anatolian Banded Ware – a Sign of Cultural Identity in Central Anatolia During the Late Hellenistic Period	615
DANIELA COTTICA – ALESSANDRO SANAVIA Continuity and Change in Central Anatolia: An Overview of the Fine Wares from the Konya Plain Survey Project	623

Northern Africa, the Levant, Central Asia

ELENI ZIMI Attic black-glazed Pottery within a ‘Global’ Mediterranean Perspective: the Evidence from Early Hellenistic Euesperides in Cyrenaica	631
LAURA REMBART – LISA BETINA The Reflection of the Hellenistic World in Upper Egypt. The Local Ceramic Production of Syene / Aswan	645
PHILIP BES – PETER STONE Eastern Sigillata A at Home	655
KRISTINA JUNKER Der Nachbar im Fernen Osten und die griechisch-hellenistische Keramik. Die griechisch beeinflussten Keramikformen aus dem hellenistischen Heiligtum und der Siedlung von Torbulok, Tadschikistan	665