Libyan Studies 50 (2019), pp 21–33 © The Society for Libyan Studies
doi:10.1017/lis.2019.27

Pottery and trade at Euesperides in Cyrenaica: an overview

By Eleni Zimi,[1] with contributions by K. Göransson and K. Swift

Abstract

The excavations conducted at Euesperides between 1999 and 2007 under the auspices of the Society for Libyan Studies, London, and the Department of Antiquities, Libya, and jointly directed by Paul Bennet and Andrew Wilson, brought to light private houses and a building complex, industrial areas related to purple dye production and part of the city's fortification wall. Among the finds was a highly significant body of local, regional and imported pottery (from the Greek and Punic world, Cyprus, Italy and elsewhere), dated between the last quarter of the seventh and the middle of the third century BC, when the city was abandoned.

This archaeological project adopted an innovative approach to the study of pottery from the site, based on the total quantification of the coarse, fine wares and transport amphorae. This was supplemented by a targeted programme of petrographic analysis to shed light on production centres and thus questions about the trade and the economy of ancient Euesperides. The pottery study by K. Göransson, K. Swift and E. Zimi demonstrated that although the city gradually developed a significant industry of ceramics, it relied heavily on imports to cover its needs and that imported pottery reached Euesperides' sheltered harbour either directly from the supplying regions or most often through complex maritime networks in the Mediterranean which changed over time.

Cooking pots from Aegina and the Punic world, mortaria, bowls, jugs and table amphorae from Corinth as well as transport amphorae from various centres containing olive oil, wine, processed meat and fish were transported to the city from Greece, Italy/Sicily, Cyprus and elsewhere. The so-called amphorae B formed the majority, while Corinthian, Aegean (Thasian, Mendean, Knidian, etc.), Greco-Italic and Punic were adequatly represented. Regarding fine wares, East Greek, Laconian and Corinthian are common until the end of the sixth century; Attic black-glazed, and to a lesser extend, black-figure and red-figure pots dominate the assemblages between the fifth and the mid-third centuries BC, while Corinthian, Italian/Sicilian and Punic seem to have been following the commodities flow at Euesperides from the fourth century BC onwards. Finally, Cyrenaican pottery and transport amphorae have been also identified at Euesperides implying a considerable volume of inter-regional trade.

إن الحفريات التي أجريت بمدينة يوسبريدس بين عامي 1999 و 2007 تحت رعاية جمعية الدراسات الليبية بلندن و مصلحة الآثار الليبية، وبإدارة مشتركة من بول بينيت و أندرو ويلسون، كانت قد كشفت عن عدد من المنازل الخاصة ومجمع مباني، ومناطق صناعية متعلقة بإنتاج الصبغة الأرجوانية و كذلك جزء من جدار تحصين المدينة. من بين هذه الاكتشافات مجموعة كبيرة من الفخار المحلي و الإقليمي والمستورد (من العالم اليوناني والبونيقي و من قبرص وإيطاليا وأماكن أخرد) ، والتي يرجع تاريخها إلى ما بين الربع الأخير من القرن السابع ومنتصف القرن الثالث قبل الميلاد، عندما هُجرت المدينة.

هذا المشروع الأثري أتبع نهجاً مبتكراً في دراسة الفخار من الموقع، حيث اعتمد على التقدير الكمي الإجمالي للأواني الخشنة والأواني الفخمة و أمفورات النقل. وقد تم دعم ذلك من خلال برنامج استهدف تحليل الصخور (البتروغرافي petrographic) لإلقاء الضوء على مراكز الإنتاج و بالتالي أسئلة حول التجارة والاقتصاد في يوسبريدس القديمة. أظهرت دراسة الفخار التي أجراها كل من قورانسون و سوفت و زيمي، أنه على الرغم من أن المدينة طورت تدريجياً صناعة خزف مهمة، إلا أنها قد اعتمدت بشكل كبير على الواردات لتغطية احتياجاتها وأن الفخار المستورد قد وصل إلى ميناء يوسبريدس المحمي إما مباشرة من مناطق الإنتاج أو في معظم الأحيان من خلال شبكات بحرية معقدة في البحر الأبيض المتوسط، والتي تغيرت مع مرور الوقت.

نقل إلى المدينة أواني الطهي من العالمين الإيجيي والبونيقي، و المورتريا (mortaria) والأوعية و الأباريق و أمفورات المائدة من كورنث (Corinth)، كذلك أمفورات النقل من مراكز مختلفة محتوية على زيت الزيتون والنبيذ واللحوم المصنعة والأسماك من اليونان وإيطاليا / صقلية و قبرص و من أماكن أخرد. شكلت ما يسمى بالأمفورات نوع B الأغلبية، في حين الكورنثية و الإيجية (من ثاسوس، مندي ، كنيدوس ...إلخ)، اليونانية-الإيطالية و البونيقية كانت ممثلة بشكل كاف. فيما يتعلق بالأواني الفخمة ، شرق اليونان، اللاكونية)Laconian) و الكورنثية، فإنهما شائعتان حتى نهاية القرن السادس؛ تهيمن الأواني السوداء المزججة (black-glazed) من أتيكا، وبكمية أقل الأواني ذات الشخصيات السوداء (black-figure) و ذات الشخصيات الحمراء (red-figure) على اللقى التي ترجع الى ما بين القرنين الخامس والثالث قبل الميلاد، في حين يبدو أن الكورينثية، الإيطالية / الصقلية و البونيقية، كانت تتبع تدفق السلع إلى يوسبريدس من القرن الرابع قبل الميلاد وما يليه. أخيراً، تم تحديد فخار وأمفورات نقل من سيرينايكا (إقليم برقة) في يوسبريدس مما يعني وجود قدر كبير من التجارة بين الأقاليم.

Euesperides, on the outskirts of the modern city of Benghazi, was probably founded before 600 BC[1] following the establishment of Cyrene[2] and was eventually abandoned around 250 BC when the Ptolemies regained control of Cyrenaica.[3] The population of Euesperides was a mix of people of different origins and from diverse cultural backgrounds, which constantly changed during the various phases of the city's life due to the influx of new settlers following political and military developments in the city itself, or in the wider region of Cyrenaica and the Greek world.[4]

The excavations conducted at Euesperides between 1999 and 2007 under the auspices of

[1] University of Peloponnese, Department of History, Archaeology and Cultural Resources Management

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the Society for Libyan Studies, London, and the Department of Antiquities, Libya, and jointly directed by Paul Bennett and Andrew Wilson, brought to light several private houses and a building complex, industrial areas related to purple dye production and part of the city's fortification wall. Among the finds was a highly significant body of local, regional and imported pottery (from the Greek and Punic world, Cyprus, Italy and elsewhere). Over 15,000 sherds and complete pots have been recorded in the project's database, ranging chronologically between the end of the seventh and the mid-third century BC, representing all the different phases of the city's life. Furthermore, this is high-quality pottery data as significant amounts of it came from well-stratified and securely-dated domestic assemblages, so far missing from elsewhere in Cyrenaica. With the exception of Berenice, the published pottery of pre-Roman Cyrenaica comes primarily from sanctuaries, cemeteries and, occasionally, from public buildings.

In order to understand the pottery diversity encountered at Euesperides, one should take into consideration the nature and the development of this Greek settlement. It was a natural harbour with access to the Mediterranean Sea and, possibly, a 'contact zone'[5] between the hinterland and the coast.[6] Euesperides was strategically positioned for protection, exchange and trade, and could have acted as a gateway for produce from regional settlement 'clusters' of Greek and Libyan origin (see Figures 1 and 2). Furthermore, standing geographically at the margins of the Maghreb (Shaw 2003, 98–99) and at a vital crossroads in ancient Mediterranean maritime and land routes linking the Greek, Punic and Italian worlds, the city may have attracted merchants who circulated within the western and the eastern Mediterranean spheres of exchange, as the wide range and substantial quantity of imported pottery from Cyrenaica, Greece, the Aegean, Cyprus, Italy, Sicily and the Punic territories indicate[7]. Furthermore, this pluralism could be partly explained by the different needs of people of various origins settling in the city, their fashions and trends. The population diversity and mobility combined with a considerable volume of trade demonstrates that the Greek settlement of Euesperides developed with both an eastern and western character, reflected in the imports from the site.

The Euesperides archaeological project in the 2000s developed a fresh and innovative approach to the study of pottery from the site, built upon the total quantification of the coarse, fine wares and transport amphorae to shed new light on issues related to trade and ultimately the economy of ancient Euesperides. This approach differed from previous qualitative methods where the study and publication of pre-Roman pottery had been based on a selection of material removed from its original context – methods used at previous projects at Euesperides and in most other Greek sites in Cyrenaica, North Africa and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Pottery quantification, although common on several Prehistoric and Roman sites already from the 1970s (Peacock 1977), and used for the Hellenistic and Roman coarse and fine ware studies from Berenice, the successor city of Euesperides, by Riley (1979) and Kenrick (1985) respectively, was applied for the first time to all pottery groups on a Greek site. Hence, pottery quantification became an important and integral part of the project, and was materialised through:

- systematic and meticulous archaeological fieldwork for several seasons at Euesperides;
- generous funding from the Society for Libyan Studies and the British Academy which allowed three pottery experts to work on the different classes of pottery, namely coarse, fine wares and transport amphorae, throughout the duration of the project.

Consequently, a comparative approach to pottery fabrics and inter-class applications of fabric analysis were instrumental: the identification of Punic and Corinthian coarse wares through comparisons to the fabrics of transport amphorae or of the local and regional fine pottery with the contribution of coarse ware fabrics provide tangible examples of the advantages of this methodology. In addition, the pottery study at Euesperides has been supplemented by a targeted programme of scientific clay analysis to ascertain provenance. Coarse wares (Swift 2005) and trade amphorae (Göransson 2007) from the site have already been analyzed petrographically and several groups have been distinguished, both imported and regional, and technological characteristics have been defined. Extending the scientific analysis to certain classes of fine wares also has great potential.[8] It could enrich our knowledge about the Cyrenaican manufacture and glazing technologies of this class as well as about the production centres of a wide range of imports recorded from the site. Consequently, such a study could contribute to a better understanding of the economic interactions at ancient Euesperides during the different phases of the city's life,[9] highlight trade networks and patterns and shed light on the city's connectivity with regional

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Figure 1. Map of the Mediterranean basin showing Greek and Punic sites in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania (©Creative Commons Attribution; digital editing V. Stasinaki).

economies in Cyrenaica, yet to be defined, and with the wider Mediterranean over time.

The coarse wares

The study of Classical and early Hellenistic coarse pottery from the site comprised the topic of Keith Swift's doctoral thesis submitted at the University of Oxford in 2005. This important work, although unpublished as yet in its totality, has been the first step towards the configuration (identification and characterisation) of local and regional Cyrenaican clay fabrics and their technologies, as published in the last volume of *Libyan Studies* (Swift 2018). Also, Swift thoroughly explored the question of fabrics and functions, indicating that though some local fabrics may have been better suited to some types of containers than others (i.e. Local Ware 1 and 2 for cooking, Local Ware 3 for liquid containers)[10], and although pottery production at Euesprerides was intended primarily for local consumption, no single local fabric is used exclusively for one function.

Furthermore, Swift's study demonstrated that substantial quantities of coarse wares were imported at Euesperides, counting for c. 34% of all coarse pottery by count, at least, in the fourth and first half of the third century BC, a result indicating 'long-distant trade and economic interactions' (Swift 2005, 233) in a regional or extra-regional level. The issue of traded coarse wares in Greek settlements has become popular in scholarship over the last decade, since it is only relatively recently that cooking assemblages, coarse tableware and storage containers from various sites around the Mediterranean have drawn the attention of pottery specialists and the topic has gained ground in contemporary discourses on pre-Roman coarse pottery distribution and consumption (Spataro and Villing 2015; Dietler 2010). Regarding the provenance of the imported coarse pottery from Euesperides, Swift identified Corinthian (c. 10%), 'Aegean' (including Aiginetan cooking wares, c. 8%) and Punic examples (c. 15%) (Swift 2005, 232–233). Corinthian imports go beyond specialised vessels, such as mortaria,[11] sometimes associated with grinding up additives to flavour wines,[12] and louteria, which have been also found in other Mediterranean sites (e.g. Miletos, Villing 2009, 321–322), and extend to lekanai, bowls and liquid containers (Swift 2005, 199).

Regarding Corinthian liquid containers, Swift argues that they were traded to Euesperides because of their compactness and permeability which made them more suitable for 'long-term liquid storage and transfer' than those produced in the local fabrics (Swift 2005, 199). Furthermore, he suggests that these containers 'were traded as part of the Corinthian coarse pottery repertoire as a whole or perhaps for their contents, i.e. as containers for commodities rather than as commodities in their own

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

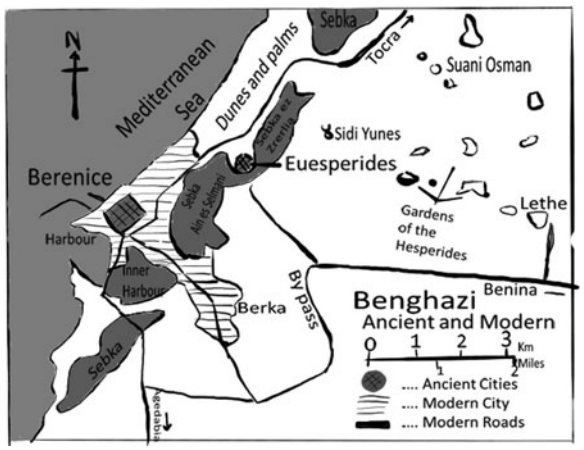


Figure 2. Map of the region of Benghazi showing the location of ancient Euesperides (after Goodchild 1952, 211 fig. 2; digital editing V. Stasinaki).

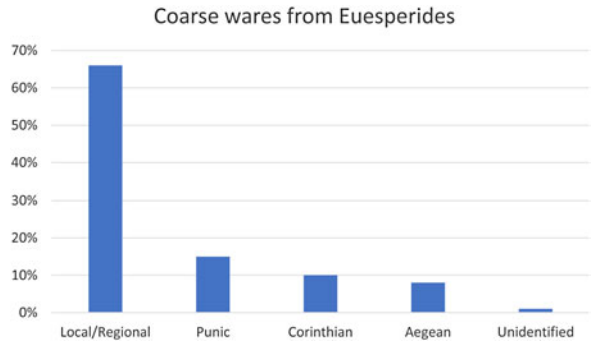


Figure 3. Relative proportions of coarse wares (RHBS) at Euesperides (end of fifth to the middle of the third century BC) (after Swift 2005, 233. Wilson 2013, 140, fig. 5.10).

right'. Related evidence from Corinth itself and identification of similar imports on other sites could shed light on the question of why and how these containers reached the settlements overseas and whether their high demand at Euesperides, and possibly elsewhere, is representative of a wider trend in the late Classical and early Hellenistic period in the eastern Mediterranean – related to the focus of Corinthian pottery production towards an export market (Swift 2005, 199) or identities and consumption habits of the inhabitants of Euesperides. For the question of internal distribution of Corinthian coarse wares in the various assemblages at Euesperides itself, which may help explain their circulation in the social strata during different phases of the city's life, we must look ahead to the much awaited, final publication of the project (Figure 3).

Among imported coarse pottery, Swift also identified a group named 'Aegean' cooking ware, including chytrai and lopades, of which a considerable number seems to be of Aiginetan manufacture. This is not surprising taking into consideration that Aigina was a noted source and a major exporter of cooking pots around the Mediterranean in Classical antiquity.[13] Evidence from the Athenian Agora demonstrates that Aiginetan chytrai and lopades were consumed in Athens in considerable quantities from the last quarter of the sixth to the end of the fifth century BC; it has been suggested that a number of them may have been exchanged for Attic pottery and then traded in the west.[14] Swift favours the hypothesis that Aiginetan pottery could have been co-distributed from the Saronic Gulf together with Corinthian coarse and Attic fine wares to Cyrenaica, at least in the fourth century BC (Swift 2005, 201). This preference for specialized, imported cooking wares seems to be a common feature in Greek and non-Greek settlements from at least the Early Iron Age onwards (i.e. Cycladic cooking pots at Knossos,[15] East Greek cooking wares at Ashkelon,[16] etc.) and persists beyond antiquity to modern times (i.e. the island of Siphnos specialized in cooking wares, which were exported to other islands[17]).

Punic coarse wares have been also identified at Euesperides following comparisons with Punic amphora clay fabrics, and constitute the largest imported group, at 11–15% of the assemblage. This figure, which complements the picture given by the amphorae from the site, has been suggested to indicate 'plenty of shipping contact across the Gulf of Syrte' (Quinn 2011; Wilson 2013). However, the possibility that these containers did not travel only as part-cargoes with other commodities, but reflects inter-regional commerce or even movement of people (i.e. presence of Punic traders at Euesperides[18]) between Punic regions (Tripolitania and/or the wider Carthaginian territory) and Cyrenaica is worth exploring. This hypothesis can also be supported by the wide range of Punic containers, besides transport amphorae, included in the assemblages at Euesperides: cooking and table ware, such as lopades, chytrai, lekanai, bowls, jugs and table amphorae, primarily those dated between the second quarter of the fourth and the first quarter of the third century BC. These are classified into two different types according to their clay consistency, which have also been found at Sabratha and Carthage (Quinn 2011; Wilson 2013). In common with cooking wares from other areas of the Mediterranean (i.e. southern France where cooking pots follow Greek forms),[19] the Punic examples from Euesperides follow their Aiginetan counterparts.[20] It has been recognised that this is an indication that Aiginetan cooking pots

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

were also traded to the Punic world,[21] implying interconnected trade flows and cultural borrowing between the eastern Mediterranean and Punic North Africa, although further research on other sites is required in order to develop this hypothesis further.

The transport amphorae

Regarding transport amphorae, Kristian Göransson quantified and studied the late Classical and early Hellenistic amphorae for his doctoral thesis published in 2007. His analysis demonstrated that imports outnumber Cyrenaican examples, counting for c. 77% by total sherd count (RBHS), while the Cyrenaican amphorae reach approximately 23%[22] and are classified in four groups but cannot as yet be ascribed to any particular cities or workshops in the region (Figure 4). Their presence at Euesperides suggests the local consumption of their contents (olive-oil, wine, etc.) or/and the possible role of the port of Euesperides in the inter-regional trade network for the redistribution of amphorae-borne commodities (i.e. silphium derivatives, etc.) further west, i.e. in Tripolitania (perhaps Sabratha) and Carthage (Göransson 2007, 217 and note 157, 219). The Cyrenaican examples adopt the forms of Greco-Italic and Chian amphorae, while the similarity of certain groups with the amphorae types 1 and 2 from Berenice has also been noted.[23] Furthermore, the examples which were locally-made at Euesperides belong to the so-called 'Corinthian B' type and form a small group.[24]

The majority of the imported amphorae are of the so-called Corinthian B type (c. 48–55%) produced in various centres around the Mediterranean (i.e. Corcyra, Sicily, the Adriatic, etc.), but, besides a few local examples, have not been provenanced at Euesperides.[25] Göransson assumes that most of the amphorae B from the site come from Corcyra and suggests either a direct link between the island and Euesperides or their re-distribution via Sicily where they are commonly found.[26] Recent petrographic studies have attributed amphorae B from Gela in Sicily to the Corcyrean Kerameikos (Finocchiaro et al. 2018), but as long as the provenance of the total assemblage of amphorae B from Euesperides is not defined, the representation of other production centres besides Corcyra cannot be excluded. Also, the fact that the clay fabric of a group of fine wares from Euesperides bears similarities to amphora B fabrics reinforces the hypothesis of commercial networks linking Euesperides with the manufacturing region of this class, which could have reached the city together with the goods transported in the amphorae of the same provenance, either directly or via re-distribution hubs (i.e. in Sicily) or even through both routes.[27] Based on the large amount of amphorae B at Sabratha, Göransson sees Euesperides as 'an entrepôt for onward trade in Corcyrean (and perhaps also Corinthian) products with the Punic cities in Tripolitania' (Göransson 2007, 224). Further research on the provenance of amphorae B from the wider Carthaginian territory[28] may indicate maritime networks between this region, western Cyrenaica and Tripolitania and, possibly, with Sicily and the Adriatic, and contribute to the assessment of the role of Corinth, where a significant amount of amphorae B has been also found, as a transhipment centre in the fourth and first half of the third century BC.[29]



Figure 4. Rims of the Cyrenaican Amphora 4 class from Euesperides (photograph by K. Göransson).

Moreover, there are numerous early Hellenistic wine amphorae from the south-western Aegean (c. 7-10%), namely from Chian, Samian, Knidian and Koan, workshops, while Rhodes is barely represented (Göransson 2007, 146–166; Wilson 2013, 133). The north Aegean amphorae (primarily Thasian and Mendean) are less common (c. 1–3%) (Göransson 2007, 136–145; Wilson 2013, 133). Other imports include a meagre quantity of Corinthian A (Göransson 2007, 82–83) and Cypriot amphorae (Göransson 2007, 170–173). For the Aegean amphorae found at Euesperides, Piraeus as a major port where ships 'bound to Cyrenaica took on board Aegean amphorae with their staple commodities' has been suggested as the most likely transhipping centre (Göransson 2007, 229). This hypothesis is reinforced by the large quantities of Attic fine wares and their persistence at Euesperides until the late Classical and Early Hellenistic period, which hints at established trade between Athens and Euesperides.[30] Other possible

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

routes to western Cyrenaica via the southern Peloponnese and Crete (Phalasarna) have been suggested, while a commercial route via Corinth is also likely taking into consideration not only the importance of its port, but also the amount of Corinthian pottery (fine wares, coarse wares and, to a lesser extent, trade amphorae Corinthian A) imported at Euesperides during this time (Göransson 2007, 228). In his discussion, Göransson claims that 'some or all of the suggested routes may have been used, perhaps simultaneously, perhaps in varying degrees over time' (Göransson 2007, 228).

Wine and other goods arrived at Euesperides in modest quantities from southern Italy/Sicily and other places further west. Western imports to the city include Greco-Italic wine amphorae produced in southern Italy and Sicily (4%) (Göransson 2007, 115–134. Also Göransson 2013) which have not yet been assigned to specific production centres,[31] Massaliote amphorae (c. 3% of all quantified amphorae RBH)[32] as well as a single amphora sherd from Ibiza.[33] Transhipping from Sicily has been regarded as the most likely route to Euesperides for these amphorae and their staple commodities (Göransson 2007, 226). The Greco-Italic and amphorae B are frequently found at the same sites, which is also true for Cyrenaica (i.e. Euesperides), Tripolitania (i.e. Sabratha) and the Carthaginian territory (i.e. the commercial harbour at Carthage, but also elsewhere), and this may imply a connection between Sicily and North Africa in the trade of commodities transported in amphorae B (i.e. Corcyrean wine and other goods from the various production centres of these amphorae) (Figure 5).[34]

Italian black-gloss (Campana A and B) and Gnathian tableware of the last quarter of the fourth and first half of the third century BC, which circulated widely in the western Mediterranean, have also been found at Euesperides[35] and may have accompanied the goods transported in the Greco-Italic amphorae to Cyrenaica.

Looking beyond the occurrence of the Greco-Italic type of amphorae at Euesperides, Göransson identified, for the first time, copies of the Greco-Italic wine amphora shape in Punic North Africa (Göransson 2007, 188), a very significant indication for commercial and cultural interactions between the Greek and Punic worlds (Wilson 2013, 136–137) which is reinforced by the Punic adoption of Aiginetan cooking ware forms as mentioned above.

The proximity of Cyrenaica to the Punic world does not seem to have encouraged significant trade

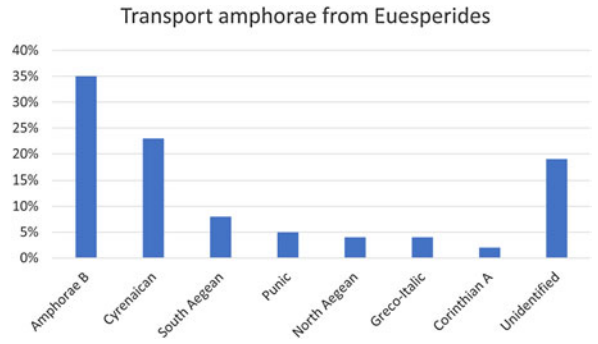


Figure 5. Relative proportions of transport amphorae (RHB) from fully quantified contexts at Euesperides (325–250 BC) (after Göransson 2007, 191, fig. 42).

flows earlier than the Hellenistic period when the rivalry between the two areas was eventually settled (Göransson 2007, 221). Although Punic coarse pottery has been attested at Euesperides in the fifth century BC (see above), it is only from the last quarter of the fourth century onwards that Punic amphorae and jars appear in the archaeological record of the city in considerable quantities, reaching a ratio of 5–6% of the total amount of amphora sherds.[36] Punic amphorae of probably Tunisian or Tripolitanian origin belong to the type with a trumpet-shaped mouth and an out-flared rim for wine or olive oil,[37] while jars of the so-called torpedo type (18% of the Punic amphorae at the site) serving for the transport of processed fish and/or meat have been attributed to Tunisian manufacture implying imports from the Carthaginian territory in the early Hellenistic period.[38]

Lastly, the evidence from the imported amphorae at Euesperides 'found in domestic contexts or as surface finds from the urban survey' indicates that some of the commodities were primarily 'destined for consumption in the city' (Göransson 2007, 220). It is however not unlikely that others may have been intended for inter/intra-regional trade with other cities in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Carthaginian territory. In addition, several of the imported transport amphorae at Euesperides come from regions with a reputation for high quality wines, such as Chios, Thasos, Mende, some parts of southern Italy, etc., or of wines with aging potential (i.e. from Corcyra) implying local consumption habits and domestic affordability.

The diverse and wide range of amphorae from Euesperides reflects the nature of trade in western Cyrenaica and, also partly, along the north African coast until the middle of the third century BC. Further research and comparison between the land evidence and the cargoes found in ancient

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

shipwrecks along the North African coast and in the western Mediterranean may improve our knowledge of maritime trade networks. At Euesperides, the picture from the amphorae (and, also, from other classes of pottery) may point predominantly to maritime cabotage. This was a limited-scale enterprise during which the goods may have been acquired in stages from port to port along the way or, more likely, at transhipping centres from where commodities were redistributed. In both cases, this operation may have been carried out by merchants of different origins moving along the Mediterranean carrying 'heterogeneous, in terms of origin cargo' but of commodities targeted' toward regional patterns of demand'.[39] Although the accessibility of Euesperides' harbour to large deep-sea consignment ships has not been as yet been assessed, the location of the city along a series of coastal lagoons may have facilitated maritime cabotage services with small merchant vessels to and from the city to other ports along the North African coast.

The fine wares

The analysis of the quantified fine wares from Euesperides is a work in progress. Yet their study has so far shown that Euesperides heavily relied on imported fine pottery in varying quantities and from different productions centres, predominantly from Athens (c. 40% of RSHB) (Zimi, forthcoming c.), but also from Corinth (c. 12%), Laconia (c. 3%) (Zimi, forthcoming b), East Greece and the Aegean (c. 9%), S. Italy and Sicily (c. 5% including early Campana A, B, C and Gnathia) and the Punic world (c. 1%), to meet its needs (Figures 6 and 7). This picture of imports outnumbering the local/regional examples remained unchanged throughout the city's life despite an increasingly vigorous regional and local fine ware industry which often emulated Attic (Zimi, forthcoming c.) and Corinthian pottery. Furthermore, among the 7,000 fragments and intact pots recorded, the majority are black-glazed,[40] several of which are inscribed with graffiti (primarily in Greek, but there are also a few with Punic signs), while painted pottery, including black-figure and red-figure, is found on a much smaller scale, accounting for c. 5% of the total fine pottery assemblage.

Most fine ceramics found at Euesperides are drinking containers (variants of cups, skyphoi, bolsal cups and kylikes) for wine consumption during the symposium, or at any stage of a banquet. From the second half of the fourth century and until the abandonment of the site, however, a gradually increasing quantity of bowls with in-turned (echinus bowl) and

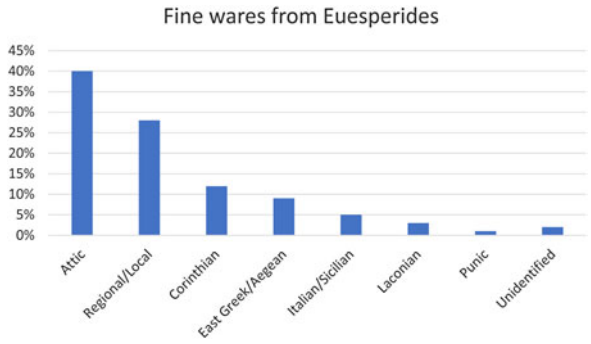


Figure 6. Relative proportions of fine wares (RHBS) at Euesperides (end of seventh to the middle of the third century BC).

out-turned rims, primarily Attic, but also southern Italian, and of local/regional manufacture, has been observed.

East Greek bowls, Laconian and Laconianising black-glazed kraters are common classes of Archaic fine pottery at Euesperides, also supplemented, by Corinthian aryballoi and, later, by Attic black-figure skyphoi. As far as Attic pottery is concerned, it reached the city in the first half of the sixth century and circulated for three centuries until the abandonment of the site. Its wide distribution across the site implies that access to Attic imports was not at any time socially restricted (Zimi, forthcoming c). There seems to be no preference for figured drinking vessels among the imports at Euesperides, at least from the second half of the fifth century onwards. Drinking from an Attic plain black-glazed cup seems to have been favoured[41] due to its manufacture and gloss quality, probably creating a 'sensuous' drinking experience,[42] and fashion trends. In the fifth century, Attic black-glazed pots include drinking vessels (i.e. Attic A type skyphoi, kylikes, bolsal cups and a few 'Castulo cups'), mixing and liquid containers (red-figure kraters, pelikai, hydriai, oinochoai), and a small number of trinket and toiletry vessels (lidded lekanides with ribbon handles, askoi, squat lekythoi).[43]

In the fourth century BC, a significant volume of Attic fine ware seems to have reached Euesperides fulfilling a wider range of functions. The increase of the toilet and trinket containers may indicate, together with customers' preferences, the significant scale of that market in the fourth century BC. Red-figure lekanides are commonly decorated with animals or women's scenes on the lid. One further trend relates to a significant increase in black-glazed small bowls, some of which may have had an intended use as serving vessels for herbs and spices or other types of food, in bowls with out-turned rims,

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Figure 7. Imported fine wares from Euesperides. Above: a) rim of a Laconian krater (mid-6th c. BC), b) a fragmentary Attic red-figure askos, decorated with a wreath (second half of the 5th c. BC), c) a fragmentary red-figure askos with animals (5th c. BC), Below: d) Corinthian echinus bowl (end of 4th-early 3rd c. BC), e) south Italian one-handler (4th c. BC) f) partly preserved rim from the lid of a Gnathian-ware pyxis (first half of the 3rd c. BC) [photographs by Eleni Zimi, drawing by D. Hopkins].

Lykynic lekanides and salt-cellars, as well as in dispensers for special liquids (gutti/askoi, 'feeders/fillers', etc.); shallow red-figure and black-glazed askoi with a dome-shaped top and squat lekythoi are also represented. A similar pattern of Attic imports emerges from others site in Cyrenaica (Zimi, forthcoming c). Furthermore, the appropriation of the Attic small bowl with in-curved or out-turned rim observed at Euesperides, seems to have been shared throughout the western Mediterranean since the first half of the fourth century BC (Zimi, forthcoming c).

Regarding Corinthian pottery, although it reached Euesperides from an early date, as fragmentary aryballoi of the end of the seventh or early sixth century BC attest, it was not until the late fifth and fourth centuries BC that it became prolific in domestic and funerary contexts.[44] It has been estimated that approximately 15% of all fine ware pottery is Corinthian, placing Corinth second among the sources of imports at Euesperides, the first being Athens. This figure is close to that of the Corinthian coarse pottery from the site, which comprises approximately 10% of total coarse ware imports (Swift 2005, 191). Furthermore, genuinely Corinthian transport amphorae, namely those of Corinthian A type, are also present between 400 and 250 BC, reaching 2% of total amphora imports (Göransson 2007, 83–88). The most popular type of Corinthian fine wares seems to have been the so-called 'Conventionalizing'. This category, which is rarely found or recorded in settlements around the Mediterranean,[45] accounts for nearly 40% of the Corinthian fine wares imported at Euesperides, second only to Corinthian black- glazed and plain wares. The vast majority is concentrated on a specific area of the site (Area P) where a building complex with mosaic floors has been excavated, possibly alluding to the origin and/or the status of its inhabitants, and dates to the Classical period, with the latest examples reaching the last quarter of the fourth century BC. Pyxides and miniature kotylai are the commonest shapes.

As is the case in other regions in the Mediterranean where Greeks established settlements, the wine trade may have played a significant role in the stimulation of fine ware imports,[46] which together with the Greek identity of the new settlers and the cultural significance of the symposium could, at least partly, justify the predominance of cups and other drinking containers in the archaeological record of Euesperides.

The configuration of the local and regional Cyrenaican clay fabrics of the coarse wares from Euesperides contributed to the identification and

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

classification of their counterparts in fine pottery. Locally produced fine wares are found both in the *sebkha* and *terra rossa* fabrics defined by Swift,[47] including drinking vessels, often emulating Attic and Corinthian cups (skyphoi, bolsal cups and kotylai), liquid containers (amphorae and jugs) and lamps. Further research and publication of the local fine pottery from other sites in Cyrenaica and, especially from Cyrene, will facilitate the often-challenging distinction between local and regional products among certain classes of fine pottery at Euesperides. Through this process questions related to inter-regional commerce could then be more successfully tackled.

The imports from southern Italy and Sicily, comprising of skyphoi of various types, kraters and bowls with in-turned rim, which date between the end of fifth and the first half of the third century BC reveal possible commercial relations with this part of the world and reinforce the argument for a political link between Euesperides and Sicily (Syracuse) in the late Classical period, which is documented in at least one inscription from the former.[48]

Last but not least, Punic and Aegean fine wares (i.e. black-glazed pots from the island of Thasos) identified in the assemblage have yet to be studied further. Taking into consideration the pottery evidence from Carthage,[49] it is noteworthy that the pattern emerging during the Middle Punic II.2 (400–300 BC) and the first half of the third century BC presents similarities with that of contemporary Euesperides: amphorae B, Sicilian amphorae at Carthage/Greco-Italic at Euesperides, northern Aegean vessels and Attic black-glazed pots reached both regions. Despite certain localised commercial behaviours, the picture points towards 'an important trade route leading from the northern Aegean area via Athens/Piraeus, along the southern Italian and Sicilian coasts, down to the North African coast' recognised in the Carthaginian territory[50] and now also observed in western Cyrenaica.

Discussion

The pottery evidence from Euesperides suggests substantial cross-cultural trading contacts with the Greek and the Punic world which could become clearer in the final publication of the Euesperides project when coarse, fine wares and transport amphorae will be treated together within their contexts. Consequently, distribution patterns and the relative ratios of the three categories of pottery over time will emerge. Here it is important to note that Euesperides seems to have been a merchant port and although any direct exchanges between the indigenous semi-nomadic tribes in its immediate hinterland cannot so far be traced archaeologically in the city, literary sources mention indigenous people collecting silphium and providing wool (Göransson 2007, 218–220) implying that these goods together with products supplied by the inhabitants of Euesperides (i.e. purple dye, textiles, etc.)[51] played a significant role in the development and sustainability of inter-and intra-regional trade. Imported commodities, such as wine, olive oil, processed fish and meat, arrived in the city, primarily, by maritime transport. The mobility of traders, but also the population diversity of Euesperides may have had an impact on the patterns of demand and consumption as well as on the mechanisms of commerce in the city, and yet these remain rather obscure. The fact that the inhabitants of Euesperides heavily relied on imports to cover their pottery needs would have considerable implications for the state of the city's economy and points to a strong flow of such products in the local and regional markets in affordable prices. Taking into account the contradictory evidence about the fertility of the land around Euesperides by the ancient authors,[52] one may consider that the need for grain, which was abundant in Cyrene and its hinterland, may have stimulated inter-regional trade between Euesperides and the rest of Cyrenaica.

Notes

1 This chronology is based on pottery evidence from the site, e.g. unpublished fragments of Ionian rosette bowls from a well in area Q (Wilson et al. 2006, 135–136) which was excavated in 2007. For the foundation of the city, see also, Wilson 2003, 1650. For pottery of the first half of 6th century BC, see Zimi, in Wilson et al. 2005, 160, fig. 18; Zimi in Wilson et al. 2006, 148–150, figs. 16, 18.

2 The origins of the settlers at Euesperides are not clear as is also stated by Gill 2004, 398. For possible Cretan, East Greek/Aegean and Laconian settlers in Cyrenaica, see ibid. 403. Cf. Jones 1985, 28, 31 where he claims that Euesperides was founded by Greek settlers from Cyrene or Barce.

3 Wilson 2003, 1652–1655, 1660–1661. For the date and circumstances of the city's abandonment, see Wilson 2006, 142–146 and Laronde 1987, 390–393.

4 The settlement was boosted with newcomers during the time of Arcesilas IV in 462 BC, see Applebaum 1979, 29–30. Vickers et al. 1994, 125: 'Arcesilas IV tried to create a safe haven against the day when his regime might be overthrown…'. Also, Gill 2004, 394 citing Theotimus, *FgrH* 470; Gill and Flecks 2007, 205. In addition, the city expanded around 405 BC after the resettlement of the Messenians from Nafpaktos who arrived at Euesperides in support of the local population during the attacks by the local tribe of Nasamones – see Laronde 1987, 27–28; Buzaian and Lloyd 1996, 129; Gill 2004, 394 citing

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Pausanias (4.26.2) and Diodorus (14.34). Some of these Messenians returned to their homeland after the foundation of the city of Messene by Epaminondas in 369 BC (Vickers et al. 1994, 125). It is also possible that some of the Athenian families who followed Ophellas in his expedition against Carthage in the last decade of the 4th century BC (Diod. XX.40.1-42.5; also, Applebaum 1979, 49) may have eventually settled at Euesperides. Interestingly, the presence of the nomadic indigenous people is not obvious in the archaeological record, even if there was one.

5 For the term, see Malkin 2011, 46.

6 The rural hinterland of Euesperides has not been adequately explored and it is not known, at present, how far off the coast Greek ceramics penetrated.

7 Buzaian and Lloyd 1996; Swift 2005. Göransson 2007. Wilson 2013. For the fine wares, see Zimi in Wilson et al. preliminary reports on the excavations in *Libyan Studies* 30–37 (1999–2006).

8 Whitley and Boileau 2015, 75 also observed that the focus of the ceramic experts until relatively recently relied heavily on 'understanding the sequence of painted wares', while often 'chemical analysis was conducted on them in order to define origin. Coarse pottery in general, and cooking pots in particular, were assumed to be local'.

9 Such interactions (i.e. between traders of various origins) is visible in the surviving material evidence as also argued by Fentress 2013, 137.

10 Swift 2005, 80, 104, 119.

11 Pemberton and Villing 2010, 255 noting that from c. 500 onward, Corinthian mortaria begin to be found abroad (with references). The authors also comment on the functions of mortaria in the Greek world.

12 Dietler 2010, 195. Also, Curé 2015, 193–194 where she also states that 'a study of five Languedocian settlements highlights a correlation between these two vessel types: the higher the rate of amphorae, the higher the rate of mortars. This would suggest that mortars were deliberately imported together with amphorae'.

13 Gauss et al. 2015, 70–71 (Attica, Corinth, Crete, Cyrenaica, Black Sea, south Italy, Mediterranean coast of France), 69–70 (Attic production). For Lattara, see Curé 2015, 196–198, fig. 17.6. a.-m. Also, for Mediterranean-type cooking ware in indigenous context during the Iron Age, see ibid. 190–202.

14 Rotroff 2015, 183 implying the involvement of Aiginetan merchants in this exchange.

15 Boileau and Whitley 2010, 240–241. They claim that it seems 'unlikely that such cooking wares could have been exported only to Crete, or to Knossos', and it is expected that 'they would turn up elsewhere in the Aegean'. See also, Coldstream and Eiring 2001, 87.

16 Frantalkin 2015, 236 links the 'sudden appearance of East Greek pottery (including cooking pots) in the coastal plain of Israel during the last quarter of the 7th c. BC (at Ashkelon, the fortresses of Mezad Hashavyahu and Tel Kabri) with the presence of Greek mercenaries in the employ of the Egyptians' who stationed in these areas.

17 Spathari-Begliti 1992. Kyriakopoulos 2015, 252–286 (261–264 for Siphnos).

18 Comparative study of the contexts in which Punic coarse and fine pottery has been found may shed light on the hypothesis that Punic traders settled in the city as a result of consistent Punic contacts with Euesperides, as is the case elsewhere in the Mediterranean. See for example, Fentress 2013, 157–158 quoting Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 14.46.1), who notes that foreign traders often set up 'trading houses (in this case Carthaginians in Syracuse) establishing antennae in cities in which they dealt, their expatriate representatives able to handle customs, docking, storage and general relationships with the ports and the other merchants'.

19 Dietler 2010, 233–239 on cooking ware in southern France adopting Greek forms.

20 Swift 2005, 180–183. Also, Wilson 2013, 145.

21 Swift 2005, 236. Also, Wilson 2013, 144–145.

22 Göransson 2007, 220. Also, Wilson 2013, 133.

23 Göransson 2007, 51–74, 79–82. Also, Wilson 2013, 137–138.

24 Göransson 2007, 75–78. Also, Wilson 2013, 137.

25 Göransson 2007, 88–114. Also, Wilson 2013, 133.

26 Göransson 2007, 222 suggests entrepôts in Sicily, such as in Syracuse and Gela.

27 Göransson 2007, 224 where he suggests that different trade routes may have been in operation at the same time.

28 For the amphorae from Carthage between 400 and 250 BC, see Bechtold and Docter 2010, 96–98.

29 Göransson 2007, 224. On Corinthian fine (and conventionalising Corinthian type, in particular) wares from Euesperides, see Zimi 2018.

30 Göransson 2007, 228. For the evidence from fine wares, see Zimi, forthcoming a.

31 Wilson 2013, 133 where he states that this is due to the homogeneity of Sicilian fabrics.

32 Göransson 2007, 135–136.

33 It probably belongs to Ramón's late 4th or 3rd c. type 8.1.1.1 and transported salted meat. See, Wilson 2013, 135.

34 Göransson 2007, 226 based on the popularity of amphorae B in comparison to Greco-Italic examples in these sites, takes this hypothesis further suggesting that 'the wine export of Sicily and southern Italy benefited from this trade in Corcyrean wine with North Africa',

35 E.g. Zimi 2011, 594–595, pl. 250. Zimi in Wilson et al. 2006, 150–151, fig. 13. Zimi in Wilson et al. 2004, 173, fig. 11. Zimi in Wilson et al. 2003, 214, fig. 13.

36 Göransson 2007, 174–188. Also, Wilson 2013, 137.

37 Göransson 2007: 181–185. Wilson 2013, 135.

38 Göransson 2007, 178–179. Wilson 2013, 133–134 and note 41.

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

39 For discussion on cabotage, see Dietler 2010, 136.
40 Zimi in Wilson et al. 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006.
41 See also examples from the necropolis of Cyrene in Thorne 2005, 609–610, 614–615.
42 Morgan 2009, 158. See also Zimi, forthcoming c.
43 Zimi in Wilson et al. 1999, 61 fig. 12; Zimi in Wilson et al. 2001, 170 fig. 10; Zimi in Wilson et al. 2006, 148–150 fig. 17.
44 If this is, of course, not coincidental and due to the fact that there were more Classical than Archaic assemblages excavated.
45 Zimi 2018, 133 with relevant references.
46 For the case of the Mediterranean part of France, see Dietler 2010. Curé 2015, 194.
47 Swift 2018. For certain groups of local fine wares, see Zimi, forthcoming b.
48 Göransson 2007, 34 (with references). Also, Zimi 2018, 143.
49 Bechtold and Docter 2010.
50 Bechtold and Docter 2010, 96.
51 Wilson 2003. Also, Wilson 2006.
52 Herodotus 4.198–199. Theophrastus, *Hist. pl.* 8.6.6.

References

Applebaum, S. 1979. *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*. Brill, Leiden.

Bechtold, B., and Docter, R. 2010. Transport amphorae from Punic Carthage: an overview. In L. Nigro (ed.), *Motya and the Phoenician Ceramic Repertoire between the Levant and the West 9th-6th Century BC, Proceedings of the International conference held in Roma 26 February 2010*. Quaderni di Archeologia Fenicio-Punica, vol. 5. Missione Archeologica a Mozia, Rome: 85–116.

Boileau, M.-Cl. and Whitley, J. 2010. Patterns of Production and Consumption of Coarse to Semi-Fine Pottery at Early Iron Age Knossos. *BSA* 105: 225–268.

Buzaian, A. and Lloyd, J.A. 1996. Early Urbanism in Cyrenaica: New evidence from Euesperides (Benghazi). *Libyan Studies* 27: 129–152.

Coldstream, J.N. and Eiring, L.J. 2001. The late Archaic and Classical periods. In J.N. Coldstream, L. J. Eiring, G. Forster (eds.), *Knossos Pottery Handbook, Greek and Roman*. BSA Studies 7, British School at Athens, Athens: 77–90.

Curé, A.-M. 2015. Mediterranean-type cooking ware in indigenous contexts during the Iron Age in southern Gaul (6th–3rd centuries BC). In Spataro and Villing 2015: 190–202.

Dietler, M. 2010. *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.

Fentress, E. 2013. Strangers in the city: élite communication in the Hellenistic central Mediterranean. In J. R.W. Prag and J.C. Quinn (eds.), *The Hellenistic West. Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/N. York: 157–178.

Finocchiaro, Cl., Barone, G., P. Mazzoleni, P. and Spagnolo, G. 2018. New insights on the Archaic 'Corinthian B' amphorae from Gela (Sicily): the contribution of the analyses of Corfu raw materials. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 18.5: 179–189.

Frantalkin, A. 2015. Coarse kitchen and household pottery as an indicator for Egyptian presence in the southern Levant: a diachronic perspective. In Spataro and Villing 2015: 233–241.

Gauss, W., Klebinder-Gauss, G., Kiriatzi, E., Pentedeka, A., and Georgakopoulou, M. 2015. Aegina: An important centre of production of Cooking pottery from the Prehistoric to the Historic Era. In Spataro and Villing 2015: 65–74.

Gill, D.W.J. 2004. Euesperides: Cyrenaica and its contacts with the Greek World. In K. Lomas (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Mediterranean. Papers in honour of Brian Shefton*. Brill, Leiden/Boston: 391–409.

Gill, D. and Flecks, P. 2007. Defining domestic space at Euesperides, Cyrenaica: Archaic structures on the Sidi Abeid. In R. Westgate, N. Fisher, J. Whitley (eds), *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond*. British School at Athens Studies 15, London: 205–211.

Göransson, K. 2007. *The transport amphorae from Euesperides*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 4^0, no. 25. Lunds Universitet, Stockholm.

Göransson, K. 2013. In G. Olcese (ed.). *IMMENSA AEQUORA Workshop. Ricerche archeologiche, archeometriche e informatiche per la ricostruzione della economia e dei commerci nel bacino occidentale del Mediterraneo (metà IV sec. a.C. – I sec. d.C.). Ati del convegno Roma 24–26 gennaio 2011*, Immensa Aequora 3, Roma 2013, 381–384.

Jones, B. 1985. Beginnings and Endings in Cyrenaican cities. In G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds (eds.), *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*. Society for Libyan

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Studies Occasional Papers I. BAR International Series 236, Oxford: 27–41.

Kenrick, P.M. 1985. *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*. Volume III, Part 1: *The Fine Pottery*. Department of Antiquities, Tripoli.

Kyriakopoulos, Y. 2015. Aegean Cooking-pots in the Modern Era (1700–1950). In Spataro and Villing 2015: 252–286.

Laronde, A. 1987. *Cyrène et la Libye Hellénistique. Libykai Historiai de l'époque républicaine au principat d'Auguste*. Études d' Antiquités Africaines. Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

Malkin, I. 2011. *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford University Press, Oxford/ New York.

Morgan, C. 2009. Imports on the Dining Table? The Function of Attic Pottery in the Bosphoran Kingdom. In V. Nørskov, L. Hannestad, C. Isler-Kerényi, S. Lewis (eds), *The World of Greek Vases*. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl. XLI, Quasar, Rome.

Peacock, D.P.S. (ed.). 1977. *Pottery and Early Commerce: Characterization and trade in Roman and later ceramics*. Academic Press, London.

Quinn, J. 2011. The Syrtes between East and West. In A. Dowler, E.R. Galvin (eds.), *Money, Trade and Trade Routes in Pre-Islamic North Africa*. British Museum Research Publication, London: 11–20.

Riley, J.A. 1979. The coarse pottery from Berenice. In J.A. Lloyd (ed.), *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*, Supplements to Libya Antiqua *5*, Vol. 2, Tripoli.

Rotroff, S.I. 2015. The Athenian kitchen from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period. In Spataro and Villing 2015: 180–189.

Shaw, B.D. 2003. A Peculiar Island: Maghrib and the Mediterranean, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18.2: 93–125.

Spataro, M. and Villing, A. (eds.). 2015. *Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture: The Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Oxbow, Oxford: 65–74.

Spathari-Begliti, E. 1992. *Οι αγγειοπλάστες της Σίφνου*, Εκδόσεις Αρσενίδης, Αθήνα

Swift, K. 2018. Ceramics, clays and classification in Cyrenaica. *Libyan Studies* 49: 81–91.

Swift, K. 2005. *Classical and Hellenistic coarse pottery from Euesperides (Benghazi, Libya)*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford.

Vickers, M., Gill, D.W.J. and Economou, M. 1994. Euesperides: the rescue of an excavation. *Libyan Studies* 25: 125–136.

Villing, A. and Pemberton, E.G. 2010. Mortaria from Ancient Corinth: Form and Function. *Hesperia* 79.4: 555–638.

Villing, A. 2009. The daily Grind of Ancient Greece, Mortars and Mortaria: between symbol and reality. I:A. Tsingarida (ed.), *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th – 4th centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université de Bruxelles, 27–29 April 2006*. Études d'Archéologie 3. Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine, Bruxelles: 319–333.

Whitley, I., and Boileau, M.-Cl. 2015. True Grit, Production and Exchange of cooking wares in the 9th-century BC Aegean. In Spataro and Villing 2015: 75–90.

Wilson, A.I. 2013. Trading across the Syrtes: Euesperides and the Punic World. In J.R.W. Prag, J. Crawley Quinn (eds), *The Hellenistic West: Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/N. York: 120–156.

Wilson, A.I. 2006. New light on a Greek city: archaeology and history at Euesperides. In F. Fabbricotti and O. Menozzi (eds.), *Cirenaica: studi, scavi e scoperte. Atti del X Convegno di Archeologia cirenaica, Chieti 24–26 novembre 2003*. BAR International Series 1488, Oxford: 141–152.

Wilson, A.I. 2003. Une cité grecque de Libye: fouilles d'Euhésperidès (Benghazi), *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, IV, nov-déc: 1648–1675.

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, A., Cherstich, L., Found, B., Göransson, K., Holman, J., Lane, J., Morley, G., Russell, B., Swift, K., Vaughan-Williams, A., Zimi, E. 2006. Euesperides 2006: Preliminary report on the Spring 2006 Season. *Libyan Studies* 37: 117–157.

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, A., Found, B., Göransson, C., Guiness, J., Hardy, K., Holman, A., Kattenberg, J., Lane, J., Morley, G., al-Mugasbi, M., Swift, K., Vaughan-Williams, A., Wootton, W., Zimi, E. 2005. Euesperides 2005: Preliminary report on the Spring 2005 Season. *Libyan Studies* 36: 135–182.

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, A., Fell, V., Found, B., Göransson, K., Guiness, J., Hardy, K., Harris, K., Helm, R., Kattenberg, A., Tébar Megías, E., Morley, G., Murphy, A., Swift, K., Twyman, J., Wootton, W., Zimi, E. 2004. Euesperides (Benghazi): Preliminary report on the Spring 2004 season. *Libyan Studies* 35: 149–190.

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, A., Buttrey, T., Fell, V., Found, B., Göransson, K., Guiness, J., Hardy, K., Harris, K., Helm, R., Kattenberg, A., Morley, G., Murphy, A., Swift, K., Wootton, W., Zimi, E.

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press

2003. Euesperides (Benghazi): Preliminary report on the Spring 2003 season. *Libyan Studies* 34: 191–228.

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, Buttrey, T., Göransson, K., Hall, C., Kattenberg, A., Scott, R., Swift, K., Zimi, E. 2002. Euesperides (Benghazi): Preliminary report on the Spring 2002 season. *Libyan Studies* 33: 85–123.

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, Fell, V., Göransson, K., Green, C., Hall, C., Helm, R., Kattenberg, A., Swift, K., Zimi, E. 2001. Euesperides (Benghazi): Preliminary report on the Spring 2001 season. *Libyan Studies* 32: 155–177.

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, Ebbinghaus, S., Hamilton, K., Kattenberg, A., Zimi, E. 1999. Urbanism and Economy at Euesperides (Benghazi): Preliminary report on the 1999 Season. *Libyan Studies* 30: 147–168.

Zimi, E. 2011. Early Hellenistic Pottery from Euesperides (mod. Benghazi) in Libya: Chronological questions. In *Πρακτικά Ζ΄ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική (Αίγιο, 4-9 Απριλίου 2005)*. Athens: 591–600.

Zimi, E. 2018. In P. Pavúk, V. Klontza, A. Jaklová, A. Harding (eds), *ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ. Studies in honour of Jan Bouzek*. Opera Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis, vol. XVIII. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Masaryk University Brno, Prague: 131–150.

Zimi, E. Forthcoming a. Attic black-glazed pottery in a 'globalised' world: the evidence from early Hellenistic Euesperides in Cyrenaica. In I. Kamenjarin, M. Ugarkovic (eds.), *Exploring the Neighborhood: The Role of Ceramics in Understanding Place in the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the third conference of IARPotHP (IARPotHP 3), Kaštela/Croatia 2017, June 1–4*.

Zimi, E. Forthcoming b. Λακωνικοί και Λακωνίζοντες κρατήρες στην Κυρηναϊκή κατά τους αρχαϊκούς χρόνους: τα ευρήματα από τις αρχαίες Ευεσπερίδες, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς* 2 – Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου. Σχολή Ανθρωπιστικών Επιστημών και Πολιτισμικών Σπουδών / Annual Yearbook 2, University of the Peloponnese. School of Humanities and Cultural Studies.

Zimi, E. Forthcoming c. Change and continuity in the function of Attic pottery in Cyrenaica in Classical times: the evidence from Euesperides, *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Cologne/Bonn, 22–26 May 2018 : Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2019.27 Published online by Cambridge University Press