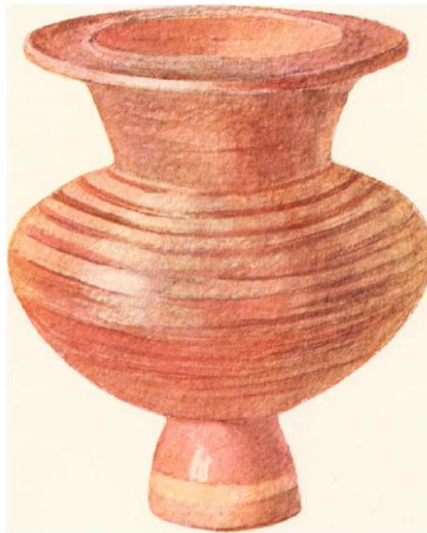


The Lydion.

Revealing Connectivity across the Mediterranean in the
Sixth Century B.C.



I then my nose with bakkaris anointed,
Redolent of crocus.
Hipponax of Ephesos, sixth century B.C. (Ath.15.41)

Susan Wrigley, Honours Archaeology 2011.
University of Sydney.

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Abstract.

The Archaic period was a period of great change around the Mediterranean: population growth, urbanization and colonization all contributed to the overturning of existing social and political structures. Growth in commercial trade, especially during the sixth century B.C., accompanied these changes. It is argued in this thesis that by mapping the production, distribution and consumption of a particular object, the ceramic unguent container called the lydion, we can follow some of the strands of connectivity and knowledge that linked many culturally diverse regions during the sixth century B.C. By using this information to write a social history of the lydion which describes the evolving social and the economic role of the vessel as it passed from hand to hand, we would be able to provide new evidence towards the ongoing debate about the form and scale of trade and exchange in the Archaic period.

The lydion was a distinctively shaped vessel that was indigenous to Lydia in Asia Minor, and its use was largely restricted to the sixth century B.C., yet it was imported and then imitated at a range of culturally diverse sites. It had both a social role, as a luxury that was used as part of funerary and religious ritual, and an economic role, as the container for a commodity that was distributed and consumed across the Mediterranean.

In order to establish the basis for this argument, the main themes of the debate about trade and exchange during the Archaic period are discussed. Past scholarship relating to the lydion is compared to the evidence, and it becomes clear that several oft repeated beliefs about where particular types of lydia were produced should be revisited. A new study must necessarily begin with a full mapping of distribution and the development of a typology and chronology for the lydion. Studies of the production and consumption of perfumes in the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age provide useful comparative evidence. Two case studies are presented here: Sardis in Lydia, where the lydion was first used, and Etruria, where the shape was imported and then imitated. These studies reveal that the lydion was used in different ways at each site: at Sardis it was found in both settlement and burial contexts, but Etruria it has been found in burials and in votive deposits. These regions share the banquet as the central theme of burial assemblages, complicating the interpretation of the role of the lydion. In order to understand the range of evidence available for such a study and to provide a resource for this thesis, a digital catalogue of lydia was created which can be queried according to the requirements of the user.

The lydion is proven to be an ideal vehicle for the analysis of social and economic history; this thesis should be read as a prolegomenon to such a study.

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Introduction.

This thesis proposes that an extensive study of the small ceramic unguent vase called the lydion would provide an ideal tool with which to tease out some of the strands of connectedness which have crisscrossed the Mediterranean over the last several millennia. The lydion was indigenous to Lydia and its use was largely confined to the sixth century B.C., yet evidence from burial and cult contexts reveals that during this relatively short period it was adopted and imitated at many other sites across the Mediterranean. By precisely mapping the production, distribution and consumption of the lydion, a social history of the lydion can be created which would illuminate the lives of those who made, traded and used the vessel.¹

As the lydion moved from hand to hand across the Mediterranean, it carried not only its contents, but also knowledge. Such knowledge, as Appadurai has argued, encompasses both the knowledge of production, which is technical, aesthetic and social, and the knowledge of consumption, of how to consume an object appropriately.² As the lydion travelled further from its place of origin, the knowledge that it carried evolved and diverged along new paths, and these are the paths which a study of the vessel must follow to understand trade, and also the social exchanges that accompanied trade. Too often, arguments have focused on whether trade in the Archaic period can be understood in economic terms as an intersection between supply and demand which is resolved at a price, *or* as being socially embedded, affected by social and cultural forces to the extent that modern economic frameworks cannot be used to interpret

¹ The term *social history* is used here in the sense defined by Appadurai (1986, 16, 34): it is the life history of a class or type of object as it moves through different hands and contexts, and so through different phases in its life; during some of these phases the main value of the object is its exchangeability (that is, for our purposes, its economic life), at others its social role is paramount. This is a similar concept, though broader in its scope, to that of a *cultural biography*, the economic and social life story of one particular object (Appadurai 1986, 34, and Godsen and Marshall 1999, 170).

² Appadurai 1986, 41-2, especially in the context of long-distance, intercultural trade and exchange.

ancient exchanges. This thesis instead assumes that these perspectives are not mutually exclusive any more than they are in the modern world; an object which is part of the material culture of a society can be understood to have both a social and an economic life as it passes through the cycle of production, distribution and consumption.³

The lydion was primarily a container for a luxury product, and it has a distinctive, functional shape that advertised its contents to consumers. It is usually between 6 and 13 cms high and painted with a plain or marbled slip over the entire vessel or in horizontal bands. It is rarely figured, apart from some examples made in Athens and in Etruria. The foot is conical or trumpet-shaped, and rises to a thick-walled globular, piriform or heart-shaped body, sometimes horizontally fluted or grooved.⁴ The neck flares to a flattened lip surrounding a wide mouth, and there are no handles. The lydion was almost always wheel-made made in three parts, the foot, the body, and the neck and rim, and then joined and decorated.

The wide-mouthed shape of the lydion, its small size, and the contexts in which it has been found suggest that the vessel was made to contain a perfumed unguent, perhaps the *βάκκαρις* (*bakkaris*) which Athenaeus described when discussing the luxurious ointments associated with the Lydians in Greek literature.⁵ The lydion is understood to have been indigenous to Lydia in Asia Minor, as a great majority of the finds of the vessel have been made either in Lydia itself or in the surrounding regions which shared elements of material culture with the Lydians. It seems to have appeared around 600 B.C., with no obvious proto-type.⁶

³ Such an approach avoids the distinction so often made, when analysing trade in the ancient world, between the social role of gifts and the alienable quality of commodities, see Morris (1986, 2-3) and Godsden and Marshall (1999, 173-174). Hodder (1982, 203-206) discusses the way in which social exchanges can be seen as economic in that they maximize profit in the form of social power, and discusses theories which see social exchanges as oiling the wheels of trade.

⁴ Only one lydion has been found which is made of silver rather than clay, see Catalogue No. 128, from Lydia.

⁵ Ath. 15.41-5. See Rumpf 1920, 166; Roebuck 1959, 56 n.70; Greenewalt 1966, 103-116; 2010b, 201-16.

⁶ Greenewalt 1966, 92-96; 2010b, 204-5.

Lydian ceramics of this period remain difficult to date in view of the continuity of their form and decoration over time and the disturbed context of many finds. For this reason, the earliest lydion, dated to early in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C through its association with Lakonian pottery, is from Taranto, in Italy.⁷

Much of the literary evidence for the Lydian ointment called *bakkaris* comes from Athenaeus, who, though writing in the late second century A.D., preserves valuable fragments of text from earlier authors. One of these was Xenophanes of Kolophon, who, when deriding the dissolute lifestyle of his countrymen in the mid-sixth century B.C., claimed that they had learnt useless luxuries such as the wearing of purple robes, gold-bedecked hair and drenching themselves in the scent of artfully prepared unguents from the Lydians.⁸ Athenaeus (XV.44) himself describes the Sardians as being addicted to unguents in the course of a discussion about the type of ointment called *bakkaris*, and he quotes Magnes from his play, the Lydians (XV.41):

A man should bathe, and then with *βάκκαρις*
Anoint himself.

and Ion of Chios, in his *Omphale*:⁹

⁷ Cahill 2004, 1, and see Catalogue No. 165.

⁸ Athenaeus XII.31. As Morris (2000, 178-185) has observed, Xenophanes linked useless luxury, gold, tyranny and the east in this passage (in what might be called an early form of Orientalism), but it did not prevent the adoption of eastern rites by an elitist group within Athenian society. Xenophanes also associated perfumes at the symposium with cleanliness and piety when servants brought fragrant perfumes in well-suited dishes to the guests in another passage quoted by Athenaeus (XI.7) Xenophanes visited Italy (especially Elea) and Sicily, so already many western consumers may have understood the association between luxury and Lydia advertised by the distinctive shape of the lydion.

⁹ Ion of Chios was writing in the 5th century B.C., and in this play, about the period of slavery which Heracles spent in the court of Queen Omphale of Lydia, he referred to the luxurious lifestyle with which Lydia was associated in the Athenian mind (Easterling 2007, 282-292). Athenaeus also quoted the Ephesian Hipponax, whose use of Lydian words in his sixth century B.C. poetry showed his familiarity with the wider region and who, perhaps in a satirical vein, wrote of anointing his nose with crocus scented *bakkaris* (*Ath. 15.41*). Athenaeus described men in the past as having anointed wall hangings and garments with perfumes, and the head so as to be less affected by wine, and commented that in his own day men took up a little unguent in their hands and anointed their whole body (*Ath. 15. 42-45*).

‘tis better to know the use of *μύρα* (*myrrh*)
And *βάκκαρις*, and Sardinian ornaments of the skin,
Than the manner of life in Pelop's isle. (Ath. XV.41)

Athenaeus commented of Ion of Chios: “when he speaks of Sardinian ornaments, he means to include perfumes; since the Lydians were very notorious for their luxury” (XV.41).

The lydion and its contents can be shown to have many of the attributes of a luxury as defined by Appadurai as part of his argument that we should look at *what* is exchanged, as well as the *form* of the exchange, when we try to understand what creates value in an object. When discussing the way in which we can understand luxuries as a special type of commodity, Appadurai emphasized the particular social and rhetorical roles played out during the consumption of luxury goods as one way of identifying them.¹⁰ The attributes which Appadurai used to define objects as luxuries provide a useful framework for interpreting contextual evidence:¹¹

1. Restriction, whether by price or law, to elites:

Literary evidence reveals that perfumes and unguents were expensive, and the size and shape of the lydion support this. Careful analysis of the contexts in which the lydion has been found is required in order to understand who used the lydion, whether it was a imported or locally made form, and how patterns of use changed over time.

2. Complexity of acquisition:

This might be because of scarcity or foreignness, and creates an exclusivity advertised in our case by the special shape of the lydion. Foxhall has argued that both archaeological and

¹⁰ Appadurai 1986, 38.

¹¹ Appadurai (1986, 38) suggested that the object should exhibit some or all of these attributes.

literary evidence reveal that distance, or foreignness, was an important quality frequently exhibited by the objects which were used or consumed at occasions such as rituals and celebrations, or by the wealthy, and that eventually occasion and object could become so entwined that the occasion was not 'right' without them.¹²

3. The ability to signal complex social messages:

The lydion is most often found in contexts which are the loci of those rituals, whether funerary or religious, where social structure is both reflected and recreated.¹³ During such occasions, social and group identity is expressed and manipulated through the use of specific objects during ritual practices.¹⁴ Ritual often creates patterning in the archaeological record which can help us to interpret evidence.¹⁵

4. Specialized knowledge as a prerequisite for appropriate consumption:

That is, regulation by fashion. By using certain objects consumers link themselves to a shared social identity, or to other consumers of higher social rank so creating a cycle as elites find new ways of self-representation.¹⁶

5. A high degree of linkage of consumption to body, person, and personality:

Perfumes and ointments are items which are used to construct a personal and social identity, in much the same way as clothing.¹⁷

¹² Foxhall 1998. 298-305. Foxhall uses amongst others the examples of imported perfumes and wine in ancient symposia when local products were available, and imported dried fruits at Christmas; she describes them as "semi-luxuries".

¹³ Parker Pearson 1984, 71 has listed some of the social roles and strategies which can be manipulated using the objects which constitute material culture, including categorization (gender, age, ethnic identity) and legitimation (status or social position).

¹⁴ van Wijngaarden 1999, 10 and Gkiasta 2010, 87: this is the essence of the concept of materiality.

¹⁵ Morris 1992, 8-15.

¹⁶ Hodder (1982, 207) discusses the way in which status symbols may be restricted to wealthy elites, or there may be emulation and downward movement of material symbols which must be replaced by new artefacts; both are ways to legitimate status. See also Morley 2007, 46-49.

It is clear that the signals which are reified in luxury goods such as the lydion and its contents will vary over space and time, and range from the intensely personal to those which bind the user into their society, and that society into the connected Mediterranean.

While this discussion has so far acknowledged the social life of the lydion as it passes from hand to hand, this social role is intertwined with an economic role, during which its value is as a saleable object that can be traded in order to produce a profit. The form and scale of trade and exchange in the sixth century B.C. have long been the subject of debate by both historians and archaeologists, and the main themes of past scholarship relating to this debate will be discussed further in Chapter 3.1, however it can be argued that that over the course of the sixth century B.C. there was a significant growth in commercial networks.

Understanding the economic life of the lydion, and its role in these commercial networks, requires us to first identify and map the sites where vessels were produced, and the routes taken by the middlemen and maritime traders who distributed it. This requires a bottom up approach which involves first the collation of archaeological evidence, and then the interpretation of this evidence by testing it against theoretical models in order to further our understanding of trade and exchange. Some of the ways in which studies relating to the production and distribution of perfumes in other periods have approached this topic will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Information about the production and distribution of the lydion would also provide evidence for the discussion of more specific questions about the impact of Persian conquest on the economies of Lydia and Ionia, and the role of immigrant Ionian craftsmen in the evolution of material culture in the western Mediterranean. Too often, these craftsmen are categorized as

¹⁷ Izzet 2007, 43-61 and also Foxhall 2005, 240-243 on the use of perfumes, clothes and other goods to construct a personal and social identity.

refugees from the Persian conquest, based in part on the literary evidence of a single passage from Herodotus, yet the scale of their impact in the western Mediterranean, and even a cursory examination of the distribution pattern of the lydion, suggest that the phenomenon was more complex and requires further examination.¹⁸ Such an examination would also further our understanding of the meanings embodied in an object such as the lydion when it was imported and then adopted into the mixes of material culture that were used to construct social identity in a variety of contexts in this period.

This thesis should be read as a prolegomenon to a wider study which would precisely map the production, distribution, consumption, imitation and adoption of the lydion around the sixth century B.C. Mediterranean. This social history of the lydion would help us to understand the social and economic role played in this period by a category of luxury materials which includes perfumes and unguents and the vessels in which they were contained, and provide evidence which would help us to better understand trade and exchange in the late Archaic period.

¹⁸ Hdt. 1.163.

2. Methodology.

The lydion would provide a useful vehicle with which to investigate the form of trade and exchange in the Archaic period. The utility of a complete database of known examples of the lydion from across the Mediterranean as a basis for such an investigation is clear but beyond the scope of this thesis, so in order to demonstrate the range of evidence that would be available, I have constructed a catalogue that provides a representative sample of both the various forms of the lydion and the diverse range of sites at which it has been found. The creation of a social history of the lydion would not only require a list of vessels, but a database of information which would enable us to understand as much as possible about the way in which the vessel was made, used and deposited. To this end I have also included details about the archaeological contexts in which the lydia were found, and the objects with which they were associated.

Greenewalt's list of the form of the lydion which he described as the 'Fat-bellied' lydion in his pioneering thesis on the Lydian pottery of the sixth century B.C. forms the core of the present catalogue.¹⁹ Additional vessels, and the images, were then included after a search of sources including excavation reports and scholarly articles, museum catalogues and their online collection databases and acquisition notices, and CVAs both printed and online through the Beazley Archive. Greenewalt's list included for each vessel the find spot and 1966 whereabouts when known, a bibliography for the vessel if it had been published, and a one word description of the decorative scheme (see Figure 1 below). These categories of data have now been

¹⁹ Greenewalt 1966, 21-34.. C.H. Greenewalt's 1966 Ph.D. thesis, titled *Lydian Pottery of the Sixth Century B.C.: The Lydion and Marbled Ware*, has been abbreviated in the Catalogue to Greenewalt 1966. See further discussion of this volume in Chapter 3.2 below.

Fat-Bellied Lydia

Catalogue: Fb. 1-171

Lydia

- Fb. 1. ?
Sardis.
Chase, G.H., in Butler, H.C.: Fifth Preliminary Report on the American Excavations at Sardes in Asia Minor, AJA, 18, 1914. p. 434, fig. 6.
Banded.
- Fb. 2.-3. ?
Sardis: Fb. 2, grave 43; Fb. 3, occupation area.
Butler, H.C.: The Excavations, Sardis, 1. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1922. p. 80, ill. 75 B (excavation inventory no. P469; other vases from grave 43 illustrated in ill. 75 A and B); p. 150, ill. 168.
Fb. 2. Marbled, (= m.33); Fb. 3. Ribbed.
- Fb. 4.-10. ?
Sardis, grave 722.
Unpublished; G. H. Chase's notes in the Fogg Museum.
Fb. 4 Marbled, (= m. 34); Fb. 5 Ribbed, Fb. 6-10 Banded.
- Fb. 11. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.199.64.
Sardis, grave ? on lower acropolis slopes.
Shear, T.L.: Sixth Preliminary Report on the American Excavations at Sardes in Asia Minor, AJA, 26, 1922. p. 399, pl. 6.
Banded. (Pl. I.N)
- Fb. 12. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.164.27.
Sardis.
Richter, G.M.A.: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook of The Greek Collection. Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press, 1953. p. 192, pl. 32 g.
Marbled (= m. 31).
- Fb. 13. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.199.106.
Sardis.
Marbled (= m.32).

Figure 1: The first page from Crawford Greenewalt's 1966 catalogue of Lydia; Fb. refers to the "Fat-bellied" form of the vessel. (Greenewalt 1966, 26.)

expanded to include a Catalogue number, Greenewalt's catalogue number if the vessel was known to him, the name of the site at which the vessel was found and the ancient and modern names of the surrounding region, a date range for the deposition of the vessel, a brief description of the fabric and decoration,²⁰ measurements for whole vessels, a photograph or drawing where available, an expanded bibliography,²¹ and discussion notes which provide information about context.

In the catalogue and this thesis, following R.M. Cook²², slip refers to a dilute clay coating which covers most or all of the vessel, and paint to decoration such as figures or bands (as for instance the white slip and black paint on East Greek Wild Goat wares). Because Greenewalt categorized the lydia with glossy black painted bands and fillets around the body as his "Black-glazed Banded" group, the term black-glazed is also sometimes used when discussing this particular type of lydion.

The catalogue was constructed in part to understand what sources of information are available, and what might need to be done in the future: archeometric and petrographic analysis are for instance required to identify the place of manufacture of some types of the vessel so that a much needed typology and chronology can be created for the various forms of the lydion.²³

²⁰ The terminology used to describe the fabrics and decoration of lydia has varied between authors, and although the terms paint, glaze, gloss and slip were not consistently applied, they have been reproduced in this Catalogue as they were used when the vessel was published. Date assigned by the publishers of vessels are absolute in only a few cases (from the Tomb of Alyattes and the destruction levels at Sardis); otherwise they have been established through associated vessels for which a chronology is better understood, or instead the lydia have been assigned to all or part of the sixth century B.C. because it is understood that that was the period in which they were most popular. Some entries are for groups of vessels from the same tomb, after Greenewalt 1966.

²¹ The titles of journals are abbreviated according to the form used in the American Journal of Archaeology. General references mentioned in the discussion notes that are not in the vessel specific bibliography of the Catalogue entry can be found in the bibliography attached to the text of this thesis.

²² Cook and Dupont, 1998.

²³ Renfrew (2004, 374-384) summarizes the key ways in which the creation of typologies and the scientific analysis of materials can help to identify sources of objects, and the spatial analysis of distribution can help us to categorize the forms of exchange as one of reciprocity, redistribution or market exchange, and then different variations

Other problems which have hindered the collection of information have been the overwhelming proportion of burial sites which have been excavated when compared with settlement sites, the fact that many graves had been already plundered by tomb robbers when they were excavated, and also the age and insufficient documentation of many excavations. Many of the vessels, particularly those in the older collections in European museums, have no provenance.

The Catalogue has been created using a Microsoft Access in order to enable the collation of data according to a range of criteria according to the needs of the inquirer. Given the aims of this thesis, Lydia in the catalogue are listed by the region of their deposition rather than by form and decoration as in Greenewalt's lists, but can be reordered by other criteria if necessary. It is useful at this point to note Allison's discussion about the way in which archaeological data is recorded.²⁴ She elucidated the difficulties that she faced in reconstructing and interpreting abandonment processes in Roman domestic life when using data that had been catalogued according to material type, or the probable place of manufacture, rather than by the context of its consumption or end-use, a problem encountered on a number of occasions when compiling this catalogue. Allison advocated the publication of excavation data in a timely, digital form as an adjunct to written publication. This resource would facilitate a variety of ways of interpreting evidence in order to help bridge the gap between lists of artefacts and our attempts to understand the lives of the people who used them.²⁵

within these categories. This approach is a product of the processional archaeology of the 1970s, and Hodder (1982, 202-203) lists some objections, including that the same distribution patterns may be the result of different social processes. He rightly emphasizes the need to consider the particular social context of the exchange.

²⁴ Allison 1997, 77-84.

²⁵ Stissi (1999, 95) makes a similar point: the lack of publications which take into account the overall assemblage of for instance pottery at a particular site or context make the analysis of the consumption of this pottery difficult. Too often pottery is listed by the assumed origin in catalogues, and not being cross-listed by context. The Lydian, for instance, is sometimes published in lists of finds under the heading of Ionian, or East Greek, ceramics (whether it is thought to be locally made or imported), but the actual context of the find within the site is not explained.

3. Literature Review.

3.1 Trade and Exchange in the Archaic Period.

There is a wide literature which discusses trade and exchange and the role which they played in interactions around the Mediterranean during the Archaic period. Trade is defined here as the peaceful exchange of objects or commodities whose main value to the counterparts in the transaction is their saleability; the transaction therefore involves a series of choices based on scarcity and price. Exchange covers a wider spectrum of interactions between individuals or groups beyond the purely economic, encompassing the social and symbolic value of the interpersonal exchange which accompanies trade. This review will look at studies relating to trade and exchange around the Archaic Mediterranean, especially among the populations which identified themselves as Greek and those which traded with them.²⁶ In particular it will look at the way in which pottery has provided evidence for understanding trade and exchange, and its role in cross-cultural consumption.

Attempts to analyse the form of the Greek and Roman economies have often been cast in terms of opposition between substantive or formalist views by those who seek to understand where trade fits in the socio-political sphere²⁷, or between primitivist or modernist views²⁸, by those who argue about the nature and level of economic activity in the ancient world. Within this theoretical framework, processual archaeologists attempted to categorize patterns in the material

²⁶ This necessarily must largely exclude the role of the Phoenicians; it is notable however that their representation as traders in Greek literature has led to a rather more modernist view of their activities than that applied to the Greeks themselves.

²⁷ For those following the views of Karl Polanyi (who categorized exchange into reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange, and argued that the ancient economy was embedded in and inseparable from social relations) or arguing instead that the ancient economy can be viewed as functioning like the modern economy, differing only in scale.

²⁸ For those who follow Finley (1973) or Rostovzeff (1926).

evidence of trade and exchange as revealing either reciprocity, redistribution, or market exchange at work, and then to align these modes of exchange with particular stages in the evolution and organization of the society being studied.²⁹ More recently, scholars such as Robin Osborne have argued that the Archaic world was one of interdependent markets, and Horden and Purcell that the Mediterranean has always been a region where risk was managed in part by connectivity and knowledge, and the opportunities that this provided for redistribution.³⁰ Foxhall sees the production of semi-luxuries as one way of marketing specialized surpluses, and this requires a knowledge of demand.³¹ More recently again, some archaeologists have incorporated theories developed in the social sciences about the role of material culture in creating social identities; imported and luxury goods have their own place in this analysis. Classical historians have tended to emphasize the ideological and moral aspects of exchange as described in the ancient sources, and the part which self-sufficiency played in Greek self-identity, while sometimes negating the contribution that can be made by archaeological evidence to this discussion.

The historian Paul Cartledge, for instance, has described a world where personal relations, cult and warfare were the central motivations in political relationships. This, he argued, implied a quite different form of distribution and exchange from that which exists in a capitalist society, and that as result there was no price-fixing network of inter-connected markets in the sixth and fifth century B.C.³² Elsewhere, he has argued that the usefulness of archaeological data

²⁹ Renfrew and Bahn (2004, 374-382) provide a useful overview of this approach; Morris 1986 refutes this model and claims that for instance gift exchange can be present in state and imperial societies, as well as clan societies.

³⁰ Horden and Purcell 2000.

³¹ Foxhall 1998.

³² Cartledge 1983, 5-6. Shanks (1999, 198-199) also argued that the role of participants in trade was socially marginal; that it was only undertaken when, for various reasons ranging from the ready availability of slaves to friction over inheritances, land was not available to some men; trade or colonization provided a possibility for social mobility in a period when lifestyle and wealth depended on the ownership of land.

as evidence in this discussion is limited, and used Gill's argument for a "positivist fallacy" in regard to the trade in pottery to bolster his point.³³ What Cartledge does not fairly acknowledge is that Gill, while arguing that a directed trade in what he regards as low value pottery was unlikely, and also suggesting that pottery was deposited in burials as a substitute for metal objects of higher value, contrasts this with a high volume interregional trade in commodities during the Archaic period; Gill states that "it is clear, as Finley for example recognised, that pots *can* mirror trade in other commodities."³⁴

C. M. Reed looked at Archaic modes of exchange, particularly in relation to Athens, and tried to understand the position which traders held in society by interpreting the literary evidence.³⁵ He pictured a world in the early Archaic period in which landowners would venture to sea in order to carry agricultural goods to market only if they could not dispose of their surplus closer to home; this limited activity was quite different, in his view, from that of the maritime trader who derived their living from searching out and reselling goods for a profit, driven to sea largely by poverty and so disqualified from the aristocracy, or as the agent of landholders. Reed saw a gradual change after the end of the seventh century B.C., with a growing number of independent maritime traders, and cites as evidence merchant marks on pottery and the increasing number of merchant ships as well as warships; he argued that Herodotus' (1.163.2) remark about the Phokaians using pentekonters for their western voyages

³³ Cartledge 2002, 11-32.

³⁴ Gill 1994, 104. Morley (2007, 5-6) discusses the issues around archaeological evidence and notes that pottery can act as a proxy for the movement of other commodities. See also Krottscheck (2008) for an excellent study of evidence relating to sixth century B.C. trade in Ionian B2 type cups which argues strongly that there was regional directed trade in some pottery which was aimed at supplying a known demand.

³⁵ Reed, 2003, 62-74; Morley (2007, 82-85) also discusses the literary evidence relating to the elite disdain for trade in classical antiquity, and the difficulties in reconciling this with other literary and archaeological evidence that shows that they did take part in trade; he comments that we should view this disdain as an often self-serving image of reality, but one that nonetheless must have constrained the actions of individuals.

meant that this was an exception to the norm. Reed noted the difficulties faced in understanding how the merchants might have financed their voyages during this period.

The particular role of East Greece in this evolution was emphasized by Mele in his 1979 book on trade in the Archaic Greek world. Mele used his reading of Hesiod and Homer to argue that those authors acted as a mouthpiece for aristocrats who were combating the growth of specialized commerce outside their system of seasonal disposal of agricultural surplus, and the gift-exchange which oiled the process. Conflict between the aristocracy and the tyrants, especially in East Greece, created an environment in which new forms of specialized maritime trade could flourish, and the *emporion* such as Emporion, Gravisca and Naukratis, where pottery could be exchanged for cereals and other commodities, were, in his view, evidence of the development of a new commercial world.³⁶ A different view can be seen in a recent article by Domínguez which discusses the western trading activities of the Ionians.³⁷ He described trade in the Archaic period as being still aristocratic in character; it was the source of their ability to make public displays of wealth and luxury through dedications in sanctuaries such as the Samian Heraion. The commercial expansion, he considers, should be regarded as being state based and official, as power in the polis was centred on the sanctuary, and decision making was centred there rather than with the merchants themselves. This continued under the tyrants, though power was now centred in one man, and spending might be diverted to civil projects. Domínguez sees the use of the pentekonter by the Phokaians as reflecting state control of trade which continued into the sixth century B.C., cemented by aristocratic guest friendships with foreign partners, and with the profits used to embellish the mother city. The disruption of civic cohesion brought about by the Persian advances resulted in the emigration of many Ionian aristocrats to points west in

³⁶ There are other views about which commodities were being exchanged at these sites and whether pottery played an important role, but they do not refute his broader argument.

³⁷ Domínguez 2000, 507-13.

the late sixth century B.C. He does not explain how many of these aristocrats might have also been craftsmen able to set themselves up as potters and tomb painters.³⁸

Corinna Riva has also suggested that a transition from aristocratic and personal exchanges towards a more impersonal trade in commodities was taking place during the sixth century B.C.³⁹ Riva was writing specifically about the western Mediterranean, and the way in which the foundation of new *emporion* in Etruria and further north and west along the coast as far as Emporion both reflected and provided a site for further changes in the self-identity of those active in an increasingly interconnected exchange system. The evolution towards commercial trade was also noted by Ian Morris in a discussion about the way in which gift exchange might be identified in the archaeological record: he saw a dramatic increase in independent Greek trade in the second half of the sixth century B.C. especially in commodities.⁴⁰

The *emporion* of Naukratis is one site where pottery provides evidence for the identity of the participants at a site where East Greeks obtained grain, papyrus, natron and linen in return for silver, wine and oil. Astrid Möller has written a study of the archaeology and history of Naukratis in which she interprets Naukratis strictly according to the port-of-trade model developed by Polanyi, and so insists that prices were fixed by regulation or other political factors, that local and external trade were kept strictly separate by the Egyptians, and that the administration of the port was financed by taxes or commissions.⁴¹ While acknowledging that such a model must be an ideal construction not found in reality, she insists that it is valid to

³⁸ See note 73 for references to Ionian artistic innovations in the second half of the sixth century B.C in Etruria.

³⁹ Riva 2010, 221.

⁴⁰ Morris 1986, 5, and also see Morris 2005, 12 where he notes that c.525 B.C. Athenian pots first show sail driven merchant ships, and that Plutarch (*Pericles* 26) claimed that the Samians invented merchantmen in the sixth century B.C. See also Foxhall 2005, 240-241, who linked urbanization in this period to the growing desire for objects, often 'everyday luxuries' such as perfume jars, with which to construct identity in a larger, more socially diverse community, and so to increasing trade in the type of goods which would satisfy this demand.

⁴¹ Möller 2000, 1-7.

apply the model across her analysis, and is firmly attached to the substantive view of trade as being embedded in society, with no price determining markets yet in existence. Such adherence to substantive models succeeds only if it ignores the more complex picture revealed by archaeological evidence, and Möller's attachment to this model flounders somewhat when she later describes the Phokaiaans, one of the founders of the port, as middlemen who traded metals as the principal element in mixed cargoes obtained in the west and exchanged for grain which their own limited territory was unable to supply.⁴² Villing and Schlotzhauer, when discussing the place of Naukratis in the Archaic Mediterranean, concentrate on the way in which the pottery at the site not only largely supports Herodotus' account of the identity of the founders of the port, but also reveals the *emporion* to be an important post in a complex web of trade routes which crossed the Mediterranean, primarily travelled by East Greeks but also the Aiginetans who may have carried Attic and Corinthian pottery.⁴³ Somewhat surprisingly it seems that no Lydia have been found at Naukratis, perhaps in part because the Archaic cemetery and living quarters were not excavated.⁴⁴ Osborne, in a review of Möller's book, points out that even if political considerations may have played a large part in the terms of exchanges at Naukratis, a proposition for which he says there is no proof, it does not mean that such conditions operated elsewhere, and so it would not preclude the terms of exchange at Naukratis affecting prices elsewhere.⁴⁵ This would provide an opportunity for traders to obtain a profit by exploiting differences in price at different sites.

⁴² Möller 2000, 78.

⁴³ Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, 6-7. It is of interest that some sherds of Etruscan silvered bucchero probably from Caere have been found at Naukratis, as well as at the Heraion at Samos, see Naso 2006, 189. See the chapters by Deitler and Morris in Scheidel et al. (2007) for more recent examples of the integration of archaeological evidence into discussion about the ancient economy.

⁴⁴ Prinz (1908, 82) and Greenewalt (1966, 86 n.38) both noted that no Lydia have been found at Naukratis. See Villing and Schlotzhauer (2006, 5) on the limited scope of excavation at Naukratis.

⁴⁵ Osborne 2002, 97.

Osborne has been at the forefront of scholars who have taken a more modernist approach to the form of trade and exchange in the Archaic period. He has argued the case for a network of interdependent markets, where "global demand for a particular commodity has an effect not simply on the price of that commodity but on other commodity prices also: production and marketing decisions are affected by events far away from the place of production".⁴⁶ He necessarily focuses on pottery as the best preserved of the material remains available for such a study, while acknowledging that it was not a major part of trade in the period, and bases his argument on the results of a study of the distribution of Athenian pottery into Etruria. The production of vases for this trade was not random, but in at least some cases stimulated by demand from the end-user; the sixth century B.C. Nikosthenic workshop in Athens and its production of vases in Etruscan shapes was an example.⁴⁷ In other cases, the majority of vases decorated with a particular subject matter from an Athenian workshop might be found in Etruria. Osborne argues that such examples mean that "a model of exchange on the sixth century must accommodate the possibility of systematic targeting of precise foreign markets by particular exporters".⁴⁸ It could be suggested that the factors which might throw doubt on such a conclusion include the vagaries of both cabotage trade and of excavation, meaning that samples can rarely be equivalent. Osborne uses Johnston's study of trademarks to argue for little stopping off by merchants, at least on the route from Athens to Etruria, and comments that even if the end market was unfamiliar to the potters, this could not be said of the traders buying vases in the Athenian market for export.⁴⁹ The pattern he discerns in the distribution of particular types of painted pottery is argued to be evidence for a regular network of trade, based on demand for

⁴⁶ Osborne 1996, 31.

⁴⁷ The Tyrrhenian amphorae and vases of the Perizoma group have also been said to have imagery aimed specifically at the Etruscan market, see Osborne 2001, 278.

⁴⁸ Osborne 1996, 32.

⁴⁹ Osborne 1996, 38.

agricultural products which were produced specifically for exchange, and for metals, not for the disposal of irregular agricultural surpluses. Osborne adds, as supporting evidence for constant and directional long-distance trade, the extent of sea voyages required to lift the population of Pithekoussai from near 0 to at least 5,000 before the end of the eighth century B.C., a picture quite different from that portrayed for instance by Cartledge.⁵⁰

Relevant to one of themes of this paper, which points to foreignness as being one of the attributes which added value to the lydion in Etrurian and south Italian contexts, is another study by Osborne, which concludes that although a wide range of Athenian painted pottery was imported into Etruria in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the adoption of particular scenes used in Etruscan art was selective according to the purpose for which it was to be used.⁵¹ He argues that the particular choice of some Greek images in tomb paintings symbolized the otherness of life after death, while by picturing Greek figures on the mirrors used in daily life, the Etruscans were advertising their participation in an exotic culture.⁵² Elsewhere, Osborne has asked whether the use of an imported perfume vessel implied something more than the display of a exotic object, such as a change of bathing practices, or instead different uses during social intercourse from those seen at the source of the vessel.⁵³ The use of aryballoi as a frequent part of the late seventh century B.C. funeral assemblage in indigenous burials in Italy suggests to Osborne that they were adopted in order to fulfil an existing role in local funerary rituals, rather than continuing to play a part in athletic pursuits as they did in Greece. He provides other examples to show that Greek pot shapes were used in new ways in the west; pottery and imagery did not carry Greek cultural practices, but rather people and stories.

⁵⁰ Osborne (1996, 40-41) suggests that 15-20 ships might have made 50 ship journeys a year between Greece and Pithekoussai, and depending on the type of ship, moved up to 4000 tons of goods annually.

⁵¹ Osborne 2001, 277-295.

⁵² Osborne 2001, 290.

⁵³ Osborne 2007, 86, 87-88.

Wallerstein's world-systems theory was used by Sherratt and Sherratt in 1993 to frame a new way of understanding ancient economies, and of the way in which objects found in the material record could be interpreted as forming an integral part of colonial interactions between central, often Greek, and peripheral, often non-Greek, populations. World systems theory is based on the idea that evolution towards more complex societies occurs in response to inter-regional exchanges. These exchanges took place between a highly developed core, where free labour produced high value or luxury goods for exchange as well as for internal use, and a periphery, which produced raw materials under the control of local rulers who were in either a colonial relationship with the core, or were in part dependent on the core for their power because of their access to luxury goods produced in the core and exchanged between elites. Lately, in the post-colonial era, the passive role assigned to the periphery in this model has been re-examined to instead focus on the active agency of the various parties involved in cultural inter-actions.

Sherratt and Sherratt saw "complementary zones of different types of production" across and beyond the Mediterranean, joined together by shifting supply chains which had rapidly revived and linked certain core zones after the near collapse of inter-regional trade after the eleventh century B.C.⁵⁴ They noted the seventh century B.C. growth of Ionian trade in metalwork, perfumes and textiles, and the associated links between East Greece and the Anatolian inland up the valleys of the Maeander and Hermus rivers, possibly in part a response to a raised Hellenic ethnic consciousness around the Aegean, which excluded exotic goods first carried by the Phoenicians and then the Ionians, and began to replace them with local production. Etruria was also regarded by the authors as a core region, linking a southern European periphery to the Mediterranean. By the sixth century B.C. the expanding Persian Empire added scale to the

⁵⁴ Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 363.

system, and Sherratt and Sherratt believe that the need for cities to import grain became a further stimulus to growth, paid for in part by exports of silver. The last equation is much disputed, but it does seem that the expansion of state backed measures of bullion and eventually of coinage provided liquidity for commercial expansion. In the view of the authors, the increased size of the ships required for trade in bulk commodities, enabled by capital from the east, meant that they could no longer use the Corinthian route to the west, and this explains in part the shift from the mid-sixth century B.C. of the main source of imported pottery in Etruria from Corinth to Athens. This phenomenon was not of course restricted to Etruscan imports; the replacement of Corinth by Attica as the main source of imported pottery in the second half of the century occurred all over the Mediterranean. Under Sherratt's model, price rather than aesthetic criteria was most important to customers.⁵⁵ The authors' further comment that the Phokaian traders in this period began to bypass the regions controlled by Etruscan Italy in order to reach the western Mediterranean and points beyond therefore raises questions: was this continuing direct trade from East Greece to the west, or a largely western circuit, or cabotage? Sherratt and Sherratt sum up their argument by proposing well capitalized centres of manufacturing, each competing with the other and each linked to peripheral supply zones for commodities. This view emphasizes the economic nature of colonization or overseas settlement, and suggests an unequal yet mutually dependent relationship between core and periphery.

⁵⁵ Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 374.

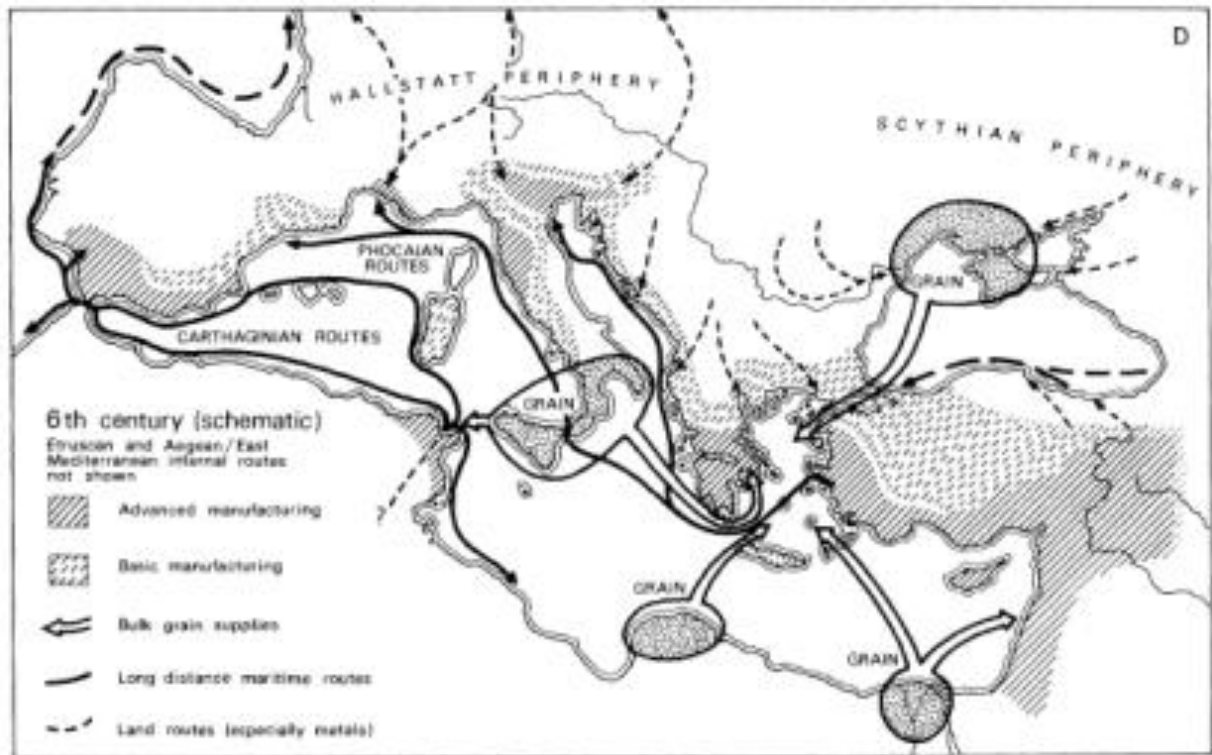


Figure 2: Sherratt and Sherratt's model of trade routes around and beyond the sixth century B.C. Mediterranean. (Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 373.)

Arafat and Morgan have also used the framework of world systems analysis in order to look at the way in which the roles and meanings of particular objects change in different social contexts, although within a more socially embedded economic model than that of Sherratt and Sherratt.⁵⁶ Their study was in part a generally positive response to an earlier study by Frankenstein and Rowlands, who had argued that the elites in the peripheral Iron Age Heuneburg region were able to cement and enhance their position in an increasingly hierarchical society through their control and regulation of the import of prestige goods, especially from the core Mediterranean regions.⁵⁷ These imported goods were displayed, for instance as part of burial rites, and also distributed to followers to build up reciprocal obligations. This process relied on

⁵⁶ Arafat and Morgan 1994, 108-134.

⁵⁷ Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978, 73-112.

elite control of tradeable commodity surpluses in the peripheral regions; societal evolution from clan to state was therefore dependent on and a response to participation in a regional system of gift exchange and trade. In Etruria, Arafat and Morgan saw the importation of Athenian vases as supplying a market which valued the figured scenes on Attic vases as a means of reinforcing their elite status through their ability to read and interpret the mythological scenes on the vases. Other Attic stylistic influences which were seen in the ports-of-trade through which the imports were carried were absent at inland sites, suggesting that demand for such material was selective. The authors tried to understand the way "in which imports were incorporated into an existing system of elite consumption".⁵⁸ It seems however that it might restrict the interpretation of the material record unnecessarily to view such interactions only through a lens of hierarchical social structures, with so-called "elites" in control of trade. Certainly it can be argued that increased mobility of people in our period was not restricted to the upper echelons of society; slaves for instance may in fact have comprised the greatest proportion of the mobile. Some authors attempted to bridge the oppositions inherent in the core and periphery model by defining some culture contact as taking place in a "middle ground", where interactions and differences between cultures, in circumstances where neither group was dominant, were negotiated through gifts and the eventual creation of a new shared, hybrid, culture.⁵⁹ Antonaccio has also discussed the idea of a hybrid culture developed in a "middle ground" in the archaic western Greek settlements, by people who could pick and choose from a variety of sources to create a meaningful material culture.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Arafat and Morgan 1994, 51.

⁵⁹ Gosden 2004, 30-33.

⁶⁰ Antonaccio (2003, 70-71) compares this with the limited use of foreign artefacts in Athenian graves of the same period; she notes the deposition of some Lydia in Athenian graves, but sees them as having been domesticated in that context.

The question of the Phokaian trading circuit in the west raised by Sherratt and Sherratt has a long history dating back to Herodotus' (1.163 ff.) comments that the Phokaians were the first Greeks to take long sea voyages even as far as Iberia, and that they opened up the west. It is particularly relevant to this discussion in the light of Roebuck's comment that the Samians and Phokaians may have carried Lydia westwards.⁶¹ It is worth, at this point, also noting Malkin's description of the western Mediterranean at the beginning of our period as being:

free of empires and centrally organized kingdoms. It was a vacuum where slight edges and advantages mattered a great deal; where maritime capabilities, flexible social frameworks, and a shared aristocratic ethos opened the way for original and responsive cultural creations.⁶²

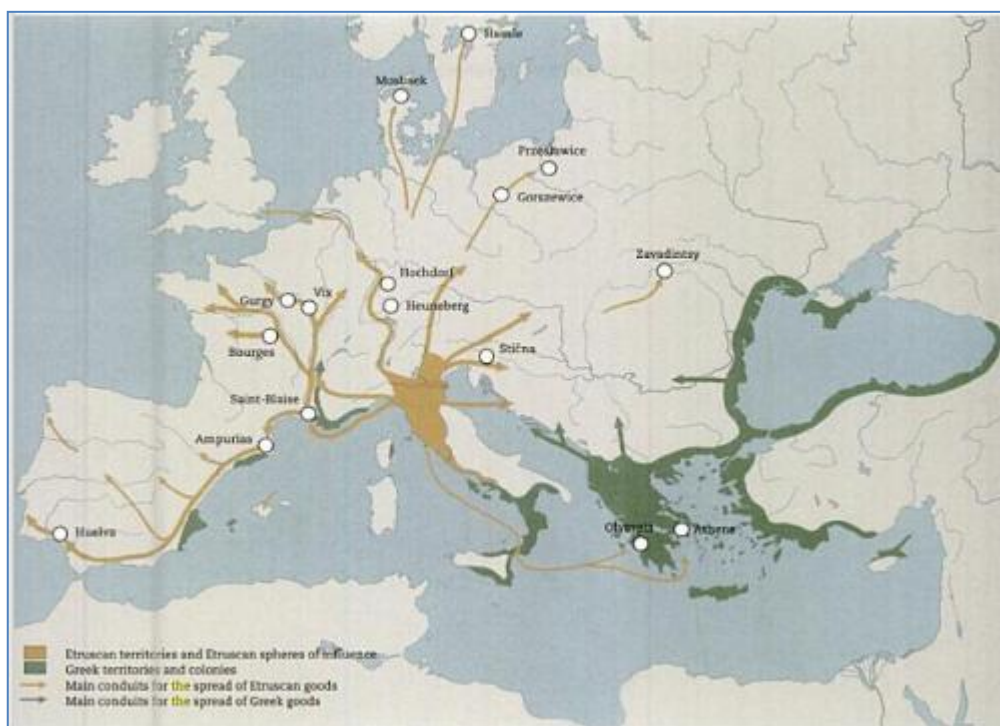


Figure 3: Etruscan and Greek trade in the Archaic Period. (Camporeale 2004, 81.)

⁶¹ Roebuck 1959, 56 n70.

⁶² Malkin 2002, 154.

As has been pointed out by Jean-Paul Morel, "numerous influences on the art of the west...above all, Etruria, have been attributed to (Phokaia) without any deep or extensive knowledge of the city's own art".⁶³ Greenewalt lists only one lydion as being found in Phokaia although more have been found in the surrounding area; this does not of course preclude them as cargo carried by the Phokaians.⁶⁴ The Phokaians founded Marseilles in about 600 B.C., and within 20 years they also settled at the trading post of Emporion in north-west Iberia, which had been an indigenous marketplace already in the seventh century B.C.; there were Phoenician, East Greek and Etruscan artefacts found in excavations from the earlier period.⁶⁵ Until at least the mid-sixth century B.C. the distribution of Greek imports in Iberia was largely restricted to this settlement and its surrounds.⁶⁶ Two black-banded lydia of the type usually called East Greek have been found at Emporion.⁶⁷

The establishment of the Phokaian settlement of Alalia on Corsica followed in c.565 B.C., and the population there was later reinforced by the arrival of another group of Phokaians who, Herodotus (1.165-6) explained, had fled the Persian invasion. The Phokaians apparently soon caused enough interference to a pre-existing trade circuit dominated by a Carthaginian-

⁶³ Morel 2006, 360. See the early and influential studies by E. Langlotz (discussed in Pedley 1978, 155-7) who analysed the art of the northern cities of East Greece to provide evidence for his argument for the primacy of Phokaia as a cultural centre, and that through the network of her western colonies the city was the source of East Greek artistic influence in that region, especially Etruria.

⁶⁴ Catalogue No. 24. Greenewalt provided no further information about the type of vessel; it was in 1966 part of a university collection. Information about the excavation of the Archaic phase of Phokaia is limited; see Özyiğit 2003 for references. No reference to lydia in the Greek settlements of southern France has been found for this thesis, although publication of the mainly rescue excavations of the Archaic levels of Marseilles is still not complete, see Krotscheck 2008, 27-30. If in fact the lydion was not imported or used at the Phokaian settlement at Marseilles, it raises further questions about their role as traders and about any ongoing connections to Asia Minor.

⁶⁵ Ath. XIII.36 A summary of ancient sources and modern scholarship about the Greek settlement at Marseilles can be found in, Krotscheck (2008, 17-46) and a more general discussion in Hodge, 1998. For Emporion see Krotscheck (2008, 44-46) and Hodge (1998, 163-167); Rouillard (2009, 131-151) also discusses this topic.

⁶⁶ Rouillard 2009, 133; apart from some finds on the southern Andalusian coast at Huelva, the site of one of the Phoenician settlements and possibly a participant in some direct Greek trade.

⁶⁷ Greenewalt 1966, 59, Rouillard 1991, 170; but also Etrusco-Corinthian aryballoi, complicating our understanding of who might have carried such vessels

Etruscan alliance to bring about the Battle of the Sardinian Sea, and after what Herodotus (1.166) described as a rather Cadmean victory, many of the surviving East Greeks went on the move again, eventually resettling at Hyele south of Naples in about 540 B.C. These settlements were, in Morel's words "united by a deep inter-Phokaian cohesion."⁶⁸ The effect of the Battle on the pre-existing trade circuit between the Tyrrhenian and Massalian coasts is not clear; some have claimed that the result was a reduced role for the Etruscans in the sale of wine to the north in the face of increased Greek and Massaliote trade. It does seem that Etruscan interests may have shifted south after the Battle, with Etruria taking control of Corsica and the Carthaginians of Sardinia.⁶⁹

Each of the Phokaian ports, from Emporion to Hyele, has been described as having maritime and inland trade as its primary function (and a limited chora or a hinterland occupied by the indigenous people, which should perhaps be seen as a middle ground, after Godsen, above) and Morel describes the basis of this trade as transporting products from where they are common, and their value low, to another site where they are highly valued, a view which firmly places the Phokaians as participants in Osborne's web of interdependent markets.⁷⁰ They are only one type of the trading settlements that flourished around the western Mediterranean, and others such as Saint Blaise near Massalia and many on the Iberian coast reveal a primarily indigenous material culture.⁷¹ A preliminary search for lydia from excavations in southern France has not revealed any examples. This raises a number of questions; if the Phokaians, with their links inland towards Lydia, were carriers of the lydion and its contents to some western Mediterranean

⁶⁸ Morel 2006, 413. Hodge (1998, 7) goes as far as describing the western Mediterranean in this period as being, from the Greek point of view, a Phokaian lake.

⁶⁹ Riva 2010, 214, Naso 2006, 189.

⁷⁰ Morel 2006, 374; this should not be a simple monetary equation; the value of an object, as discussed in the Introduction, might differ in various places through its ability be easily incorporated to represent social identities in new contexts.

⁷¹ Riva 2010, 214-5.

markets, were they only taken to places where they might be readily adopted into the rituals of the indigenous populations, and so provide a ready market? This would support arguments for a targeted trade in pottery or other goods, one in which merchants understood what would be best accepted at different sites, and would highlight the active role of the indigenous consumers in the transaction. Scholarship has so far focused on the adoption of wine drinking, and the associated vessels, into the pre-existing feasting rituals of the indigenous population of the Massalian coast and inland from the beginning of the sixth century B.C.⁷² Were Lydia not part of Phokaian burial ritual? Continuity in other aspects of religious symbolism between Phokaia and its settlements is clear.⁷³

Phokaia is often suggested as the place of origin for the ongoing movement of craftsmen from East Greece to Etruria in the second half of the sixth century B.C.; the workshop of the Caeretan hydriae and the painters of certain tombs at Tarquinia are well known examples, and more recently a study of architectural terracottas by Winter argues that craftsmen from Asia Minor, and in particular Phokaia, were engaged in the production of moulds.⁷⁴ Of particular interest is her assertion that terracottas, made in a workshop which operated at Caere between 540-510 B.C. and exported as far as Satricum in Latium, were made by artisans from Phokaia who were related to the painters of the Caeretan hydriae. Sanctuaries where examples of this series of terracottas have been found, including Satricum, but also Tarquinia and Veio, have also provided finds of Lydia either in the sanctuary or in burials, a connection which should be pursued in an expanded study.

⁷² For instance a number of papers by Michael Deitler. See summary of these in Riva, 2010.

⁷³ Hermay and Tréziny 2000.

⁷⁴ For Caeretan hydriae, Hemelrijk 1984; for tomb paintings Cristofani 1976; for architectural terracottas see Winter 2009, 393, 504, 545, 550, and 564; for Vulci for sculpture, pottery and minor arts, see Moretti Sgubini 2010, 23.

The expansion of trade in the sixth century B.C. western Mediterranean also took visible form in the foundation of the Etruscan coastal emporia, first Gravisca, founded in about 600 B.C. and under the control of Tarquinia, soon after Pyrgi under Caere, and towards the end of the century Regisvilla under Vulci. There is evidence for increased mobility of people, but also for increased social mobility as imported goods which passed through these ports were no longer restricted to the burials of the aristocratic classes. While the identity of the various groups of Ionians, amongst others, who first visited these sites and participated at the sanctuaries under whose protection trade took place is disputed,⁷⁵ as is the economic model which might be used to describe the sites, the sea battle with the Phokaians described by Herodotus also raises interesting questions about the dynamics of the trading environment: the *emporìa* were not flexible enough to prevent conflict over access to markets or prevent the piracy of which each side was accused. Herodotus (1.166ff.) explained that after the Battle many Phokaians were taken as prisoners to Caere and stoned to death, an act for which the Caeretans sought absolution at Delphi. As mentioned above, it has been suggested that about the same time as these events were taking place, Phokaian refugees from the Persian advance westward into Anatolia were also setting themselves up as artisans in the southern Etruscan towns, especially Caere itself, but also in Tarquinia and Vulci.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ For Gravisca, while the Phokaians are generally thought to have set up the first sanctuary c.580 BC (Fiorini 2005, 25), others such as Haak (2007) see a primary role for Samos. Torelli (1982) links some Ionian visitors to Gravisca to a western Phokaian trading circuit with ongoing connections to the east due to the large amount of Ionian and Massaliote material, and epigraphic links to Naukratis.

⁷⁶ Herodotus 1.153. Some names which are possibly Lydian have also been identified from inscriptions at Naukratis (see Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, 6). It seems that some Lydians may have also reached Etruria, according to Torelli (1982): a dedicatory cup at Gravisca is inscribed with the name Paktyes, also the name of a Lydian who was assigned the task of collected Lydian gold for Cyrus after the Persian conquest.

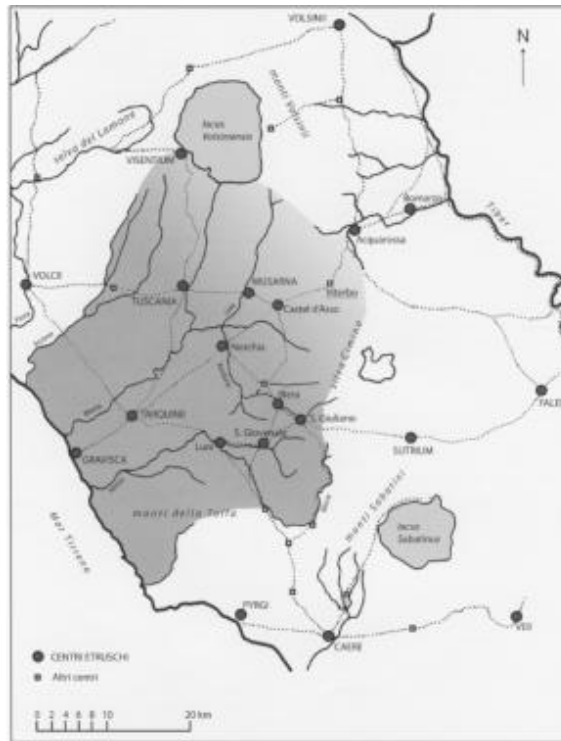


Figure 4: Tarquinia and the territory under its control. (Bonghi Jovino 2010, 162 fig.1.)

A recent study of the relationship between a mid-nineteenth century Chinese-American fishing village on the Californian coast and the nearby town provides a useful way to understand the way in which foreign objects, seemingly classed as exotic luxuries, could be actively sought and absorbed into the material culture of the town which was at the same time in conflict with those in the village whose culture created the objects.⁷⁷ An annual civic celebration called the Feast of the Lanterns took place in the town, which has continued to this day; it had an oriental theme and referred to links with the village, and yet in 1906, after the population of the Chinese-American village was swollen by a small group of refugees from riots in San Francisco, the village was burnt out to the cheering of some of the residents of the town, though not all. The author of the archaeological study of the village suggested that what he terms imperial nostalgia might be one part of the reason for the festival; this conceals past complicity with domination.

⁷⁷ Williams 2010, 149-163.

He also noted the feminizing, domestic and mysterious aspects projected onto Chinoiserie such as willow pattern china in the town, which was quite removed from what might have been Chinese cultural values. During the Feast of the Lanterns, visits to the Chinese village seemed to reveal it to be temporarily functioning as a liminal space which enabled the town residents to create an illusion of stability in a changing economic environment; in the same way the *emporia* of the Tyrrhenian coast have been described as liminal zones.⁷⁸ In this situation xenophilia was a way of integrating and domesticating the foreign rather than signifying emulation; by exchanging and consuming and integrating the foreign, it excludes the other.⁷⁹ As the author of the study points out, we cannot always assign foreign meanings to foreign objects.

In 2002 Stein published a paper which attempted to provide a new way of looking at interregional relationships without being weighed down by the implied lack of agency of some participants implied by the world-systems model.⁸⁰ His concept of the trade diaspora seems to be relevant to the way in which we might understand the sixth-century B.C. *emporia*. He defined a trade diaspora as an:

interregional exchange network composed of spatially dispersed specialized merchant groups that are culturally distinct, organizationally cohesive, and socially independent from their host communities while maintaining a high level of economic and social ties with related communities who define themselves in terms of the same general cultural identity.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Riva 2010, 221.

⁷⁹ Williams 2010, 162.

⁸⁰ See also Sherratt and Sherratt (1991, 356-357) for a discussion about the trade diaspora as a framework to describe "trade missions" or ports-of-trade founded by growing economies in order to mediate trade with existing indigenous exchange networks.

⁸¹ Stein 2002, 908.

Trade diasporas arise in the absence of centralized state organizations which might control or provide security for trade, much as was the case as described by Malkin for the western Mediterranean in our period.⁸² Members of the trade diaspora forge links between themselves and settle in market centres along trading routes, acting as middlemen, while maintaining a separate cultural identity. The settlers can be tolerated or even protected for their usefulness by the host; the balance of power between the parties can vary. Such a model seems a useful way to describe the Ionian trade networks for which we have material evidence, and, as Stein points out, allows for a range of interactions with local communities within a broader social evolution.

We can better understand the path of such a diaspora, and the way in which local communities integrated the objects carried by traders to become part of their own material culture, by mapping the trail laid by the lydion, encompassing the original place of production and the way in which the vessel was used there, its distribution, and the way in which those communities which were part of the web of connections which crossed the Mediterranean then adopted and imitated the lydion, decorating and using it in ways that made it their own.

⁸² See note 63.

3.2 The Lydion.

The small vessel now known as the lydion was recorded under a number of different names after finds were first published in the 19th century, but in 1927 Beazley published graffiti on an Attic red-figure stamnos, originally found at Vulci, which he translated as meaning "10 larger lydia, 5; 20 lepastides, 7" and commented that, like the lepastis, the lydion must have been some kind of vase.⁸³ It was then that the name came to be used in place of the variety of terms with which the vessel had been described up until that date.⁸⁴



Figure 5: Graffito on the Berlin 2188 stamnos : "10 larger lydia, 5; 20 lepastides, 7". Attic red-figure, 500-450 B.C. (Schöne-Denkinger 2009, Tafel 65, 7.)

The shape was first brought to the attention of a wide audience after the exploration of the Tomb of Alyattes, a huge tumulus burial at Bin Tepe near Sardis, took place in 1853. After initial publication in 1859,⁸⁵ the lydia found in the tomb were also described in one of Perrot and

⁸³ Beazley 1927, 349-350; for the stamnos see: The Beazley Archive 203086 Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2188 and also Schöne-Denkinger 2009 (CVA Deutschland 86, Berlin 11) Plate 64; see also Amyx 1958, 275-307 for discussion of pottery prices, which includes this graffito as evidence.

⁸⁴ These include the "Kugelgefäße" of Boehlau (1898, 145); the "Salbgefäße" of Rumpf (1920, 163); and the "krateriskos" of Dunbabin (1948, 477) and Butler (1914, 434).

⁸⁵ In von Olfers, J.F.M. 1859, "Über Die Lydischen Koenigsgraeber Bei Sardes und den Grabhugel des Alyattes", in *Abhandlungen der Koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaft in Berlin, phil-hist. Klasse*, 1858.

Chipiez's series of books about antiquities of the ancient world which was published in 1890 and translated into English shortly afterwards.⁸⁶



Figure 6: Two lydia found in the burial chamber during the 1853 exploration of the Tomb of Alyattes at Bin Tepe, now lost. (Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 286 figs. 194 and 195.)

These authors also noted another lydion from Bin Tepe, purchased there by George Dennis and donated to the British Museum in 1888. The surface of this lydion was marbled and Perrot and Chipiez suggested that the wavy translucent black on red paint imitated the chevron waves on Egyptian glassware.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 262-286.

⁸⁷ Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 399, see Catalogue No. 44.



Figure 7: Lydion from Bin Tepe, now in the British Museum (BM 1112.3). (Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 399 fig. 283.)

Excavation of the West Necropolis at Samos in 1894 by Boehlau revealed more lydian in both graves and cremation pyres.⁸⁸ Like Perrot and Chipiez, Boehlau looked to Egypt for the origin of the shape, this time back to a steatite vase from the 18th Dynasty which showed the wavy striations of the stone. The shape too, with its flared foot, convex body, and flaring rim was indeed reminiscent of that of the lydian.



Figure 8: Egyptian glazed steatite vase with the cartouche of the 18th Dynasty Thutmose I, BM 4762. (Boehlau 1898, 145 fig. 68.)

⁸⁸ Boehlau 1898, 35, 36, 145, see Catalogue Nos. 33-37.

Boehlau named the shape a *Kugelgefässe* after the rounded body, and divided the more than twenty lydia which he found at Samos into two groups, one which he called Samian, with simple decoration, and another Ionian, with banded or figured decoration.⁸⁹ The theory that at least some lydia were made on Samos has persisted from this point: in her 1973 volume on Samian wares of the sixth century B.C., Walter-Karydi noted the flared trumpet foot many of the black-glaze banded lydia and compares it to the foot of Little Master cups, concluding that lydia of this type must be Samian.⁹⁰ The lydion which Walter-Karydi uses as her example, Munich 532, was first published by Sieveking and Hack in their 1912 catalogue of non-Attic vases in Munich; they listed it as an Ionian style banded vessel, but would say only that the distribution of these vessels coincided with the Milesian trading range, and that the claim that they were made on Samos cannot be proven.⁹¹ More recently, Pierro has written in her catalogue of non-figured Ionian ceramics from Tarquinia that her black-glaze banded lydia are East Greek, probably from the islands, and she argues for ties to Ionian Little Master cups on the basis of the bands, the trumpet form of the foot and neck, and the high quality of many of the vessels.⁹² Those of lesser quality, she suggests, could be copies from lesser East Greek producers or local imitations, while noting the urgent need for further attribution studies. Greenewalt was doubtful about East Greece as the centre of production of this type; he argued that compared to the numbers of such vessels found in Sicily and Italy, only a very few have been found in East Greece or Asia Minor, and believes that most black-glaze examples are either Attic and made for the western trade, or Italic,

⁸⁹ Greenewalt 1966, 4.

⁹⁰ Walter-Karydi 1973, 32, see Catalogue No. 111.

⁹¹ Sieveking and Hackl 1912, 46. Dupont (2010, 39) while discussing the latest archeometric studies of East Greek pottery has noted that the finest Ionian cups at Samos are found only at the Heraion and their chemical pattern does not overlap with that of the more widespread but lesser quality cups found on the island, suggesting that the best cups were not, as previously thought, made on the island, but by some other highly specialized mass exporter.

⁹² Pierro 1984, 71-2, see Catalogue No. 54-61.

while acknowledging his unfamiliarity with the fabrics of ceramics from those regions.⁹³ The question of the place of production of this type of lydion is complicated by the lack of certainty about where Ionian Little Master cups, which were one of the sub-divisions of Villard/Vallet's B3 type of high-stemmed Ionian cups, were produced.⁹⁴ Cook suggested that Ionian Little Master cups were produced mainly in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. and notes that they are generally thought to be from Samos, although links to Fikellura ware need explaining.

A recent study of the Ionian B2 cups found at various sites around the western Mediterranean and on a shipwreck near Marseilles reveals that they were mass-produced at a single site in Italy or Sicily, and then exported in large batches, a scenario which should be kept in mind when looking at the production and distribution of banded lydia.⁹⁵

Given the wide distribution of lydia with banded decoration, especially in the western Mediterranean, it is important for the purposes of this study that a better understanding of the production, chronology, and evolution of the shape of the black-glazed banded lydion is gained.

The first brief study devoted to the lydion was published in 1920 by Andreas Rumpf, who called it a Lydian *Salbgefässe*, and categorized the vase into Greek and Lydian types, discussed its use and distribution, and suggested that the vase had held *bakkaris*.⁹⁶

The origin of the lydion continued to excite interest. Blakeway, in an article written in 1935 which discussed the date of the earliest Greek commercial contacts with Latium and

⁹³ Greenewalt 1966, 44-5.

⁹⁴ Cook 1997, 122-123. Beazley (1932, 167) in his 1932 article about Little Master cups, expressly chose not to address issues relating to the place of production. Heeson (2009, 1-14) records the earliest of the wider class of high-stemmed footed cups as dating to about 570 BC with production in Laconia and Athens; probably the Attic form of lip-cup was first produced in Athens in about 565 B.C., followed within ten years by the band-cup, and Ionian production of lip-cups began shortly afterwards, perhaps around 560 BC. Krotscheck (2008, 91-100) provides a useful summary of the confused state of current scholarship in relation to Ionian cups.

⁹⁵ Krotscheck 2008, 153-154. Note also that an examination of the cargoes of the archaic shipwrecks of this region and period reveal that a large percentage of the cargoes was of Etruscan origin, showing that a significant proportion of trade was not in Greek hands.

⁹⁶ Rumpf 1920, 166.

Etruria, identified a vase from Vulci (Figures 9) as a type of lydion, but with Geometric painted decoration which he dated to the eighth century B.C.⁹⁷ This vase was of the Italic type now called an *olla* and known to have been present in graves from the Iron Age, where it was usually accompanied by a cup. Blakeway hypothesized that both this type of vase and the later sixth century B.C. Lydian examples of the lydion with which he was familiar must have derived from an earlier common Lydian archetype, and that this implied contact between Asia Minor and Etruria as early as the Geometric period.

⁹⁷ Blakeway 1935, 132-3. In an earlier article Blakeway (1933, 193-4) also made a similar suggestion about a connection between the Geometric Etruscan *olla* and an unknown ancestor of the sixth century B.C. Lydian lydion.



Figure 9: An Etrusco-Geometric olla from Vulci, late eighth century B.C., 20 cm high. (Blakeway 1935, Plate XXI, D1.)



Figure 10: Etrusco-Geometric olla from Tomb 3, Bisenzio, early seventh century B.C., 35 cm high. (Torelli 2000, 594 Catalogue No. 164.)

The possibility of a seventh century B.C. "proto-Lydion" was also addressed in Crawford H. Greenewalt's seminal work on Lydian pottery of the sixth century B.C., of which more later.⁹⁸ Greenewalt recognized that there was a lydion-like Villanovan shape from seventh century B.C. Etruria, but considered that it was unlikely that there was a connection between this vessel and the lydion of the sixth century B.C. He argued that the olla was larger than the lydion, and so unlikely as a container for cosmetics, and noted that was no sign of them in Ionia or Lydia.⁹⁹

Later, in 1959, Carl Roebuck wrote his erudite and still useful monograph "*Ionian Trade and Colonization*". He traced the path of trade and colonization by the Ionians from the seventh century B.C., arguing that the population had outgrown its ability to feed itself, and discussed the pressure from the east from first the Lydians and then later from the Persians which created both political stresses and economic opportunities. He briefly noted the lydion in the context of a wider discussion of the role of Ionia as a link between east and west, its

⁹⁸ Greenewalt 1966, 88-91.

⁹⁹ The olla in Fig. 9 above is 20 cm high, the olla in Fig. 10 is 34.8 cm high. It has also been suggested that the shape of the olla is derived from imported LG Euboean pottery, but this is debatable as very similar vessels were seen already in the EIA (MacIntosh Turfa 2005, 97).

close relations with Lydia, and the various goods which were exchanged between the two.¹⁰⁰ Roebuck suggested that while Anatolian trade in the vase and its contents was in the hands of the Lydians, the distribution of Ionian imitations to the Aegean, the Black Sea region, Italy and to Spain, where possibly they were filled with unguent which had been exported in bulk from Lydia, was in the hands of the Phokaians and Samians.

Greenewalt's Ph.D. dissertation of 1966, "*Lydian Pottery of the Sixth Century B.C. The Lydion and Marbled Ware*", remains the principal reference for the lydion. In this work he primarily discussed and catalogued the Lydian lydia, with which he was most familiar. He also discussed the wider category of the distinctive marbled pottery of Lydia of which some lydia were a part. He established a typology for the lydion, dividing the known corpus of about 350 vases by shape into a number of categories: "Fat-bellied" or FB, Transitional/Late (TL), Black-Glazed Banded (Banded), Pattern and Figure Decorated (P/F), East Greek (EG), and Sports (Sp)¹⁰¹. Using this evidence, he briefly discussed the history, development, distribution and uses of the lydion.

Greenewalt cited the so-called 'Fat-bellied' lydia, with their globular body and conical foot, as the commonest form (Fb. 1-171, with an additional uncatalogued group of c.53 vases from Sardis, Pitane, Samos and Gordion).¹⁰² These were covered with a streaky or marbled glaze or with fine bands of paint, or sometimes grooved around a plain slipped body. Most of his examples were found in western Asian Minor, especially at Sardis, and others were from Phrygia, East Greece or the Greek mainland, or Italy. Greenewalt commented that although several vases are possibly earlier (including Fb. 134 from Taranto dated by the excavator to

¹⁰⁰ Roebuck 1959, 3, 49, 56 and 56 n.70.

¹⁰¹ In the sense of an object showing abnormal or striking variation from the parent type, especially in form or colour.

¹⁰² Greenewalt 1966, 6-34.

c.575 B.C.), the earliest group of securely dated vases is from the Tomb of Alyattes at Bin Tepe; Alyattes is thought to have died c.560 B.C.¹⁰³ Production of this shape may have continued into the early part of the fifth century B.C.

Greenewalt categorized only two lydia as his Transitional style (T/L 1-10, and another eight as Late; he dated them from about 500 B.C. and possibly as late as the 4th century B.C., and were all found in Asia Minor.¹⁰⁴ These vases were a more elongated shape than the fat-bellied, and the neck and foot were almost vertical rather than flared.

The type of black-glaze banded lydia listed next by Greenewalt (Banded 1-82)¹⁰⁵ are often called Ionian or East Greek in Italian museums, yet have most been found in Italy and Sicily and two are from Emporion in Spain; the attribution, Greenewalt suggested, was perhaps a product of Panionism. Of a total of 82 vessels in Greenewalt's black-glaze banded category, only four were found in Samos and Rhodes, one in Pitane and four in South Russia. Greenewalt sub-divided the group into four by shape and decoration, and considers the banded vases to have been probably Attic or Italic, although he conceded that he had not seen the vases and was not familiar with Attic and Italic fabrics. They range in date from the second to the fourth quarter of the sixth century B.C.

The patterned and figure decorated lydia (P/F 1-38)¹⁰⁶ were produced in a number of places: they were variously listed by Greenewalt as being Lakonian, Etruscan, Italic and Attic.

¹⁰³ Greenewalt 1966, 10-20, and repeated in Greenewalt 2010b, 204-5, where he suggests c.600 B.C. as the beginning of the production of the vessel, and again refers to the Tomb of Alyattes as the earliest datable context.

¹⁰⁴ Greenewalt 1966, 38-43, with an additional uncatalogued list of finds from Sardis, Daskyleion and Gordion.

¹⁰⁵ Greenewalt 1966, 44-61.

¹⁰⁶ Greenewalt 1966, 62-70.

Some of the finds from Etruria have been attributed to specific painters in the Pontic Group, and from Attica to the Elbows Out Painter.¹⁰⁷

The Eastern Greek group (EG. 1-32) is comprised of three shapes united by a pair of grooves around the shoulders and their micaceous and often buccheroid fabric. The category also includes a small number of flat bottomed lydia. They were widely distributed. The final group, of so-called "Sports" (Sp.1-14) are those which do not fit into the other categories, or combine their characteristics.

Greenewalt discussed the possible origins of the shape: he considered Boehlau's suggestion of an Egyptian origin unlikely given the chronological divide, and the similarity to Villanovan olle as a coincidence. He saw the vase as being of Lydian origin, and the distinctive shape, usually undecorated, an easily identifiable advertisement for the cosmetic contents. The cosmetic may have been exported around the Mediterranean in bulk, and then packaged in locally made containers, with a gradual decline in production towards the late sixth century B.C. He followed with a discussion about the ancient literary sources which mentioned *bakkaris*, which concluded with the comment it is "a likely possibility" that lydia were the containers for the unguent.¹⁰⁸

The question of what was packaged in lydia has been recently addressed by Todd Craig in a Ph.D. dissertation which studied the taphonomic processes affecting residues in ceramic vessels, especially of fats and oils.¹⁰⁹ Craig examined a range of ceramics from LBA and IA

¹⁰⁷ See Hannestad 1976 who includes several of the Pontic lydia in her catalogue, Greenewalt 1966, 65 for the attribution by Beazley of P/F 35-36 to the Elbows Out Painter. It should be recalled that the term "Pontic" vases in this context refers to a particular group of Etruscan black-figure vases, the name dating back back to the early presumption that these vessels were made by Ionians in the Pontic colonies. Hannestad 1974 and 1976 provide the best introduction.

¹⁰⁸ Greenewalt 1966, 83-119.

¹⁰⁹ Craig 2009.

sites in Turkey, including a group of lydian sherds from the 547 B.C. destruction levels at Sardis which were compared with lydian from Gordion. He found that most of the residues in lydian which were not apparently related to post-depositional events were composed of ruminant animals fats, together with some evidence of plant products. Only one sample from Gordion however contained substantial evidence for the presence of the terpenoids¹¹⁰ which are typical of scented resins, although Craig states that this mix would be consistent with a scented product made from a mixture of animal fats and plant resins, such as the unguent called *bakkaris* by the ancient sources.¹¹¹

More recently Greenewalt contributed two exhibition catalogue articles which provide a precis of the current understanding of the Lydian pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and of Lydian cosmetics.¹¹² He noted the purely indigenous shape and decoration of lydian from that region in a period when various combinations of Lydian and East Greek shapes and decoration were common, and its exceptional status as the only native Lydian shape widely exported. He also commented that while in Anatolia lydian were found in both habitation contexts and in graves, outside this region they were primarily a grave offering.¹¹³ Greenewalt also briefly discussed the other types of cosmetic containers found in Lydia, including the so-called Lydian lekythos, the ring askos and the alabastron.¹¹⁴

While 103 of the approximately 350 lydian catalogued by Greenewalt in 1966 were found in central and southern Italy, and a brief bibliography was given for each item where

¹¹⁰ Terpenoids are the fragrant compounds found in the volatile oils of plants, see Biers et.al.(1994, 11).

¹¹¹ Craig 2009, 137. Craig highlights the difficulties in separating the effects of, for instance, post-depositional microbial action which produce fats from processes which created the original residues, and more generally the importance of understanding the cultural and post-depositional taphonomic processes relating to residues prior to analysis. He confirmed that the results of the tests on lydian contents were largely disappointingly inconclusive (pers. comm 14/09/11)

¹¹² Greenewalt 2010a and 2010b.

¹¹³ Note the votive offerings of lydian at Corinth discussed elsewhere, see Steiner 1992.

¹¹⁴ See also Roosevelt 2008 on alabastra in Anatolia.

known, the author was not able to see those vases, and there was little opportunity for discussion in his thesis about the context of these finds, or about the wider implications for patterns of trade between Asia Minor and the western Mediterranean in the archaic period.¹¹⁵ A useful contribution was made by Martelli Cristofani in 1978 when she listed 47 lydian found in Etruria in a volume of articles about East Greek ceramics and their diffusion in the west.¹¹⁶ Martelli Cristofani divided the known lydian into five groups.¹¹⁷

1. 21 marbled lydian which she considered to be of Lydian origin.
2. A grooved and marbled Lydian type of which only two examples are known in Italy.¹¹⁸
3. A few other Lydian vessels with black or brown paint over the entire body.
4. 26 black-glazed banded vases which she considered to have probably been imported from southern Ionia and dated to c.575-550 B.C.
5. A group with a red slip over the entire vessel which were made locally, perhaps in Caere.¹¹⁹

Martelli Cristofani commented on the difficulty in differentiating between imported vases and locally made imitations, in part because of the summary descriptions in reports and the scarcity of available images. While not individually dating the vessels, she noted that the height of their popularity seemed to have been the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., although their use persisted through the second half of the century.

¹¹⁵ The technology of 1966 also limited the provision of images to one page of profile drawings and a small number of photographs which are barely legible in their reproduced form.

¹¹⁶ Martelli Cristofani 1978, 182-184 and Plate VII.

¹¹⁷ She listed only the marbled and black-glaze banded lydian.

¹¹⁸ Including Catalogue No. 42, now in the Villa Giulia. For the other see Martelli Cristofani 1978, 181 n98.

¹¹⁹ Martelli Cristofani 1978, 180-182. She considers a group of Samian lekythoi with red slip decoration to be products of the same workshop.

Elena Pierro was faced with similar problems when compiling her 1984 publication of the non-figured Ionian ceramics from the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, which included a group of lydian. Her task was made more difficult because the pottery was moved in 1916 from the Palazzo Comunale di Tarquinia, where the objects were grouped by excavation context, to the present museum at the Palazzo Vitelleschi, where they were displayed by typological division and so were almost impossible to align with excavation reports.¹²⁰ The problem was exacerbated by the loss of some parts of the collection to thieves during the move, and further by bombing in the closing year of World War II. Pierro notes the gradually improving understanding of East Greek ceramics, and suggests that scientific analysis would contribute to pin-pointing provenience and overcome the frequent lack of information about fabric in typological studies of the Archaic period. She also comments on the difficulties in distinguishing local imitations from imported vases. Pierro recommends the study of the whole ceramic repertoire of a site in order to reconstruct the various commercial contacts by the centre, and links the appearance of Ionian ceramics at sixth century B.C. sites in Etruria to the maritime emporium at nearby Gravisca, where imports have been attributed in particular to Samos, Miletus and Ephesos.¹²¹

Apparently unaware of Greenewalt's study, in her catalogue Pierro divided the lydian at Tarquinia into groups first by form according to the subdivisions of Greek and Lydian vessels used by Rumpf in 1920, and within these groups by the colour of the clay and the decoration.¹²²

Other literature which mentions the lydian includes excavation reports, museum catalogues and acquisition reports, auction catalogues, databases such as the Beazley Archive,

¹²⁰ Pierro 1984, 1-2.

¹²¹ Pierro 1984, 2-3.

¹²² Pierro 1984, 69-94.

and CVAs; those with bibliographical notes generally refer the reader to Greenewalt 1966 and if Italian also to Martelli Cristofani 1978 or Pierro 1984. They enable us to expand the known corpus of lydian and add to Greenewalt's catalogue, and the more recent archaeological reports offer useful contextual evidence for finds. While these publications add to the sum of information about the lydian, there has been no study beyond Greenewalt's pioneering 1966 thesis which attempts to bring the information together by mapping the wider distribution of the shape, and linking each type of vessel to its place of manufacture. This information can help us to understand not just where the lydian was used, but also how and why it found a place in distant material cultures.

4. Pots, Perfumes and the Economy.

The manufacture and trade of perfumes and unguents around the Mediterranean has a long history, dating back at least to third millennium Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia, written evidence from the 18th century B.C. records the receipt of filtered sesame oil by a perfume maker who delivered perfumed oils in return. In Egypt, paintings and sculpture reveal details of perfumers at work, and texts describe perfumes for personal use and as medicine, and during the embalming process and religious ceremonies. Passages from the Bible provide evidence for the use of perfumes in Palestine, and several Levantine perfume workshops dating from the Archaic to the Roman periods have been excavated. These contained furnaces to heat the oils, and jars and other equipment.¹²³

Perfumes are assumed to have been a marker of elite status at least until the seventh century B.C., and there are many references in the Homeric epics to its use during bathing, during funerals to anoint the body, and as grave gifts. They were also sprinkled on clothing to serve both as scent and as an insecticide. By the end of the seventh century B.C. the wide distribution of Corinthian perfume vessels and the evidence from their use in burials seems to indicate use by a broader spectrum of society. By the Hellenistic period, as Brun has noted, "what distinguished the aristocracy from the common people was not the use of perfumes but the quality and relative rarity of perfumes used."¹²⁴

It is generally accepted that the lydion, given its shape, contained a perfumed unguent, the scent possibly fixed in animal fat rather than pourable oil. This is a technique which dates back to the Egyptians, who made perfumed cones that were placed on the head so that the

¹²³ Brun 2000, 278-9.

¹²⁴ Brun 2000, 277.

scented fat would melt and run down over the wearer.¹²⁵ The distinct and consistent shape of the lydion, with its small size and thick walls, suggest that the contents were expensive and that the shape was a clear advertisement that signified the contents of the vessel to the knowledgeable consumer in a society where literacy was not widespread. It differs from vessels such as alabastra, aryballoi and plastic containers that could be suspended from the wrist or wall, and have small mouths for pouring, dripping or anointing oils, scented or plain, directly onto the skin.¹²⁶

Information about the extraction of perfumes come from the third century B.C. author Theophrastus in *de odoribus*, from Pliny in his *Natural Histories*, and from Pliny's first century A.D. contemporary Dioscurides, who wrote *de materia medica*.¹²⁷ While vegetable oils such as olive oil, sesame oil and almond oil were the most widely used vehicle to hold and preserve scent, Dioscurides (2.76-77) mentions the fats of cattle, deer and geese as being washed and cooked with wine to cleanse them before being mixed with aromatics. It is possible that lanolin was also used. Both Pliny and Dioscurides also mention thickening perfumes by adding myrrh or resin, and using honey to make a paste, and some perfumes were also coloured with vegetable dyes. Oils to be used as a vehicle for aromatics were first treated with a plant-based astringent such as sedge or coriander in a process called *stypsis*, which made the oil more receptive to the scents which were added during the second stage of the manufacturing process, the *enfleurage*. This required the continual addition, soaking and filtering of the scented material in the oil or fat until the desired strength was achieved. The scent of plants could be

¹²⁵ Foster 1974, 34.

¹²⁶ A chemical analysis of Corinthian plastic perfume vessels (Biers et.al. 1994) revealed the presence of oils scented by resins, some from conifers, and also revealed cholesterol in 6 of 24 samples which indicates that animal fat was present, perhaps from straining the oil through wool, from thickening the oil, or from part of the *enfleurage* process. Payne claimed that an aryballos found in Sicily smelled of scent when opened (Shanks 1999, 172).

¹²⁷ Humphrey 1998, 387-390 and Foster 1974, 37-38.

extracted from the more delicate ingredients such as flowers by steeping them during a warm or cold extraction process, or for ingredients such as roots and gums, by grinding them before heating them in oil. The equipment required would have been rather like that already found in ancient kitchens, making it difficult to identify in excavation: pots for heating and bowls for extraction, mortars for grinding, strainers, ladles and storage jars for ingredients to contain the finished product would all be required.¹²⁸ Techniques for manufacture appear to have changed little from the third millennium B.C. into the Classical period, and to have involved a complex process of collecting or cultivating raw materials, specialized production, and distribution. This implies some level of capital investment by the manufacturer or a central authority before the results were sold or redistributed.

Although we do not have evidence about the technology or structure of perfume production in Lydia, it might be presumed to be similar to that described by the classical authors, and it is possible that production may have occurred on an industrial scale under central control, as is clear for the contemporary production of luxury tradeable materials such as textiles at Gordion in Phrygia. This was certainly the case in the Bronze Age Aegean, where perfumed oils seem to have been a luxury product produced in the palaces and used for both cult and burial ritual, but also for export and exchange for metals and luxury goods. Shelmerdine, in her study of the perfume industry at Mycenaean Pylos, has argued that one of the chief roles of perfumes in the palace-based system was economic, because of their high status for trade.¹²⁹ The portability of high-value perfumes and unguents and their specialized containers, and the foreignness which would have added to their value as luxury goods for consumers, has made them an ideal export for many centres over time.

¹²⁸ D'Agata 1997, 89.

¹²⁹ Shelmerdine 1985, 123.

There is both literary and archaeological evidence for the central control of Mycenaean perfume manufacture. Several late 13th century B.C. Linear B tablets found in the main Archives Room of the palace at Pylos provide lists of relatively large amounts of aromatic ingredients issued by an important palace official to a perfume oil boiler. The tablets also record the stirrup jars issued to the manufacturer, showing that these jars were used as containers for perfumes.¹³⁰ Wine in which to steep aromatics, and honey for lining containers were also listed. Other tablets record the redistribution of perfumes as religious offerings. At Knossos, 14th century B.C. Linear B tablets also recorded the distribution of oil and spices to perfume makers.¹³¹ The aromatics were mainly locally grown though some, such as myrrh, were imported from the east. The Canaanite jars imported into Greece from the Levant from the 14th century B.C. onwards may provide some evidence; 130 jars found on the Ulu Barun shipwreck contained up to a ton in total of an aromatic terebinth resin used, according to tablets from Knossos, for perfumes.¹³² As well as the cult use mentioned in the tablets, finds of stoppered stirrup jars with narrow necks in Mycenaean burials show that perfumes fulfilled a funerary role, but the wide distribution of small stirrup jars from Anatolia to Sicily shows that they were also exported, especially from the Argolid.¹³³ Shelmerdine, when arguing that the trade and distribution of fineware stirrup jars reveals their importance as part of the Mycenaean

¹³⁰ See Shelmerdine's (1985,142-146) arguments for this proposition.

¹³¹ Foster (1974, 71-93) and Palmer (2003, 125-127). One group of rooms at the Minoan palace at Cretan Zakros is thought to have included a workshop where perfume making took place. As well as the aforementioned equipment which might be expected to be found in such a workshop, a specialized coarseware clay shape called a fire-box, made of a pierced dome inside a container, has been interpreted as having been used to distil aromatics, see D'Agata (1997, 90-92) and Foster (1974, 168-70).

¹³² D'Agata (1997, 86-7) and Foster (1974, 139-40); this resin is also used to flavour and preserve wine, and there is some indication that the jars may have been topped up with wine. Brun (2000, 277) notes the use of resins as a fixative in perfume manufacture.

¹³³ Palmer (2003, 133) states that residue tests on a small fine ware stirrup jar from the cult centre at Mycenae show that it had held wine; she suggests therefore that probably not all such jars held perfume, but that the shape was probably designed for that purpose.

economy, suggests that the jars were valued in themselves and so reused, as well as being valued for their contents.¹³⁴



Figure 11: Map of the Eastern Mediterranean indicating the find spots of Mycenaean stirrup jars (as of 1974). (Foster 1974, 190.)

The revival in Aegean trade from the Early Iron Age has raised questions about patterns of trade and the production and distribution of perfumes in a period when Phoenicians were being portrayed as specialist traders by Homer. The Phoenicians have been argued to have occupied a commercial role rather like that which has been suggested for the Phokaians in the Archaic period. Frankenstein has described the interests of Phoenician traders as being in exchanging "one commodity for another to be exchanged elsewhere for yet another in order to make a profit"¹³⁵; in the west their "strategy was to obtain access to the output of indigenous production or resources and use them to gain access to new markets....connecting economically discrete regions".¹³⁶ These activities inserted them into a web of trade in which they were able

¹³⁴ Shelmerdine 1985, 141-142.

¹³⁵ Frankenstein 1979, 274.

¹³⁶ Frankenstein 1979, 281.

to take advantage of differences in supply, demand and price at various ports. They were able to monopolize trade, particularly in the luxury items to which they had access. One example of this type of object were the black-on-red (BoR) perfume flasks which began to appear in the Dodecanese from the MG period. They have been the subject of discussion over a number of years after an article by Coldstream raised the possibility that the flasks were being imitated and perhaps filled in Aegean workshops established by immigrant Phoenician craftsmen.¹³⁷ This discussion is particularly relevant to understanding many of the implications and possible pitfalls in interpreting patterns of production, distribution and imitation of other containers assumed to have held perfumes, such as the lydion. It should be noted that Schreiber has recently argued for a Cypriot origin for BoR wares, but this does not devalue the themes that arose in earlier discussions.¹³⁸

Coldstream noted increasing connections between the Dodecanese and the Levant from the late ninth century B.C., marked in part by the presence of BoR perfume flasks with ridged necks which he considered to have been imported from the east, and to have been decorated in a style which was introduced to Cyprus by the Phoenicians and adopted for their own products.¹³⁹ Sherratt and Sherratt described these connections as being part of a fluid search for high-value materials by Levantine traders, and note that contact points tended to be on islands on the edge of indigenous exchange systems; these developments are reflected in the type of exchanges with the Phoenicians described in the Homeric epics.¹⁴⁰ Coldstream claimed that these perfume flasks would have filled a need as there was no comparable slow pouring vessel

¹³⁷ Coldstream 1969, 1-8.

¹³⁸ Schreiber 2003.

¹³⁹ A very few of these flasks have been found in eighth century B.C. Italy, in Etruria, Campania and on Pithekoussai (MacIntosh Turfa 2001, 277-8).

¹⁴⁰ Sherratt and Sherratt 1963, 365-6; and one can see the similarity with Phokaian settlement in the western Mediterranean.

in the Geometric repertoire. At Ialysos on Rhodes, imitation flasks were soon being made, but with local Geometric decoration. The sudden appearance on the island in the mid-eighth century B.C. of a type of Rhodian-made flask in the Phoenician shape but with decoration much closer to eastern styles led Coldstream to argue that Phoenician settlers must have arrived and set up local factories where unguents were manufactured and sold in containers made by the new residents. He based this in part on the same logic that argues for the settlement of Greek potters in Etruria when the decoration on locally made wares is indistinguishable from those made in Greece itself. Coldstream suggested that faience vessels in imitation of Egyptian products may also have been made by Phoenician *metoikoi*. The presence of these in graves on Rhodes, along with other items that had eastern counterparts, was considered by Coldstream to provide circumstantial evidence for his argument.

Frankenstein instead looked at the container itself as the key element of production on Rhodes.¹⁴¹ She argued that the Phoenicians may have organised its production there in locally owned workshops which could then supply them to Phoenician traders at a lower cost than those made in the Levant; the traders could fill them with perfumes for sale both on Rhodes and further west. She precludes Phoenician involvement in production as they were primarily involved in trade in higher value items, and claimed that the similarity to Phoenician examples was not so close as to preclude local potters.¹⁴² Snodgrass has commented that these Rhodian imitations were, while similar to the originals, clearly not the same, so that the value of the vessel was in what it signified about its contents rather than in the vessel itself.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Frankenstein 1979, 275-6.

¹⁴² A somewhat circular argument as she claims that the style of flask was first introduced from the Levant.

¹⁴³ Snodgrass in Jones 1993, 300 n.7.

The economic implications of these hypotheses were examined by Donald Jones. Jones saw an ongoing connection to the homeland in the overseas factories which Coldstream has posited for Kos and Knossos as well as Rhodes, which would imply an economic basis to the decision to place a branch manufacturing workshop in a foreign location rather than continue to manufacture the vessels and their contents in the homeland. Better access to raw materials or to markets for the product, the ability to avoid tribute or tariffs, or lower transport costs could all contribute to the decision to manufacture and bottle overseas as part of a horizontally integrated enterprise; if the unguent was made in the homeland and then transported in bulk and bottled closer to the overseas markets as part of a vertically integrated enterprise, the unguent must travel well and there must be an advantage in either access to raw materials for its manufacture in the homeland, or lower transport costs for bulk goods. The imitation flasks may have in fact been made by local bootleggers and filled with an imitation product; were the profits to be made sufficient to allow the imitation products a cost advantage over imports? Jones makes the point that if the enterprise was linked to the homeland, there must have been a way of repatriating some proportion of the profits to the centre of what could have been a state-owned operation, like those in the Mycenaean palace period, or one which was family owned.¹⁴⁴ This might take the form of precious metals or other commodities. It is worth remembering in this context that Frankenstein has argued that the Phoenician expansion was in part forced by the need to pay tribute to the Assyrians, and that it was enabled by their technical and maritime expertise which allowed them act as middlemen between empires in the absence of organised exchange, carrying manufactured goods for elite consumption, and from the 8th century B.C. raw materials as well.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Jones 1993, 296-7.

¹⁴⁵ Frankenstein 1979, 272-4.

The alternative explanation for the appearance of locally made copies of specialized shapes such as perfume bottles that advertised their contents might be, as both Blakeway and more recently Jones have pointed out, either

1. foreign colonization with no economic links to the homeland
2. foreign imitation of a recognised product and its container where imports have already established a market and created demand for the product, or
3. the arrival of an itinerant craftsman or refugee who brings skills and technology with him.¹⁴⁶

The purpose of analysing the phenomenon of the imitation of perfume containers within what might appear to be an anachronistic framework is to focus in part on what the archaeological consequences of the various scenarios might be, and also on the economic and political implications of different interpretations of what is found on a particular site.

The chain of archaeologically identifiable actions implied by what, at many sites, is argued to be the local imitation of a foreign product is also discussed by Hoffman in her study of Near Eastern contacts with Iron Age Crete, and of the difficulties encountered in trying to distinguish between traded objects and their local imitations.¹⁴⁷ The object should first be identified in its original context, then an imported example in the new local context, then a local copy or adaption.¹⁴⁸ If this chain cannot be identified, the movement of people and knowledge rather than objects might be argued: pots in this case must equal people. She looked at Coldstream's proposition that the Phoenicians established perfume factories, not only on

¹⁴⁶ Blakeway 1935, 129 and Jones 1993, 299.

¹⁴⁷ Hoffman 1997.

¹⁴⁸ Hoffman 1997, 154 n2.

Rhodes but also at Knossos in Crete and on Kos.¹⁴⁹ For Knossos he proposed that the Phoenicians made perfumes on the island, and bottled them in containers which, unlike those on Rhodes which were close enough to the eastern style to suggest a Phoenician potter, were made to order in local workshops to imitate imported flasks, this time Cypro-Phoenician. Again he saw enough evidence in graves to suggest that Phoenicians were resident on the island.

Hoffman points out that in each case, as is often the case for small ceramics, it was assumed that the flasks were not desirable and so worth trading for themselves, but only for their contents.¹⁵⁰ This is an assumption that should be reassessed. It is also assumed that more exact locally produced copies imply foreign resident craftsmen, while the less exact copies imply manufacture by local potters; she does in fact agree that the Rhodian copies were so similar to the originals in shape and decoration that Coldstream has a strong case for foreign resident manufacture. It is not easy to establish the extent to which the pots must be linked to unguent manufacture or whether their manufacture might be seen as a separate process; Hoffman suggested that secret recipes could be a way of controlling production.¹⁵¹ Pots could also be closely copied for sale to customers who might assume they carry the imported product whereas they are in fact filled with a local product, packaged so that the product retains some of its foreign allure.

It becomes clear that the various arguments for what was occurring were based in Coldstream's case on assumptions about the processes of ceramic production, its tight links to unguent manufacture and the various means by which style might be transmitted, and in Frankenstein's case were devolved from the economic model which she had constructed for

¹⁴⁹ Coldstream 1969, 4;1982, 268.

¹⁵⁰ Hoffman 1997, 179 n103.

¹⁵¹ Hoffman 1997, 181.

Phoenician trade and exchange. Other examples of such an approach are the way in which Möller has interpreted evidence from Naukratis strictly according to Polanyi's port-of-trade model, and can frequently be said for a heavy reliance on the model of a western trading circuit dominated by Phokaians in much analysis of trade in the sixth century B.C. More recently, Schreiber made the point, worth noting in view of the issues already raised about the role of the Phokaians in sixth century B.C. trade, that "trade in these (BoR) vessels should not be subsumed under a dominantly (Phoenician) westward quest for high-value materials in the 9th and 8th centuries, but comprised instead part of the increasingly complex commercial networks in the Aegean in this period of the Iron Age."¹⁵² As Hoffman has remarked, studies involving both residue analysis and the wider trade in unguents around the Mediterranean would be useful to further our understanding of these issues.¹⁵³

In regard to the lydion, Roebuck suggested that the contents of lydia found outside Lydia itself may have been exported in bulk and the used to fill imported or locally made vessels close to the point of purchase, a idea later supported by Greenewalt, who proposed that the product might have been mainly exported in bulk and sold in locally made containers, which were at first as close as possible to the original Lydian containers.¹⁵⁴ Over time local workshops would produce containers decorated in locally popular styles, while retaining enough of the distinctive shape to advertise the contents. The attached Catalogue contains only one lydion found with a lid, in a votive deposit in Rome; the vessel is of a type thought to be a

¹⁵² Schreiber 2003, 310.

¹⁵³ Hoffman 1997, 184.

¹⁵⁴ Roebuck 1959, 56 n.70, Greenewalt 1966, 96-7. See Krotscheck (2008, 69) for an image of an Attic amphora stacked with B2 cups made in the western Mediterranean and shipped in bulk for sale. Anderson-Stojanović 1987, (115-116) has reported that both water and oil seeped through unslipped ceramic unguentaria from Stobi within eight hours, while an unglazed unguentarium from Athens lost 5.5% of its oil over a week, and black glazed vessels from Athens lost up to 100% of water within two days. Clearly the fabric and firing of a vessel would have a major impact on its use for carrying perfumes and unguents over long distances. Porosity may however be a virtue in for perfume vessels in some contexts, such as funerary rites.

local imitation, so the lid, with a knob which would be easily broken, may not indicate the form of closure of the lydia which were first shipped from Asia Minor.¹⁵⁵ The wide variation in size of lydia would seem to indicate that there was no standardization in capacity, though a further analysis should be undertaken to confirm this general impression.¹⁵⁶

The place of the BoR juglet as the most popular container for perfume was eventually taken by the Corinthian aryballos during the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C., and it is generally accepted that Corinth was producing the perfumed oils with which they were filled before distribution.¹⁵⁷

By the Classical period, the lekythos was the most popular perfume container in the Greek world and beyond, succeeded in the Hellenistic period by ceramic unguentaria in fusiform or later in flat-based shapes. Anderson-Stojanović has argued from the relatively poor quality of these vessels, and the variety of fabrics, that perfumes were transported in bulk and transferred to the locally made small containers at or near the point of sale.¹⁵⁸

During the Roman period, perfumes became popular especially after the eastern conquests, and there is both literary and archaeological evidence for their manufacture and use. The perfumes continued to be made with a base of olive oil, and flower scents were especially popular with all levels of society, for personal use after bathing and at banquets, but also at

¹⁵⁵ Catalogue No. 123. Theophrastus (*de odoribus*, 40) wrote in the 3rd century B.C. about the necessity of sealing perfumes against the air. The LBA Ulu Burun wreck contained small closed vessels within a large pithos (Schreiber 2003, 65). Catalogue No. 119, a lidded Etrusco-Corinthian lydion (very likely from the same workshop as Catalogue No. 96) is from a private collection and has no provenance.

¹⁵⁶ The wall of the lydion is often very thick, and so the external height and diameter are not necessarily a good indication of the capacity of particular vessels.

¹⁵⁷ Schreiber 2003, 72.

¹⁵⁸ Anderson-Stojanović 1987, 115.

religious ceremonies and at funerals.¹⁵⁹ As in earlier periods, various regions were famous for specialized products, but Campania was especially famous for the cultivation of both suitable olive oil and the flowers, often roses, which were used to scent perfumes.¹⁶⁰ Price has suggested a connection between the sale of frankincense and the manufacture of glass unguentaria at the nearby port of Puteoli, where "the quarter of the glassmakers was also known as the quarter of the incense dealers".¹⁶¹ There seems to have also been an area near the Forum at Pompeii which was the centre of perfume production in that city, and here Price reported that a large number of small glass bottles were excavated from the garden and house at what is thought to have been a commercial flower garden for the perfume industry. In Paestum, where unguentaria had been produced as early as the fourth century B.C., a specialized press similar to those represented in wall paintings from Pompeii which show perfume making and selling has been excavated from a first century A.D. workshop.¹⁶²

It is apparent that the role of perfumes and unguents, and their containers, as specialized high-value products aimed at an often distant market has been a feature at a range of sites which have operated under a variety of economic frameworks. The imitation of containers which have found a receptive market is also common to several sites and periods. The distinctive shape of the vessel containing the scent is clearly important in order to identify and advertize the product. All of these features, as we will see, are also common to the lydion.

¹⁵⁹ In Rome during the late Republic and the early imperial periods, shops sold perfumes in the Forum and then along a specialized *vicus unguentarius* nearby, and perfumers were members of a *collegium aromatariorum*.

¹⁶⁰ Brun 2000, 295-297.

¹⁶¹ Price, 179-80.

¹⁶² Mattingly 1990, 71-90 and Brun 2000, 291-295.



Figure 12: Cupids manufacturing perfume; wall-painting from the Triclinium of the House of the Vettii, Pompeii. 62-79 A.D. (Foster 1974, 166 Figure 2.)



Fig. 7221. — Boutique de parfumerie.

Figure 13: Cupids selling and manufacturing perfumes, from a lost wall painting at Pompeii. (Foster 1974, 167 Figure 3.)

5. The Lydion in Sardis and Anatolia.



Figure 14: Sites in Asia Minor where Lydia have been found.

Sardis was an important occupation site in western Anatolia from the Bronze Age into the Byzantine period. The city was the capital of the Lydian kingdom of the Mermnad dynasty, which began c.680 B.C. with the ascent of Gyges to the throne, and ended with the defeat of Croesus and the sack of the city by the Persians under Cyrus soon after the middle of the sixth century B.C.¹⁶³ The city continued to be occupied after the Persian conquest and became a satrapy of the Persian Empire. It lies on the Pactolus River, which feeds into the Hermus River and then into the Aegean on the northern coast of Ionia between Phokaia and Smyrna, almost 90 kilometres from Sardis.

¹⁶³ The absolute date of the sack of Sardis by Cyrus is uncertain (Cahill 2010, 339-48) but for the purposes of this paper the date 546 B.C. will be used where necessary.

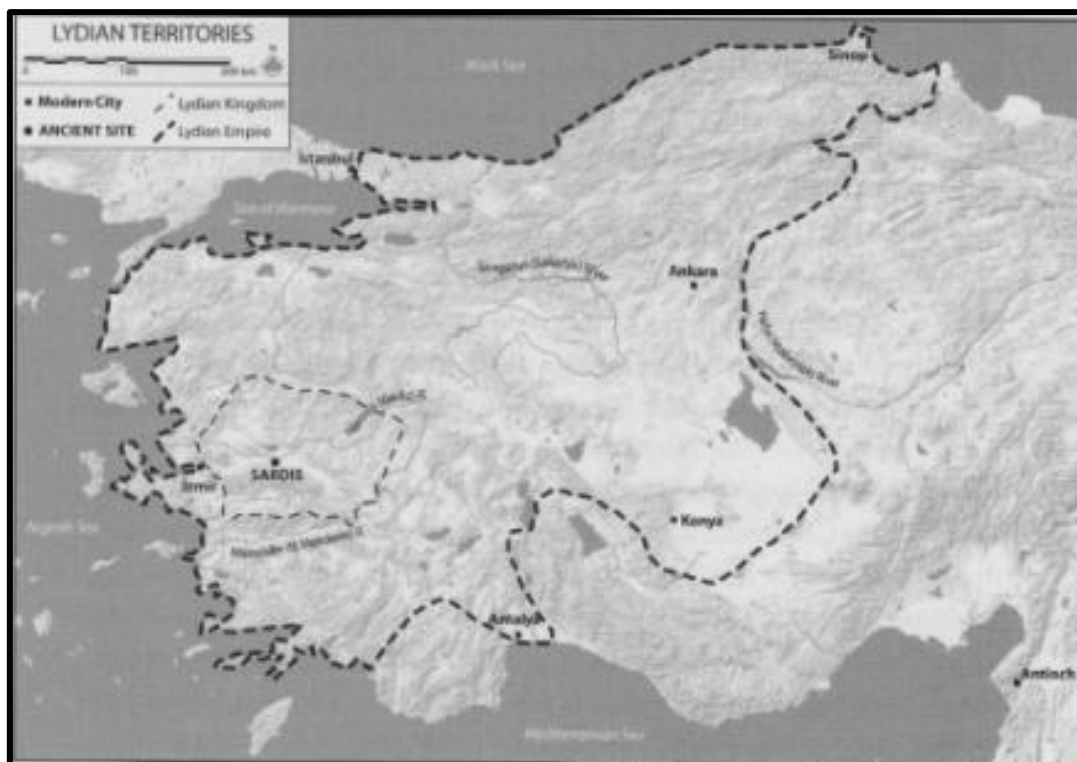


Figure 15: The territory allied to Lydia during the reign of Croesus. (Roosevelt 2009, 25 fig. 2.4.)

By the middle of the sixth century B.C., the city has been estimated to have been home to a population of between 20,000 and 50,000 people.¹⁶⁴ The city was an urban centre for the surrounding rich farmland, and a manufacturing centre for textiles, ceramics, and luxury goods such as glass and jewellery, for stone working, and for refining and separating the alluvial electrum from the Pactolus River for which the city was famous in antiquity. The settlement, enclosed in fortified walls, lay on and below the northern slopes of a terraced acropolis; the river ran from south to north on the western side of the site.

¹⁶⁴ Roosevelt 2009, 65.

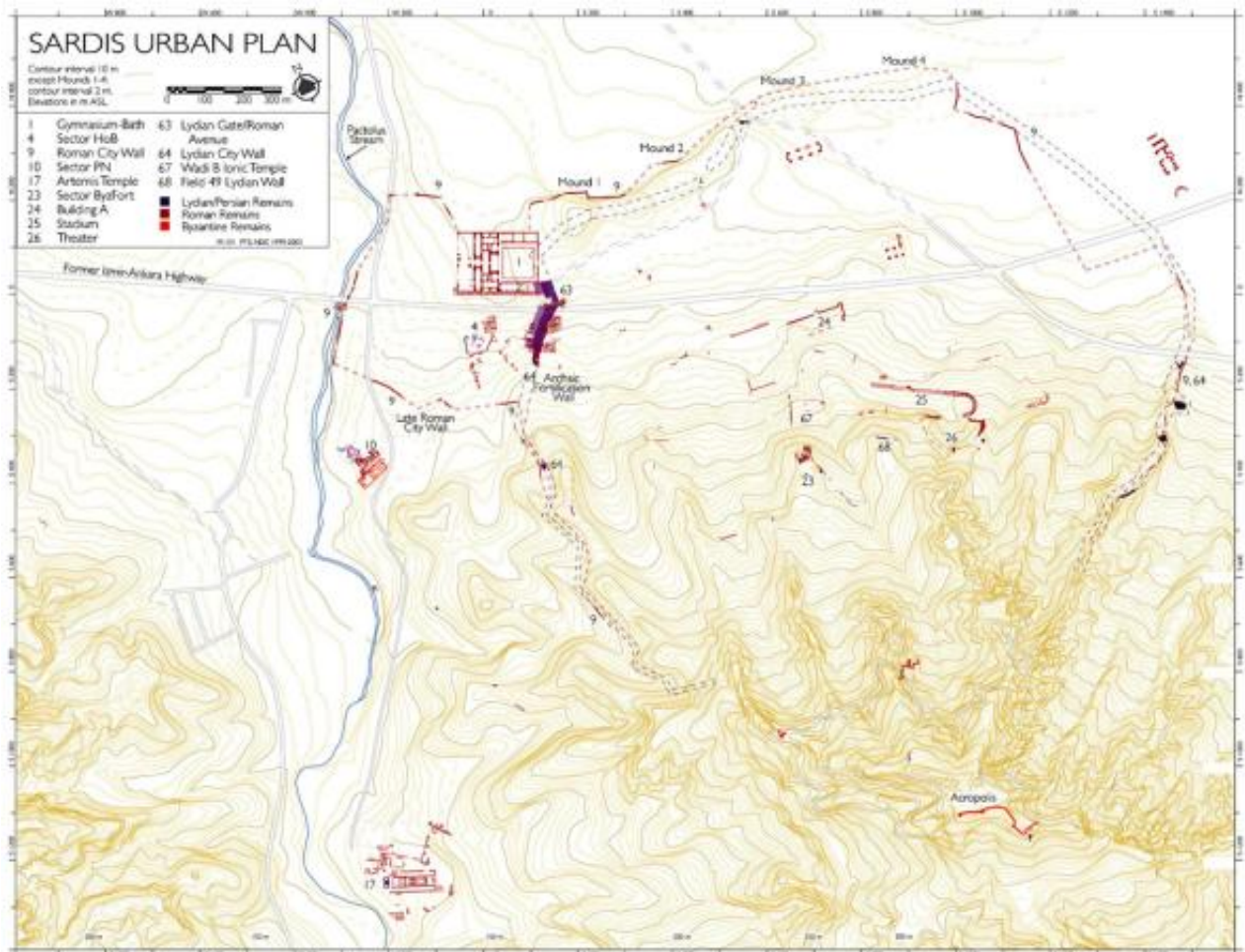


Figure 16: Plan of the fortified city of Sardis. showing, near 63, the MMS area houses on the inside of the fortified wall. Necropolis Hill is above the western bank of the Pactolus River across from the Temple of Artemis at 17. (<http://sitemaker.umich.edu/late-antiquity/files/sardisplan.jpg> (07/08/11))

There is little evidence of Iron Age burials at the site, but from the late seventh century B.C. extramural burials took place on the Necropolis Hill on the western side of the Pactolus River, as well as on the eastern side of the river nearer the settlement and on the river plain to the north of the city. Graves took a range of forms. From the late seventh century B.C., both pit graves and rock cut chamber tombs lined with couches were built on the slopes outside the settlement, and from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. huge tumuli began to be built for kings and elite families at Bin Tepe to the north of the city on the far bank of the Hermus

River. Because of their conspicuous form and a pattern of reuse, burials have been robbed or disturbed since antiquity.

Perfume vessels such as *lydia* have been found as part of funerary assemblages in the burials of members of a wide social spectrum. Roosevelt has noted that the variety of burial forms noted above was consistently used to express social status, however similar assemblages of grave goods were found across the range of burial forms, only varying somewhat in their richness according to the wealth and/or social status of the deceased.¹⁶⁵ They consisted of three main categories of objects. Ceramic or metal vessels and some other objects such as ladles related to the banquet. Personal items such as jewellery, combs, boxes and mirrors made up another category. Perfume and unguent containers made up the third category, most commonly some combination of *lydia*, *lekythoi*, *aryballoi* and *alabastra*. There are also signs that textiles, in the form of clothing or shrouds and recognized by the remains of embossed precious metal plaques, and wooden furniture would have had a place in burial assemblages, but weapons are almost unknown.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Roosevelt 2009, 135.

¹⁶⁶ Baughan 2010, 287-297, Roosevelt 2003, 182-187 and 2009, 176-182.



Figure 17: Two lydian vases from Tomb 61.1, a pit grave at Sardis. (Cahill 2010, 515: Catalogue 145, 516: Catalogue 146.)

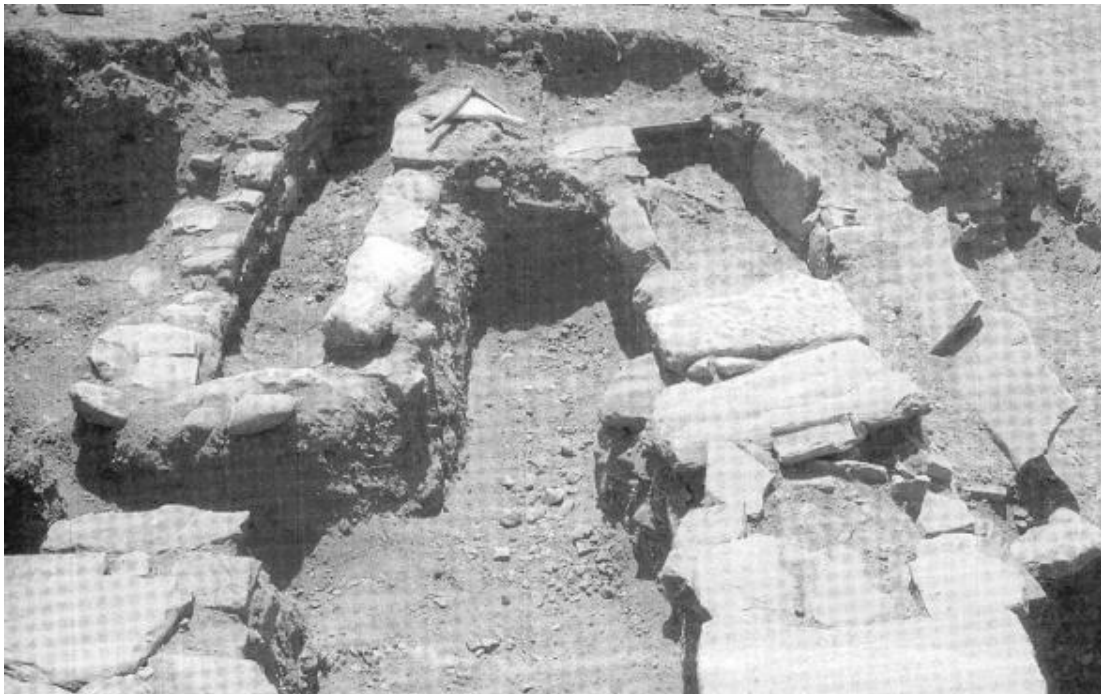


Figure 18: Pit graves (Tombs 61.1 and 61.2) at Sardis. (Roosevelt 2009, 137: fig. 6.1)

Lydia have been recovered from each of the three main forms of burial at Sardis described above. Figure 17 shows a pair of lydia recovered during the excavation of two rectangular stone-lined pit graves found in foothills on the western side of the Pactolus River. The graves had been robbed between excavation seasons and so underwent a salvage excavation in 1961, providing rare examples of this type of burial. Tombs 61.1 and 61.2 (Figure 18) appear humble relative to chamber or tumulus burials, but even after they had been robbed Tomb 61.1 contained the pair of lydia and a lekythos, and Tomb 61.2 contained a selection of drinking vessels, a set of perfume vessels including a lydion, lekythos and alabaster alabastron, gold and silver jewellery and other personal ornaments and possessions.¹⁶⁷

In 1922 Butler described the appearance of the remains of the extensive cemetery of chamber tombs on the Necropolis Hill, which was located on the western side of the Pactolus River and which was where most rock cut tombs were built.¹⁶⁸ Excavation began in 1910 and continued for several years before being interrupted by World War I, during which many finds and records were lost, so that the excavation was never properly published. Work resumed after the end of the war and in all about 1,154 chamber tombs were investigated, but few were found undisturbed. The terrain was steep and streams left ravines through the sandy and clay soils so that holes were visible where erosion had worn away the dromos entrances to the chambers, leaving them exposed to the elements and to robbers, and those at the tops of the hills were almost wholly destroyed. Most had couches on either side of the dromos as well as in the chamber, and the bodies were either laid directly on the couches or first placed in terracotta, stone or wooden sarcophagi, and some tombs were then marked with stone stelai. Most tombs showed signs of reuse during succeeding generations or even over several centuries into the

¹⁶⁷ Greenewalt 1972, 113-127. See the bibliography in Catalogue No. 141 for other references.

¹⁶⁸ Butler 1922, 34-5, 55-7, 78-80, 115-122, 140-144, 158 and Dedeoğlu 2003, 57.

Roman period, with an average of six burials in each. One Archaic tomb with a single chamber, one of the very few which had escaped reuse after the roof collapsed soon after the first burial, had no couches but revealed a complete array of over 50 pieces of Lydian pottery which included vessels appropriate for feasting and drinking, and also several containers for perfumes including a lydion¹⁶⁹ and several lekythoi. In total Butler's excavations recovered about 46 lydia from 23 graves, but the poor records and the reuse of graves mean that these numbers cannot be said to be representative of what might have been placed there during the sixth century B.C.¹⁷⁰

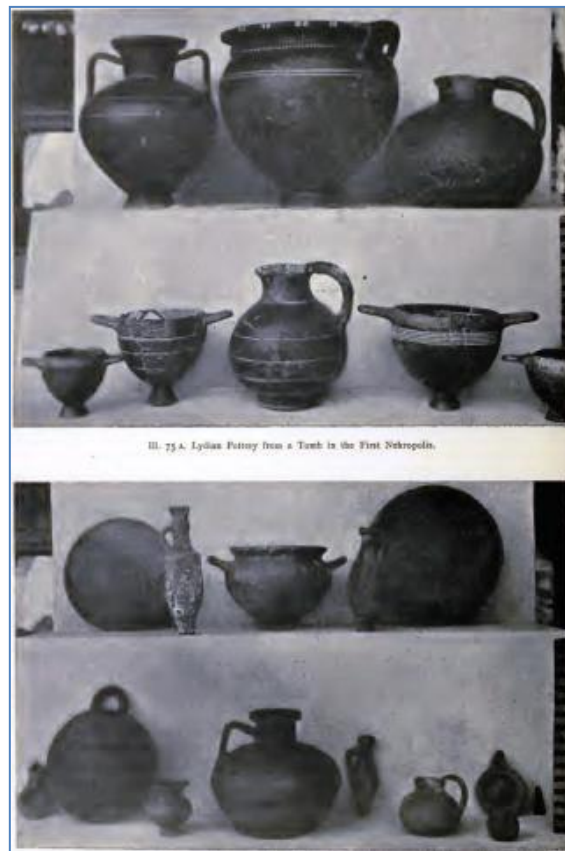


Figure 19: Lydian pottery from an Archaic rock cut tomb on the Necropolis Hill on the west bank of the Pactolus River. The array of pottery includes banqueting vessels and perfume vessels; note lydion bottom left. (Butler 1922, 80 Ill. 75 A and B.)

¹⁶⁹ See Catalogue No. 131.

¹⁷⁰ Greenewalt 1972, 133-134.

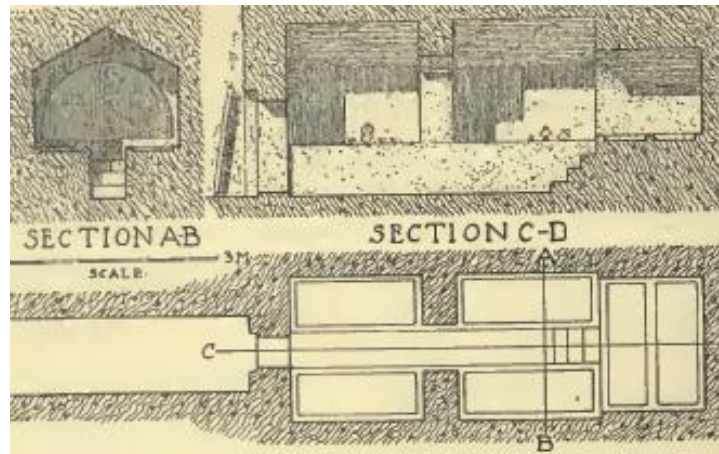


Figure 20: Typical Lydian rock cut chamber tomb from the Necropolis Hill, Sardis. (Butler 1922, 158 Ill. 175.)

Lydia were also found in some of the graves within the over 130 tumuli at Bin Tepe which were built from at least 560 B.C. when Alyattes was interred, and burial in which must have denoted membership of the Mermnad royal dynasty or the highest social order. Finds of Persian style grave goods show that tumuli continued to be built well into the Achaemenid period. Tumuli were placed on a main east-west route and near Bronze Age settlement mounds; they were visible from Sardis, and remain even today a spectacular expression of power over the population and the land legitimized by links to the distant past. Within the earth covered mound, a style of burial probably adopted from the Phrygians, bodies were placed in rock cut or built stone chambers on stone or wooden klinai, or sometimes in sarcophagi set into pits, in a grander version of the tombs closer to the city.¹⁷¹ Access was gained either through a passage or from above into a porch before the mound was completely covered with earth, and many are also now riddled with the passages built by robbers or by excavators who were searching for the chamber.

¹⁷¹ Baughan 2010, 275-282, Roosevelt 2003, 126 and 2009, 140-151.

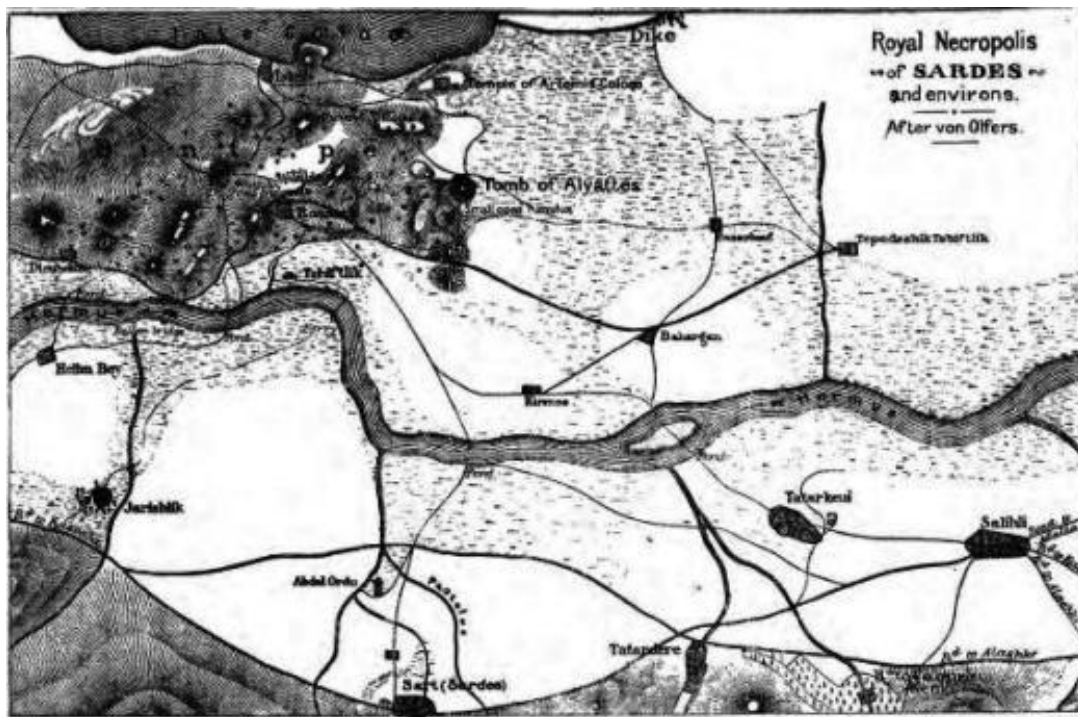


Figure 21: Regional plan of Sardis and environs, including Bin Tepe, drawn in 1892. (Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 259 fig. 157)

Several lydia were found in the chamber of the Tomb of Alyattes, one of the three largest tumuli at Bin Tepe at 69 metres high, and one which Herodotus described as the biggest in the world.¹⁷² It was first excavated in 1853 by Spiegelthal, who tunnelled into the mound and followed ancient passages to the chamber.¹⁷³ Although the tomb had already been thoroughly robbed in antiquity, fragments of an alabaster alabastron and at least three lydia were found.¹⁷⁴ When the tumulus was explored again in 1962, the base of a lydion was picked up at the exit of the chamber and another at the mouth of the tunnel, both of which were similar to those found

¹⁷² Herodotus 1.93.

¹⁷³ The Prussian Consul in Smyrna. Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 258-268 and 285-286, and Hanfmann 1963, 52- 58.

¹⁷⁴ See Catalogue No. 142.

by Spiegelthal.¹⁷⁵ These vessels, though those excavated in 1853 are now lost, provide one of the absolute dates for the shape.

While the earliest absolute date for the use of the lydion in Sardis comes from those found in the Tomb of Alyattes, as mentioned earlier another lydion found in a burial in Taranto can be dated to about 580 B.C.¹⁷⁶ Difficulties in pinpointing the first appearance of the shape are in part due to the more general difficulties in establishing a chronology for Archaic Lydian ceramics, dating of which primarily relies on diagnostic imported Greek ceramics from Athens, Corinth, Laconia or East Greece. Cahill even at one point noted lydion as one type of vessel which is in turn diagnostic of the sixth century B.C.¹⁷⁷ Production of Lydian ceramics including the lydion continued from the Middle Lydian into the Late Lydian (Achaemenid) period, although some shapes became less common and others were gradually adopted, such as the Achaemenid bowl.

The exact role played by perfumes during the funerary process at Sardis is not clear, although it does seem from this evidence that they were used by a broad cross-section of society. The perfume vessels could be interpreted as being part of banqueting sets which may in turn allude to activities during the life of the deceased, or to the life to which he aspired after death, and the painted wall of the tomb at Karaburun (figure 22 below) provides some evidence for this. The use of perfume vessels in burials does not seem to be gender specific, which may rather suggest that they are seen as part of the personal possessions of the deceased.¹⁷⁸ They

¹⁷⁵ See Catalogue No. 143.

¹⁷⁶ See Catalogue No. 165. Greenewalt described this vessel as being an Italic imitation, on the basis of the pinkish buff fabric and brownish red painted bands, while the earlier Italian publication by an author who should have been familiar with local fabrics considered it to be probably an Ionian version of the vessel.

¹⁷⁷ Cahill 2004, 1, see also Roosevelt 2009, 72-3 and Greenewalt 2010, 107-124.

¹⁷⁸ Roosevelt (2003, 2128) has noted that we understand very little about the roles played by age, gender, class and sex in Lydian burials. The place of women, or otherwise, at banquets is also relevant to the role of perfume and unguent vessels in graves.

may also have been part of the burial ritual itself, used to anoint the body and scent the air. Baughan notes that perfume vessels were often placed against the exterior corners of sarcophagi.¹⁷⁹ Further analysis of the selection and placement of perfume vessels within the grave would provide a more sound basis for understanding the use of perfumes in burial contexts, although in view of the fact that to 2003 only two Lydian tumulus burials had been discovered which were undisturbed, there are obvious difficulties.¹⁸⁰ In the first of these burials, a sarcophagus within a tumulus, three pairs of perfume vessels (lekythoi, lydia and alabaster alabastra) were placed in the coffin, one vessel from each pair at the skeleton's feet. In the second burial, which contained a silver alabastron and a Corinthian aryballos amongst other goods, they were placed next to the right leg.¹⁸¹ Undisturbed evidence from chamber tombs is almost non-existent, but suggests that vessels were placed on the floor next to benches in the tombs.

¹⁷⁹ Baughan 2010, 291-2.

¹⁸⁰ Roosevelt 2003, 182.

¹⁸¹ Roosevelt 2003, 183-184.

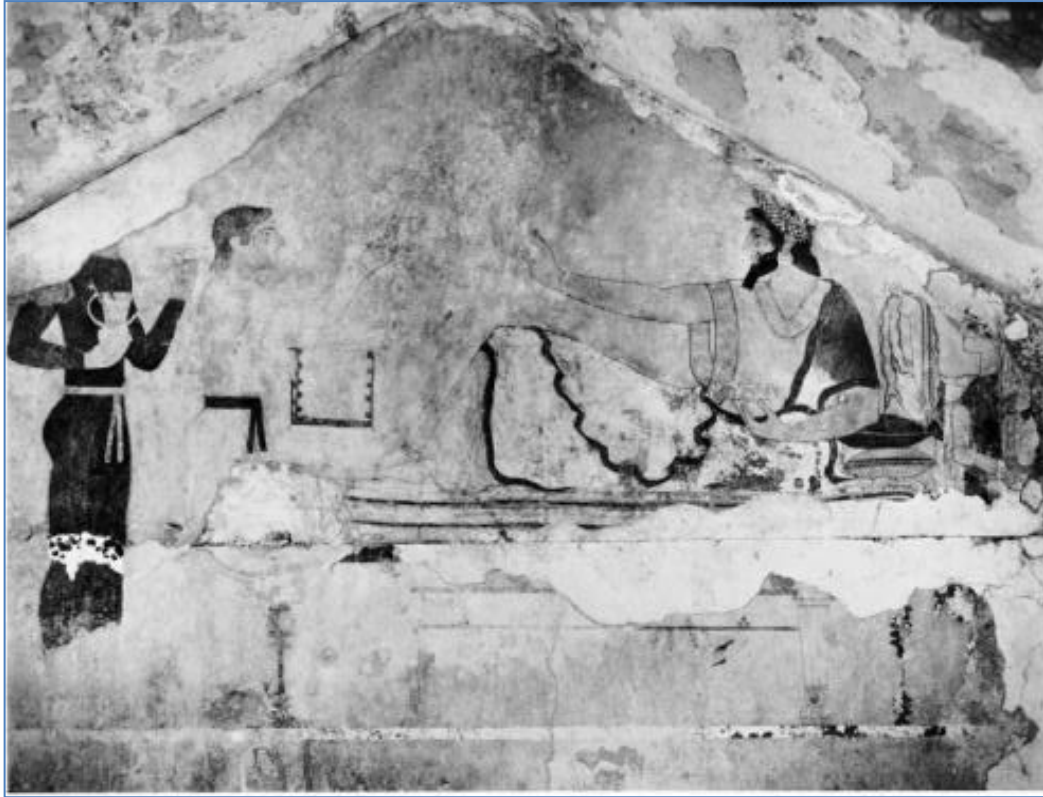


Figure 22: Reclining male on a Anatolo-Persian wall painting in a tomb at Karaburun near Elmali , Lycia. Behind him a female offers perfume from an alabastron, and fillet. (Mellink and Angel 1973, Plate 44.)

One group of Lydian pottery from a settlement context within the city of Sardis are from a site which provides another fixed date for the site, as it appears to have been buried under debris during the Persian sack of the city in c.546 B.C. The MMS Sector at Sardis, excavated in the 1980s and 1990s, is just inside the eastern side of the Archaic gated fortification wall shown in Figure 16 between 63 and 64.¹⁸² The "Lydian Houses" and the adjacent wall were severely burned during the attack, and soon afterwards the top of the wall was demolished and thrown down over the houses, sealing the remains. The destruction date is supported by the imported Attic pottery and the Carbon-14 analysis of barley from deposits inside the house.

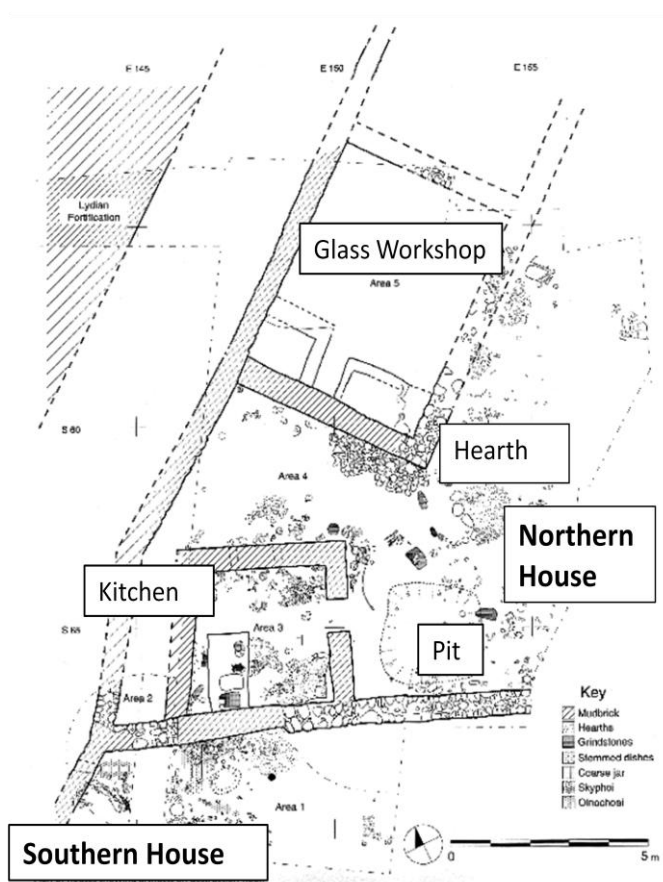


Figure 23: Plan of the Lydian Houses in Sector MMS, Sardis. (Cahill 2010b, 98 fig. 32.)

¹⁸² Cahill 2000, 173-185 and Cahill 2010b, 88-99.

In the kitchen of the northern house, there was a hearth in the south east corner and to its west, a bench with grind stones. There were an assortment of cooking vessels and many stemmed dishes, worn from use, found on the floor of the room. There had been a shelf fixed with nails to the northern wall of the room, and it was on this shelf that four lydia had sat amongst a number of other vessels including cooking pots, pottery for eating and drinking, a lekythos and a lamp. Several other lydia were found together with loom weights and askoi in the pit in the courtyard, perhaps after falling in during the destruction. In total about 130 vessels were found in the courtyard, including nine lydia, making 17 in total in this house. The skeleton of a male was also found next to the entrance to the kitchen. The room to the north, Area 5 on the plan above, was a glass workshop, and its contents included several kilos of red glass cullet.

In the southern house, Area 1, food storage, eating and cooking vessels were found on the floor, and shelves above them on the northern wall had held oinochoai and also four lydia and four lekythoi. Another group of objects against the west wall contained items of a more personal nature, such as Corinthian aryballoi, spindle whorls, jewellery, knucklebones for gaming, part of a horse trapping, and five more lydia, perhaps kept together in a wooden box.¹⁸³ There were loomweights in the centre of the space.

¹⁸³ Catalogue Nos. 147 and 148.



Figure 24: Lydia and other objects from the shelf of the southern house, Sector MMS, Sardis.

(Cahill 2010b, 98 fig. 32.)

Because of the large amount of pottery buried in the northern house, the role of the space is unclear. Like houses all over the region in this period, it seemed to combine industrial activities with more domestic occupations. Cahill has noted that while the amount of pottery and equipment in the southern house appears to be suitable for a household of six to eight people, the considerably larger amount of pottery and of items such as loomweights which were found in the northern house suggest comparisons with the textile manufacturing zone in the Terrace Buildings at Gordion. It has also been suggested that the building might have provided food on a commercial scale.

The lydia and other perfume vessels in the houses in the MMS Sector raise questions about their use. The site is close to the gates out of the settlement area, where light industry is often situated. Although the double boilers, mortars and sieves which make up a part of the

cooking equipment could indicate perfume making, the presence of quantities of grains and other foodstuffs found with the numerous cooking and serving dishes seem rather to indicate that food was being prepared for a large group of people, and it is possible that perfumes and unguents were being used during communal meals much as was described by Athenaeus, even that the rooms provided space for funerary feasting.

Repair and reuse of pottery took place at Sardis, made clear by evidence found at the House of Bronzes site outside the western gate of the fortification wall.¹⁸⁴ There, in what seems to have been a workshop where pots were repaired or their fragments remade for new uses, several lydian vessels were found on the floor, one perhaps with a new stopper made from the upturned foot of a skyphos.¹⁸⁵ As discussed above, another lydian vessel was used for a coin hoard at Sardis. It cannot be certain therefore whether lydian vessels in a context such as the MMS Sector house still contained perfumes, or were instead being reused for a new purpose.

There has been no evidence for the use of lydian vessels as a cult offering in Lydia, and Greenewalt in 1966 was not able to identify any vessels from sanctuaries except for one at Amyzon and one from Labraunda, both in Caria.¹⁸⁶ It has not been possible to establish the exact find spot of the vessels at these sites, and in fact the four lydian vessels now known from Labraunda may have been used in association with feasting at the site rather than as a cult offering.¹⁸⁷

The examples found in the attached Catalogue reveal that lydian vessels have been found throughout Anatolia, not just in Sardis but throughout and beyond the region which was part of

¹⁸⁴ Ramage 2008, 79-83.

¹⁸⁵ Catalogue No. 140.

¹⁸⁶ Catalogue Nos. 11-16. He was not aware of all of the lydian vessels from Labraunda, see Julliy 1981, 19.

¹⁸⁷ Morris 1983, 407.

the Lydian Empire before the Persian conquest, from the numerous examples at Daskyleion in the north and further to the Milesian colony of Berezan on the northern coast of the Black Sea, to Elmali in Lycia to the south, and from the Ionian cities in the west to Gordion in the east. Only one lydion has been found which was not ceramic. This silver example, only 10.1 cm high without its missing foot, is one of the many silver objects from the very rich late sixth century B.C. İköztepe chamber tomb in a region about 100 kms to the east of Sardis.¹⁸⁸

There was, as noted above, ample literary evidence recorded by Athenaeus for an association in the sixth and fifth century B.C. Greek mind between the Lydians and eastern and debilitating luxury expressed in the wearing of perfumes, amongst other exotica, and made more explicit perhaps in the context of the search after the Persian Wars for reasons to explain those events. These associations are supported by the material evidence for the use of perfume containers as described above, but also for imported containers. De Vries has argued that the proportion of Attic ceramics imported into the Achaemenid Empire which were vessels used to contain perfumes, such as lekythoi, amounted to about a third, whereas at Greek sites drinking vessels constituted a greater proportion of vessels.¹⁸⁹ Of note is his comment that the low price of lekythoi, estimated from the graffiti relating to prices found on pottery, suggested that they left Athens empty and so were valued as containers rather than for their contents.¹⁹⁰ There seems to be no reason however that lekythoi might not have been exported after filling by manufacturers who had purchased them from potters, other than the assumption by de Vries that foreign customers would want to use their familiar and famous product. Literary evidence

¹⁸⁸ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 48-52 and 108. This tomb also contained 16 ceramic lydia, 10 stone alabastra, and three Lydian lekythoi.

¹⁸⁹ De Vries, 1977, 544.

¹⁹⁰ De Vries 1977, 545. Some exports were painted with Persianizing scenes, perhaps a sign that painters were targeting the eastern market, much as red-figure lekythoi and alabastra for the local market tended to be painted with female scenes, white-ground lekythoi with funerary scenes and aryballoi for the gymnasium with male scenes.

suggests that perfumes tended, especially in the early years of the fifth century B.C., to be used in the Greek world mainly by women and as part of burial ritual; later in the century foreign luxuries such as perfume became more acceptable to a wider audience.¹⁹¹

The use of perfumes and unguents in Anatolia however was clearly habitual from at least the beginning of the sixth century B.C. and continued, as we have seen, after the Persian conquest. As well as the lydion, other ceramic vessels such as the ring askos and the "Lydian" lekythos were used to contain perfumed oils or unguents.¹⁹² The Egyptian style alabastron was also widely used in Anatolia, usually made of stone but occasionally of glass, silver or pottery, and it has generally been found in wealthier burial contexts.¹⁹³ Imported containers included the Athenian lekythos as noted above, but also the Corinthian ceramic aryballos and alabastron, and East Greek plastic shapes. The type of vessel described by Greenewalt as a "Lydian" lekythos, but more usually described as a Samian lekythos after finds in the necropolis at Samos were published by Boehlau in 1898, is of particular interest because of its frequent association with Lydia in contexts dating to the early and mid-sixth century B.C.¹⁹⁴ This is noticeable not only in western Anatolia, but also at some sites in central Italy, and in the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily where they are sometimes also associated with the Ionian

¹⁹¹ Foxhall 2007, 85-95 when looking at the use of olive oil for personal cleaning and adornment at Athens in both the home and at the gymnasium estimated that usage would amount to 10-20 kg of oil per year for a household. She saw the consumption of olive oil as an important part of the construction of the Athenian identity, and its formalized use, both to anoint the body in the gymnasium and in the scented oils offered to guests during the symposium, reflected this; see also the sacred olives trees of Athena and the contents of Panathenaic amphorae. The range of exotic scents added to the luxury value of oil, as did the complexity of the production process.

¹⁹² Greenewalt 2010b, 209.

¹⁹³ Roosevelt 2008, 285-297.

¹⁹⁴ These vessels are described as Samian lekythoi to follow the conventional terminology, although it seems that this may be misleading, and that the form had its origins further east in Anatolia.

bucchero ribbed alabastron.¹⁹⁵ The shape of the lekythos and its narrow mouth suggest that it held oil, whereas the lydion seems more likely to have held an ointment, so it would seem that the various contents of the vases were regarded as complementary. The Samian lekythoi from Lydia and many of those of the same type from the western Mediterranean have the characteristically Lydian conical foot and streaky or marbled glaze; a ring at the neck where the handle joins is also characteristic of the shape. De la Genière has suggested that the popularity of these vessels grew when the availability of Corinthian perfume vessels had begun to decline, and that they were the precursor of the Athenian shoulder lekythos which first appeared in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.¹⁹⁶



Figure 25: Samian lekythos from Sardis with the characteristic conical foot and marbled paint of Lydian ceramics. (New York MMA 26.164.25)

¹⁹⁵ De la Genière (1984, 95) also describes an Athenian burial with a richly decorated kline, which also contained a series of Lydia and Samian lekythoi, perhaps, she suggests, the grave of a wealthy Lydio-Ionian who wished to be buried in the style of his homeland. See Catalogue No. 126 for the pair in an indigenous grave, Messapia.

¹⁹⁶ De la Genière 1984, 94-5. This style of lekythos was divided into two types by Lo Porto (1959-60, 126) who excavated many at Taranto, and Kerényi (1996, 298-309) added a third intermediate type found at Samos, Rhodes and Gela. They were all apparently produced contemporaneously. Kerényi was not able to identify a centre of production, but suggested Rhodes. Greenewalt and de la Genière appear to prefer a western Anatolian regional production; de la Genière (1984) suggests that they were then copied in the western colonial cities.

Chemical analysis of the contents of Corinthian plastic vessels found in graves suggests that some of the aromatics came from the resins of conifers and so would have a pungent rather than floral scent; this would imply that their value was for embalming and as insecticides.¹⁹⁷ This could provide an explanation for the variety of types of perfume vessels often found in graves in Sardis, as noted above, and indeed across the Mediterranean, as each of them may have contained, and advertized, products which had a different purpose.

¹⁹⁷ Biers et al. 1994, 28-30.

6.0 The Lydion Abroad.

The lydion, as has been remarked, was the only clearly Lydian shape to have been exported and it was quickly adopted across the Mediterranean. The lydion has been found in Ionia at Smyrna, Ephesos and Samos, at Aeolian Pitane, and was exported to and imitated on mainland Greece at Athens, Corinth, and Lakonia, but also as far west as Empurias in Iberia and south at Tocra in Cyrenaica. It has been found in the greatest numbers on the Italian peninsula, where it was imported and imitated in both the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily and to some extent in the nearby indigenous settlements, and in central Italy especially in southern Etruria.

Ideally, the trade and use of the lydion should be analysed in each of these contexts; the symbolic value of an imported unguent and its container, or its local imitation, must be different in different social contexts, whether of a burial near an Etruscan city made rich in part through trade, or a burial at a town in Illyria which identifies itself as a colony of Corinth, or the burial of an indigenous Italic warrior. As Hodder has pointed out, artefacts exchanged are not arbitrary, but must be "appropriate within a cultural, ideological, and historical context".¹⁹⁸ This requires analysis of the artefact within each of the contexts in which it occurs in order to understand its cultural and economic value, and how these values were retained or remade when it was exchanged across cultural boundaries. Etruria serves as a case study because a significant number of vessels have been found there (see Figure 26), including the lydion now in the Nicholson Museum. The role of the lydion as a perfume vessel (6.1), questions of provenance and local emulation (6.2), and the need to revisit oft repeated beliefs about the source of local imitations (6.3) are all raised.

¹⁹⁸ Hodder 1982, 207.

6.1 Perfumes and unguents in Etruria.

Etruria was the central Italian region which lay between the Arno and the Tiber Rivers, its cities united linguistically and by a shifting political confederation, but each with distinct material cultures made up of both shared and disparate elements. The lydion has been found there in both funerary and cult contexts.

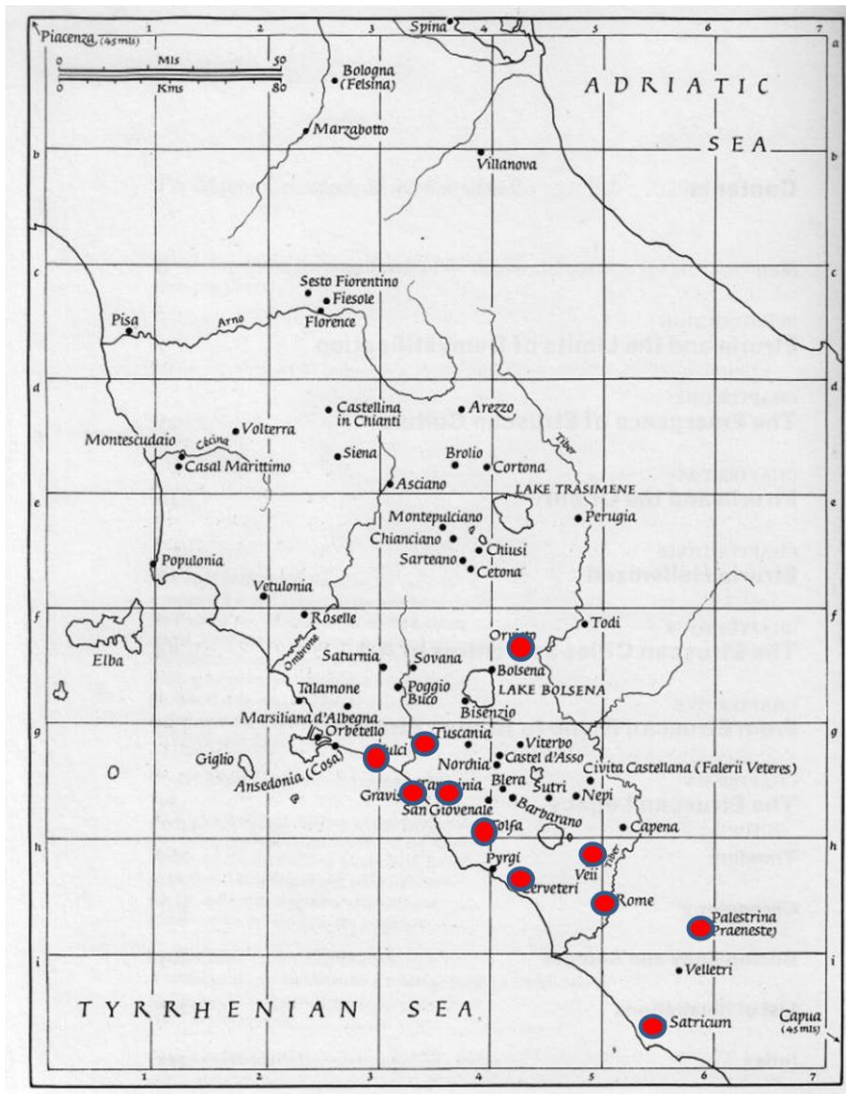


Figure 26: Sites in central Italy where lydion have been found.



Figure 27: A terracotta cinerary urn from Caere (510-500 BC) with the lid in the form of reclining couple; the woman pours perfume from an alabastron into the palm of the male figure. In the other hand she holds a pomegranate, a symbol of immortality. (Louvre Cp5193.)



Figure 28: Cinerary urn from Tomb 171, Monte Abbatone at Caere with the lid in the form of a woman who pours perfume from an alabastron into her palm. Late sixth century B.C. (Lerici 1960, 348.)

The use of perfumes and unguents was clearly of symbolic as well as more practical importance during Etruscan funerary ritual, as can be seen from the urns in Figures 27 and 28.¹⁹⁹ Izzet has asserted, while discussing the presence of mirrors in sixth century B.C. Etruscan graves, that the surface of the body was the interface between individual and society, and so was the point at which individual identity was defined; the application of perfumed oils involved the social moulding of the body.²⁰⁰ On many Etruscan mirrors, Turan (Aphrodite) is shown with the perfume containers and dippers that were among her attributes, suggesting that perfumes were used in daily life.²⁰¹ There was also a wider concern with the symbolic and metaphoric meanings of plants revealed in the wall paintings in Etruscan tombs and in other art forms, and these sometimes overlap with the vessels in which oils were contained in the form of poppy-shaped and lotus-shaped aryballoi.²⁰²

The apparent importance of imported perfumes and unguents in Etruria may be related to restricted knowledge about the process of extracting scents and access to the ingredients required, as well as to the more symbolic luxury value of an imported product. It seems that olive oil was the most commonly used base for perfumes in the ancient world, but the date at which olive cultivation commenced in Etruria is uncertain.²⁰³ The local manufacture of perfume vessels and lamps took place from the seventh century B.C., and olive pips have been

¹⁹⁹ There are also urns from Chiusi which are carved with images of women anointing the dead with oils from an alabastron, Haynes 2000, 215-217. The famous *Sarcofago degli Sposi* from Caere now in the Villa Giulia probably also illustrates a similar scene, although the alabastron has been lost.

²⁰⁰ Izzet 2007, 43-61.

²⁰¹ The vessels in the examples of mirrors shown by Izzet are alabastra like those represented on the burial urns, but are which are not so apparent as grave goods, perhaps indicating particular contexts of use for various types of perfume or unguent. See also Hill 1965, 187-190 for a brief discussion about the representation of perfume vessels, in particular alabastra, and the dippers that were used to withdraw and apply perfumes.

²⁰² Jannot 2009, 81-86.

²⁰³ See also Foxhall (1998, 301-303) who points out that the assumption by scholars such as Vallet that olives were not cultivated before the sixth century BC was based on the fact that they imported oil in Greek amphorae; she argues that Vallet had interpreted the evidence based on *need* instead of the *desire* for the specialness of foreign produce.

dated to the sixth century B.C., but the limited number of large oil amphorae and the restriction of lamps and perfume containers to richer graves until the sixth century B.C. seems to indicate that olive oil, whether scented or unscented, was of high social and economic value.²⁰⁴

The lydion can be seen as having adopted some aspects of the role of the Corinthian aryballos in Etruria when imports from that city fell away in the mid-sixth century B.C., although further study is needed to provide relative chronology of the aryballoi and the lydia found in that region, and also to understand how interchangeable oils, such as were carried in the aryballos, and unguents, as carried in the lydion, might have been. Most of the vessels from Etruria in the attached catalogue have been assigned to the second half of the sixth century B.C. by their publishers, although the reliability of these assignments is compromised by the lack of exact contexts for many finds even when the site is known, or the lack of a provenance at all for many vessels in museum collections, and more generally by the lack of research into the chronology of the vessel.²⁰⁵

As can be seen from the table below, the number of Corinthian aryballoi being imported was growing rapidly towards the end of the seventh century B.C., and this continued until just before the middle of the sixth century B.C., from which point Attic pottery dominated imports.²⁰⁶ Hannestad has looked at the numbers of the various shapes of black-figured Attic pottery dating from 550-470 B.C from burials at two sites in Etruria, and, with the provisos about provenance noted above, estimated that at Vulci 1.7% and at Tarquinia 8% were lekythoi.²⁰⁷ Further study would reveal the extent to which other vessels containing perfumes or unguents, or their contents, were used compared to the Attic lekythos, and in what

²⁰⁴ Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 198-199.

combinations. The other types of vessels in graves were of shapes that related to the banquet, which was central to funerary assemblages of this period.

Periods		Geometric	Globular	Conical	Ovid	Total
Neeft's dates		715	680/75	670/65	620	
Etruria	Caere		2	5	47	54
	Tarquinoa		1		9	10
	Veii			3	2	5
	Other			4	31	35
S.Italy	Pithekoussai	1	82	14	43	140
	Cumae		86	5	46	137
	Other		11	7	126	144
Totals	Etruria		3	12	89	104
	S.Italy	1	179	26	215	421
	Sicily	1	59	41	181	282
	Elsewhere	21	118	160	606	905
	TOTAL	23	359	239	1091	1712
Percentages	Etruria	0%	0%	2%	3%	2%
	S.Italy	4.3%	49.9%	10.9%	19.7%	24.6%
	Sicily	4.3%	16.4%	17.2%	16.6%	16.5%
	Elsewhere	91.3%	32.9%	66.9%	55.5%	52.9%

Figure 29: Distribution of Protogeometric and Geometric Corinthian aryballoi in Etruria and south Italy, including those with no provenance. (Ridgway and Ridgway 10, Table 2.2.)

Barker and Rasmussen suggested that most seaborne traded goods entered Etruria through the ports administered by Caere (Cerveteri), Tarquinia and Vulci, and these cities and the surrounding regions that were under their cultural influence are in fact where most lydia

²⁰⁵ It appears from research undertaken for this thesis that the lydion became popular earlier in the sixth century in the south of Italy, particularly around Taranto, than in Etruria, and that in the south the Corinthian aryballos was more often associated with the lydion. Further investigation is required to confirm this point of difference between the two regions. See Pelagatti 1955-6.

²⁰⁶ Ridgway (1994, 11) commented that the obvious next step in understanding the distribution of the aryballoi, and its sociological meaning, would be to classify them by find context, but that an overwhelming proportion of known vessels cannot be allocated in this way given the paucity of records.

²⁰⁷ Hannestad 1999, 305-307.

have been found.²⁰⁸ Most of these lydian have been found in graves, although some have been found in votive deposits in southern Etruria, at Veio and also in Latium at Rome²⁰⁹ and further south at Satricum.²¹⁰ It would appear that both economic and social factors affected the pattern of consumption of the lydian.

6.2 The Nicholson Lydion.



Figure 30: Lydion NM 51.08, Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney. (Wrigley)

²⁰⁸ Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 214. This is also the case for Attic black-figured pottery, which diminishes in quantity with distance from the coast (Gill 1994, 105).

²⁰⁹ Gjerstad 1960. Catalogue Nos 122-124.

²¹⁰ Catalogue No. 125. It is of interest that the lydian at Satricum was in a votive deposit laid in the same period that East Greek craftsmen from Caere may have been creating the architectural terracottas, made of Caeretan clay, of the Archaic period temple (540-530 B.C.) at the sanctuary (Winter 2009, 397).

A lydion now in the Nicholson Museum (NM 51.08) at the University of Sydney reveals the need for a careful study of the provenience and provenance of vessels found outside Lydia in order to understand what social and economic value the distinctively Lydian shape, and in this case, the marbled decoration, might have had in a distant market.²¹¹

The vessel was acquired in 1951 by Professor A.D. Trendall during his sabbatical in Italy for the sum of six pounds, but beyond this, its provenance is unknown. The Nicholson Museum Annual Report of 1951-2 lists the lydion under significant new acquisitions:

- (3) A bowl of the type known as a lydion, decorated with imitation marbling. Probably a 7th century copy of an import from Asia Minor.

The wheel-made lydion is 13.9 cm high, and the diameter at the outside edge of the rim of the mouth is 11.7 cm. The body and the top and interior of the rim are painted with a wavy marbled pattern using a very dark brown paint which appears orange-brown where diluted, and the neck and foot are decorated with streaky dark brown paint which spirals around the vessel. The interior of the body of the vessel and of the conical foot are unpainted. The globular body is high shouldered, and the neck is slightly everted and topped with a flattened rim. The clay is a fine pinkish-buff, with no visible micaceous inclusions.

The marbled and streaky paint are both characteristic of Lydian ceramics of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and were applied using diluted paint on a wide brush. The paint was sometimes laid on a cream-white slip which enhanced the effect of the diluted paint,²¹² and the marbled decoration has been described as being in imitation of glass or of stone or beaten

²¹¹ Catalogue No. 103.

²¹² Gürtekin-Demir 2002, 128; this is not obvious in the small chipped areas on NM 51.08.

copper.²¹³ The clay of Sardis is described as being finely levigated and orange-red²¹⁴ or pink-brown²¹⁵, soft and flaky, and usually highly micaceous. Streaky-painted wares tended to be fired at a higher temperature than other finishes which made the clay harder and gave the paint a metallic sheen.²¹⁶

A number of marbled lydia similar to NM 51.08 are known, and those from the catalogue are illustrated in Figure 27. Apart from the one example from Rhodes, all were excavated either at Sardis in Lydia or in the region of Vulci in Etruria; examples in European collections were also very likely from Etruria.



Figure 31: Marbled lydia from across the Mediterranean.

²¹³ Chase in Butler (1914, 435); glassware, especially small core-formed cosmetic containers with a wavy thread pattern, was being produced at Gordion in this period (Duncan Jones 2005, 103-4) and glassware was also being produced in the northern Lydian house in Sector MMS at Sardis. Boardman (1999, 99) for copper,

²¹⁴ Gürtekin-Demir 2002, 138 and also see Cahill 2004, 9 who describes it as being reddish-brown.

²¹⁵ Greenewalt 1970, 58.

²¹⁶ Cahill 2004, 9.

Vulci, the main source of marbled lydian in the west, was one of the largest cities of southern Etruria, linked to the maritime port of Regae by the River Fiora, but protected by its inland situation 11 kms from the sea. The city was wealthy and clearly benefited from trade, and was surrounded by several smaller settlements under its political and artistic influence. It has been the richest source of imported Attic vases, and as a result its cemeteries were plundered by collectors from the nineteenth century A.D. onwards. By the end of the seventh century B.C. at least one potter had immigrated to the city from Asia Minor: Vulci was the home of the Swallow Painter, who painted Etruscan shapes with Wild Goat decoration.²¹⁷

Martelli Cristofani has identified the series of marbled lydian found in Etruria, and another lydian with fluted polychrome decoration from Caere, as imports from Lydia.²¹⁸ Of the 21 marbled lydian from Etruria listed by Martelli Cristofani, 10 are from Vulci, and it is notable that eight have been discovered in pairs, possibly reflecting the participation of several individuals at the funeral, or merely a certain extravagance. One of these is a pair of lydian from Tomb 177 in the Osteria necropolis on the northern fringe of Vulci, which can provide some evidence about the way in which the Nicholson lydian may have been used (Figure 28).²¹⁹ The contents of this tomb included a number of vessels which reveal the artistic impact of the arrival of craftsmen from Ionia in the second half of the sixth century B.C. Very often described as fleeing the Persian advance, they brought with them new styles not just of ceramics

²¹⁷ Cook and Dupont 1998, 68-69. A chalice from Chios of a similar date was also discovered in 1986, now in the Villa Giulia.

²¹⁸ Martelli Cristofani 1978, 180-182. She lists 21 marbled lydian in total: 10 from Vulci, 2 from Caere, 1 from Castro, near Vulci, and 7 for which the source is unknown, but are very probably from Etruria. Of the 21, 9 were unpublished in 1978. See Catalogue No. 42 for the fluted polychrome vessel from Caere, which has marbling on the body, and similar examples from Anatolia in the discussion notes for that vessel.

²¹⁹ The excavations were conducted by the Società Heracle in the early 1960s. Two other pairs are also from tombs in the Necropolis Osteria at Vulci, but are in the Museo Vulci and unpublished.

but also of stone sculpture, architectural terracottas, wall painting and in the minor arts, and Vulci was one of the centres where their influence is apparent.²²⁰



Figure 32: The contents of Tomb 177 from the Osteria Necropolis at Vulci, including a pair of marbled kylix; Room 3 in Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome. (Wrigley.)

As well as an Attic Little Master cup²²¹ and locally made vessels in bucchero and bronze, Tomb 177 contained a set of locally made Pontic wares for the symposium, with vessels attributed to the Painter of Paris (550-520 B.C.), the first of his followers the

²²⁰ For instance in the Guide to the collection of the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Moretti Sgubini 2010, 23-24.

²²¹ Said to be Attic in the guide to the collection of the Villa Giulia (Moretti Sgubini 2010, 24).

Amphiaros Painter (530-520 B.C.), and the Tityos Painter (530-510 B.C.).²²² This implies a date for the manufacture of the pair of lydia well into the second half of the sixth century B.C. If the marbled lydia found at Vulci were imported from Lydia, it would also imply that trading contact continued after the Persian conquest. The fabric of NM 51.08 does not however immediately fit the description of the micaceous clays from Sardis; the possibility that these lydia were made in the workshop of one of the Pontic craftsmen at Vulci should be explored. The shape and height of figured Pontic lydia are very similar to the marbled examples, which range from 11-14 cms high.²²³ Local production would raise questions not only about the origins of the craftsmen in the Pontic workshops who had the technical expertise to imitate marbling but also what meaning a carefully imitated Lydian decorative technique might have held for prospective consumers, and whether an locally made or imported product filled it.



Figure 33: Pontic lydion, probably from a workshop in Vulci, 540-510 B.C. (CVA France 7, 1928, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Cabinet des Médailles i, Plate 27.2)

²²² According to the dates established by Hannestad (1976, 17 and 31); see also Hannestad (1976, 52-3) for her reasons for placing the Pontic workshop in Vulci. See also n106 for Pontic Group.

²²³ See for example the Pontic lydion, Catalogue No. 118 which is 13 cm high. It can be seen from the examples in the Catalogue that the marbled lydia are generally amongst the taller of the various types of lydia.

6.3 The Domesticated Lydion.

A rather different form of the lydion, covered in a red slip and only 6.5 cm high, was found in Tomb 8/1989 at Vulci (Figures 30 and 31). It is considered by the author of a 2002 study of the tomb to be one of the red-slipped Etrurian imitations of the lydion which Martelli Cristofani had suggested were the product of a workshop in Caere, on the basis that the majority of examples had come from Caere at the time that she wrote her notes.²²⁴

In 1989 a rare undisturbed tomb, Tomb 8/1989, was excavated near the Cuccumella, one of only three large tumuli burials at Vulci. At Vulci the more usual burial was in a flat-topped chamber leading off an open-roofed ante-chamber. The tomb was reached through a dromos corridor, and was often marked by large scale stone sculpture which owes much to Ionian styles. Tomb 8/1989 was, according to the excavators, the grave of a warrior dating to about 550-525 B.C., and somewhat smaller in scale than usual as it contained a cremation burial, the ashes probably in the Attic amphora.²²⁵ As well as the remains of an iron axe, spear head and discus, several bronze items, and two Attic cups, the grave contained a set of bucchero symposium vessels with an impasto olla. The tiny lydion that was found in the grave amongst the symposium vessels was made of pinkish clay entirely covered with a red slip.

²²⁴ Moretti Sgubini 2002, 55. Catalogue No. 93. For Martelli Cristofani's note about red-slipped lydia, see her 1978, 181-182 and n102.

²²⁵ With the battle between Theseus and the Minotaur on one side and between Heracles and the Nemean lion on the other, c. 560-540 B.C. De Angelis (1994, 47-48.)



Figure 34: Cucumella Tomb 8/1989, Vulci: ceramic contents. (Martelli 1994, Tav. XXIV.53.)

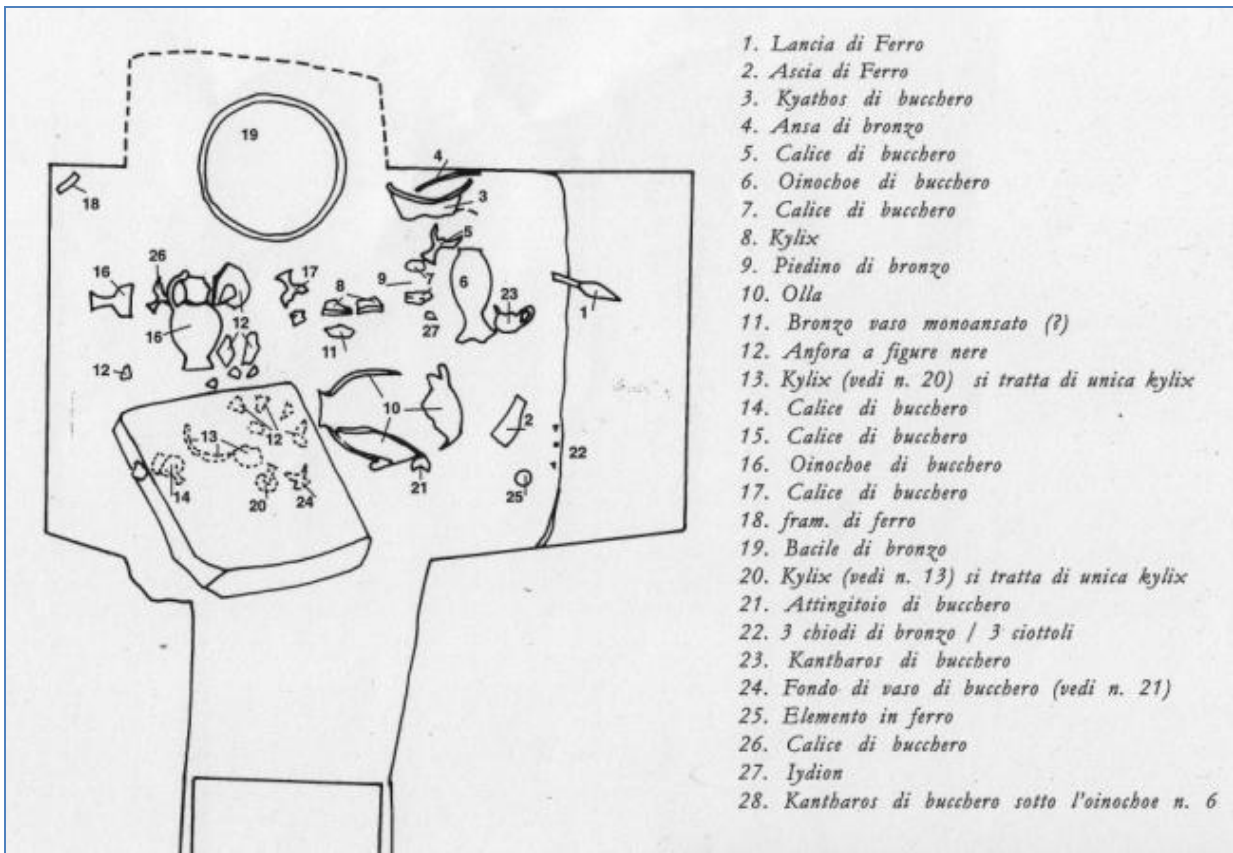


Figure 35: Cucumella Tomb 8/1989, Vulci: Plan. (Moretti Sgubini 2002, 54.)

The number of similar red-slipped lydian vessels from other sites which have been excavated since Martelli Cristofani wrote her article in the 1970s suggests that the attribution to Caere should be revisited. The lydian from Vulci Tomb 8/1989 is similar in size, shape and decoration to examples in cult contexts at Veio,²²⁶ Rome, and Satricum,²²⁷ and to examples from burial contexts in Caere but also Vulci and Tarquinia,²²⁸ and even to one from Lycian Kizilbel in Anatolia.²²⁹

6.4 Questions for further research.

Several other types of lydian vessels are certainly the products of Etruscan workshops. The Pontic workshops produced some black-figure examples, such as the one shown in Figure 29. Other variations include a distinctive trumpet shaped type, sometimes decorated with patterns or with red bands, and a rare example of an Etrusco-Corinthian decorated lydian vessel from a votive deposit at Veio.²³⁰ These vessels might have contained an imported unguent or a locally made product, but the retention of the Lydian form demonstrates the symbolic value that it held for the consumer; the local vessels were perhaps a more accessible way for the consumer to follow the fashion for an imported luxury good. What is more difficult to understand is whether these locally made vessels were still considered to be foreign, so retaining connotations of exotic luxury, or whether they had become domesticated and were incorporated into the local

²²⁶ For Veio, see Catalogue Nos. 83-85: Colonna (2002, 236-237), on the basis of similarities in clay and paint, attributes several other ceramic vessels at Veio to the same workshop, including a Samian lekythos and a cup and pisside, all dated to c.550-525 BC, and see also Torelli and Moretti Sgubini 2008, 214.

²²⁷ For Rome, see Gjerstad 1960, 231 (Catalogue No. 122) and Satricum, *Satricum* 1982, 85 (Catalogue No. 125).

²²⁸ For Vulci see Catalogue No. 93, for Caere see Catalogue Nos. 43 and 44, for Tarquinia see Catalogue Nos. 78 and 79.

²²⁹ See Mellink 1998, Plate V:e (Catalogue No. 127).

²³⁰ For trumpet shaped lydian vessels see Catalogue Nos. 53, 86, 87-89, for Etrusco-Corinthian see Catalogue No. 88.

repertoire like the willow pattern china found in the American town studied by Williams: whether the lydion had become a truly hybrid object.²³¹

Lydia, like the example in Figure 36, have on several occasions been found in association with the small black gloss amphoriskos, usually thought to be Attic.²³² It was made to contain perfumed oil, but its shape was derived from the larger SOS amphorae (some are even inscribed with an $\Sigma O \Sigma$). The lydion has also been found at sites in Etruria and in southern Italy with various types of Samian lekythoi, some covered with a red slip.



Figure 36: Lydion with black glazed amphoriskos and Samian lekythos from a grave at Caere. (Museo Nazionale Etrusco, Villa Giulia; Wrigley.)

²³¹ As opposed to being part of a *hybrid assemblage* of imported and local objects, see Antonaccio 2003, 71. Williams 2010, 149-163, see Chapter 3.1 above.

²³² See Catalogue Nos. 47, and also 43 and 44; noted by Bosio and Pugnetti (1986, 102) at Caere; also see Pierro 1984, 95-96 for a brief discussion of the amphoriskoi found at Tarquinia; she argues that some could be East Greek and be made in the same workshops that produced the type of black-banded lydia which she linked to the makers of Little Master cups. Lawrence ((1966, 102-106) see her Plate 21, K 2 for a very similar example to the one in Figure 36 from a grave in Corinthia) describes the vessels as being black glazed and distributed throughout the Greek islands and mainland, and also in Etruria and Magna Graecia; she notes that Beazley published them as Attic. Lawrence also believes, based on their SOS shape and the fabric and glaze, that the class is Attic. She acknowledges that Athens was not known for perfume production, although some lydia were also made there, and suggests that such vessels may have been used to decant bulk imports. They tend to be dated to before rather than after the middle of the sixth century B.C.

Greenewalt (1966, 208-209 and Plate XVI A and B) who found one in a grave with a lydion at Aeolian Pitane, thought that they were Attic.

As was also the case in Lydia, it is not immediately clear whether the perfume and unguent containers found in Etruscan graves should be seen as part of the banqueting set. They could relate to the funerary banquet, the remains of which are sometimes found in the grave, or be intended for use in the afterlife. Alternatively, they may have been more directly related to elements of the burial ritual such as the prothesis. It is unclear whether these various types of containers should be viewed as a group at all.²³³ Perfumes and unguents, including Lydia, were considered appropriate as votive gifts at Etruscan sanctuaries, and may also have had this role in the grave.²³⁴ There has been no clear division of use by gender in the examples so far catalogued; the question of gender distinction deserves study, as does a careful analysis of the distribution of vessels within the graves.²³⁵ It seems that Lydia were sometimes deposited in pairs at both sites, and this impression requires further analysis. Differences in deposition in cremations and inhumations may also enable us to better understand the role played by perfumes and unguents.

²³³ The inclusion of vessels for eating and drinking was a common element of central Italian burials from the Early Iron Age onwards.

²³⁴ Shanks (1999, 174) notes that perfumes were sometimes conceived of as food for the gods in Greece. One of the Corinthian aryballois analysed by Biers et al. (1994, 24-26) contained soil which retained enough perfumed oil to suggest that the vessel had not been empty when it was deposited in the grave, although it is risky to place too much weight on this one example. As mentioned above, only one Lydion with a reliable provenance is known to have been found with a lid (Catalogue 123, from a votive deposit), suggesting that closures were normally made of an organic material, although it is possible that they were disposed of at some point prior to deposition. An askos has been found sealed with the remains of a cork stopper in a shipwreck off Sicily which was dated to 500-480 B.C., see Krotscheck (2008, 81). It has also been observed that seals have not been found with Hellenistic and Roman unguentaria, see Anderson-Stojanovic (1987, 114), or BoR juglets, see Schreiber (2003, 63), who speculates that either an organic stopper was used, or that the juglets were filled from a larger store and the contents used immediately.

²³⁵ Gender can be sometimes ascertained in Etruscan tombs from the style of the carved benches on which bodies are laid.

7. Conclusion.

The sixth century B.C. was a period of immense social, economic and political change around the Mediterranean, both in the Greek world and beyond. Tyrants took power in many cities as societies became more urbanized, overturning the social and economic structures that had prevailed under aristocratic landowning families. The rise of Persia created pressures that increased the mobility of people as well as commodities. In Etruria evidence from burials reveals the emergence of a prosperous middle class.

These developments provided a growing market for the type of luxury object that enabled consumers to show that they were part of the web of connections crossing the Mediterranean. Foxhall described this phenomenon as the desire for things, especially foreign things, which could convey meanings to the consumer and their circle as new types of social identity were being created, and argued that this desire led to an expansion in the volume of goods moving around the Mediterranean.²³⁶ By supplying a specialized product in a distinctive container such as the lydion, producers could fulfil demand in this network of markets.

The interpretation of archaeological and literary evidence relating to the wider scale of the ancient economy and the contribution made by trade is the subject of ongoing debate. It is difficult to trace the movements of many of the bulk commodities that must have been traded in this period: metal ores, textiles, grain and even slaves leave little trace in the archaeological record, although studies of amphorae and shipwrecks are beginning to provide more evidence for the scale of such commerce. As has so often been remarked, pottery is the best preserved of the proxies by which we might understand the movement of goods and people around the Mediterranean, and the interpretation of the evidence that it provides has provoked discussions

²³⁶ Foxhall 2005, 234.

about the social and economic value of ceramics, and the extent to which the movement and imitation of pots can be said to have equalled the movement of people. Part of the value of the lydion as a vehicle for a wider study is that it occupied a meaningful place in the rituals of its consumers: it had a social life; however as a container for a commodity it had a practical shape which advertised its contents, and a pattern of imitation indicates that it was closely linked in the mind of consumers to its contents: it also had an economic life.

Opinions about trade in the Archaic period have ranged from that of Snodgrass, who argued for a minimalist model where artefacts and raw materials were mainly carried by those who used them:

if 'trade' is defined in the narrow sense of the purchase and movement of goods without the knowledge or the identification of a further purchaser....it seems that a substantial component of archaic Greek maritime shipments could not be described as trade.²³⁷

Snodgrass also argued that scrutiny of the evidence for the commercial export of pottery would cause it to evaporate, a very different conclusion from that reached, as we have seen, by Osborne. Osborne asserted instead that an analysis of archaeological evidence showed that it was possible to identify the production of pottery designed for export to meet a known demand in a foreign region, providing evidence for one strand of directed trade as part of a conglomeration of inter-connected markets where production and price were linked.²³⁸ Krotscheck more recently has shown how the careful scientific analysis of a cargo of Ionian B2 cups from a shipwreck near Marseilles was able to provide evidence that mass production by producers who understood the regional demand for their product was taking place in the

²³⁷ Snodgrass 1983, 26.

²³⁸ Osborne 1996, 39. Osborne has also argued that the large scale movement of goods between cities was important from an early date (2004, 53).

Western Mediterranean during the sixth century B.C.: ceramics were not always space fillers or their distribution subject to the vagaries of cabotage trade.²³⁹

There are a number of issues specifically related to the lydion that require resolution. The possibility that marbled and streaky glazes, presumed in existing scholarship to have been a hallmark of Lydian ceramics, were copied in Etruria emphasizes the requirement for visual and scientific analysis of lydia in order to establish the precise locations of manufacture. There is also disagreement about the source of the widely distributed black-glaze banded lydia; scholars such as Greenewalt have argued for Attic production, while many Italian scholars assign them to East Greece, often to Samos. A more complete mapping of distribution would provide further evidence towards a discussion about the role of the Phokaians in trade in the western Mediterranean, and the precise nature of ongoing links to Asia Minor. Other issues that remain unresolved include a chronology of the shape employing information that can be gathered from intact contexts such as tomb groups.

The brief survey of the use of lydia in Sardis and in Etruria reveals that in both places they were popularly used as part of funerary ritual, however because in both cultures the banquet was a central element in the burial assemblage, a more precise understanding of their role would require a wider analysis. It has become clear that in both places, the role of the lydion and of other vessels such as amphoriskoi which are thought to have contained perfumes can be parallel. Moreover, there is a pattern of association between the lydion and the "Samian" lekythos both in Anatolia and on the Italian peninsula which is deserving of further exploration, perhaps indicating a common source and that their contents too were seen as complementary. There were also differences in ways that the lydion was consumed: in Sardis and in Gordion,

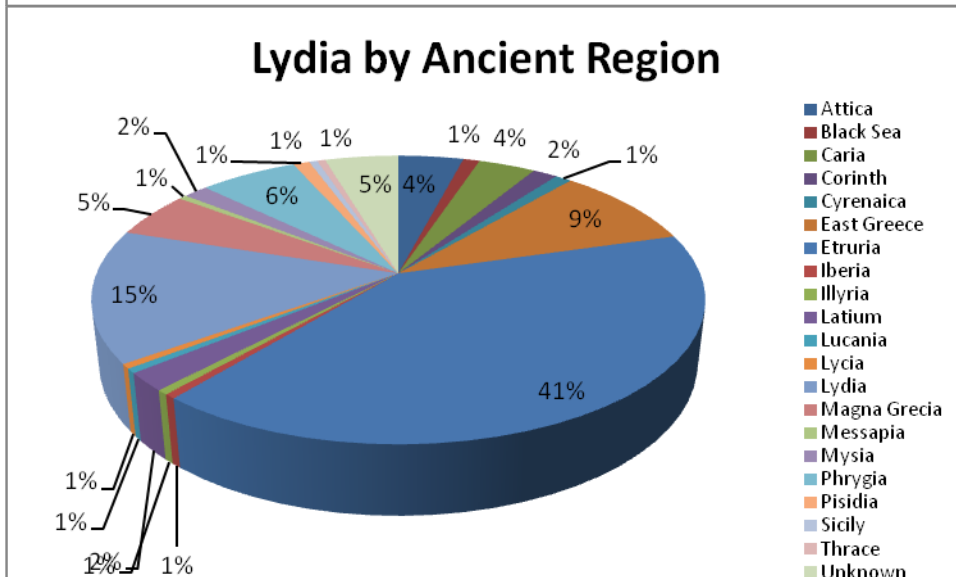
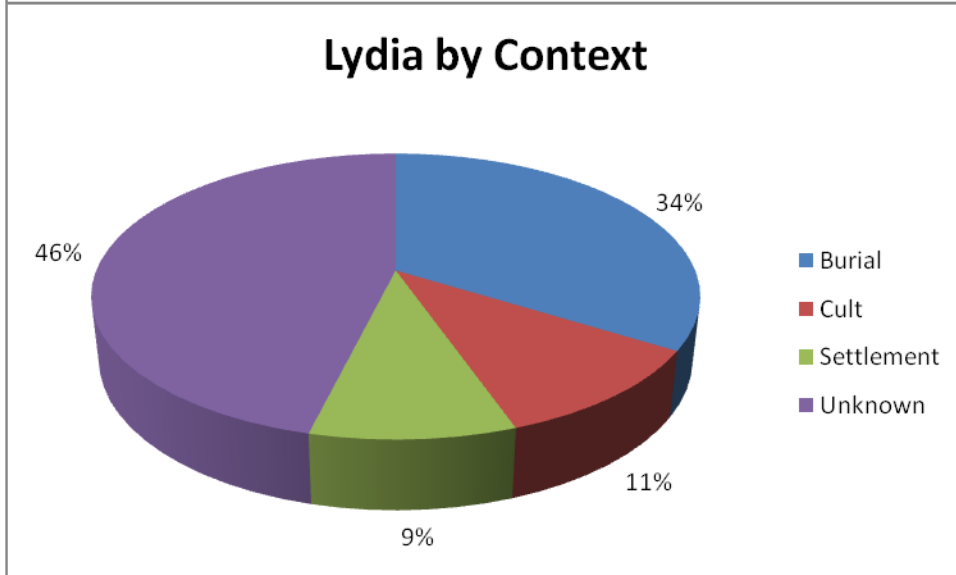
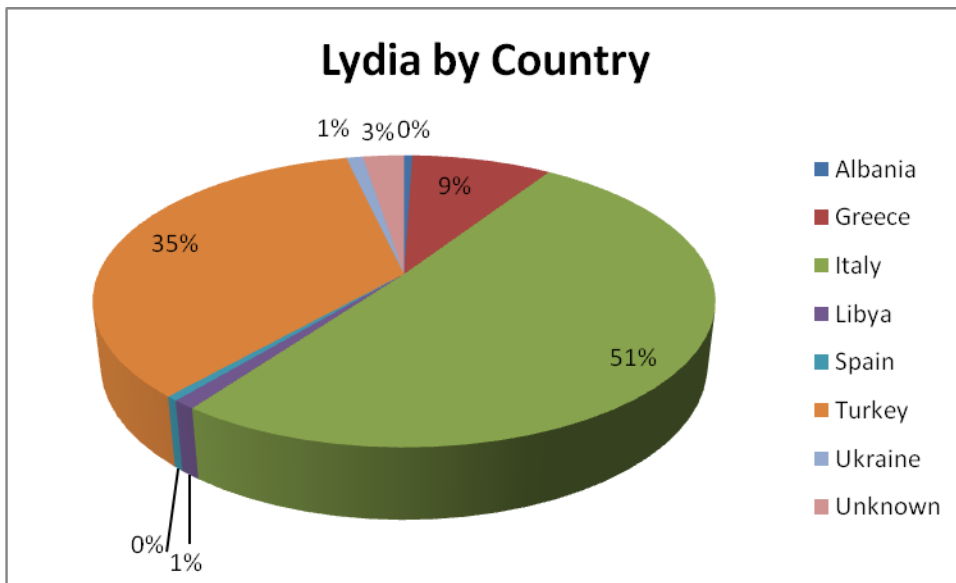
²³⁹ Krotscheck 2008.

recent excavations have revealed that lydia played an as yet unexplained role in settlement life, but have not been found in sanctuaries, whereas in Etruria a number of vessels have been found in votive deposits, but not in settlement contexts.²⁴⁰

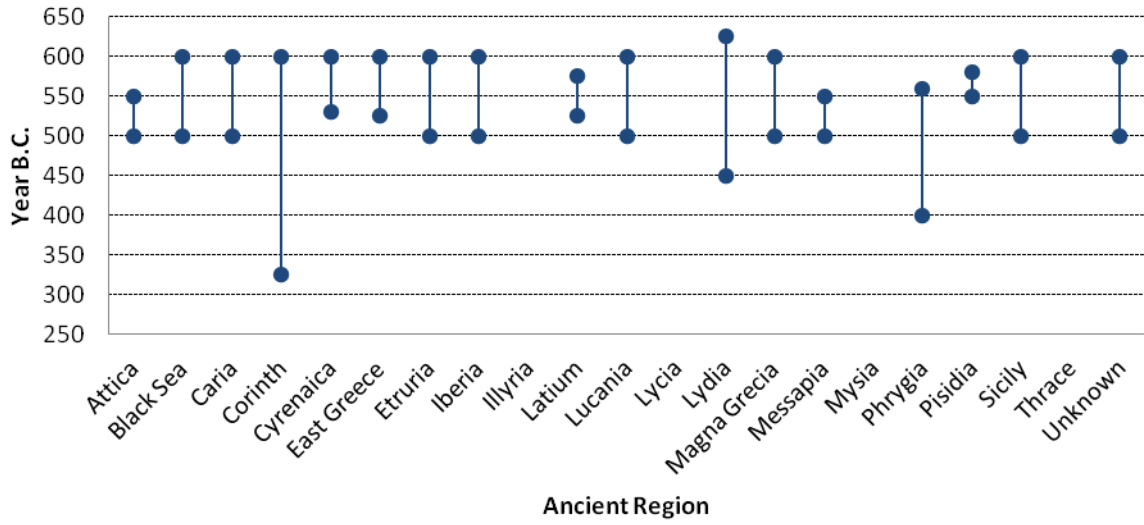
By undertaking the rigorous mapping of patterns of production, exchange and consumption to create a social history of particular material objects, we can interpret the pattern of supply and demand that it reveals, and so better understand trade and exchange around the Mediterranean in the sixth century B.C. The lydion carried and accumulated many different meanings and values as it passed from hand to hand across time and space, and the function of the lydion as a container for a luxury product links the social role of the lydion and the economic role of a commodity in a way that both complicates and enriches the analysis of its progress from hand to hand. As Appadurai has argued, it is only through the analysis of the concrete, historical circulation of things, their forms, their uses, and their trajectories, that we can begin to understand the human transactions and calculations that give objects life.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ This issue is complicated by the fact that the best documented excavations of sixth century B.C. settlement sites in Etruria have been at inland sites where imported goods of all types are more rare; a search of reports for the sites of Acquarossa (where there were Samian lekythoi), San Giovenale and Poggio Civitate did not reveal any lydia.

²⁴¹ Appadurai 1986, 5.



Lydia - Date Range by Region



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