

UCL INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY



ARCL3092

ECONOMY AND TRADE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN IRON AGE

2017-2018

Year 2/3 option, 0.5 unit

Turnitin Class ID: 3545421

Turnitin Password: IoA1718

Deadlines for coursework: **Tuesday 21st November 2017; Thursday 11th January 2018**

Coordinator: Dr. Corinna Riva

Office: IoA 406; Office hours: Tuesdays 4-5pm, Fridays 2.30-3.30pm

Email: c.riva@ucl.ac.uk; phone: 7679 7536

¹ San Paolo *olpe*/jug, Cerveteri (Etruria), 650-630 BC

1. OVERVIEW

This course provides students with an overview on Mediterranean interaction during the Iron Age (broadly conceived, namely *circa* 1000 BC-late 5th century BC) by concentrating on trade contacts and economic relations, visible in the material culture of various Mediterranean regions. The focus will be twofold: on the material culture used by scholars for reconstructing trade and on the different models and economic theories employed to understand trade. The lectures and seminars will be organised according to different themes (sources, theories, trade and religion, trade and the city, coinage), and will concern a selection of regions rather than the whole Mediterranean basin.

Summary weekly schedule: (Term I)

Friday 11am-1pm, Room B13.

Lecturers: Corinna Riva, Todd Whitelaw

1. **06/10/17:** Introduction and Sources I
2. **13/10/17:** Sources II and Theories
3. **20/10/17:** Connectivity and Value
4. **27/10/17:** Consumption and Seminar 1
5. **03/11/17:** Mycenaean trade and Bronze/Iron Age transition

[10/11/17 – Reading Week]

6. **17/11/17:** Gift Exchange and Phoenician Trade
7. **24/11/17:** Cities and Seminar 2
8. **01/12/17:** Archaic Emporia and Religion
9. **08/12/17:** Classical Athens, the Grain Trade and Seminar 3
10. **15/12/17:** Connections through Europe and money

Assessment: This course is assessed by means of two 2,375-2,625-word essays, each of which counts 50% towards the final mark of the course.

Teaching methods: Teaching will involve lectures introducing students to key issues and themes, and seminars in which students are required to make a presentation to enhance the discussion of specific topics. Seminar discussions will be structured around students' presentations; it is essential that those not making a presentation for a specific seminar session will nonetheless read the material assigned for at least one presentation and be prepared to engage fully in the discussion. Seminar presentations are not assessed but are compulsory: students failing to do their presentation at the arranged (or re-arranged) seminar will incur in the penalty of a required additional third essay in order to complete the course.

Workload: There will be 17 hours of lectures and 3 hours of seminars for this course. Students will be expected to undertake around 90 hours of reading for the course, plus 78 hours preparing for and producing the assessed work. This adds up to a total workload of some 188 hours for the course.

Prerequisites: There are no prerequisites for this course. However, students who have some familiarity of 1st-millennium BC Mediterranean will find this advantageous in order to grasp the material and the ideas discussed; in particular, students are advised that previous attendance at ARCL1004, ARCL3086 is likely to facilitate comprehension of some of the material presented in this course. Those who are not familiar with the region are strongly encouraged to visit the British Museum at the beginning of the course to familiarize themselves with Mediterranean material culture and read the following:

Alcock, S.E. and R. Osborne (eds) 2007. *Classical Archaeology* [IoA: Yates A6 ALC, multiple copies]

Barker G. and Rasmussen T. 1998 *The Etruscans* Oxford, Blackwell [IoA: DAF 100 BAR]

Markoe, G. 2000 *Phoenicians*. London, British Museum Press [IoA: DBE 100 MAR]

Osborne R. 1996 (2009 2nd ed.) *Greece in the making 1200-479 BC* [IoA: Yates IA DAE 200 OSB] (multiple copies)

Two useful books to consult throughout the course are:

Horden P. and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea. A study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford, Blackwell [IoA: DAG 200 HOR & Issue Desk; Main: further copies in ANCIENT HISTORY & HISTORY; Science: further copies in ANTHROPOLOGY & GEOGRAPHY]

Morris I., R. Saller and W. Scheidel 2007 (eds) *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, 1-12 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 SCH]

2. AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND ASSESSMENT

Aims:

The course aims to provide students with an overview on Mediterranean interaction during the Iron Age by concentrating on trade contacts and economic relations, visible in the material culture of various Mediterranean regions.

Objectives:

- 1) To introduce issues around the study of ancient economy and trade in 1st-millennium BC Mediterranean by focusing in detail on a series of themes and on related methodological and theoretical issues.
- 2) To encourage a strong comparative approach to the subject by drawing in some knowledge of material culture from across the Mediterranean.
- 3) To inform the material culture under study with theoretical and interpretative approaches that the student may also gain in further depth from other courses.

Learning outcomes:

On successful completion of the course students should:

- have acquired a basic knowledge of various issues around ancient economy and trade of 1st-millennium BC Mediterranean

- be able to apply the range of theoretical and interpretative approaches that have informed recent research on the ancient Mediterranean economy and trade
- understand the complexity of trade links across the Mediterranean through the study of material culture

Assessment:

The deadlines for the following assessment are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a) 1 st essay | Tuesday 21st November 2017 |
| b) 2 nd essay | Thursday 11th January 2018 |

1st Essay:

- 1) How has the work of Moses Finley influenced studies on the ancient, mainly Greek, economy? What is its legacy today?
- 2) What is Mediterranean connectivity and how helpful is it for a novel understanding of Mediterranean exchange?
- 3) How have archaeologists and anthropologists approached the concept of value?
- 4) What is consumption? Is it useful for understanding Mediterranean exchange? If so, how? If not, why not?
- 5) What role did Cyprus play in the development of Mycenaean trade?
- 6) How has Lefkandi changed our views over the changing economic conditions and exchange dynamics of the early Iron Age Aegean?
- 7) How easily can we identify practices of gift exchange in the archaeological evidence of 1st-millennium BC Mediterranean?
- 8) Were economic motives behind Phoenician colonial expansion across the Mediterranean?

2nd Essay:

- 1) What was the relationship between a town and its hinterland? How can archaeological evidence help us in understanding this relationship?
- 2) What is an *emporion*? What role did *emporion* play in Mediterranean Archaic trade?
- 3) What are the potential and limitations of the study of Greek pottery for understanding Mediterranean trade?
- 4) What was the role of religion in Mediterranean economy and exchange?
- 5) In what ways did Mediterranean trade change in the Classical period? What evidence do we have of those changes?
- 6) Is it plausible to consider Continental Europe as periphery to Mediterranean trade?
- 7) What ideologies and institutions made the use and circulation of coinage possible in the Greek world?
- 8) Why was coinage 'invented'?

If students are unclear about the nature of an assignment, they should discuss this with the Course Co-ordinator. Students are not permitted to re-write and re-submit essays in order to try to improve their marks. The nature of the assignment and possible approaches to it will be discussed in class, in advance of the submission deadline. Please note that in

order for it to be deemed that a student has completed and passed any course, it is necessary to have submitted all assessments.

Word counts

The following should not be included in the word-count: title page, contents pages, lists of figure and tables, bibliography, lists of references, captions and contents of tables and figures, appendices, and wording of citations in the text. The word length for each assignment is **2,375–2,625**.

Penalties will only be imposed if you exceed the upper figure in the range. There is no penalty for using fewer words than the lower figure in the range: the lower figure is simply for your guidance to indicate the sort of length that is expected.

In the 2017-18 session penalties for overlength work will be as follows:

- For work that exceeds the specified maximum length by less than 10% the mark will be reduced by five percentage marks, but the penalised mark will not be reduced below the pass mark, assuming the work merited a Pass.
- For work that exceeds the specified maximum length by 10% or more the mark will be reduced by ten percentage marks, but the penalised mark will not be reduced below the pass mark, assuming the work merited a Pass.

Coursework submission procedures

- All coursework must normally be submitted **both as hard copy and electronically**.
- You should staple the appropriate colour-coded IoA coversheet (available in the IoA library and outside room 411a) to the front of each piece of work and submit it to the red box at the Reception Desk (or room 411a in the case of Year 1 undergraduate work)
- All coursework should be uploaded to Turnitin by midnight on the day of the deadline. This will date-stamp your work. It is essential to upload **all parts** of your work as this is sometimes the version that will be marked.
- Instructions are given below.

Note that Turnitin uses the term 'class' for what we normally call a 'course'.

1. Ensure that your essay or other item of coursework has been saved as a Word doc., docx. or PDF document, and that you have the Class ID for the course (available from the course handbook) and enrolment password (this is **IoA1718** for all courses this session - note that this is capital letter I, lower case letter o, upper case A, followed by the current academic year)
2. Click on http://www.turnitinuk.com/en_gb/loginhttp://www.submit.ac.uk/static_jisc/ac_uk_index.html
3. Click on 'Create account'
4. Select your category as 'Student'
5. Create an account using your UCL email address. Note that you will be asked to specify a new password for your account - do not use your UCL password or the enrolment password, but invent one of your own (Turnitin will permanently associate this with your account, so you will not have to change it every 6 months, unlike your UCL password). In

addition, you will be asked for a “Class ID” and a “Class enrolment password” (see point 1 above).

6. Once you have created an account you can just log in at http://www.turnitinuk.com/en_gb/login and enrol for your other classes without going through the new user process again. Simply click on ‘Enrol in a class’. Make sure you have all the relevant “class IDs” at hand.
7. Click on the course to which you wish to submit your work.
8. Click on the correct assignment (e.g. Essay 1).
9. Double-check that you are in the correct course and assignment and then click ‘Submit’
10. Attach document as a “Single file upload”
11. Enter your name (the examiner will not be able to see this)
12. Fill in the “Submission title” field with the right details: **It is essential that the first word in the title is your examination candidate number** (e.g. YGBR8 In what sense can culture be said to evolve?),
13. Click “Upload”. When the upload is finished, you will be able to see a text-only version of your submission.
14. Click on “Submit”

If you have problems, please email the IoA Turnitin Advisers on ioa-turnitin@ucl.ac.uk, explaining the nature of the problem and the exact course and assignment involved.

One of the Turnitin Advisers will normally respond within 24 hours, Monday-Friday during term. Please be sure to email the Turnitin Advisers if technical problems prevent you from uploading work in time to meet a submission deadline - even if you do not obtain an immediate response from one of the Advisers they will be able to notify the relevant Course Coordinator that you had attempted to submit the work before the deadline

3. SCHEDULE AND SYLLABUS

Classes will be held: **Friday 11am-1pm, Room B13.**

Lecturers: Dr. Corinna Riva, Prof. Todd Whitelaw

FULL SYLLABUS AND READING LIST

The following is an outline for the course as a whole, and identifies essential and supplementary readings relevant to each session. Information is provided as to where in the UCL library system individual readings are available; their location and Teaching Collection (TC) number, and status (whether out on loan) can also be accessed on the eUCLid computer catalogue system.

Essential readings are considered essential to keep up with the topics covered in the course, and may form the basis of in-class discussions.

Copies of individual articles and chapters identified as essential reading are in the Teaching Collection in the Institute Library (where permitted by copyright), obtainable via the Issue Desk for short loans, or, frequently, available online. The essay topics are keyed to the lectures. While each essay focuses on a particular lecture, critical evaluation of any one perspective is much enriched by the knowledge of others; in other words, if you want to write a good essay you will have to read widely.

SESSION 1: INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES I

Lecture 1: Introduction

Themes, theories, material evidence: what this course is about. Course structures and objectives.

Lecture 2: The sources I

What sources are available to us in order to study and understand exchange in 1st-millennium BC Mediterranean? In this lecture, we look at historical and anthropological sources.

Essential:

Donlan W. 1981-2 Reciprocities in Homer, *Classical World* 75: 137-75 [online]

Halstead, P. 1987 Traditional and ancient rural economy in Mediterranean Europe: plus ça change? *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107: 77-87 [online]. A good counter-argument calling for caution when using modern ethnographies as sources

Malinowski 1920 Kula: the circulating exchange of valuables in the archipelagoes of Eastern New Guinea in *Man* 51, 97-105 [online]

Recommended:

Historical sources - case-studies:

Austin MM & Vidal-Naquet 1977 *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece*. London [ANCIENT HISTORY P 64 AUS]. Excellent survey on primary evidence as well as approaches to interpretation (although a bit outdated on the latter).

Harris E. M. 2002 Workshop, marketplace and household. The nature of technical specialization in Classical Athens and its influence on economy and society in P. Cartledge, E. Cohen and L. Foxhall *Money, Labour and Land*. Routledge, 67-99 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 CAR]. A good survey of occupations

P. Cartledge 2002 The political economy of Greek slavery in P. Cartledge, E. Cohen and L. Foxhall *Money, Labour and Land*. Routledge, 156-166 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 CAR]

Meijer, F. and O. van Nijf 1992 *Trade, transport, and society in the ancient world. A sourcebook*. London; New York: Routledge [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 68 MEI]. It does what it says on the tin.

Anthropological sources:

Duncan C. A. M. and D.W. Tandy (eds) 1994 *From political economy to anthropology*. Montreal/London/NY, chapters 1 & 2 [Main: HISTORY 82 b DUN]

Mauss, M. 1967 (1925). *The gift*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul [IoA: BD Mau]

Classics and anthropology:

Beidelman, T. O. 1989 Agonistic exchange: Homeric reciprocity and the heritage of Simmel and Mauss, *Cultural Anthropology* 4: 227-59 – see also commentary by T. Turner [online]

Humphreys S. 1978 *Anthropology and the Greeks*. London [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 55 HUM] – Part I and II

Mediterranean historical ethnography and peasant studies:

Forbes H. 1993 Ethnoarchaeology and the place of the olive in the economy of the Southern Argolid, Greece, in M.-C. Amouretti and J.-P. Brun (eds) *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée = Oil and Wine Production in the Mediterranean Area*. Athènes: Ecole française d'Athènes; Paris: De Boccard, 213-226 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 67 AMO]

Horden P. and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea. A study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford, Blackwell, Ch. XI (pgs 463-484) [IoA: DAG 200 HOR & Issue Desk; Main: further copies in ANCIENT HISTORY & HISTORY; Science: further copies in ANTHROPOLOGY & GEOGRAPHY]

SESSION 2: SOURCES II AND THEORIES

Lecture 3: Sources II

Although pottery takes the lion's share of attention, the range of archaeological sources for studying Mediterranean exchange is remarkably wide: we look at them here.

Essential:

Barker, G. 1988 Archaeology and the Etruscan countryside. *Antiquity* 62: 772-785 [online]

Gill D. 1988 Silver Anchors and cargoes of oil, in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56, 1-13 [Main: Classics Pers; TC3728]

Van Dommelen P, C. Gómez Bellard and C. Tronchetti 2008: The Punic farmstead at Truncu ' Molas (Sardinia, Italy): excavations 2007, *Antiquity* 82 (315) [online]

Arafat K. And C. Morgan 1989 Pots and potters in Athens and Corinth: a review in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 8.3, 311-346 [online]

Gleba M. 2017 Tracing textile cultures of Italy and Greece in the early first millennium BC, *Antiquity* 91, 1205-1222 [online] Just off the press!

Recommended:

Survey & archaeological landscapes:

Alcock S.E., J.F. Cherry and J.L. Davis 1994 Intensive survey, agricultural practice and the Classical landscape of Greece. In I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, 137-70. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Van Dommelen P. 1998 *On Colonial Grounds. A Comparative Study of Colonialism and Rural Settlement in 1st Millennium B.C. West Central Sardinia*, (Archaeological Studies Leiden University 2), Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University [IoA: DAG 18 DOM]

Carter, J.C.. 2006 *Discovering the Greek countryside at Metaponto*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan [IoA: YATES E 22 MET]

Pettegrew, D.K. 2001 Chasing the Classical farmstead: assessing the formation and signature of rural settlement in Greek landscape archaeology. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14 (2):189-209 [IoA: Pers]

- C. N. Runnels and T. H. Van Andel 1987 The evolution of settlement in the S. Argolid: an economic explanation in *Hesperia* 56: 303-34 [online]
Archaeological (mainly pottery, for organic material cf. Seminar reading 2):
 Boardman J. 1988 Trade in Greek decorated pottery, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 7: 27-33 [online] to be read in conjunction with Gill and Boardman below
 Gill D. 1988 The trade figures in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 7:371-373 [online] to be read with Boardman and Gill below and above
 Boardman J. 1988 Trade in Greek decorated pottery: some corrections in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 7: 369-70 [online] to be read with Gill and Boardman above
 Gill D. 1994 Positivism, pots and long-distance trade in I. Morris (ed.) *Classical Greece. Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pgs 99-107 [IoA: Issue Desk; YATES A 20 MOR]
 Gómez Bellard, C. and Guerin, P. 1995 Los lagares del Alt de Benimaquia (Denia) en los inicios del vino Ibérico. In M. Celestino (ed.), *Arqueología del vino. Los orígenes del vino en Occidente*, 243-270. Jerez de la Frontera: Consejo Regulador de Jerez [at British Library: YA.2002.b.16]
 Casson L. 1996 New evidence for Greek merchantment, in *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 25.3 & 4: 262-264 [online]
 Dupont, P., 1998, Archaic East Greek trade amphoras, in R. Cook and P. Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 142-90. London. [IoA: YATES P 5 COO]
Epigraphical:
 Robertson M. 1972 'Epoiesen' on Greek Vases: Other Considerations, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 92, pgs. 180-183 [online]
 Seeberg A. 1994 Epoiesen, Egrapsen, and the Organization of the Vase Trade, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 114, pp. 162-164 [online]
 Johnston A. 2006 *Trademarks on Greek Vases. Addenda*. Oxford, Aris & Phillips [IoA: YATES QUARTOS A 99 JOH]. Revised volume of an earlier publication by the same author (1979)

Lecture 4: Economic theories and debates

What debates have driven studies on ancient Mediterranean exchange? From Karl Polanyi to Moses Finley and beyond.

Essential:

- Humphreys S. 1978 *Anthropology and the Greeks*. London, 31-75 - also published as 'History, economics and anthropology: the work of Karl Polanyi' in *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 165-212 [online]
 Nafissi M. 2004 Class, Embeddedness, and the Modernity of Ancient Athens, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 46. 2, pp. 378-410 [online]
 Finley 1965 Technical Innovation and Economic Progress in the Ancient World, in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 29-45 [online]
 Sherratt A. and S. Sherratt 1993 The Growth of the Mediterranean Economy in the Early First Millennium BC, in *World Archaeology* 24. 3, pp.361-378 [online]

Recommended:

1. Burke E. M. 1992 The Economy of Athens in the Classical Era: Some Adjustments to the Primitivist Model, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122, pp. 199-226 [online]
2. Cartledge P. 2002 The economy (economies) of ancient Greece in W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds) *The ancient economy*. Edinburgh, 11-32 [Main: Ancient History M 64 SCH]
3. Finley M. 1973 *The Ancient Economy*. [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 FIN]. The ultimate work on Finley's approach to the ancient economy.
4. Gerth H. H. and C. Wright Mills 1948 *From Max Weber. Essays in sociology*. London, Introduction [Science: ANTHROPOLOGY D 10 WEB; Main: LAW B 5 WEB; multiple more recent copies in SSEES]. An introduction to Weberian sociology.
5. Horden, P., and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 143-153 [IoA: DAG 200 HOR & Issue Desk; Main: further copies in ANCIENT HISTORY & HISTORY; Science: further copies in ANTHROPOLOGY & GEOGRAPHY]
6. Meikle S. 1979 Aristotle and the Political Economy of the Polis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 99, pp. 57-73 [online]. An interpretation of 4th-century Athenian economy through Aristotle contrasting Finley's approach.
7. Meikle S. 1995 Modernism, economics and the ancient economy in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 41, 174-191 [Main: Classics Pers]. On the difference between use value and exchange value as a way out of the primitivist/modernist dilemma.
8. Morris I. 1994 The Athenian economy twenty years after the Ancient Economy in *Classical Philology* 89, 351-66 [online]. A book review in defense of the substantivist perspective and Finley.
9. Morris I. 1999 Foreword of the updated edition, in M. Finley *The ancient economy* [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 FIN]. On Finley's debt to Max Weber's historical sociology.
10. Morris I. 2002 Hard Surfaces in P. Cartledge, E. Cohen and L. Foxhall *Money, Labour and Land*. Routledge, 8-43 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 CAR]
11. Morris I. 2005 Archaeology, standards of living, and Greek economic history in J.G. Manning and I. Morris (eds) *The ancient economy. Evidence and models*. Stanford. Stanford University Press, 91-126 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 64 MAN]
12. Morris I., R. Saller and W. Scheidel 2007 Introduction in idem *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, 1-12 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 SCH]. On the historiography and development of studies on the ancient economy since Weber.
13. Polanyi K. 1968 *Primitive, Archaic and modern economies* (ed. G. Dalton). New York, chapters 5, 13 [Main: ANTHROPOLOGY D 200 POL]
14. Shaw B. and R. P. Saller 1981 Introduction (from the editors), in M. Finley *Economy and society in Ancient Greece*. London, Chatto & Windus, 3-23 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 64 FIN]. A brief summary of the development of Finley's thought.

SESSION 3: CONNECTIVITY AND VALUE

Lecture 5: Mediterranean ecology, connectivity and networks

We go from theory to ecology through connectivity, a concept coined by Horden and Purcell, authors of the *Corrupting Sea*, which has set a trend in recent studies of the ancient Mediterranean, and has crucially forced us to think of exchange in minimalist terms not without controversy!

Essential:

Horden, P., and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 53-88 (microecologies), 123-43 (connectivity) [IoA: DAG 200 HOR & Issue Desk; Main: further copies in ANCIENT HISTORY & HISTORY; Science: further copies in ANTHROPOLOGY & GEOGRAPHY]

Halstead P. and G. Jones 1989 Agrarian ecology in the Greek islands: time, stress, scale and risk, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 109: 41-55 [online]

Greene E. 2011 Two early Archaic shipwrecks at Kekova Adasi and Kepçe Burnu, in *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 40.1: 60–68 [online]

Recommended:

Barker G. 1991 Two Italys, one valley: an Annaliste perspective, in J. Bintliff (ed.) *The Annales School of Archaeology*, 34-56. Leicester: Leicester University Press . An Annaliste/Braudelian perspective on Italy

Halstead, P. and O’Shea, J. (eds.) 1989. *Bad Year Economics: Cultural Responses to Risk and Uncertainty*. Ch. 8 [IoA: BB 6 HAL]

Gallant, T.W. 1991. *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece*, Chapter 1.

Osborne, R.G. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside*, Chapters 2 & 4 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 58 OSB]

Lindenlauf A. 2003 The Sea as a Place of No Return in Ancient Greece, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 416-433 [online]. The sea as a dump!

Connectivity & networks:

Bresson A. 2005 Ecology and beyond: the Mediterranean paradigm, in W. V. Harris (ed.) *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 94-114 [IoA: DAG 100 HAR]

Horden, P., and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, chapters 6 (survival), & 8 (catastrophes)

Purcell N. 2003 The boundless sea of unlikeness? On defining the Mediterranean, in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18, 2: 9-29 [online]

Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou & K. Panagopoulou 2007 Preface: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 22:1, 1-9 [online]

Paleothodoros, Dimitris 2007 Commercial Networks in the Mediterranean and the Diffusion of Early Attic Red-figure Pottery (525-490 BCE), *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 22: 2, 165 – 182 [online]

Horden, P. and N. Purcell 2007 The Mediterranean and the “new thalassology”, in *American Historical Review* 111: 722-40 [online]

Shaw B. D. 2005 A Peculiar Island: Maghrib and Mediterranean in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18(2): 93-125 [online]

On shipping:

L. C. Casson 1986 *Ships and seamanship in the ancient world*. Princeton [IoA: HG CAS]

A. J. Parker 1992 *Ancient shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and Roman provinces*, BAR

Greene, E. S., Lawall, M. L., and Polzer, M. E., 2008, Inconspicuous consumption: the sixth-century BCE shipwreck at Pabuç Burnu, Turkey, *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, 685–711 [IoA Pers]

Hagy J W 1986 800 years of Etruscan ships in *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 15.3, 221-250 [online]

Bound M. and R. Vallintine 1983 A wreck of possible Etruscan origins off Giglio island, in *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 12.2: 113 -122 [online]

On transhumance:

Lewthwaite J. 1981 Plain tails from the hills: transhumance in Mediterranean archaeology in A. Sheridan & G. Bailey (eds) *Economic archaeology* BAR, 57-66 [IoA: AH Qto SHE]

Lecture 6: The politics of value

What is value? This question lies at the heart of every study of ancient Mediterranean economy, but has also preoccupied anthropologists for a very long time indeed.

Essential:

Appadurai, A. 1986. Introduction: commodities and the politics of value, in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-63 [IoA: TC 3723]

Gill D. 1991 Pots and Trade: Spacefillers or Objets D'art? *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111, pp. 29-47 [online]

Graeber D. 2013 It is value that brings universes into being. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3(2): 219-243 [online]

Vickers M. 1990 Golden Greece: Relative Values, Minae, and Temple Inventories, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 94.4, 613-625 [online]

Recommended:

1. Bevan, A., 2007. *Stone Vessels and Values in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2 [IoA: Issue Desk & DAG 100 BEV]
2. Donlan W. 1981 Scale, Value and Function in the Homeric economy in *American Journal of Ancient History* 6: 101-117 [Main: Classics Pers]
3. Humphrey, C. and S. Hugh-Jones (eds) 1992 *Barter, Exchange and value: an anthropological approach*. Cambridge, ch. 1, 7
4. Gill D. 1988 Expressions of wealth: Greek art and society, in *Antiquity* 62, 735–743 [online]
5. Gosden C. And Y. Marshall 1999 The Cultural Biography of Objects, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 169-178 [online]
6. Graeber D. 2001 *Toward an anthropological theory of value: The false coin of our own dreams*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan.

7. Kopytoff I. 1986 The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pgs. 64-91
8. Miller D. 2008 The uses of value, in *Geoforum* 39, 1122-1132 [online]
9. Vickers M. 1985 Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metal Work on Athenian Painted Pottery, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 105, pgs. 108-128 [online]
10. Vickers M. 1987 Value and Simplicity: Eighteenth-Century Taste and the Study of Greek Vases, in *Past & Present* 116, pgs. 98-137 [online] – how the 18th century shaped our notions of valuable Greek pots
11. van Wijngaarden, G-J 1999 An archaeological approach to the concept of value. Mycenaean pottery at Ugarit (Syria), in *Archaeological Dialogues* 6, 2-23 – followed by a discussion [online]

SESSION 4: CONSUMPTION AND SEMINAR 1

Lecture 7: Consumption and material culture

When archaeologists and ancient historians study Mediterranean exchange they usually talk about production, redistribution, and consumption. Interestingly, consumption has recently seized our attention, and now everyone, including anthropologists, is talking about it, and, alongside it, aspects such as consumer's demand, luxuries or semi-luxuries and branding are being written about.

Essential:

Foxhall L. 1998 Cargoes of the heart's desire: the character of trade in the Archaic Mediterranean world in N. Fisher & H. van Wees (eds) *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence*, pgs. 295-310 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 12 FIS; TC 3727]

Bevan, A. 2010. Making and Marking Relationships: Bronze Age Brandings and Mediterranean Commodities, in Bevan, A. and Wengrow, D. (eds.) *Cultures of Commodity Branding*. 35-85. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press. [IoA: AH BEV; TC 3726]

Graeber D. 2011 "Consumption", in *Current Anthropology*, 52, No. 4, pp. 489-511 [online].
Read the responses too when you can!

Recommended:

1. Berry C. 1994 *The idea of luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chs 1 & 2 [Science: ANTHROPOLOGY D 205 BER]
2. Davidson J. 1997 *Courtesans and fishcakes: the consuming passions of Classical Athens*. London, especially Parts I and II [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 65 DAV]
3. Foxhall L. 2007 *Olive cultivation in ancient Greece: seeking the ancient economy*. Oxford, Ch. 4 'The domestic consumption of olive oil' [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 67 FOX]
4. Hamilakis Y. 1999 Food Technologies/Technologies of the Body: The Social Context of Wine and Oil Production and Consumption in Bronze Age Crete, *World Archaeology*, 31.1, 38-54 [online]

5. Kurke L. 1997 Inventing the "Hetaira": Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece, in *Classical Antiquity*, 16.1, pp. 106-150 [online]
6. Lissarrague F. 1990 Around the krater: an aspect of banquet imagery, in O. Murray (ed.) *Symptica. A symposium on the symposion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 196-209 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 65 MUR]
7. Miller D. 2005 (ed.) *Materiality*. Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, Introduction [Science: ANTHROPOLOGY C 9 MIL]
8. Miller D. 2006 Consumption, In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Kuechler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture*, 341-54. London: Sage [IoA: Issue Desk; AH TIL]
9. Riva, C. 2010 Trading Settlements and the Materiality of Wine Consumption in the North Tyrrhenian Sea Region in B. Knapp, P. van Dommelen (eds.), *Material Connections: Mobility, Materiality and Mediterranean Identities*, London and New York: Routledge, 210-232 [IoA: DAG 100 DOM]
10. Tosto, V. 1999 *The black-figure pottery signed Nikosthenes epoiesen*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum [IoA: YATES QUARTOS P 27 TOS]
11. van der Veen M. 2003 When Is Food a Luxury? *World Archaeology*, 34.3, 405-427 [online]
12. Ward C. 2003 Pomegranates in Eastern Mediterranean Contexts during the Late Bronze Age, *World Archaeology*, 34.3, 529-541 [online]
13. Walsh J. St. P. 2014 *Consumerism in the ancient world: imports and identity construction*. New York [IoA: YATES P 5 STP]
14. Wengrow D. 2008 Prehistories of Commodity Branding, *Current Anthropology*, 49, No. 1, 7-34 [online]

Seminar 1: Economic theories: substantivists vs. formalists

If asked, every archaeologist, anthropologist or historian nowadays will tell you that the debate between substantivists and formalists is truly passé and sterile, and yet, there still remain some unresolved issues. What are those issues?

If the course size allows it, the students contributing to this seminar will be divided into two groups, and each group will be assigned two articles which will be the group's ammunition in order to defend their formalist/substantivist position. Each group will have to convince the other and everyone else including me that their position is tenable on the basis of what they have read; convincing has to be achieved with passion and rigorous reasoning, not just through a summary of what has been read. If not, we will work with single articles read by each student contributing to the seminar.

The formalists:

Meikle S. 1979 Aristotle and the Political Economy of the Polis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 99, pp. 57-73 [online]

Burke E. M. 1992 The Economy of Athens in the Classical Era: Some Adjustments to the Primitivist Model, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122, pp. 199-226 [online]

The substantivists:

Humphreys S. 1978 *Anthropology and the Greeks*. London, 31-75 - also published as 'History, economics and anthropology: the work of Karl Polanyi' in *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 165-212 [online]

Morris I. 1994 The Athenian economy twenty years after the Ancient Economy in *Classical Philology* 89, 351-66 [online]

SESSION 5: MYCENAEAN TRADE AND BRONZE/IRON AGE TRANSITION

Lecture 8: Late Bronze Age Aegean trade in the east and central Mediterranean

Mycenaean interaction both continues earlier Aegean traditions and raises fresh issues, in terms of new regions, forms, and types of evidence. The development of Cyprus as an urban society reconfigured eastern Mediterranean metal supply mechanisms and trading patterns, and its changing role had significant effects on Mycenaean trade.

Essential:

Manning, S.W. and Hulin, L. 2005. 'Maritime commerce and geographies of mobility in the Late Bronze Age of the eastern Mediterranean: problematizations', in E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.). *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, 270-302 [IoA: Issue Desk BLA 9; DAG 100 BLA]

Pulak, C. 1998. 'The Uluburun shipwreck: an overview', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Excavation* 27:188-224 [online] (for illustrations see *Das Schiff von Uluburun* Inst Arch DBC 10 Qto YAL).

Sherratt, A.G. and E.S. Sherratt 1991. 'From luxuries to commodities: the nature of Mediterranean Bronze Age trading systems', in N.H. Gale (ed.) *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90), 351-86 [IoA: TC 507, Issue Desk STU 90]

Vagnetti, L. 1999. 'Mycenaean pottery in the central Mediterranean; imports and local production in their context', in J. P. Crielaard, V. Stissi, and G. J. van Wijngaarden (eds.), *The Complex Past of Pottery*, 137-61 [IoA: TC 3601; YATES P 6 CRI]

Recommended:

1. Bell, C. 2005. 'Wheels within wheels? A view of Mycenaean trade from the Levantine emporia', in R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.) *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (Aegaeum 25), 363-9.
2. Bevan, A.H. 2007. *Stone Logics: Vessels and Values in the Bronze Age East Mediterranean*.
3. Bevan, A. 2010. 'Making and marking relationships. Bronze Age brandings and Mediterranean commodities', in A. Bevan and D. Wengrow (eds.) *Cultures of Commodity Branding*, 35-85.
4. Burns, B. 2010. *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce and the Formation of Identity*.
5. Cline, E.H. 2009 (second edition). *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. Cline, E. 2007. Rethinking Mycenaean international

- trade with Egypt and the Near East. In, M.L. Galaty and W.A. Parkinson (eds.) *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II*, 190-200. Issue Desk GAL 1.
6. Cline, E.H. and D. Harris-Cline (eds.) 1998. *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium* (Aegaeum 18), especially papers by Knapp, Morris, and the Sherratts.
 7. Feldman, M. 2006. *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an 'International Style' in the Ancient Near East, 1400-1200 BCE*.
 8. Gale, N. (ed.) 1991. *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90), especially papers by Bass, Gale, Knapp, and the Sherratts.
 9. Gale, N. and Z.A. Stos-Gale 1999. 'Copper oxhide ingots and the Aegean metals trade: new perspectives', in P.P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.) *Meletemata* (Aegaeum 20), 267-77.
 10. Jasink, A.M. 2005. 'Mycenaean means of communication and diplomatic relations with foreign royal courts', in R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.) *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (Aegaeum 25), 59-67.
 11. Knapp, A.B. 1993. 'Thalassocracies in Bronze Age east Mediterranean trade: making and breaking a myth', *World Archaeology* 24:332-47.
 12. Knapp, A.B. 2008. *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*.
 13. Laffineur, R. and E. Greco (eds.) 2005. *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (Aegaeum 25).
 14. Liverani, M. 2001. *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600-1100 BC*.
 15. Mee, C. 2008. 'Mycenaean Greece, the Aegean and beyond', in C. Shelmerdine (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, 362-86. Issue Desk SHE 16; DAG 100 SHE.
 16. Monroe, C. 2009. *Scales of Fate: Trade, Tradition and Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1350-1175 BCE*.
 17. Monroe, C. 2010. 'Sunk costs at Late Bronze Age Uluburun', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 357, 19-33.
 18. Pulak, C. 2001. 'The cargo of the Uluburun ship and evidence for trade with the Aegean and beyond', in L. Bonifante and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Italy and Cyprus in antiquity: 1500-450 BC.*, 13-60.
 19. Sherratt, E.S. 1999. 'E pur si muove: pots, markets and values in the second millennium Mediterranean', in J.P. Crielaard, V. Stissi and G.J. van Wijngaarden (eds.), *The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery*, 163-211.
 20. Tartaron, T. 2013. *Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World*.
 21. Wachsmann, S. 1998. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*.
 22. van Wijngaarden, G.-J. 1999. 'An archaeological approach to the concept of value: Mycenaean pottery at Ugarit (Syria)', *Archaeological Dialogues* 1999:2-40.
 23. van Wijngaarden, G.J. 2002. *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (1600-1200 BC)*.
 24. Vianello, A. 2005. *Late Bronze Age Mycenaean and Italic Products in the West Mediterranean: A Social and Economic Analysis* (BAR International Series 1439).

Lecture 9: After the end of the Bronze Age from the east to the west Mediterranean

With the end of the Bronze Age, some trade links and exchange mechanisms are severed, while others continue in what appears a new-world economic order. This is particularly true for the east Mediterranean, but can we tell the same story further west?

Essential:

- Foxhall, L. 1995 Bronze to iron: agricultural systems and political structures in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 90: 239-51 [online]
- Kroll J H 2008 Early Iron Age balance weights at Lefkandi, Euboea in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27(1). 37-48 [online]
- Lo Schiavo, F. 2003 Sardinia between East and West: Interconnections in the Mediterranean in N. Ch. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Ploes. Sea Routes ... Interconnections in the Mediterranean, c. 1600-600 BC*, Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Rethymnon, Crete September 29th-October 2, 2002, Athens, 15-34 [TC 3729; IoA DAG 100 Qto STA] **OR**
- Tronchetti C. 2015 Cultural interactions in Iron Age Sardinia in B. A. Knapp and P. van Dommelen (eds) *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge, 266-284 [online]

Recommended:

1. Bell C. 2009 Continuity and change: the divergent destinies of Late Bronze Age ports in Syria and Lebanon across the LBA/Iron Age transition in C. Bachhuber and R. G. Roberts (eds) *Forces of transformation. The end of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, 30-38 [IoA: DAG 100 BAC]
2. Donlan W. 1989 Homeric *τεμενος* and the land economy of the Dark Age in *Museum Helveticum* 46, 3: 129-145 [Main: Classics Pers]
3. Giardino, C. 1995. *The West Mediterranean between the 14th and 8th Centuries B.C.: Mining and Metallurgy Spheres*. BAR International Series 612 [IoA: DAG 100 Quartos GIA]
4. Tandy D. W. 1997 *Warriors into Traders*, Chapter 4 & 5 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 68 TAN]
5. Dickinson, O. 2006. *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and Change Between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC*, Ch 7 [IoA: Issue Desk and DAG 100 DIC]
6. Kourou N. 2003 Rhodes: the Phoenician issue revisited. Phoenicians at Vroulia? in N. Ch. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Ploes. Sea Routes ... Interconnections in the Mediterranean, c. 1600-600 BC*, Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Rethymnon, Crete September 29th-October 2, 2002, Athens, 249-260 [IoA DAG 100 Qto STA]
7. Liverani M. 2003 The influence of political institutions on trade in the ancient Near East (Late BA to early IA) in C. Zaccagnini (ed.) *Mercanti e politica nel mondo antico*, 119-137 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 68 ZAC]

8. Nijboer A. 2006 The Iron Age in the Mediterranean: a chronological mess or 'trade before the flag', Part II, in *Ancient West and East* 4.2, 255-277 [IoA Pers and online at <https://rug.academia.edu/AlbertNijboer>]
9. Papadopoulos J. 2015 Greece in the early Iron Age: mobility, commodities, politics and literacy in B. A. Knapp and P. van Dommelen (eds) *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge, 178-195 [online]

Pithekoussai and the West:

Coldstream N. 1994 Prospectors and pioneers: Pithekoussai, Kyme and central Italy in G. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (Eds) *The archaeology of Greek colonization*, 47-59

Ridgway, D. 2000. The first western Greeks revisited, in D. Ridgway et al. (eds.) *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara* (Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 4), 179-91 [IoA: DAF Qto RID]

Al Mina and the east:

Luke, J. 2003 *Ports of trade, Al Mina and geometric Greek pottery in the Levant*. Oxford, Archaeopress [IoA: DBC 10 Qto LUK]

Lehmann, G. 2005. Al Mina and the East: A Report on Research in Progress, in A. Villing (ed.), *The Greeks in the East*, London: British Museum Press, 61-92 [IoA: DBA 100 Qto VIL]

Niemeyer H. G. 2004 Phoenician or Greek: is there a reasonable way out of the Al Mina debate? In *Ancient West and East* 3(1): 38–50 [IoA Pers]

Lefkandi:

Popham M. and I. Lemos 1995 A Euboean warrior trader in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14: 151-57 [IoA Pers]

Lemos, I. 2001 The Lefkandi Connection: Networking in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis (eds.) *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC*. Proceedings of an International Symposium held at the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University, November 16-18, 2000. Nicosia: Severis Foundation, pp. 215-226 [IoA: DAG 15 BON]

Popham M. R. 1994 Precolonization: early Greek contact with the East, in G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds) *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 40, 11-34 [IoA: YATES A 20 TSE]

Lemo, I. S. 2005 The changing relationship of the Euboeans and the east in : A. Villing (ed.), *The Greeks in the East*, London: British Museum Press, 53-60 [IoA: DBA 100 Qto VIL]

Lemos I. 2012 Euboea and Central Greece in the Postpalatial and Early Greek Periods. *Archaeological Reports*, 58, pp 19-27 [online]

See also:

<http://lefkandi.classics.ox.ac.uk/index.html>

SESSION 6: GIFT-EXCHANGE AND PHOENICIAN TRADE

Lecture 10: aristocratic gift exchange, reciprocity and the prestige economy

The world of early Iron Age Mediterranean exchange is populated with aristocratic warriors and elites exchanging gifts and so preoccupied with their own social status that

they are responsible for what we call the 'prestige economy'. We study the archaeological evidence of this world through a combination of ancient textual sources and anthropological theory on the gift.

Essential:

Ridgway D. 1997 Nestor's cup and the Etruscans in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16 (3), 325-44 [online]

Morris I. 1986 Gift and commodity in Archaic Greece in *Man* 21: 1-17 [online]

Sigaud, L. 2002. The Vicissitudes of The Gift, in *Social Anthropology* 10, 3: 335-58 [online]

OR

Miyazaki, H. 2010 Gifts and exchange. In M. C. Beaudry and D. Hicks (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, 246-264. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Recommended:

1. Coldstream N. 1983 Gift exchange in the 8th C BC in R. Hagg (ed) *The Greek Renaissance of the 8th C. Tradition and innovation*. Stockholm, 201-7 [IoA: YATES Quartos A22 HAG]
2. Coldstream, N. 2009 Cypriot taste in early Greek ceramic imports in *Ancient West and East* 8, 21-36 [IoA Pers]
3. Donlan W. 1989 The unequal exchange between Glaucus and Diomedes in light of the Homeric gift economy, *Phoenix* 43: 1-15 [online]
4. Donlan W. 1998 Political reciprocity in Dark Age Greece: Odysseus and his 'hetairoi' in CJ Gill, N. Postlethwaite and R. Seaford (eds) *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, 51-71
5. Morris I. 1986 The Use and Abuse of Homer, *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 81-138 [online]
6. Kurke L. 1991 *The traffic in praise. Pindar and the poetics of social economy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Part II [Main: CLASSICS GS 84 KUR]
7. Morris I. 1989 Circulation, Deposition and the Formation of the Greek Iron Age, *Man*, New Series, Vol. 24, No. 3, 502-519 [online]
8. Riva C. 2005 Picene communities along trans-Appennine routes, in P. Attema, A. Nijboer and A. Zifferero (eds) *Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1452(I). Archeopress, Oxford, 118-126 [IoA: DAF Quarto ATT]
9. Riva C. 2004 Keeping up with the Etruscans? Picene élites in Central Italy during the Orientalising period, in *Accordia Research Papers*, Volume 9 2001-2003, Accordia Research Institute, University of London, 69-91 [IoA Pers]
10. Seaford 2004 *Money and the early Greek mind. Homer, philosophy, tragedy*. Cambridge, Ch 2 (Homeric transactions) [Main: Classics GC 18 SEA]
11. Van Wees H. 1992 *Status warriors*, pgs.210-227 (on how the degree of non-convertibility of goods between the prestige sphere and the subsistence sphere in Homer is somewhat less than has sometimes been supposed) [Main: short loan WEE]

12. Tandy D. W. 1997 *Warriors into Traders*. Chapter 6 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 68 TAN]

Anthropology on the gift:

1. Graeber, D. 2001 *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. New York: Palgrave, pgs 151-228 [Science: ANTHROPOLOGY D 210 GRA – several copies]
2. Bourdieu P. 1977 *Outline of a Theory of practice*, 5-8, 171, 195-6 (on gift-exchange) [Science: Anthropology D 13 BOU – several copies]
3. Mauss M. 1967 *The gift*. [IoA: BD MAU; Science: Anthropology D 225 MAU – several copies]
4. Parry, J. 1986. The Gift, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift.' *Man* 21, 3: 453–73 [online]

Lecture 11: Phoenician trade

Phoenician trade is, according to some, one of the most enduring and remarkable trade networks of the ancient Mediterranean. With new evidence now available from the Iberian peninsula that speaks of very early contacts, we are still debating the motives behind the expansion of this network, but thanks to comparative studies across the Mediterranean basin we are now able to appreciate the remarkable diversity of trading groups whom we still insist on calling, rather infelicitously, Phoenician.

Essential:

Ruiz-Gálvez M. 2015 Before 'the gates of Tartessos': indigenous knowledge and exchange networks in the late Bronze Age far west in B. A. Knapp and P. van Dommelen (eds) *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge, 196-214 [online]

Michael Sommer 2007 Networks of Commerce and Knowledge in the Iron Age: The Case of the Phoenicians, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 22:1, 97-111 [online]

Gonzàles De Canales F., L. Serrano and J. Llompart 2009 The two phases of western Phoenician expansion beyond the Huelva finds: an interpretation in *Ancient West and East* 8, 1-20 [online] **compare with:**

Fletcher R. N. 2012 Opening the Mediterranean: Assyria, the Levant and the transformation of Early Iron Age trade, *Antiquity* 86, 211-220 [online]

Recommended:

1. Aubet M.E. 1995 From trading post to town in the Phoenician-Punic world in Iberia in B. Cunliffe and S. Keay (eds), *Social complexity and the development of towns in Iberia. From the Copper Age to the second century AD* (Proceedings of the British Academy 86). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 47-65 [IoA: DAP CUN; TC: 3621; Main: HUMANITIES Pers]
2. Aubet M.E. 2006 On the organization of the Phoenician colonial system in Iberia in C. Riva and N. Vella (eds.) *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to*

- Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. London: Equinox, 94-109 [IoA: DAG 100 RIV; Issue Desk: RIV1]
3. Aubet, M.E. 2001. *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade* (2nd edn) Chapter 4 [IoA: DAG 100 AUB and Issue Desk]
 4. López Castro J.L. 2006 Colonials, merchants and alabaster vases: the western Phoenician aristocracy, *Antiquity* 80, 307-74-88 [online]
 5. Markoe G. 2003 Phoenician metalwork abroad: a question of export or on-site production? in N. Ch. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Ploes. Sea Routes ... Interconnections in the Mediterranean, c. 1600-600 BC*, Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Rethymnon, Crete September 29th-October 2, 2002, Athens, 209-216 [IoA DAG 100 Qto STA]
 6. Stager L. S. 2003 Phoenician shipwrecks in the Deep Sea, in N. Ch. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Ploes. Sea Routes ... Interconnections in the Mediterranean, c. 1600-600 BC*, Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Rethymnon, Crete September 29th-October 2, 2002, Athens, 222-247 [IoA DAG 100 Qto STA]
 7. Master, D.M. 2003. 'Trade and Politics: Ashkelon's Balancing Act in the Seventh Century B.C.E.', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 330, 47-64. [online].
 8. Markoe G. 1992 In pursuit of metal: Phoenicians and Greeks in Italy in G. Kopcke and I. Tokumaru (eds) *Greece between East and West, 10th-8th centuries BC*. Mainz: von Zabern, 61-84 [IoA: DAG 100 Qto KOP]
 9. Waldbaum J.C. 1994 Early Greek contacts with the southern Levant, ca.1000-600 BC. The Eastern perspective in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 293, 53-66 [online]
 10. Niemeyer, H.G. 2004. 'The Phoenicians and the Birth of a Multinational Mediterranean Society', in: R. Rollinger & C. Ulf (eds), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction (Melammu Symposia V)*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 245 ff [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 68 ROL].
 11. Winter I. 1995 Homer's Phoenicians: history, ethnography, or literary trope? in J.B. Carter and S. Morris (eds.) *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*. Austin: University of Texas, 247-271 [Main: CLASSICS QUARTOS GN 10 CAR]
 12. Negbi O. 1992 Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal in *American Journal of Archaeology* 96: 599-615 [online]
 13. Muhly J. 1998 Copper, tin, silver and iron: the search for metallic ores as an incentive for foreign expansion, in S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern (eds) *Mediterranean peoples in transition. Thirteenth to early tenth centuries BCE: in honor of professor Trude Dothan*, 314-352 [IoA Issue Desk]
 14. Docter R.F. and H.G. Niemeyer 1994 Pithekoussai: The Carthaginian Connection. On the archaeological evidence of Euboeo-Phoenician partnership in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., in B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway (eds.) *APOIKIA. I più antichi insediamenti greci in occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, 101-115 [IoA: YATES QUARTOS A 6 BUC]

SESSION 7: CITIES AND SEMINAR 2

Lecture 12: Cities and trade

The growth of Mediterranean towns in the 7th and 6th centuries BC led to a change in the scale of production and exchange from the household level to larger socio-economic units. How did this change come about and what role did towns play in relation to their agricultural hinterland? Were cities pivotal for expanding trade links?

Essential:

Osborne R. G. 1991 *Pride and Prejudice, Sense and Sensibility: Exchange and Society in the Greek City*, in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds) *City and Country in the Ancient World*, New York, pp. 119-145 [IoA: YATES K 100 RIC; TC 3725]

Riva C. 2015 *Connectivity beyond the urban community in Central Italy* in B. A. Knapp and P. van Dommelen (eds) *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge, 437-453 [online]

Zimmermann Munn M. L. 2003 *Corinthian Trade with the Punic West in the Classical Period*, in *Corinth*, Vol. 20, Corinth, The Centenary: 1896-1996, pp. 195-217 [online]

For historical and sociological debates on the ancient city:

Finley M. 1977 *The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and beyond*, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Jul., 1977), pp. 305-327 [online]

Recommended:

1. Tandy D. 2004 *Trade and commerce in Archilochos, Sappho, and Alkaios* in R. Rollinger & C. Ulf (eds), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction (Melammu Symposia V)*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 183- [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 68 ROL]
2. Morris, I. 2000. *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece*. Ch. 4 & 5 [IoA: Yates A 20 MOR]
3. Smith C. 1998 *Traders and artisans in archaic central Italy* in H. Parkins and C. Smith (eds) *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City*, London, Routledge, 31-51 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 68 PAR]
4. Purcell, N. 2005 *Colonization and Mediterranean History* in H. Hurst and S. Owen (eds) *Ancient colonisations. Analogy, similarity and difference*. London: Duckworth, 115-139 [IoA AH HUR; TC: 3617]
5. Perkins, P. and Walker, L. 1990 *Field Survey of the Etruscan City at Doganella*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 58, 1-144 [Main: Class Pers]
6. Garnsey P. and I. Morris 1989 *Risk and the polis: the evolution of institutionalised responses to food supply problems in the ancient Greek state* in P. Halstead and J. O'Shea (eds) *Bad year economics. Cultural responses to risk and uncertainty*. Cambridge, 98-105

7. Nixon L. and S. Price 1991 The size and resources of Greek cities, in O. Murray and S. Price (eds) *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 137-170 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 61 MUR]
8. De Angelis F. 2002 Trade and Agriculture at Megara Hyblaia, in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21: 3, 299 – 310 [online]
9. Carter J.C. 2006 *Discovering the Greek countryside at Metaponto*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan [IoA: YATES E 22 MET]
10. De Angelis F. 2003 *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous: The Development of Two Greek City-states in Archaic Sicily*. Oxford, Oxford University School of Archaeology, Ch 4 and 8 [IoA: YATES E 20 DEA]
11. Hansen M.H. 2004 The concept of the consumption city applied to the Greek polis in T. H. Nielsen (ed.) *Once again: studies in the ancient Greek polis* (Stuttgart): 9-47 [Main ANCIENT HISTORY P 60 NIE]
12. Horden P. and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea*, Ch 4
13. Foxhall L. 2002 Access to resources in Classical Greece. The egalitarianism of the polis in practice in P. Cartledge, E. Cohen and L. Foxhall (eds) *Money, labour and land*, 209-221 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 CAR]
14. Osborne R. 1992 'Is It a Farm?' The Definition of Agricultural Sites and Settlements in Ancient Greece, in B. Wells (ed.) *Agriculture in Ancient Greece*, pp. 23-27 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY QUARTOS P 67 WEL]
15. Nijboer, A. J. 1998 *From household production to workshops. Archaeological evidence for economic transformations, pre-monetary exchange and urbanisation in central Italy from 800 to 400 BC*. Groningen: Donkel & Donkel [IoA: DAF 100 NIJ]
16. Cifani, G. 2002 Notes on the rural landscape of central Tyrrhenian Italy in the 6th-5th c. B.C. and its social significance, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 15, 247-260 [IoA Pers]
17. Perkins, P. 1999 *Etruscan settlement, society and material culture in central coastal Etruria* BAR international series 788, Oxford, especially chapter 1 [IoA: DAF Qto PER]
18. Patterson, H. *et al.* 2004 The re-evaluation of the South Etruria Survey: the first results from Veii, in H. Patterson (ed.) *Bridging the Tiber. Approaches to regional archaeology in the Middle Tiber Valley*. London, British School at Rome, 11-28 [IoA: DAF Qto PAT]
19. Riva C. 2010 *The urbanisation of Etruria. Funerary practices and social change, 700-600 BC*. New York, Cambridge University Press, chapter 7 [IoA: DAF 10 RIV]

Seminar 2: Invisible commodities

We have already seen that the range of archaeological sources at our disposal is quite extensive, but archaeologists studying exchange are often frustrated by the little preservation (or, in worst cases, lack thereof) of those goods that *must* have been key to Mediterranean exchange. In this seminar, each student's contribution will make a case for those goods on the basis of one article that she/he is asked to read (if you cannot find the

article in the library, please email me WELL IN ADVANCE; do not leave it at the last minute).

Human beings as commodities (slaves):

Alcock S.E. 2002 A simple case of exploitation? The helots of Messenia, in P. Cartledge, E. Cohen and L. Foxhall *Money, Labour and Land*. Routledge, 185-199 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 CAR]

Morris I. 2011 The archaeology of Greek slavery, in K. Bradley and P. Cartledge (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Slavery I*. Cambridge UP, 176-93 [Main: HISTORY 82 bu BRA]

Agricultural produce:

Perkins, P. and I. Attolini 1992 An Etruscan farm at Podere Tartuchino. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60: 71-133 [Main: Classics Pers; online]

Haldane C. 1993 Direct Evidence for Organic Cargoes in the Late Bronze Age. *World Archaeology*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 348-360 [online]

Foxhall L. 1993 Oil extraction and processing equipment in Classical Greece in M.-C. Amouretti and J.-P. Brun (eds) *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée = Oil and Wine Production in the Mediterranean Area*, Athens, Paris, 183-200 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 67 AMO]

Koehler C. G. 1995 Wine amphoras in ancient Greek trade in P. McGovern, S. Fleming and S. Katz (eds) *The origins and ancient history of wine*. Philadelphia, 323-337 [IoA: HG MCG]

Lentjes, D. and G. Saltini Semerari 2016 Big debates over small fruits. Oil and wine production in protohistoric southern Italy. *BABesch* 91: 1-16 [ask me for pdf]

Timber:

Meiggs, R. 1982 *Trees and timber in the ancient Mediterranean world*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, chapter 12 [IoA: DAG 4.5 MEI]

Hannestad L. 2007 Timber as a trade resource of the Black Sea, in V. Gabrielsen and J. Lund (eds.), *The Black Sea in Antiquity*. 85-99 [IoA: DAK 15 GAB]

Acquatic resources:

Horden, P. and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea*. 186-97 (wetlands and fish)

Munk Højte J. 2005 The archaeological evidence for fish processing in the Black Sea region in Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen (ed.) *Ancient fishing and fish processing in the Black Sea region*.

Aarhus, 133-160 [IoA: DAK 15 BEK]

SESSION 8: ARCHAIC EMPORIA AND RELIGION

Lecture 13: Archaic emporia: Mediterranean interconnectedness

If there is any settlement that more than any other exemplifies the expanding trade and exchange of the Archaic Mediterranean world that surely must be the trading coastal settlement, or, to use an ancient Greek term, *emporion*. But this is not just a Greek

phenomenon: some of our best known and best excavated sites are found in coastal Etruria and the modern French *Midi*.

Essential:

Ciampoltrini G. and M. Firmati 2002 The blacksmith of Fonteblanda. Artisan and trading activity in the Northern Tyrrhenian in the sixth century BC, in *Etruscan Studies* 9.1 [online]
Demetriou D. 2011 What is an emporion? A reassessment, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 60, H. 3, 255-272 [online]
Gailledrat, E. 2015 New Perspectives on emporia in the Western Mediterranean: Greeks, Etruscans and native populations at the mouth of the Lez (Hérault, Grance) during the sixth-fifth centuries BC. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 28(1): 23-50 [online]

If you have time, read Polanyi:

Polanyi K. 1963 Ports of trade in early societies, in *Journal of Economic History* 23: 36-45 [online]

Recommended:

1. Aylin K. Y. 2011 Imported trade amphoras in Daskyleion from the seventh and sixth centuries BC and the Hellespontine-Phrygia route, *World Archaeology*, 43:3, 364-379 [online]
2. Bresson A. 2003 Merchants and politics in ancient Greece: social and economic aspects in C. Zaccagnini (ed) *Mercanti e politica nel mondo antico*, Rome, 139-163 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 68 ZAC]
3. Demetriou D. 2012 *Negotiating identity in the ancient Mediterranean: the Archaic and Classical Greek multi-ethnic emporia*. Cambridge [Main: Ancient History A 55 DEM]
4. Dietler M. 2010 *Archaeologies of colonialism. Consumption, entanglement, and violence in ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, pgs. 131-156 [IoA: DAC 100 DIE]
5. Horden, P., and N. Purcell 2000 *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, pgs 365-400
6. Johnston A.W. 1972 The rehabilitation of Sostratos, *Parola del Passato* 27, 416-23 [Stores]
7. Harvey F.D. 1976 Sostratos of Aegina, *Parola del Passato* 31, 206-14 [Stores]
8. Figueira T. 1981 *Aegina. Society and politics*. New York, cf. especially Chapter 4 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 31 FIG]
9. Leighton R. 2004 *Tarquinia. An Etruscan City*. London, Duckworth, pgs. 128-131 [IoA: DAF 10 LEI]
10. Möller A. 2000 *Naukratis. Trade in archaic Greece* Oxford, Oxford monographs on Classical Archaeology [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 68 MOL]
11. Purcell N. 2005 The ancient Mediterranean: the view from the custom house in W. V. Harris (ed.) *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200-232 [IoA: DAG 100 HAR]

12. Reed, C. M. 2003 *Maritime traders in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapter 7 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 68 REE]
13. Serra Ridgway, F.R. 1990 Etruscans, Greeks, Carthaginians: the sanctuary at Pyrgi, in J.P. Descoeudres (ed.) *Greek colonists and native populations. Proceedings of the first Australian congress of classical archaeology*, Sidney, July 9-14, 1985. Oxford, Clarendon, 511-530 [IoA:YATES A 6 AUS; TC: 3624]
14. Solovyov, S. L.1999 *Ancient Berezan. The architecture, history and culture of the first Greek colony in the northern Black Sea* (edited by J. Boardman, G. R. Tsetschladze. Leiden: Brill, Part III [IoA: DAK 15 SOL]
15. Villing A. & U. Schlotzhauer (eds), *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt*, British Museum Research Publication 162 [IoA: YATES QUARTOS P 5 VIL].
16. Wilson J.-P. 1997 The nature of Greek overseas settlements in the archaic period: *emporion* or *apoikia*?, in L.G. Mitchell & P.J. Rhodes (eds) *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*, 199-207
17. Wilson J. P. 1998 The 'Illiterate Trader'?, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 42.1, pgs. 29-56 [online]

Lecture 14: Religion, local economies and trade

What was the role of religion in Mediterranean economy and exchange? The question has partly been answered by the analysis of *emporion*, but that's half of the story. The other half is to be sought into the evidence of votive offerings and sacrifice at cult sites, the location of such sites in the productive landscape, and the cults themselves (think of Demeter), and, last but not least, the mobilisation of resources for the construction and maintenance of sacred sites of supra-regional importance.

Essential:

- Glinister F. 2003 Gifts of the Gods. Sanctuary and Society in Archaic Tyrrhenian Italy in J. B. Wilkins and E. Herring (eds) *Inhabiting Symbols: Symbol and Image in the Ancient Mediterranean*. London, Accordia Research Centre/University of London, 137-147 [IoA: DAG 100 Qto WIL; TC: 3627]
- Shaw J. W. 2004 Kommos: the sea-gate to Southern Crete in L. Preston Day, M. S. Mook, J. D. Muhly (eds) *Crete beyond the palaces : proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*, pgs. 43-51 [IoA: DAG 14 DAY; TC 3724]
- Johnston A. 2001/2002 Sailors and sanctuaries of the ancient Greek world in *Archaeology International*, 25-28 [online]

Recommended :

1. Aubet, M. E. 2001. *The Phoenicians and the West. Politics, Colonies and Trade* (translated by M. Turton). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (chapter 5) [IoA: DAG 100 AUB; Issue Desk: AUB]
2. Brody, A. 1998 "*Each man cried out to his God*": *the specialized religion of Canaanite and Phoenician seafarers*. Atlanta: Scholars Press [IoA: DBA 200 BRO]

3. Cole, S. G. 1994 Demeter in the ancient Greek city and its countryside, in S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.). *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 199-216 [IoA: DAE 100 ALC; Main ISSUE DESK ANCIENT HISTORY ALC; Main ANCIENT HISTORY P 74 ALC]
4. Hermary, A. 1998 Votive Offerings in the Sanctuaries of Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete during the Late Geometric and Archaic Period, in: V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis (eds.) *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th-6th Century BC*. Athens: University of Crete & A. G. Leventis Foundation, 265-275 [IoA: DAG 100 Qto KAR]
5. Horden, P. and N. Purcell 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, 423-45 (maritime cults)
6. Isager, S. and J. E. Skydsgaard 1992 *Ancient Greek agriculture. An introduction*. London; New York: Routledge, pgs. 157-98 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 67 ISA]
7. Jameson M. H. 1988 Sacrifice and animal husbandry in Classical Greece, in C. R. Whittaker (ed) *Pastoral economies in Classical Antiquity. The Cambridge Philological Society*. Supplementary volume n. 14, 87-119 (Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 67 WHI]
8. Langdon, S. 1985 Gift Exchange in the Geometric Sanctuaries, in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods (Boreas 15)*, 107-13. Uppsala [IoA: FA LIN]
9. Linders T. and B. Alroth (eds) 1992 *Economics of cult in the ancient Greek world. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1990*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Articles by Isager, Ampolo and Risberg [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY QUARTOS P 64 LIN]
11. Morgan, C. 1990. *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC*. Cambridge, chapter 2 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 74 MOR]
12. Neer R. T. 2001 Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, in *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 273-344 [online]
13. Osborne, R.G. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside*, Chapter 8 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 58 OSB]
14. Snodgrass A. 1983 Heavy Freight in Archaic Greece, in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker, eds., *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, 16-26. Berkeley [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M68 GAR]
15. Prados-Torreira L. 1997 Sanctuaries of the Iberian peninsula: sixth to first centuries BC, in M. Balmuth, A. Gilman and L. Prados-Torreira (eds), *Encounters and transformations. The archaeology of Iberia in transition*. Sheffield: Sheffield academic Press, 151-159 [IoA: DAP Qto BAL]
16. Shaw, J. W. 1998 Kommos in Southern Crete. An Aegean Barometer for East-West Interconnections, in V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis (eds.) *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th-6th Century BC.: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Athens: University of Crete & A. G. Leventis Foundation, 13-27 [IoA: DAG 100 Qto KAR]
17. Strom I. 1992 Evidence from the sanctuaries, in G. Kopcke and I. Tokumaru (eds) *Greece Between East and West: 10th- 8th centuries B. C.*, pgs 46-60

18. Malkin, Irad 2005 Herakles and Melqart. Greeks and Phoenicians in the Middle Ground'. In *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, edited by Erich Gruen. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 72 GRU]

SESSION 9 : CLASSICAL ATHENS, THE GRAIN TRADE AND SEMINAR 3

Lecture 15 : Classical Athens and the Grain Trade

Athens features prominently in many scholarly accounts of the Classical period because of the rich textual evidence we have of it, which gives us plenty of details on the city's economic organization; there is also no question that it played a big-player role in Mediterranean-wide exchange of the Classical period.

Essential:

- Keen A. 1993 Grain for Athens, in *Electronic Antiquity* 1.6 [online]. A good introduction (not a substitution!) to Garnsey 1985 (see recommended)
- MacDonald BR 1981 The emigration of potters from Athens in the late 5th C and its effect on the Attic pottery industry in *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, 159-168 [online]
- De Angelis F. 2006 Going against the Grain in Sicilian Greek Economics in *Greece and Rome* 53 (2006), 29-47 [online]
- Reden S. von 1995 The Piraeus. A world apart, in *Greece and Rome* [online]

Recommended:

1. Adams J. 1994 The institutional theory of trade and the organization of intersocial commerce in ancient Athens, in C. A. M. Duncan and D.W. Tandy (eds) *From political economy to anthropology*. Montreal/London/NY, 80-104 [Main: HISTORY 82 b DUN]
2. Burke E. M. 1992 The economy of Athens in the Classical era: some adjustments to the primitivist model in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122, 199-226 [online]
3. Garnsey P. 1985 Grain for Athens in P.A. Cartledge and F.D. Harvey (eds) *Crux. Essays presented to G.E.M. de Ste Croix on his 75th Birthday (History of Political Thought* 6, 1/2), 62-75 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 6 CAR]
4. Garnsey P. 1988 *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-Roman world*. Chapters 6 & 7 [ANCIENT HISTORY M 67 GAR]
5. Lawall M. L. 2000 Graffiti, Wine Selling, and the Reuse of Amphoras in the Athenian Agora, CA. 430 to 400B.C., in *Hesperia*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 2000), pp. 3-90 [online]
6. MacDonald Brian R. 1982 The Import of Attic Pottery to Corinth and the Question of Trade during the Peloponnesian War, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 102, 113-123 [online]
7. Millett P. 1983 Maritime loans and the structure of credit in fourth-century Athens, in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker, eds., *Trade in the Ancient Economy*,

- 36-52. Berkeley [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M68 GAR] – read in conjunction with Cohen 1990 above
8. Millett P. 1990 Sale, credit and exchange in Athenian law and society, in P. Cartledge, P. Millett & S. Todd (eds) *Nomos. Essays in Athenian law, politics and society*. Cambridge, 167-194 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 62 CAR]
 9. Morris S. P. and J. K. Papadopoulos 2005 Greek Towers and Slaves: An Archaeology of Exploitation, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 109, No. 2, pp. 155-225 [online]
 10. Mossé C. 1983 The 'World of the Emporium' in the private speeches of Demosthenes, in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, C. R. Whittaker (eds.) *Trade in the Ancient Economy*. London, pp. 53-63 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 68 GAR]
 11. Morris, I. 1994 The community against the market in Classical Athens, in C. A. M. Duncan and D.W. Tandy (eds) *From political economy to anthropology*. Montreal/London/NY, 52-79 [Main: HISTORY 82 b DUN]
 12. Papadopoulos J. K. and S. A. Paspalas 1999 Mendaian as Chalkidian Wine, *Hesperia* 68, No. 2, 161-188 [online]
 13. Reed, C. M. 2003 *Maritime traders in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapters 1-6 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 68 REE]
 14. Rosivach VJ 2000 Some aspects of the 4th-C Athenian market in Grain in *Chiron* 30: 31-64 [Main: Classics Pers]

Seminar 3: Greek vases outside Greece (Etruria, Black Sea, Iberia)

Many studies on ancient Mediterranean trade are based on the distribution of pottery across the basin, which might indicate the trade of the pots themselves (e.g. fine ware), or of the contents of the pots (e.g. *amphorae*); much of that pottery is Greek, but not only! Think about, for example, Etruscan *bucchero* ware and *amphorae* found on the northern Tyrrhenian seaboard and beyond (some *bucchero* was even found at Miletus, in Asia Minor). This seminar, however, is concerned with the distribution of Greek fine ware and the question of what we can learn from the study of that distribution and/or of the pots themselves. Each of the following articles is a little-case study: each contribution tries to answer this question on the basis of one of these articles (if you cannot find the article in the library, please email me WELL IN ADVANCE; do not leave it at the last minute).

Each student reads an article:

- 1 Hannestad L. 1988 Athenian pottery in Etruria in *Acta Archeologica* 59, 113-30 [IoA Pers]
- 2 Langridge-Noti E. 2013 Consuming iconographies, in A. Tsingarida *et al.* (eds) *Pottery's markets in Ancient Greek World (8th-1st c. B.C.)* (Brussels: CREA) [IoA: YATES Quartos P6 TSI]
- 3 Osborne R. 1996 Pots, trade and the Archaic Greek economy, *Antiquity* 70,31-44 [online]
- 4 Osborne R. 2007 What Travelled with Greek Pottery? in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22.1, 85 - 95 [online]

- 5 Lynch K. 2009 Erotic images on Attic vases: markets and meanings, in J. H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds) *Athenian potters and painters*. Volume II. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 159-165 [IoA: YATES QUARTOS P 6 OAK]
- 6 Lyons C. 2009 Nikosthenic pyxides between Etruria and Greece, in H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds) *Athenian potters and painters*. Volume II. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 166-175 [IoA: YATES QUARTOS P 6 OAK]
- 7 Papadopoulos J. K. 2009 The relocation of potters and the dissemination of style: Athens, Corinth, Ambrakia and the Agrinion Group, in H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds) *Athenian potters and painters*. Volume II. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 232-240 [IoA: Issue Desk]
- 8 Shefton B. 1995 Greek Imports at the Extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: Reflections on the Case of Iberia in the Fifth Century B.C., in B. Cunliffe and S. Key (eds) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia from the Copper Age to the Second Century A .D.*, Oxford, pp. 127-155 [IoA: DAP CUN; Main: HUMANITIES Pers]

SESSION 10: CONNECTION THROUGH EUROPE AND MONEY

Lecture 16: connections through the west and Europe

Can we study Mediterranean exchange within the geographical limits of the Mediterranean? This lecture looks at the expansion of Mediterranean trade contacts into Continental Europe and beyond.

Essential :

- Arafat K. & Morgan C. 1994 Athens, Etruria and the Heuneburg: mutual misconceptions in the study of Greek-barbarian relations in I. Morris (ed.) *Classical Greece. Ancient histories and modern archaeologies*, 108-134 [IoA: A 20 MOR and Issue Desk] – see A. Sherratt’s response to this and the authors’ response in turn in Shorter Notes of *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* (1995), 5 : pp 139-153 [online]
- Dietler M. 1997 The Iron Age in Mediterranean France. Colonial Encounters, Entanglements, and Transformations in *Journal of World Prehistory* 11, 269-358 [online]
- González-Ruibal, A. 2006 Past the Last Outpost: Punic Merchants in the Atlantic Ocean (5th–1st century BC), in *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 19 (1), 121-150 [online]

Recommended:

1. Cabrera P. 1998 Greek trade with the Iberian world: the extent of interaction, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 17, 191-206 [online]
2. Camporeale G. 2001 The Etruscans in Europe in *idem* (ed.) *The Etruscans outside Etruria*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, pgs 102-129 [IoA: DAF 100 BER]
3. Collis J. 1984 *The European Iron Age*, chapter 4 [IoA: DA 160 COL]
4. Dietler M. 1990 Driven by Drink: The Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France in *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 9, 352-406 [online]

5. Dietler M. 2005 *Consumption and colonial encounters in the Rhône basin of France. A study of early iron age political economy*. Lattes, édition de l'Association pour le Développement de l'Archéologie en Languedoc-Roussillon, see especially chapters 1, 3, 7-8 [IoA : DAC 100 DIE]
6. Dietler, M. 2007. The Iron Age in the western Mediterranean, in W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco- Roman World*, 242-276 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 64 SCH]
7. Dietler M. 2010 *Archaeologies of colonialism. Consumption, entanglement, and violence in ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, pgs. 75-122
8. Dietler M. and C. López-Ruiz (eds) 2009 *Colonial encounters in ancient Iberia. Phoenician, Greek, and indigenous relations*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, parts I-IV [IoA: DAPA 100 DIE]
9. Dominguez AJ and C. Sanchez 2001 *Greek pottery from the Iberian peninsula*, Leyde [IoA: YATES P 5 DOM] – the publication is a catalogue but has up-to-date discussions on Greek pottery imports in Iberia and local contexts
10. Long L, P. Pomey and J-C Sourisseau (eds) 2002 *Les Étrusques en mer. Épaves d'Antibes à Marseille Aix-en-Provence*, Edisud [IoA: YATES QUARTOS A 35 LON]
11. Nash Briggs, D. 2003 Metals, salt, and slaves: economic links between Gaul and Italy from the eighth to the late sixth centuries BC, in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22.3: 243-59 [online]
12. Shefton B. 1994 Massalia and colonization in the north-western Mediterranean in G. Tsetschladze & F. De Angelis (eds) *The archaeology of Greek colonization. Essays dedicated to J. Boardman*, 61-86 [IoA: YATES A 20 TSE]
13. Shefton B. 1995 Greek Imports at the Extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: Reflections on the Case of Iberia in the Fifth Century B.C., in B. Cunliffe and S. Key (eds) *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia from the Copper Age to the Second Century A .D.*, Oxford, pp. 127-155 [IoA: DAP CUN; Main: HUMANITIES Pers]

Lecture 17: Coinage and monetary exchange: two sides of the same coin?

We close this course by returning to a key concept already explored, value, by looking at the 'invention' and use of coinage. The focus will be on the Greek world because it was among the Greeks that coinage was first used and began circulating widely. While for a long time attention has been on the origins of coinage, more recently mostly ancient historians have begun asking questions about the ideologies and institutions underlying the use and circulation of coinage.

Essential :

von Reden S. 1997 Money, law and exchange: coinage in the Greek polis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117, 154-176 [online]

Papadopoulos, J.K. 2002 Minting Identity: Coinage, Ideology and the Economics of Colonization in Akhaian Magna Graecia, in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12, 21–55 [online]

Seaford R. 2012 Monetisation and the Genesis of the Western Subject, *Historical Materialism* 20.1, 78-102 [online]

Thompson, C. M. 2003 Sealed Silver in Iron Age Cisjordan and the 'invention' of coinage, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 22: 67–107 [online]

Recommended:

1. Davies J. K. 2001 Temples, credits and the circulation of money, in A. Meadows and A. Shipton (eds) *Money and its uses in the ancient Greek world*, 117-128 [IoA: YATES QUARTOS R 20 MEA; Main: ANCIENT HISTORY QUARTOS P 69 MEA]
2. Howgego, C. J. 1995 *Ancient history from coins*. London: Routledge, chapters 1 & 5 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY A 4 HOW]
3. Kroll J H 2001 Observations on monetary instruments in pre-coinage Greece in M.S. Balmuth (ed.) *Hacksilber to Coinage. New insights into the history of money in the Near East and Greece*. New York [IoA: KM Qto BAL]
4. Kallet-Marx, L. 1994 Money Talks: Rhetor, Demos, and the Resources of the Athenian Empire, in R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (eds) *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, 227–51. Oxford [ANCIENT HISTORY P 60 OSB]
5. Kim H. S. 2001 Archaic coinage as evidence for the use of money, in A. Meadows and A. Shipton (eds) *Money and its uses in the ancient Greek world*, 7-21 [IoA: YATES QUARTOS R 20 MEA; Main: ANCIENT HISTORY QUARTOS P 69 MEA]
6. Kraay C. M. 1964 Hoards, Small Change and the Origin of Coinage, in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 84, pp. 76-91 [online]
7. Kurke L . 1999 *Coins, bodies, games and gold: the politics of meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton, chapter 1 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 72 KUR]
8. Kurke L. 2002 Money and mythic history: the contestation of transactional orders in the 5th century BC, in W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds) *The ancient economy*. Edinburgh, 87-113 [Main: Ancient History M 64 SCH]
9. Papadopoulos J. 2012 Money, Art, and the Construction of Value in the Ancient Mediterranean, in J.K. Papadopoulos and G. Urton, eds., *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, Los Angeles, 261-287 [IoA: AH PAP]
10. Schaps D. M. 2004 *The invention of coinage and the monetization of ancient Greece*. Chapters 6-11 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 69 SCH]
11. Seaford C. 2004 *Money and the early Greek mind. Homer, philosophy, tragedy*. Cambridge, Chapters 5-8 [Main: CLASSICS GC 18 SEA]
12. Reden, S. von 2010 *Money in classical antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY M 69 RED]

4. ONLINE RESOURCES

The full text of this handbook is also available on the Institute's website with clickable links to Moodle and online reading lists if applicable.

5. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Libraries and other resources

In addition to the Library of the Institute of Archaeology, other libraries in UCL with holdings of particular relevance to this degree are the Classics and Ancient History sections of the Main UCL Library.

Information for intercollegiate and interdepartmental students

Students enrolled in Departments outside the Institute should obtain the Institute's coursework guidelines from Judy Medrington (email j.medrington@ucl.ac.uk), which will also be available on the IoA website.

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY COURSEWORK PROCEDURES

General policies and procedures concerning courses and coursework, including submission procedures, assessment criteria, and general resources, are available on the IoA Student Administration section of Moodle:

<https://moodle.ucl.ac.uk/course/view.php?id=40867>

It is essential that you read and comply with these. Note that some of the policies and procedures will be different depending on your status (e.g. undergraduate, postgraduate taught, affiliate, graduate diploma, intercollegiate, interdepartmental). If in doubt, please consult your course co-ordinator.

GRANTING OF EXTENSIONS:

Note that there are strict UCL-wide regulations with regard to the granting of extensions for coursework. Note that Course Coordinators are not permitted to grant extensions. All requests for extensions must be submitted on a the appropriate UCL form, together with supporting documentation, via Judy Medrington's office and will then be referred on for consideration. Please be aware that the grounds that are acceptable are limited. Those with long-term difficulties should contact UCL Student Disability Services to make special arrangements. Please see [the IoA Student Administration section of Moodle](#) for further information. Additional information is given here

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/srs/academic-manual/c4/extenuating-circumstances/>