

**Potential changes in light of the COVID-19 pandemic**

Please note that information regarding teaching, learning and assessment in this module handbook endeavours to be as accurate as possible. However, in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, the changeable nature of the situation and the possibility of updates in government guidance, there may need to be changes during the course of the year. UCL will keep current students updated of any changes to teaching, learning and assessment on the [Students' webpages](#). This also includes Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) which may help you with any queries that you may have.

**ARCL0075: ECONOMY AND TRADE IN THE IRON AGE MEDITERRANEAN**

2022-23, Term 1

Year 2/3 module  
15 credits**B13, 9-11 Fridays**Co-ordinator: Corinna Riva  
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Office: IoA 406; Online office hours by appointment



Please refer to the online IoA Student Handbook (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/current-students/ioa-student-handbook>) and IoA Study Skills Guide (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/current-students/ioa-study-skills-guide>) for instructions on coursework submission, IoA referencing guidelines and marking criteria, as well as UCL policies on penalties for late submission.

## 1. MODULE OVERVIEW

### Module description

This course provides students with an overview on Mediterranean interaction during the Iron Age (broadly conceived, namely *circa* 1000 BC-late 5<sup>th</sup> 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.

### Module Aims

The course aims to provide students with an overview on Iron Age Mediterranean 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 Iron Age 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 1<sup>st</sup>-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

### Methods of Assessment

This course is assessed by means of two essays: essay 1 (1,500-word limit) counts 40% towards the final mark of the course; essay 2 (2,500-word limit) counts 60%.

### Communications

- **Moodle is the main hub** for this course.
- Important information will be posted by staff in the **Announcements section of the Moodle page** and you will automatically receive an email notification for these.
- Please post any general queries relating to module content, assessments and administration in **the MS Teams Module forum** (link: <https://teams.microsoft.com/l/team/19%3a4517c0ea2f9c42a8a1d530d50577849f%40thread.tacv2/conversations?groupId=a0d94865-9c39-4e24-bbc2-9864d01ae2b8&tenantId=1faf88fe-a998-4c5b-93c9-210a11d9a5c2>) (or via email if you prefer). The forum will be checked regularly.
- For personal queries, please contact the co-ordinator by email.

## Week-by-week summary

Week	Date	Topic	Lecturers
1	7 Oct 9-11	Introduction and sources I	CR
2	14 Oct 9-11	Sources II and Theories	CR
3	21 Oct 9-11	Connectivity and Value	CR
4	28 Oct 9-11	Consumption and <b>Seminar I</b>	CR
5	4 Nov 9-11	Mycenaean trade and Bronze/Iron Age transition	CR & BLH
6	11 November: READING WEEK		
7	18 Nov 9-11	Gift Exchange and Phoenician Trade	CR
8	25 Nov 9-11	Cities and <b>Seminar 2</b>	CR
9	2 Dec 9-11	Archaic Emporia and Religion	CR
10	9 Dec 9-11	Athens, Grain Trade and Money and <b>Seminar 3</b>	CR
11	16 Dec 9-11	Connections through Europe and wrapping	CR

Lecturers (or other contributors): Corinna Riva (CR), Borja Legarra Herrero (BHL)

## Weekly Module Plan

The module is taught through lectures and discussions. Students will be required to either undertake set readings and/or complete pre-class activities in order to be able to participate and follow in the discussions, and make (non-examined) short presentations for the three seminars on this module. These activities, when applicable, will be posted on Moodle a week in advance.

## Workload

This is a 15-credit module which equates to 150 hours of learning time including session preparation, background reading, and researching and writing your assignments. With that in mind you should expect to organise your time in roughly this way:

20 hours	<i>Staff-led teaching sessions (lectures, seminars, tutorials, discussion-board sessions)</i>
60 hours	<i>Self-guided session preparation (reading, listening, note-taking and online activities), about 6 hours a week</i>
30 hours	<i>Reading for, and writing 1<sup>st</sup> essay</i>
40 hours	<i>Reading for, and writing, 2<sup>nd</sup> essay</i>

## 2. ASSESSMENT

Each assignment and possible approaches to it will be discussed in class, in advance of the submission deadline. If students are unclear about the nature of an assignment, they should discuss this with the Module Co-ordinator in advance (via office hours or class Moodle forum). You will receive feedback on your written coursework via Moodle, and have the opportunity to discuss your marks and feedback with the co-ordinator in their office hours.

For more details see the 'Assessment' section on Moodle. The [IoA marking criteria](#) can be found in the IoA Student Handbook (Section 12- information on assessment) and the [IoA Study Skills Guide](#) provides useful guidance on writing different types of assignment.

Please note that **late submission, exceeding the maximum word count** and **academic misconduct (plagiarism)** will be penalized and can significantly reduce the mark awarded for the assignment and/or overall module result. On requirements, please do consult

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/current-students/ioa-student-handbook/12-information-assessment> with sections 12.8: submission deadlines, 12.10: word count, 12.12–14: academic integrity.

### **Assessment 1: Essay 1 (1,500-word limit)**

**Answer the following:** Big questions and debates have driven studies on ancient Mediterranean economic systems; a central one has been the debate between substantivists and formalists. What is this debate about? Is it still relevant today? If so, why? If not, why not?

**Reading:** consult the Essential and Recommended Reading of Topic 4 and the Reading for Seminar 1 (see also Online Reading List, but **NB: Recommended reading in this handbook does not always correspond to the Online Reading List**)

**Deadline:** Tuesday 15 November 2022

### **Assessment 2: Essay 2 (2,500-word limit)**

**Choose to answer one of the following:**

- 1) What is Mediterranean connectivity and how helpful is it for our understanding of Mediterranean exchange?
- 2) How have archaeologists and anthropologists approached the concept of value?
- 3) What is consumption? Is it useful for understanding Mediterranean exchange? If so, how? If not, why not?
- 4) How does Lefkandi has shaped our views over the changing economic conditions and exchange dynamics of the early Iron Age Aegean?
- 5) How easily can we identify practices of gift exchange in the archaeological evidence of 1<sup>st</sup>-millennium BC Mediterranean?
- 6) Were economic motives behind Phoenician colonial expansion across the Mediterranean?
- 7) What was the relationship between a town and its hinterland? How can archaeological evidence help us in understanding this relationship?
- 8) What is an *emporion*? What role did *emporion* play in Mediterranean Archaic trade?
- 9) What was the role of religion in Mediterranean economy and exchange?
- 10) In what ways did Mediterranean trade change in the Classical period? What evidence do we have of those changes?
- 11) What ideologies and institutions made the use and circulation of coinage possible in the Greek world?
- 12) Is it correct to think of the origins of coinage as an invention?

**Reading:** each of the above questions is keyed to one of the two weekly topics; the reading for each is to be found therefore under the Essential and Recommended reading for the topic in question (see Online Reading List, but **NB: Recommended reading in this handbook does not always correspond to the Online Reading List**)

**Deadline:** Tuesday 10 January 2023

### 3. Resources and Preparation for Class

#### Preparation for class

You are expected to read **one/two essential readings, as indicated on Moodle, as well as watching the pre-recorded lectures and/or podcasts or reflect on links** each week, which will be posted on Moodle. Completing the readings is essential for your effective participation in the activities and discussions that we will do, and it will greatly enhance your understanding of the material covered. Specific readings are assigned for the two seminars. **Further readings are provided via the online-reading list** for you to get a sense of the range of current work on a given topic and for you to draw upon for your assessments. **NB: Recommended reading in this handbook does not always correspond to the Online Reading List**

**Online reading list:** <https://rl.talis.com/3/ucl/lists/AB282A16-EEA8-642B-B14F-2A605AB1649F.html?draft=1&lang=en&login=1>

#### Recommended basic texts and online resources

Four useful books to consult throughout the course are:

**Gleba, M., B. Dimova, & B. Marín-Aguilera** (eds) 2021 *Making cities: economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000-500 BC*, Cambridge: MacDonal Institute [online]

**Harris E.M., D.M. Lewis and M. Woolmer** (eds) 2017 *The Ancient Greek Economy. Markets, Households and City-states*, Cambridge [online]

**Horde 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* [online]

Those are not familiar with the region read the following:

**Bell S. and A. Carpino** (eds) 2016 *A Companion to the Etruscans*. Wiley Blackwell [online]

**Celestino Pérez, S., and C. López-Ruiz** 2016 *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia*. Oxford [IoA: DAP CEL]

**P. van Dommelen and B. Knapp** (eds) 2014 *The Cambridge prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge [online] – a good manual with specific studies on various regions of the Mediterranean, especially in Iberia, a region far too neglected in Anglophone scholarship

**López Ruiz, C.** 2021 *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*. Harvard University Press [online]

**Pappa E.** 2013 *Early Iron Age exchange in the West. Phoenicians in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic*. Leuven [IoA: DAG 100 Qto PAP]

**Osborne R.** 2009 *Greece in the making 1200-479 BC* [online]

#### 4. Syllabus (for Recommended Reading see also Online Reading List)

##### SESSION 1: INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES I

###### **Topic 1: Introduction**

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

###### **Topic 2: The sources I**

What sources are available to us in order to study and understand exchange in 1<sup>st</sup>-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, B.** 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:

**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 [online]. A good survey of occupations

**Cartledge P.** 2002 The political economy of Greek slavery in P. Cartledge, E. Cohen and L. Foxhall *Money, Labour and Land*. Routledge, 156-166 [online]

###### Anthropological sources:

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

###### 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]

###### Mediterranean historical ethnography and peasant studies:

**Forbes H.** 2007 *Meaning and Identity in a Greek landscape: an Archaeological Ethnography*. Cambridge, chs 4, 6 [online]

##### SESSION 2: SOURCES II AND THEORIES

###### **Topic 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:*

**Gill D.** 1988 Silver Anchors and cargoes of oil, in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56, 1-13 [online]

**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]

*Recommended:*

Survey & archaeological landscapes:

**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]

Archaeological (mainly pottery, for organic material cf. Seminar 2 reading):

**Abdelhamid, S.** 2013 Against the throw-away-mentality: The reuse of amphoras in ancient maritime transport. In H. P. Hahn & H. Weiss (Eds.), *Mobility, Meaning and Transformations of Things: shifting contexts of material culture through time and space* (pp. 91–106). Oxbow Books [online]

**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]

**Lawall, M. L.** 2000 Graffiti, Wine Selling, and the Reuse of Amphoras in the Athenian Agora, CA. 430 to 400 B.C. *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 69(1), 3–90 [online]

Epigraphical:

**Johnston A.** 2004 Amphorae and text, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*, tome 116. 2. Antiquité, 735-760; (online)

**Topic 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 M.** 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] – **entirely optional** in case you wish to see what the original Finley thought about in the 1960s

**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:*

**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]

**Cartledge P.** 2002 The economy (economies) of ancient Greece in W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds) *The ancient economy*. Edinburgh, 11-32 [online]

**Gerth H. H. and C. Wright Mills** 2009 *From Max Weber. Essays in sociology*. London, Introduction [online]. An introduction to Weberian sociology.

- Meikle S.** 1995 Modernism, economics and the ancient economy in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 41, 174-191 [online]. On the difference between use value and exchange value as a way out of the primitivist/modernist dilemma.
- 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.
- Morris I.** 1999 Foreword of the updated edition, in M. Finley *The ancient economy* [online]. On Finley's debt to Max Weber's historical sociology.
- Morris I.** 2002 Hard Surfaces in P. Cartledge, E. Cohen and L. Foxhall *Money, Labour and Land*. Routledge, 8-43 [online]
- Morris I., R. Saller and W. Scheidel** 2007 Introduction in *idem The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, 1-12 [online]. On the historiography and development of studies on the ancient economy since Weber.
- Polanyi K.** 1968 *Primitive, Archaic and modern economies* (ed. G. Dalton). New York, chapters 5, 13 [Main: ANTHROPOLOGY D 200 POL and online]
- 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 and online]. A brief summary of the development of Finley's thought.

### SESSION 3: CONNECTIVITY AND VALUE

#### **Topic 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:*

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

- Halstead, P. and O'Shea, J.** (eds.) 1989. *Bad Year Economics: Cultural Responses to Risk and Uncertainty*. Ch. 8 [online]
- Osborne, R.G.** 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside*, Chapters 2 & 4 [online]
- 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:

- Bevan A.** 2014 Mediterranean containerization, *Current Anthropology* 55, 37-418 [online]
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou & K. Panagopoulou** 2007 Preface: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 22:1, 1-9 [online]
- Paleothodoros, D.** 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:

**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]

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]

**Topic 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.

*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 [online]

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

**Riva, C.** 2021 Commodities, the instability of the gift and the codification of cultural encounters in Archaic southern Etruria', in Margarita Gleba, Bela Dimova and Beatrice Marín-Aguilera (eds.), *Making cities: economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000-500 BC*, Cambridge: McDonald Institute Monographs. 219-27 [online]

*Recommended:*

**Donlan W.** 1981 Scale, Value and Function in the Homeric economy in *American Journal of Ancient History* 6: 101-117 [online]

**Humphrey, C. and S. Hugh-Jones** (eds) 1992 *Barter, Exchange and value: an anthropological approach*. Cambridge, ch. 1, 7 [online]

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

**Gosden C. And Y. Marshall** 1999 The Cultural Biography of Objects, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 169-178 [online]

**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 [online]

**Miller D.** 2008 The uses of value, in *Geoforum* 39, 1122-1132 [online]

**Vickers M.** 1985 Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metal Work on Athenian Painted Pottery, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 105, pgs. 108-128 [online]

**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 18<sup>th</sup> century shaped our notions of valuable Greek pots

**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]

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

SESSION 4: CONSUMPTION AND SEMINAR 1**Topic 7: Consumption and material culture**

When studying Mediterranean exchange scholars usually talk about production, redistribution, and consumption. Consumption has 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 [online]

**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. [online]

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

*Recommended*

**Berry C.** 1994 *The idea of luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chs 1 & 2 [online]

**Foxhall L.** 2007 *Olive cultivation in ancient Greece: seeking the ancient economy*. Oxford, Ch. 4 'The domestic consumption of olive oil' [online]

**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]

**Kurke L.** 1997 Inventing the "Hetaira": Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece, in *Classical Antiquity*, 16.1, pp. 106-150 [online]

**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 [online]

**Miller D.** 2005 (ed.) *Materiality*. Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, Introduction [online]

**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 [online]

**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 [online]

**van der Veen M.** 2003 When Is Food a Luxury? *World Archaeology*, 34.3, 405-427 [online]

**Ward C.** 2003 Pomegranates in Eastern Mediterranean Contexts during the Late Bronze Age, *World Archaeology*, 34.3, 529-541 [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 passé and sterile, and yet, there still remain some unresolved issues. What are those issues?

There will be two groups debating on either side (formalists or substantivists): in each group, students can pick which article to read (the reading can be shared, depending on size of the class) and present together what they have read in class, critically explaining how the reading defends a specific position.

*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

### **Topic 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:*

**Broodbank, C.** 2013. *The Making of the Middle Sea*. London: Thames and Hudson. CHAPTER 8 [online]

**Sherratt, S.** 2010: The Aegean and the Wider World: Some Thoughts on a World-Systems Perspective. In Parkinson, W.A. & Galaty, M.L. (eds.), *Archaic State Interaction. The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age*. (School for Advanced Research.) [online]

#### *Recommended*

**Bell, C.** 2012 The merchants of Ugarit: oligarchs of the Late Bronze Age trade in metals? In J. d. Muhly, V. Kassianidou, & G. Papasavvas; (eds.) *Eastern Mediterranean metallurgy and metalwork in the second millennium BC*. 180-187. Oxford [online]

**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 [online]

**Burns, B.** 2010. *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce and the Formation of Identity*.

Feldman, M. 2006. *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an 'International Style' in the Ancient Near East, 1400-1200 BCE*.

**Mee, C.** 2008 Mycenaean Greece, the Aegean and beyond, in C. Shelmerdine (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, 362-86. [online]

**Pulak C.** 1998 The Uluburun shipwreck: an overview, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 188-224 [online]

**Sherratt, A. 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*, 351-386 [TEACHING COLLECTION INST ARCH 507]

Stein, G. J. 1999. Rethinking World-Systems: Power, Distance, and Diasporas in the Dynamics of Interregional Interaction. In N. P. Kardoulias (Ed.), *World-System Theory in Practice. Leadership, Production, and Exchange* (pp. 153-178). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc. [online]

**Tartaron, T.** 2013. *Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World* [online]

### **Topic 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]

- Nijboer A. J.** 2021 Entanglements and the elusive transfer of technological know-how, 1000-700 BC: elite prerogatives and migratory swallows in the western Mediterranean, in M Gleba, B. Dimova and B. Marin-Aguilera (eds.), *Making cities: economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000-500 BC*, Cambridge: McDonald Institute Monographs, ch. 21 [online]
- 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*

- 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 [online]
- Donlan W.** 1989 Homeric τέμενος and the land economy of the Dark Age in *Museum Helveticum* 46, 3: 129-145 [online]
- Dickinson, O.** 2006. *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and Change Between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC*, Ch 7 [online]
- 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 29<sup>th</sup>-October 2, 2002, Athens, 249-260 [IoA DAG 100 Qto STA]
- Kroll J H** 2008 Early Iron Age balance weights at Lefkandi, Euboea in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27(1). 37-48 [online]
- 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 [online]
- 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]
- 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 [online]
- 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 [online]
- Lemos, I.** 2012 Euboea and Central Greece in the Postpalatial and Early Greek Periods. *Archaeological Reports*, 58, pp 19-27 [online]

### SESSION 6: GIFT-EXCHANGE AND PHOENICIAN TRADE

#### **Topic 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. [online]

*Recommended:*

- Coldstream, N.** 2009 Cypriot taste in early Greek ceramic imports in *Ancient West and East* 8, 21-36 [online]
- Donlan W.** 1989 The unequal exchange between Glaucus and Diomedes in light of the Homeric gift economy, *Phoenix* 43: 1-15 [online]
- 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
- Morris I.** 1986 The Use and Abuse of Homer, *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 81-138 [online]
- Nakassis D., M. L. Galaty and W. A. Parkinson** (eds) 2016 Discussion and Debate: Reciprocity in Aegean Palatial Societies: Gifts, Debt, and the Foundations of Economic Exchange, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 29.1, 61-132 [online]
- Stergiou G.** 2020 Isthmian 2: Commodity or gift? *Greece and Rome* 67.1, 43-53 [online]
- Morris I.** 1989 Circulation, Deposition and the Formation of the Greek Iron Age, *Man*, New Series, Vol. 24, No. 3, 502-519 [online]
- 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 [online]
- Seaford, R.** 2004 *Money and the early Greek mind. Homer, philosophy, tragedy.* Cambridge, Ch 2 (Homeric transactions) [online]
- Tandy D. W.** 1997 *Warriors into Traders.* Chapter 6 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 68 TAN]

**Topic 11: Phoenician trade**

Phoenician trade is, according to some, one of the most enduring and remarkable trade networks of the 1<sup>st</sup>-millennium-BC Mediterranean. With 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]
- Gonzàles De Canales F., L. Serrano and J. Llopart** 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:*

- Celestino Pérez, S., and C. López-Ruiz** 2016 *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia.* Oxford [IoA: DAP CEL]
- 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]
- Hodos, T. P.** 2014 Colonisation and cultural developments in the Central Mediterranean, in P. van Dommelen and B. Knapp (eds) *The Cambridge prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean.* Cambridge, 215-229 [online]

- López Castro J. L.** 2006 Colonials, merchants and alabaster vases: the western Phoenician aristocracy, *Antiquity* 80, 307-74-88 [online]
- López Ruiz, C.** 2021 *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*. Harvard University Press [online]
- 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]
- Pappa E.** 2013 *Early Iron Age exchange in the West. Phoenicians in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic*. Leuven [IoA: DAG 100 Qto PAP]
- Rodríguez Díaz, A.** 2014 Landscapes and Seascapes of Southwest Iberia in the First Millennium BC, in P. van Dommelen and B. Knapp (eds) *The Cambridge prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*. Cambridge, 488-505 [online]
- Sommer M.** 2007 Networks of Commerce and Knowledge in the Iron Age: The Case of the Phoenicians, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 22:1, 97-111 [online]
- 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]

## SESSION 7: CITIES AND SEMINAR 2

### **Topic 12: Cities and trade**

The growth of Mediterranean towns in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> 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 and online]
- 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]

#### *Recommended:*

- 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 [online]
- Cifani G.** 2021 *The origins of the Roman economy: from the Iron Age to the Early Republic in Mediterranean perspective*. Cambridge, chapters 5, 10 [online]
- De Angelis F.** 2002 Trade and Agriculture at Megara Hyblaea, in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21: 3, 299 – 310 [online]
- 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 [online]
- 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 [online]
- 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]
- Purcell, N.** 2005 Colonization and Mediterranean History in H. Hurst and S. Owen (eds) *Ancient colonisations. Analogy, similarity and difference*. London: Duckworth, 115-139 [online]

- Riva C.** 2021 *A Short History of the Etruscans*, Bloomsbury. chapters 3, 4 [online]
- Smith, C.** 2021, Craft and the urban community: industriousness and socio-economic development. in M Gleba, B Marin-Aguilera & B Dimova (eds), *Making cities: Economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000–500 BC.* . Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.76156> [online]
- 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]

### **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 (or group's, depending on class size) contribution will make a case for those goods on the basis of an article read from the below selection.

#### *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 [online]
- Morris I.** 2011 The archaeology of Greek slavery, in K. Bradley and P. Cartledge (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Slavery I*. Cambridge, 176-93 [online]

#### *Agricultural produce:*

- Bouby, L., Boissinot, P. & Marinval, P.** 2011 Never Mind the Bottle. Archaeobotanical Evidence of Beer-brewing in Mediterranean France and the Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages During the 5th Century BC. *Human Ecology* 39, 351–360 (online)
- Haldane C.** 1993 Direct Evidence for Organic Cargoes in the Late Bronze Age. *World Archaeology*, Vol. 24.3, 348-360 [online]
- 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]
- McGovern, P.E., et al.** 2013 Beginning of viticulture in France. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110 (25): 10147-52 [online] **OR**
- McGovern P. E.** 2003 *Ancient Wine. The search for the origins of viticulture*, ch 8-12 [online]

#### *Timber:*

- D'Auria A., M. Teobaldelli and G. Di Pasquale** 2020 The late Holocene history of cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens* L.) in the Italian peninsula: New perspectives from archaeobotanical data, *The Holoecene* 30.2, 210-217 [online]
- Linder E.** 1986 The Khorsabad Wall Relief: A Mediterranean Seascape or River Transport of Timbers? *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106. 2, 273-281 [online]

#### *Acquatic resources, fish and wetlands:*

- Balbo A. L., J. Martinez-Fernández and M-A. Esteve-Selma** 2017 Mediterranean wetlands: archaeology, ecology and sustainability, in *WIREs Water* 2017, 4:e1238. doi: 10.1002/wat2.1238 [online]
- Boardman, J.** 2011 Fish and the Mediterranean: the nourishing sea, *Ancient West & East* 10, 1-9. [online]
- Holden, P. and N. Purcell** 2000 *The Corrupting Sea*. 186-97 (wetlands and fish)
- Mistireki A and L. Zamboni** 2020 Exploring Spina: urbanism, architecture and material culture in L. Zamboni, M. Fernández-Götz and C. Metzner-Nebelsick (eds) *Crossing the Alps. Early Urbanism between Northern Italy and Central Europe (900-400 BC)*, 207-226. Leiden [online]

*Environmental Evidence more generally:*

**Shriver-Rice M. and F. Schmidt** 2022 Environmental and Archaeobotanical Studies in Etruscan Archaeology: An Epistemological Overview and Future Considerations of Human-Plants Relationships, in *Etruscan Studies* <https://doi.org/10.1515/etst-2022-0001> [online]

## SESSION 8: ARCHAIC EMPORIA AND RELIGION

### **Topic 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:*

**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]

**Riva, C.** 2017. Wine production and exchange and the value of wine consumption in sixth-century BC Etruria. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 30(2), 237-261 [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:*

**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]

**Michetti L. M.** 2021 Ports, trade, cultural connections, sanctuaries and emporia, in N. Thompson de Grummond and L. Pieraccini (eds) *Caere*, 73-86. Austin. <https://doi.org/10.7560/308431-015> [online]

**Demetriou D.** 2012 *Negotiating identity in the ancient Mediterranean: the Archaic and Classical Greek multi-ethnic emporia*. Cambridge [online]

**Dietler M.** 2010 *Archaeologies of colonialism. Consumption, entanglement, and violence in ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, pgs. 131-156 [online]

**Figueira T. J.** 2022 Typology in Archaic Greek maritime trading states, *Ancient West & East* 1.1, 24–27. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004496446\\_009](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004496446_009) [online]

**Michetti L.** 2017 Harbours, in A. Naso (ed.) *Etruscology*. De Gruyter, 391-405 [online]

**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 [online]

**Reed, C. M.** 2003 *Maritime traders in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapter 7 [online]

**Villing A. & U. Schlotzhauer** (eds), *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt*, British Museum Research Publication 162 [online]

**Wilson J. P.** 1998 The 'Illiterate Trader'?, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 42.1, pgs. 29-56 [online]

### **Topic 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 *emporía*, 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, and, last but not least, the mobilisation of resources for the construction and maintenance of sacred sites of supra-regional importance.

*Essential:*

**Johnston A.** 2001/2002 Sailors and sanctuaries of the ancient Greek world in *Archaeology International*, 25-28 [online]

**Ialongo N.** 2013 Sanctuaries and the emergence of elites in Nuragic Sardinia during the early Iron Age (ca. 950-720 BC): the actualization of a 'ritual strategy' in *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 26.2, 187-209 [online]

**Pappa, E.** 2015 Oriental Gods but Domestic Elites? Religious Symbolism and Economic Functions of Phoenician-Period Cult Loci in South Iberia in E. Kistler et al. (eds) *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption*. Harrassowitz Verlag, 43-62 [online]

*Recommended:*

**Brody, A.** 1998 *"Each man cried out to his God": the specialized religion of Canaanite and Phoenician seafarers*. Atlanta: Scholars Press [online]

**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 [online]

**Glinister F.** 2003 Gifts of the gods. Sanctuary and society in Archaic Tyrrhenian Italy, in J. Wilkins and E. Herring (Eds) *Inhabiting symbols: symbol and image in the ancient Mediterranean*. Accordia Research Institute, 137-147 [online]

**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 [online]

**Morgan, C.** 1990. *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC*. Cambridge, chapter 2 [online]

**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]

**Osborne, R.G.** 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside*, Chapter 8 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 58 OSB]

**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]

**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]

**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 [online]

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

**Topic 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 to Athens' grain problem (cfr. Garnsey 1985, 1988 and Bissa 2009 in recommended)
- MacDonald B.R.** 1981 The emigration of potters from Athens in the late 5<sup>th</sup> 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, 29-47 [online]
- Reden S. von** 1995 The Piraeus. A world apart, in *Greece and Rome* [online]

*Recommended:*

- Bissa E. 2009** *Governmental Intervention in Foreign Trade in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Brill, Prolegomena to Grain and chapters 7-9 [online]
- 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]
- 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 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday (History of Political Thought 6, 1/2)*, 62-75 [online]
- Garnsey P.** 1988 *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-Roman world*. Chapters 6 & 7 [online]
- 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, 3-90 [online]
- 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]
- 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 [online]
- 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]
- Papadopoulos J. K. and S. A. Paspalas** 1999 Mendaian as Chalkidian Wine, *Hesperia* 68, No. 2, 161-188 [online]
- Reed, C. M.** 2003 *Maritime traders in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapters 1-6 [online]

**Topic 16: Coinage and monetary exchange: two sides of the same coin?**

We close this module 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:*

- 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]
- Kurke L.** 1999 *Coins, bodies, games and gold: the politics of meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton, chapter 1 [Main: ANCIENT HISTORY P 72 KUR]
- Kurke L.** 2002 Money and mythic history: the contestation of transactional orders in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, in W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds) *The ancient economy*. Edinburgh, 87-113 [Main: Ancient History M 64 SCH]
- 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]
- Schaps D. M.** 2004 *The invention of coinage and the monetization of ancient Greece*. Chapters 6-11 [online]
- Seaford C.** 2004 *Money and the early Greek mind. Homer, philosophy, tragedy*. Cambridge, Chapters 5-8 [online]
- Reden, S. von** 2010 *Money in classical antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [online]
- Sheedy K.** 2012 Aegina, the Cyclades, and Crete, in W. E. Metcalf (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, Chapter 6. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195305746.013.0007> [online]

### Seminar 3: Greek figured fine ware vessels outside Greece

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 student's contribution will try to answer this question on the basis of one of these articles.

- 1 **Bundrick S. D.** 2015 Athenian Eye Cups in Context, *American Journal of Archaeology* 119.3, 295-341 [online]
- 2 **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 [online]
- 3 **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 [online]
- 4 **Osborne R.** 1996 Pots, trade and the Archaic Greek economy, *Antiquity* 70,31-44 [online]
- 5 **Osborne R.** 2007 What Travelled with Greek Pottery? in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22.1, 85 - 95 [online]
- 6 **Rageot M, Mötsch A, Schorer B, Bardel D, Winkler A, Sacchetti F, et al.** 2019 New insights into Early Celtic consumption practices: Organic residue analyses of local and imported pottery from Vix-Mont Lassois. *PLoS ONE* 14(6): e0218001. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0218001> [online]
- 7 **Tsingarida, A.** 2020 Oversized Athenian Drinking Vessels in Context: Their Role in Etruscan Ritual Performances, *American Journal of Archaeology* 124.2, 245-274 [online]
- 8 **Zaccagnino C.** 2022 Athenian Black-Figure and Red-Figure Pointed Amphorae: New Considerations on Their Shape, Decoration and Context, *Etruscan and Italic Studies* 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1515/etst-2021-0012> [online]

SESSION 10: CONNECTION THROUGH EUROPE AND WRAPPING UP**Brief (wrapping up) topic 17: 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. We shall leave the rest of the session to discuss essay topics and questions you may have on the topics covered.

*Essential:*

- 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]
- Sacchetti F.** 2016 Transport amphorae in the west Hallstatt zone: reassessing socio-economic dynamics and long-distance Mediterranean exchange in western central Europe in the early Iron Age, in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 35.3, 247-265 [online]

*Recommended:*

- Collis J.** 1984 *The European Iron Age*, chapter 4 [IoA: DA 160 COL]
- 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]
- 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 [online]
- Dietler M.** 2010 *Archaeologies of colonialism. Consumption, entanglement, and violence in ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, pgs. 75-122 [online]
- 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 [online]
- Dominguez AJ and C. Sanchez** 2001 *Greek pottery from the Iberian peninsula*, Leyde [online] – the publication is a catalogue but has good discussions on Greek pottery imports in Iberia and local contexts
- Fontijn, D. and S. van der Vaart-Verschoof** 2016, Local elites globalized in death, in T. Hodos et al. (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization* Routledge, ch. 6.3 [online]
- Gönster Y.** 2015 The Silphion Plant in Cyrenaica : an indicator of intercultural relationships ? in E. Kistler et al. (eds) *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption*. Harrassowitz Verlag, 169-184 [online]
- 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]